FREEDOM OF INFORMATION AND PRIVACY ACTS

SUBJECT: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

FILE NUMBER: 100-4712

PART: 1 OF 19

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

FILE DESCRIPTION

BUREAU FILE

SUBJECT America First Committee

FILE NO. 100-4712

SECTION NO. 1

SERIALS 1

thru

30

DEAR CONGRESSMAN:

I am convinced that we can preserve our American liberties only by keeping out of foreign war, *in Europe or in Asia.* Please do everything in your power to establish our foreign policy upon this sane basis.

(Signed) _____
NAME

_____
ADDRESS

_____
CITY AND STATE

I AM A PATRIOTIC AMERICAN CITIZEN, and agree wholeheartedly with the principles and policies of the America First Committee.

Please enroll me as a member of your organization.

I agree to discuss the activities of the Committee with my friends and to secure at least three new members.

(Signed)

_____
NAME

_____
ADDRESS

_____
CITY AND STATE

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
CONTRIBUTION CARD

I AM CONVINCED that we can preserve our American democracy only by keeping out of foreign war. Therefore I am contributing $_____ to support the work of the America First Committee.

*Name*_____
(PLEASE PRINT)

*Address*_____

ANY AMOUNT YOU WISH—DIMES OR DOLLARS—Make Checks payable to—

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE • 1806 Board of Trade Building • CHICAGO

(The work of the Committee depends entirely on voluntary contributions of time and money)

United States Department of Justice

Birmingham, Alabama
November 9, 1940

EPG:C

133[illegible]

Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Re: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
INTERNAL SECURITY

Dear Sir:

b1C
b7D

[redacted] informed me on November 4, 1940, that he was listening to a program broadcast at 8:30 P. M., on Sunday, November 3, 1940 over local station WAPI, which program was apparently sponsored by the American First Committee, with offices in the Board of Trade Building, Chicago.

[redacted] stated that this was an interview program which represented a person interviewing various individuals, representing a farmer in Minnesota, an automobile worker in Detroit, and a general worker in Los Angeles, etc. [redacted] stated that the questions asked on this program relative to the war and particularly with reference to our attitude toward Great Britain, and the answers given, indicated to him that it was a Nazi inspired program and he thought might be part of German propaganda in this country.

The above is submitted for the information of the Bureau in the event the Bureau desires the Chicago office to make any inquiry.

Very truly yours,

E. P. Guinane

E. P. GUINANE
Special Agent in Charge

cc-Chicago

RECORDED & INDEXED

100-4712-1

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/5/86 BY SP6 bjw/tcy

b7c

[redacted]

RECORDED 100-4712-2

133[illegible]

December 6, 1940

Special Agent in Charge
Chicago, Illinois

Re: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
INTERNAL SECURITY

Dear Sir:

Reference is made to the letter from the Chicago Field Division dated November 9, 1940, which reflects that the America First Committee has sponsored programs over the radio which possibly indicated they are a form of German propaganda.

Reference is also made to the letter from the Miami Field Division to the Bureau dated November 13, 1940 with which were transmitted three cards which respectively indicated the principles of the America First Committee and a card soliciting contributions for this organization. It is noted that the Miami Field Division is having an investigation conducted of this organization to ascertain its background and activities and that [redacted] is likewise being investigated by the Miami Field Division.

b7c

It is desired that the Chicago Field Division conduct appropriate investigation at Chicago, Illinois, which is reflected to be the national headquarters of the America First Committee, to determine the purpose, activities and officers of this organization.

The Chicago Field Division is designated as the office of origin in this case.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

cc - Miami

[redacted]

b7c

ral Bureau of Investigati

United States Department of Justice
1300 Biscayne Building
Miami, Florida

133098

November 13, 1940

Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

There is being transmitted herewith three cards, one marked "Post Card, House Office Building, Washington, D. C.", the second card marked "Principles of the America First Committee", and the third marked "America First Committee, Contribution Card."

This is the first time that this type of organization has come to the attention of the Miami Field Office and [redacted]

b7D
b7C

Very truly yours,

PERCY WYLY, II
Special Agent in Charge

PW:jb
enclosures

[redacted] 5/5/86 [redacted] byatley

100-4712-2
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
3 NOV 16 1940
U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE
[redacted]

b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-25-82 BY Ralph Lilly

Post Card

PLACE ONE CENT STAMP HERE

House Office Building,

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Principles of the

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

The America First Committee is a non-partisan organization of loyal and patriotic American citizens who believe

1. The United States must build an impregnable national defense.
2. No foreign power nor group of powers can ever successfully invade a *prepared* America.
3. Our government's sending *more of* its own ships, planes and materials of war to a belligerent overseas, dangerously weakens our defense at home and threatens to involve America in war abroad.
4. Our American democratic liberties can only be preserved by *keeping out* of foreign war—in Europe or in Asia.

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
National Headquarters
1306 Board of Trade Bldg., Chicago, Illinois

GEN. ROBERT E. WOOD, *Acting Chairman* R. DOUGLAS STUART, JR., *National Director*

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

Gen. Robert E. Wood, *Acting Chairman*

★ ★ ★

Dr. A. J. Carlson	Clay Judson	William H. Regnery
William R. Castle	Kathryn Lewis	Edward Rickenbacker
Janet Ayer Fairbank	Mrs. Alice Roosevelt Longworth	Lessing J. Rosenwald
John T. Flynn	Hanford MacNider	Edward L. Ryerson, Jr.
Henry Ford	Thomas N. McCarter	R. Douglas Stuart, Jr.
Bishop Wilbur E. Hammaker	Ray McKaig	Louis Taber
Gen. Thomas Hammond	Sterling Morton	Mrs. Burton K. Wheeler
Jay C. Hormel	*J. Sanford Otis*	*Dr. George H. Whipple*
Gen. Hugh S. Johnson	Dr. Albert W. Palmer	Gen. Robert E. Wood

★ ★ ★

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER
DIRECTOR

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

December 16, 1940

13305

LBN:LCB

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. TOLSON

With reference to the item which appeared in Evelyn Peyton Gordon's column in the Washington Daily News on December 12th, stating that Ted Wingo would handle publicity for the American First Committee, I wish to advise that in a conversation with Mr. Wingo I mentioned that I had seen where he had taken on another job. He stated that was not correct, that he had been talking to Mrs. Gordon before the meeting and had told her that Bill Castle had asked him to attend the meeting and to assist in publicity. He stated that he did attend the meeting. However, he did not agree to take on publicity.

He stated that only recently one Sidney Herzberg has been appointed National Publicity Director for the America First Committee with offices in the Board of Trade Building in Chicago. Heretofore Herzberg has put out a mimeographed sheet "Uncensored" which has had rather wide distribution.

At the meeting referred to in Mrs. Gordon's column, Former Undersecretary of State Castle made the statement that if we go to war then everyone in attendance who is a member of America First Committee should forget about the movement, that they are not against giving aid to England but that they were in favor of maintaining a strict cash and carry policy, a strict policy of neutrality, building adequate defense and that they would not tolerate any Communists or Fascists in the group.

Respectfully,

RECORDED & INDEXED

L. B. Nichols

100-4712-3

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
6 DEC 23 19
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 2/25/81 BY SP2 [illegible]

85

Washington Society Leaders Organizing 'America First' Unit

By EVELYN PEYTON GORDON

"There is nothing so secure as a settled mnd." That's what Genevieve Champ Clark Thomson, sister of Sen. Bennett Champ Clark, says, and that's about right. Genevieve was discussing the condition of the American mind today.

At least that's what her sister-in-law, Mrs. Bennett Clark, said yesterday when she spoke to more than a hundred people who had met at the home of former Undersecretary of State William R. Castle.

Mr. Wm. R. Castle

Those people, capitalists, labor union members, Democrats, Republicans, authors and one orchestra leader, were meeting to hear the story of "America First." An organization which started some time ago and which seems to be growing by leaps and bounds. It was from Mrs. Burton K. Wheeler, wife of Montana's Senator, that I first heard of "America First." That was last summer.

Since then, chapters of the movement have sprung up in many cities. And now the Capital has its own chapter. It is an organization to keep this country out of war.

"It's not "anti" anything. It's not "pro" anything, either, except American," said Mr. Castle as he opened the meeting in the oak-panaled library of his home. "We'll welcome any American as a member unless he is a Communist or Fascist and then he is not a real American. We're trying to keep out of this war and to build a big defense."

Among the people who went to hear what the organization is about were Alice Roosevelt Longworth, Mrs. Robert Knowlton, Mrs. Charles Lea, Mrs. Emil Hurja, Mrs. Dolly Gann—under the same roof with her one-time protocol-enemy, Alice Longworth; unity, I calls it! Also Mrs. Thad Brown and Katrina McCormick Barnes. Coughlin of Ruth Hurja

Mrs. Burton Wheeler

R. Douglas Stuart Jr. of Chicago, national director of "America First," asked: Has America an inferiority complex? Have Americans confidence in America to withstand invasion? Or are we influenced by the propaganda. "If Germany eats Christmas dinner in England, Germany will sup in America on July Fourth."

Mrs. Bennett Clark senses "frayed and tattered feelings in Washington since the election." She believes that no matter what our personal disillusionments we should "look to our own destiny and keep our hearts and our minds here."

Mrs. Burton Wheeler, has accepted the job of treasurer of the local chapter. "And I'm glad to be able to do that. Naturalized citizens of this country are far more aware of their privilege than we native-born Americans are. I accept with pleasure the office and hope the work is hard."

Mrs. Bennett Clark

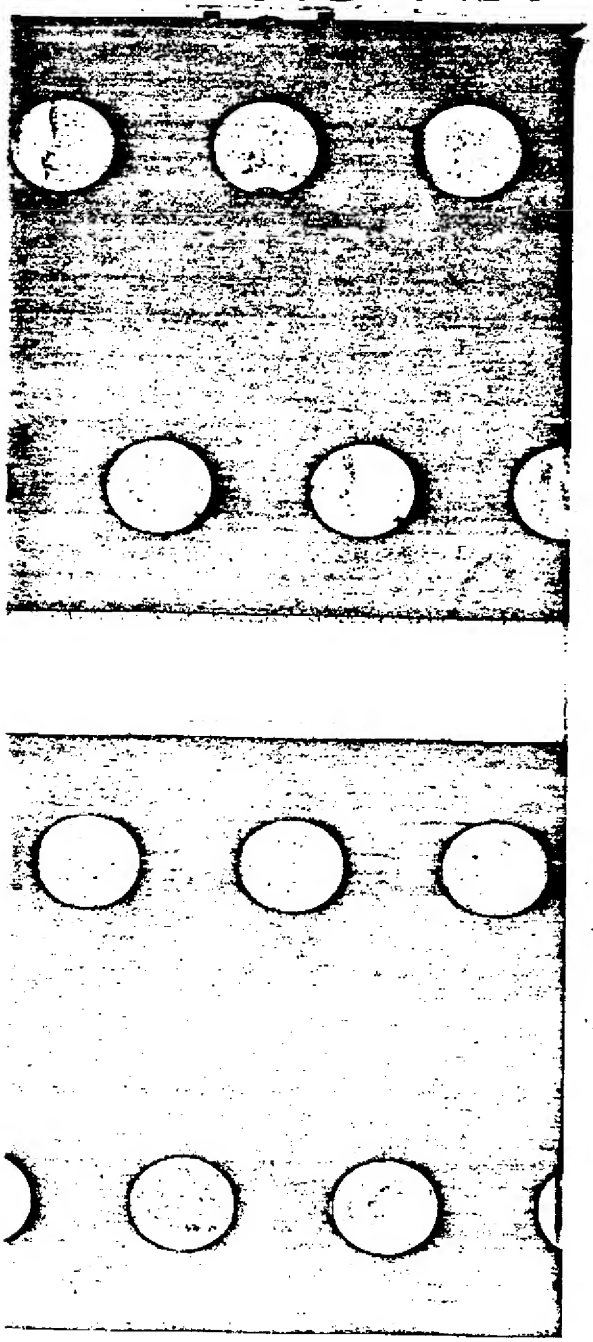
There's an advisory committee for the Washington chapter of "America First" composed of Mr. Castle, Mrs. Clark, Mrs. Wheeler, Kathryn Lewis, daughter of John L. Lewis and Mrs. Longworth. No chairman has yet been named, but Mrs. Frank Simonds has been chosen secretary; Mrs. Wheeler, treasurer. Mrs. Frank West, Pete Macias and Emil Hurja are on the membership committee. Katrina McCormick Barnes is on the finance committee with Clarence Hewss and Mrs. Emil Hurja. And for publicity there's Ted Wingo, Mrs. Edmund Pavenstadt, and Frank Hannigan.

133(6)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/15/86 BY Rabyatley

Washington Daily News
12-12-40

100-4112-3



[redacted]

b7C

Cedarhurst, L. I.

December 10th 1940

Federal Bureau of Investigation,
Washington, D.C.

13303

Dear Sirs;

I would be very grateful if you would tell me if you have investigated a Committee formed in the Middle West I am told, called "America First" in opposition to the William Allen White Committee. and if so is the organization backed by Nazi money.

very truly yours,

[redacted]

b7C

RECORDED & INDEXED 100-4712-1

Act 12-20-40

[redacted]

b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/5/86 BY SP6 bja/tcj

b7c [redacted]

RECORDED ~~100-6109-1~~
& INDEXED 100-4712-4

December 20, 1940

13392

b7c [redacted]
Cedarhurst
Long Island, New York

b7c Dear [redacted]

I wish to acknowledge receipt of your letter dated December 10, 1940, and to thank you for your interest in writing to this Bureau.

With respect to your inquiry, I must advise that by virtue of a well-established policy of the Department of Justice all information contained in the files of the Federal Bureau of Investigation is of a confidential nature. Accordingly I am unable to comment upon or furnish any data concerning the organization to which you make reference.

I hope you will feel free in the future to bring to my attention any matters which you deem of interest to the FBI.

Sincerely yours,

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 5/5/86 BY SP4 bja Hey

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Clegg
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Nathan
Mr. Ladd

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED
★ DEC 20 1940 ★
P M
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

91

37

b7c [redacted]

EBT

b7C [redacted] 100-4712-5

February 4, 1941

RECORDED 100-4712-5X

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. LAWRENCE M. C. SMITH,
CHIEF, NEUTRALITY LAWS UNIT

I wish to acknowledge receipt of your memorandum of January 17, 1941, attached to which was a memorandum pertaining to the America First Committee, and a photostatic b7C copy of a letter from [redacted] to [redacted] dated September 3, 1940.

I appreciate your consideration in forwarding this material and am taking the privilege of retaining copies of the same for inclusion in the Bureau files. In compliance with your request, the originals which were forwarded by you are being returned herewith.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Attachment

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS [illegible]
DATE 5/5/86 BY SP6 [illegible]

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Clegg
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Nathan
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Egan
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rendon
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED
★ FEB 4 1941 ★
P. M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

b7C [redacted]

ADDRESS REPLY TO
"THE ATTORNEY GENERAL"
AND REFER TO
INITIALS AND NUMBER

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
WASHINGTON, D. C.

December 19, 1940

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. HOOVER, DIRECTOR, FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Re: America First Committee

For what it is worth, I pass on to you the statements made at a dinner last night in my presence by someone purporting to know to the effect that the funds for the "America First Committee" are coming in in large amounts from [redacted] b7c

also some indication that Henry Ford was also contributing.

L. A. C. Smith

Lawrence M. C. Smith
Chief, Neutrality Laws Unit

RECORDED & INDEXED

No enclosure received 12/19/40 OSK

100-4112-
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
4 DEC 28 1940
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FIVE

ADDRESS REPLY TO
"THE ATTORNEY GENERAL"
AND REFER TO
INITIALS AND NUMBER

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

WASHINGTON, D. C.

January 17, 1941

b7c

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. HOOVER, DIRECTOR, FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

With reference to your memorandum of December 23, 1940 concerning the America First Committee, the source of my information was [redacted] I do not believe that the information warrants further investigation but have been sending you such matters as I hear about for your information.

b7c
b7D

I am also attaching two other memoranda, which I would like to have returned to me, in regard to the America First Committee, and a photostatic copy of a letter from [redacted] dated September 3, 1940, copy of which were supplied to me by [redacted]

b7c
b7D

Lawrence A. C. Smith

Lawrence K. C. Smith
Chief, Neutrality Laws Unit

1 ENCL. FM

100-4712 - 5

4 FEB 7 1941

FIVE

4-750 (Rev. 12-14-88)

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

12 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

☑ Deletions were made pursuant to the exemptions indicated below with no segregable material available for release to you.

Section 552		Section 552a
☐ (b)(1)	☐ (b)(7)(A)	☐ (d)(5)
☐ (b)(2)	☐ (b)(7)(B)	☐ (j)(2)
☐ (b)(3)	☑ (b)(7)(C)	☐ (k)(1)
_____	☑ (b)(7)(D)	☐ (k)(2)
_____	☐ (b)(7)(E)	☐ (k)(3)
_____	☐ (b)(7)(F)	☐ (k)(4)
☐ (b)(4)	☐ (b)(8)	☐ (k)(5)
☐ (b)(5)	☐ (b)(9)	☐ (k)(6)
☐ (b)(6)		☐ (k)(7)

☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.

☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.

☐ Documents originated with another Government agency(ies). These documents were referred to that agency(ies) for review and direct response to you.

_____ Pages contain information furnished by another Government agency(ies). You will be advised by the FBI as to the releasability of this information following our consultation with the other agency(ies).

_____ Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s): _____

_____

☐ For your information: _____

_____

☑ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

100-4712-5X

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XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
X DELETED PAGE(S) X
X NO DUPLICATION FEE X
X FOR THIS PAGE X
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

FBI/DOJ

EAT:DS

100-4712-5

December 23, 1940

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. L. M. C. SMITH,
CHIEF, NEUTRALITY LAWS UNIT

I have received your memorandum of December 19, 1940, concerning the America First Committee and would appreciate being advised what action you believe the Bureau should take with reference to this situation. It is noted that you failed to identify the source of your information. You may desire to give consideration to calling the source of your information before a grand jury in order that the statements made by him may be taken under oath. This would appear particularly desirable if you believe that some action should be taken upon this information.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/5/86 BY SP6 bja Hey

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Clegg
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Nathan
Mr. Ladd
Egan
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED
★ DEC 23 1940 ★
P.M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER
DIRECTOR

...eral Bureau of Investigati...
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

JBO'L:BK

January 29, 1941

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. E. A. TAM...

Re: America First Committee

The America First Committee has its national headquarters in Room 1806, Board of Trade Building, Chicago, Illinois, and according to the literature distributed by this group, General Robert E. Wood is the Acting Chairman and R. Douglas Stuart, Jr. is National Director.

The literature further reflects the following prominent members who are active in the affairs of the Committee:

Dr. A. J. Carlson
William R. Castle
Janet Ayer Fairbank
John T. Flynn
Henry Ford
Bishop Wilbur E. Hammaker
General Thomas Hammond
Jay C. Hormel
General Hugh S. Johnson
Clay Judson
Kathryn Lewis
Mrs. Alice Roosevelt Longworth
Hanford MacNider
Thomas N. McCarter
Ray McKaig
Sterling Morton
J. Sanford Otis
Dr. Albert W. Palmer
William H. Regnery
Edward Rickenbacker
Lessing J. Rosenwald
Edward L. Ryerson, Jr.
Louis Taber

100-4712-6

#348,563
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9/13/84 BY SP-6BJA/RBG
5/5/86 SP6 bja/tcy comp#
262119
2586467-25-86 SDI-AG-SC

Mrs. Burton K. Wheeler
Dr. George H. Whipple

The principles for which this group stands, as announciated by the Committee in its literature are as follows:

1. The United States must build an impregnable national defense.

2. No foreign power nor group of powers can ever successfully invade a prepared America.

3. Our government's sending more of its own ships, planes and materials of war to a belligerent overseas, dangerously weakens our defense at home and threatens to involve America in war abroad.

4. Our American democratic liberties can only be preserved by keeping out of foreign war — in Europe or in Asia.

Lawrence M. C. Smith, Chief, Neutrality Laws Unit, furnished to the Bureau under date of January 17, 1941, a memorandum concerning the America First Committee which had been furnished to him by [redacted] b7c b7D containing the following information.

It was stated it is notable that in spite of the professions for strong national defense by the sponsors of the America First Committee, many of them were conspicuous for their activities against the selective draft and against aid to Britain. It is alleged that Mrs. Burton K. Wheeler was representing Senator Wheeler, and Miss Katherine Lewis, while representing her father, John L. Lewis, was also representing her own strongly fellow-traveler views.

Burton K

It was stated that both Senator Wheeler and John L. Lewis had connecting ties with the pacifist radical monthly, "Equality". In the September number, which was aimed against preparedness and against the draft, there was an article on "Defend America First" by Senator Wheeler and an article by John L. Lewis against conscription.

In the same number, there was reportedly an article by [redacted] urging leaders to attend the Communist-inspired Peace Demonstration in Chicago, to be held September 1 and 2.

It was further alleged that [redacted] of the Women's International League for Peace and Democracy, reputed to be an able lobbyist, was a tie-in of the pacifist organization which she represented, with the America First Committee. She, together with Senator and Mrs. Wheeler, helped to line up General Wood with the America First Committee last summer.

[redacted] is reported to help finance and to work along with [redacted] on a mimeographed sheet called "Uncensored". It will be reflected hereafter that [redacted] has made various speeches, appearing on numerous programs for the America First Committee.

b7c

[redacted] was stated to be one of the most active workers and one of the best lobbyists for the America First Committee.

[redacted] has been in conference with [redacted] recently and is considered one of the moving persons in the America First Committee group.

Charles

It is further alleged that news venders of Father Coughlin's "Social Justice" in New York City now wear America First buttons, and when asked as to where the buttons might be secured, they refer the inquirer to the America First office in the Chicago Board of Trade, adding at the same time, that America First literature can also be secured there. They also recommend the last number of Scribners-Commentator.

The America First Committee is opposed to the William Allen White Committee and is beginning to snipe at well-to-do members of the various William Allen White Committees. They are not only going after those who might have some sympathy for their program, but also after some

of those who already are on record as having no sympathy with it whatever. They are not using a stereotyped appeal, but are addressing a personal letter couched in language which would aim to persuade even a mild anglophile to make them a contribution.

[redacted] in a lecture at the Community Forum at Pittsburgh, held in the Schenley High School Auditorium on November 18, 1940, on the subject "Freedom in a World at War" viciously denounced the America First Committee as being composed of "Fascist elements".

[redacted] is reported to have held meetings of the America First Committee in his home which, to all appearances, seems to serve as the offices for the Washington chapter of this group. [redacted] is also supposed to be contributing largely to the funds for this group.

At a meeting held in [redacted] home in the latter part of December, 1940, Mrs. Frank Simonds was chosen as Secretary, Mrs. Burton K. Wheeler as Treasurer, Mrs. Frank West, Pete Macias and Emil Hurja as the Membership Committee, and Mrs. Emil Hurja, Clarence Mewss and Katrina McCormack Barnes constitute the Finance Committee.

Sidney Herzberg has been appointed National Publicity Director for the America First Committee. Heretofore, Herzberg has been connected with the mimeographed sheet "Uncensored" which had rather a wide distribution.

The January 23, 1941 issue of the Washington Times-Herald carried an article to the effect that Miss Jassamine Hoagland, Executive Vice-President of the "Roll Call of American Women" came to Washington from the organization's national headquarters in Chicago, to present to the Illinois Congressmen a book containing the names of the 11,000 members who protested the passage of the Lend-Lease Bill and America's entry into the European war. The article stated that the "Roll Call" was organized six months ago to express the opposition of women to America's entry into the war and last month (December, 1940) this group merged its membership

with the America First Committee.

The officers of the "Roll Call" are Miss Harriet E. Vittun, President, and Mrs. Margaret Ayer Barnes, Secretary-Treasurer, both of Chicago. Among the members of its National Council are Miss Jane Kagan, Mrs. Ben W. Swift and Mrs. Ora Snyder, also of Chicago.

The Times-Herald issue of January 23, 1941, also carried an article to the effect that according to Mrs. Bennett Champ Clark, Chairman of the Washington chapter of the America First Committee, this group would hold a mass meeting in the National Theater on Sunday (January 26). Speakers on the program were listed as John T. Flynn, columnist, lecturer and economist, Mrs. Robert A. Taft, wife of the Ohio Senator, and former Governor Phillip LaFollette of Wisconsin.

The New York Times issue of January 28, 1941, contained an article to the effect that advertisements appearing in the morning newspapers announced the formation of a New York chapter of the America First Committee, headed by General Robert E. Wood. The advertisements called for opposition to the Lend-Lease Bill, calling it a "war dictatorship" measure.

Among members of the New York chapter listed were Edwin S. Webster, Jr., senior member of the Wall Street firm of Kidder, Peabody and Company, Colonel Theodore Roosevelt, Dorothy Dunbar Bromley, John T. Flynn, Archibald B. Roosevelt and Amos R. E. Pinchot.

Respectfully submitted,

J. B. O'Leary

J. B. O'Leary

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER
DIRECTOR

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

JKM:GEG

January 16, 1941

3:00 P.M.

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Clegg
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Mason
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. E. A. TAMM

b7c

A telephone call was referred to me from the Director's office from [redacted] who identified herself as being with the America First Committee. She advised that a [redacted] who claimed to be with the American Civic Alliance had called at the America First Committee's headquarters offering his cooperation. [redacted] requested that she be furnished any information available in the Bureau relative to [redacted] or the American Civic Alliance. She stated she had already checked the Better Business Bureau and credit agencies with negative results.

[redacted] was politely informed of the Bureau's restriction in furnishing information from its files. She stated she had not known of this restriction and apparently was entirely satisfied with the explanation.

Respectfully,

J. K. Mumford

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/5/86 BY SP6bja/ltg

100-4712-7

Federal Bureau of Investigation

United States Department of Justice

Los Angeles, California
February 8, 1941

CONFIDENTIAL

Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

b7C Re: [redacted]
Internal Security

Dear Sir:

I thought you might be interested in the enclosed newspaper clippings taken from the February 6, 1941 issue of the "Los Angeles Herald Express" regarding the statements of JOHN L. WHEELER, Chairman of the America First Committee of Los Angeles, who is the son of United States Senator BURTON K. WHEELER of Montana, leading opponent of President ROOSEVELT'S Lend Lease Bill.

[redacted]

b2 b7D b7C

100-4712-7X

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

b7C

The second enclosed clipping gives a statement by REGINALD DENNY, film actor, concerning the erroneous announcement that he would be master of ceremonies at a mass meeting sponsored by the America First Committee, which is to be held Monday night, February 10, and at which Senator RUSH HOLT of West Virginia will be the principal speaker. In this connection, Special Agent [redacted] of this office was interviewing [redacted] on February 12, 1941, in connection with other official business, and she advised that on that date REGINALD DENNY had told her of just discovering that the America First Committee was anti-British and that he had been "sucked in" to be master of ceremonies. [redacted] stated that she encouraged DENNY to go ahead and appear at the mass meeting and then from the platform denounce the America First Committee.

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Unless advised, no investigation will be conducted by this office concerning the activities of [redacted]

b7C

Very truly yours,

R. B. HOOD
Special Agent in Charge

b7C [redacted]
Enc.2

2-6-41

Error About Actor Denny Corrected

The erroneous announcement that Reginald Denny, film actor, would be master of ceremonies at a mass meeting sponsored by the America First Committee next Monday night at Philharmonic Auditorium was made "inadvertently."

This was announced today by Attorney John Wheeler, chairman of the America First Committee branch here and son of United States Senator Burton K. Wheeler.

"However," John Wheeler added, "Mr. Denny is misinformed as to the nature of the America First Committee and its purpose when he says it 'feels that Britain should be left at the mercy of the totalitarian states.'

"The America First Committee stands for the creation of an impregnable defense for the United States. It is against the weakening of these defenses in any way. It is not against aid to Britain so long as the aid is within the limits of exsting laws. The organization is against the lease-lend bill because it would impair the defenses of the United States and create a dictatorship in this county."

Senator Rush Holt of West Virginia will be principal speaker at the Monday night meeting.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/15/82 BY 2645 AHG

"LOS ANGELES HERALD EXPRESS"

February 6, 1941

Los Angeles Field Division

100-4712-7X

Dem. Club Told 'It's Not for Defense

John Wheeler Flays FDR Lease, Lend Bill

President Roosevelt's lend-lease bill is "not for the defense of the United States," it was declared today by John L. Wheeler, chairman of the America First Committee of Los Angeles and son of United States Senator Burton K. Wheeler of Montana, leading opponent of the bill.

At least no clear statement has been advanced to the people why this bill should be enacted, said Wheeler in a talk before the Democratic Luncheon Club.

"No answer has been given to the question as to what we could do to aid Britain short of war under this bill that we cannot do under existing law," he said.

COULD HELP RUSSIA

Wheeler pointed out that the bill gives power to the President to transfer to any government any defense articles by sale, lending, lease or gift, which he may see fit.

"The transfer might be to Russia or Abyssinia or any other country," the speaker said.

"Let us look at America first and at our own problems," Wheeler said. "Let us not be the financial resource of any other country."

REPLIES TO WHEELER

A reply to Wheeler was made by Maurice Saeta, who managed the presidential primary campaign for President Roosevelt in Los Angeles last year.

Saeta declared he believed the bill to be "absolutely necessary."

"I grant you that it is very broad and comprehensive, but so is the emergency we are confronting," he said. He added it was necessary to select someone to make decisions in present crisis and asked "Is there anyone more logical to give this power to than to the President, the commander-in-chief of our Army and Navy under the Constitution."

"LOS ANGELES HERALD EXPRESS"

February 6, 1941

Los Angeles Field Division

b7C [redacted]

February 26, 1941

RECORDED & INDEXED

~~PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL~~
BY SPECIAL MESSENGER

100-4712-7X

Major General Edwin M. Watson
Secretary to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear General Watson:

As of possible interest to the President and you, I am furnishing information pertaining to the activities of [redacted] of the America First Committee of Los Angeles, California. b7C

With assurances of my highest regards,

Sincerely yours,

Enclosure

DECLASSIFIED BY S.P.6 bjatkey
ON 5-15-76

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Clegg
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Nathan
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Egan
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Trevor
Miss Gandy

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED
FEB 27 1941
P.M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

R. W. Steele
3-8-76

b7 [redacted]

b7C [redacted]

February 26, 1941

b7C
b7D

MEMORANDUM

[redacted]

A newspaper clipping which appeared in the Los Angeles Herald Express on February 6, 1941, indicates that Mr. Reginald Denny, film actor, who had been previously advertised as the master of ceremonies at a mass meeting to be sponsored by the America First Committee, would not in fact attend this meeting. It will be noted that Senator Rush Holt, of West Virginia, was advertised as being the principal speaker at this meeting. In this connection, Miss [redacted] advised an Agent of this Bureau that Mr. Denny stated he had refused the offer to appear at the contemplated meeting upon discovering the America First Committee was anti-British.

b7C

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Clegg
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Nathan
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Egan
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

FEB 11 6 37 PM '41

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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100-4772-7X

b7C [redacted]

b7c [redacted]

February 27, 1941

100-4712-7X

RECORDED & INDEXED

~~PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL~~
BY SPECIAL MESSENGER

Honorable Adolf A. Berle, Jr.
Assistant Secretary of State
Department of State
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Berle:

As of possible interest to you, I am furnishing information pertaining to the activities of [redacted] of the America First Committee of Los Angeles, California.

Sincerely yours,

1 Enclosure

DECLASSIFIED BY SP-6 bjatley
ON 5/5/86

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Mr. Tolson
Mr. Clegg
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Nathan
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Egan
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
RECEIVED
FEB 27 1941
FBI
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

b7c [redacted]

b7c [redacted]

100-4712-7X

February 27, 1941

RECORDED & INDEXED

~~PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ASSISTANT TO THE ATTORNEY GENERAL
MR. MATTHEW F. McGUIRE

As of possible interest to you, I am furnishing information pertaining to the activities of [redacted] of the America First Committee of Los Angeles, California.

This information has been furnished to the Attorney General also.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Enclosure

DECLASSIFIED BY P.6. by ltr
ON 5/5/86

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED
★ FEB 27 1941 ★
P.M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

b7c [redacted]

ADDRESS REPLY TO
"THE ATTORNEY GENERAL"
AND REFER TO
INITIALS AND NUMBER

WB:JLMcI:RM

146-2-

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Nathan
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

February 13, 1941.

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. J. EDGAR HOOVER, DIRECTOR,
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

There is transmitted herewith for your information a copy of a communication dated January 23, 1941, addressed to [redacted] concerning the presence of the automobile registered in the name of [redacted] in the vicinity of the building in which The America First Committee opened an office on January 16, 1941.

Respectfully,

Wendell Berge

WENDELL BERGE,
Acting Assistant Attorney General.

RECORDED
&
INDEXED

100-4712-8

Inclosure
No. 296697

Federal Bureau of Investigation

United States Department of Justice

INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA

b7C [redacted]

100-0

FEBRUARY 11, 1941

DIRECTOR
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
WASHINGTON, D. C.

RE: AMERICA FIRST, INC.
INTERNAL SECURITY - G

DEAR SIR:

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ON FEBRUARY 3, 1941, [redacted] INFORMED SPECIAL AGENT [redacted] THAT HE HAD ATTENDED A GROUP MEETING OF VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS AT VINCENNES, INDIANA, ON THE EVENING OF FEBRUARY 1, 1941. A SPEAKER BEFORE THE GROUP WAS ONE MCCARTHY, FIRST NAME UNKNOWN, BUT WELL KNOWN IN CINCINNATI AND CONNECTED WITH THE VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS AT NORWOOD, OHIO. MCCARTHY IS SAID TO SPEAK OCCASIONALLY ON RADIO PROGRAMS IN THE GIBSON HOTEL, CINCINNATI.

DURING HIS TALK, MCCARTHY STRESSED THE POINT THAT THE UNITED STATES SHOULD DO ABSOLUTELY NOTHING TO ASSIST GREAT BRITAIN IN HER PRESENT STRUGGLE AGAINST THE AXIS POWERS, HE CONDEMNED THE BRITISH FOR THEIR ATTITUDE IN THE PAST TOWARD THE UNITED STATES AND DURING THE COURSE OF HIS TALK HE MENTIONED IN SOMEWHAT COMPLIMENTARY TERMS THE ORGANIZATION, AMERICA FIRST, INC. HE DID NOT ATTACK THE UNITED STATES IN ANY WAY AND DID NOT ESPECIALLY MAKE ANY PRO-NAZI UTTERANCES BUT AS INDICATED ABOVE HIS TALK WAS PARTICULARLY ANTI-BRITISH. HE LEFT THE IMPRESSION THAT HE PARTICULARLY FAVORED SUCH AN ORGANIZATION AS AMERICA FIRST, INC., ALTHOUGH HE DID NOT DEFINITELY STATE THAT HE WAS IN ANY WAY CONNECTED WITH THAT ORGANIZATION. THE ONLY INFORMATION CONTAINED IN THE FILES OF THE INDIANAPOLIS FIELD DIVISION CONCERNING AMERICA FIRST, INC. IS CONTAINED IN A MEMORANDUM ON SUBVERSIVE ORGANIZATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES SENT OUT TO THE VARIOUS FIELD DIVISIONS AND THE BUREAU BY THE CHICAGO FIELD DIVISION BY LETTER DATED NOVEMBER 27, 1939. A COPY OF THIS LETTER IS FURNISHED THE CINCINNATI OFFICE FOR ITS INFORMATION AND ASSISTANCE SHOULD THE BUREAU DESIRE FURTHER INQUIRIES MADE WITH REFERENCE TO THE IDENTITY AND ACTIVITIES OF SPEAKER MCCARTHY.

100-4712-9

FEB 18 11

INDEXED
FIELD DIVISION

VERY TRULY YOURS,

E. J. LYNN
SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

b7C

CC CINCINNATI

b7C [redacted]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 6/16/81 Pleyd

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

12627

No. 1
CASE ORIGINATED AT CHICAGO, ILL. FILE NO. 100-668

REPORT MADE AT	DATE WHEN MADE	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE	REPORT MADE BY
Chicago, Illinois	2/7/41	12/13,14,17/40 12/18,19,20,23/40	[redacted] b7c

TITLE
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

CHARACTER OF CASE
INTERNAL SECURITY (C)

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

America First Committee is set up in opposition to William Allen White Committee. It believes in - (1) impregnable defense for the United States; (2) that United States should not become involved in the European war; (3) enforcement of Johnson Act and Neutrality Act. They are disseminating literature supporting these principals. General ROBERT E. WOOD, Chairman, Board of Directors, Sears Roebuck & Company, is acting chairman, and other officers are mostly nationally known persons who are deemed patriotic. Citizens Keep America Out of War Committee was formed by AVERY BRUNDAGE, who was formerly with America First Committee. This latter committee follows same principals as America First Committee except they are believed by some to be anti-semitic in views. Both committees favor aid to Great Britain and have denounced Communism, Nazism, and Fascism.

C.

REFERENCE: Bureau letter dated December 6, 1940.

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: [redacted] SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES

100-4712-110

FEB 13 1941

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2 Birmingham - Enc.
2 Miami - Enc.
3 Chicago

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3-27-58
mc 69

DETAILS: AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

The following are the principals and objectives of the America First Committee as taken from their literature.

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[redacted] of the Solicitation Division, Chicago Better Business Bureau, furnished the following information taken from one of his reports concerning the America First Committee located in room 1806, Board of Trade Building, Chicago, Illinois.

"This is in response to your recent inquiry. The America First Committee was incorporated under the Not For Profit laws of the State of Illinois on September 19, 1940. The purposes as outlined in its charter are to encourage and maintain in the United States of America (1) peace and the democratic ideal; (2) a program of adequate defense; and (3) in furtherance of peace on this continent, a policy of non-intervention in the affairs of other continents; and to encourage the giving of help to refugees and the needy in other lands insofar as such help does not endanger the maintenance of peace in the United States.

We are advised that the organization employs no paid solicitors and is financed solely by voluntary contributions by those who desire to support its ideas. The officers are: ROBERT E. WOOD, Acting Chairman; R. DOUGLAS STUART, Secretary and Director in active charge of the Committee's work; and J. SANFORD OTIS, Treasurer."

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[redacted] stated that in his opinion all of the persons connected with the America First Committee are nationally known persons who are considered to be patriotic Americans.

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[redacted] produced their file concerning the America First Committee, which contained the following information:

On October 21, 1940 BOAKE CARTER was sponsored in a transcription program over station WMAC by the America First Committee. In this broadcast CARTER explained that the committee was dedicated to aid America first and later to aid Britain. Following the transcription the announcer suggested that the listeners write their congressmen and senators demanding they

prevent the United States intervention into the war and that they arm America before aiding Britain, and also requesting that they recommend sending in anything from dimes to dollars to the America First Committee, Board of Trade Building, Chicago.

In a report in this same file dated November 22, 1940, it was indicated that COLONEL LINDBURGH and AVERY BRUNDAGE, who formerly were with the America First Committe, were no longer with that organization.

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[redacted] stated that he believes the persons in back of the America First Committee were entirely patriotic and that the committee was set up in opposition to the propaganda being disseminated by the William Allen White Committee. He stated that at the time this organization started COLONEL LINDBURGH was very close to COLONEL McCORMICK of the Chicago Tribune and through this relationship the Chicago Tribune has backed the America First Committee. On October 31, 1940 the America First Committee had a full page ad entitled "Peace or War" in the Chicago Tribune.

[redacted] stated also that [redacted] has been attempting to convince COLONEL McCORMICK that the Communistic element in the United States is a much more serious problem than anyone realizes, and in this connection it is the belief of [redacted] that [redacted] is of the opinion that all Jews are Communists and all Communists are News. He stated that [redacted] has considerable influence with COLONEL McCORMICK and that apparently many of his policies have apparently been adopted by the America First Committee. [redacted] stated that in his belief the America First Committee is not involved in any subversive activities whatsoever.

[redacted] stated that in his opinion the America First Committee is entirely patriotic but that some of the members are what he terms "reactionaries". He believes, however, that all of the persons backing this organization are sincere in their beliefs that the foreign policy of the administration is leading us to war and they desire to prevent this country from getting involved in war. [redacted] stated the committee

has apparently a very tremendous source of income, and although as yet they have no association with any known subversive organization, there is the danger of such an association because of their standing - keeping America out of war which is a common ground for most subversive groups.

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[redacted] advised that the America First Committee was started by GENERAL WOOD, in cooperation with the other members of the committee, and that although the committee's viewpoints in connection with the United States' present policy in foreign affairs is different from that of the administration, he is of the opinion that the committee originally had a few persons in charge who were what he terms "left wingers", and, according to him, are not to be considered Communistic. He stated that one of these persons was [redacted] and is what [redacted] terms a known "pink". [redacted] stated that because of these few persons which were connected with the America First Committee, a disagreement resulted and WILLIAM J. GRACE, AVERY BRUNDAGE and W. H. REGNERY left the America First Committee to form the "Citizens Keep America Out of War Committee" located at 77 West Washington Street, Chicago, because they were against any sort of liberalism expressed by some members of the America First Committee which they determined to be "pink" in its nature.

[redacted] stated it is his belief the split was caused to a great extent by a clash of personalities; that he believes both organizations are entirely patriotic; that they have each denounced Communism, Nazism and Fascism on numerous occasions. He stated he is positive there has been no infiltration into either of these organizations by any subversive groups, although such a danger exists because both organizations are favoring the non-intervention into the European war, which is a common ground for all subversive groups. It is [redacted] opinion that both organizations are attempting to carry out the principals as set out in the literature published by them. [redacted] stated that the "Citizens Keep America Out of War Committee" is not anti-semitic and that they are not drawing any sort of a line between themselves and the Jews although they do not want any Jews in control of their organization. [redacted] further stated both organizations were actively conducting mass meetings to publicize their principals; that he

has kept close watch of these meetings and has not observed anything which he determined could be called un-American. Both of these organizations have the backing of all Chicago newspapers and they have received considerable publicity in connection with all of their meetings.

On December 18, 1940 the America First Committee sponsored a rally in Orchestra Hall, at which rally 3500 persons attended and several thousands were turned away. JOHN T. FLYNN, author and economist, was the principal speaker and spoke against what he termed a conspiracy to involve the United States in the war.

On December 20, 1940 the Citizens Keep America Out of War Committee sponsored a rally at the Auditorium Theatre, at which rally RUSH D. HOLT, U. S. Senator from Virginia, was the principal speaker. Senator HOLT assailed the movement which he stated was attempting to involve the United States in war, and further talked in support of the principals of the Citizens Keep America Out of War Committee.

These rallies above referred to were both given a tremendous amount of publicity in the Chicago newspapers, receiving front page space with large headlines.

In connection with the Citizens Keep America Out of War Committee, a copy of a report made by [redacted] who has been the subject of numerous reports to the Non-Sectarian League for Americanism, reflected that [redacted] had a conversation with [redacted] of the Citizens Keep America Out of War Committee, the result being that [redacted] stated that the committee is very anti-Jewish. This information, however, does not carry a great deal of weight inasmuch as numerous other reports made by [redacted] have been found to be incorrect.

The following is a list of the officers and directors of the America First Committee, with a brief summary as to their background:

Acting Chairman - GENERAL ROBERT E. WOOD,
925 S. Homan Avenue, Chicago.
Graduate of West Point and served many years as officer in the U. S. Army. He is presently Chairman of the Board of Directors of Sears Roebuck and Company.

National Director and Secretary - R. DOUGLAS STUART, JR. 141 W. Jackson Blvd., Chicago, Illinois. He is a graduate of Yale University and studied three years in the Yale Law School before terminating his study to become associated with the America First Committee. He is the son of R. DOUGLAS STUART of the Quaker Oats Company.

Treasurer - J. SANFORD OTIS, Vice-President of the Central Republic Bank of Chicago.

Board of Directors - HANFORD MAC NIDER, Mason City, Ia. Presently a banker; former National Commander of the American Legion; former Assistant Secretary of War - 1925 - 1928; served with the United States forces in France during the World War and was promoted to LT. COLONEL on May 6, 1919. Received Croix de Guerre - five citations. Also connected with various Civic organizations.

GENERAL THOMAS HAMMOND, retired U. S. Army officer; president of Whiting Corporation, manufacturers of cranes and foundry equipment, Harvey, Illinois; served with U. S. forces in World War; chairman of Republican Party in Illinois.

J. C. HORMEL, formerly with George A. Hormel & Company, packers, Austin, Minnesota.

CLAY JUDSON, attorney, 120 W. Adams Street, Chicago. Associated with the law firm of Wilson and McIlvaine; former president of Chicago Council of Foreign Relationships; member of Board of Trustees of United Charities, Chicago, and president of Board of Trustees Frances Parker School, Chicago, which is a well-known private school.

In addition to the above officers, the following are members of the America First National Committee:

DR. ANTON JULIUS CARLSON, Professor, University of Chicago. [redacted] stated that DR. CARLSON is a member of the Civil Liberties Union; that he has been to Moscow, U.S.S.R. to study and that he was

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one of the salesmen to the United States for the recognition of Russia. [redacted] stated in his opinion DR. CARLSON is probably a loyal American but that he is slightly "pink". He further stated that DR. CARLSON is an international pacifist, which is probably the only reason DR. CARLSON is associated with this committee. [redacted] advised that in his opinion DR. CARLSON is the only member connected with the America First Committee that could be considered un-American in his views, as he is what is termed an "extremely liberal in his views". DR. CARLSON was a Lieutenant Colonel in the Sanitary Corps in October, 1917 and was with the A.E.F. from March to September, 1919.

WILLIAM R. CASTLE, JR., former Assistant Secretary of State; former Ambassador to Japan.

IRVIN S. COBB - nationally known speaker and author.

JANET AYER FAIRBANKS - active in cause of women sufferage and politics; former member of the executive committee of the Democratic National Committee; was a member of the Women's National Liberty Loan Committee during the World War; has written several books.

JOHN T. FLYNN - noted economist and writer - wrote "Country Squire in the White House".

HENRY FORD - automobile manufacturer.

GENERAL HUGH S. JOHNSON - nationally known retired Army officer.

ALICE ROOSEVELT LONGWORTH - nationally known political woman.

THOMAS N. McCARTER, Attorney General of New Hersey 1902 to 1907, which post he resigned to become president of the Public Service Corporation of New Jersey, which operates and controls nearly all of the gas,

electric and transportation utilities in New Jersey. Director of Chase National Bank, New York City; Federal Union Trust Company, Newark, N.J.; American Surety Company; American Super Power Corporation and United Gas Improvement Company.

CAPTAIN EDWARD RICKENBACKER - nationally known Austrian figure.

LOUIS J. TABER - nationally known for his work in connection with agricultural developments.

DR. GEORGE H. WHIPPLE - nationally known pathologist.

The following persons who are nationally known are also members of this Committee:

MRS. BENNETT CHAMP CLARK

BISHOP W. E. HAMMAKER

KATHRYN LEWIS

STERLING MORTON

EDWARD L. RYERSON, JR.

MRS. BURTON K. WHEELER

The information concerning the above persons was obtained from Who's Who in Chicago, 1931 edition, and Who's Who in America, 1931 edition. For the information of the Bureau and all offices receiving copies of this report, copies of the literature being disseminated by these organizations are being submitted with this report.

ENCLOSURES TO THE BUREAU

A. - 5 copies application for membership to Citizens Keep America Out of War Committee.

B. - 2 copies collections of cartoons of America First Committee.

C. - 5 stickers - America First Committee.

D. - 4 copies contribution card - America First Committee.

E. - 2 copies "Is This Our War" - America First Committee.

F. - 2 copies "Our Foreign Policy" - America First Committee.

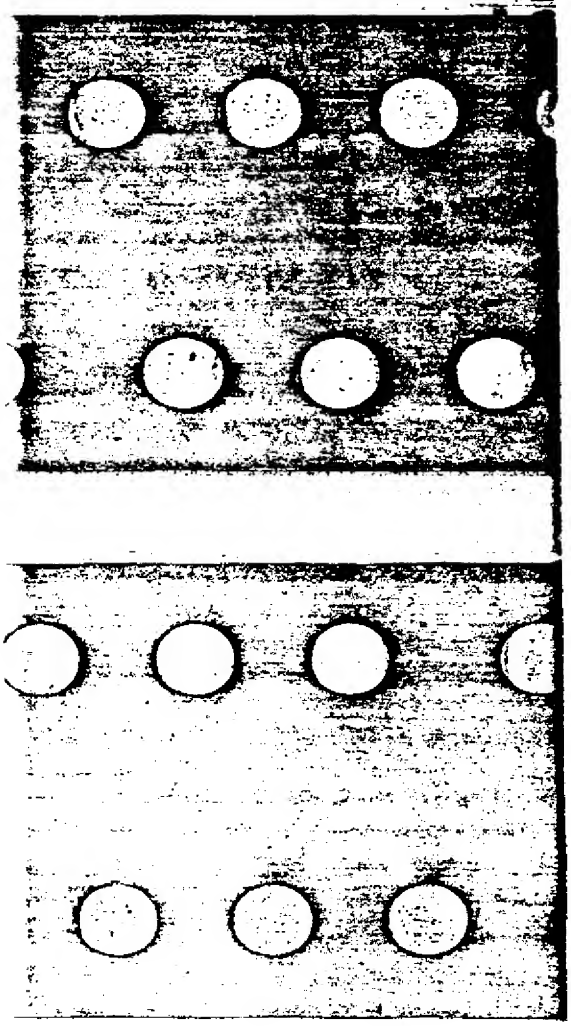
G. - 2 copies "Here is the Road to War" - America First Committee.

H. 5 copies lists of Senators and Congressmen - America First Committee.

TO ATLANTA, BIRMINGHAM and MIAMI - the following number of copies.

A. - 2	E. - 1
B. - 1	F. - 1
C. - 2	G. - 1
D. - 1	H. - 2

C L O S E D



★

To enter the wars now raging in Europe, Asia and Africa would be an act of national folly from which our country must be spared!

★

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
1806 Board of Trade Building
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/6/86 BY Rebya Hcy

100- 4712-10

This collection of cartoons by Mr. John T. McCutcheon, Pulitzer Prize Cartoonist, was originally published in the Chicago Tribune and is here reproduced by special permission. All rights are reserved by the Chicago Tribune.

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BY

A PLATFORM TO WHICH EVERY AMERICAN CAN SUBSCRIBE

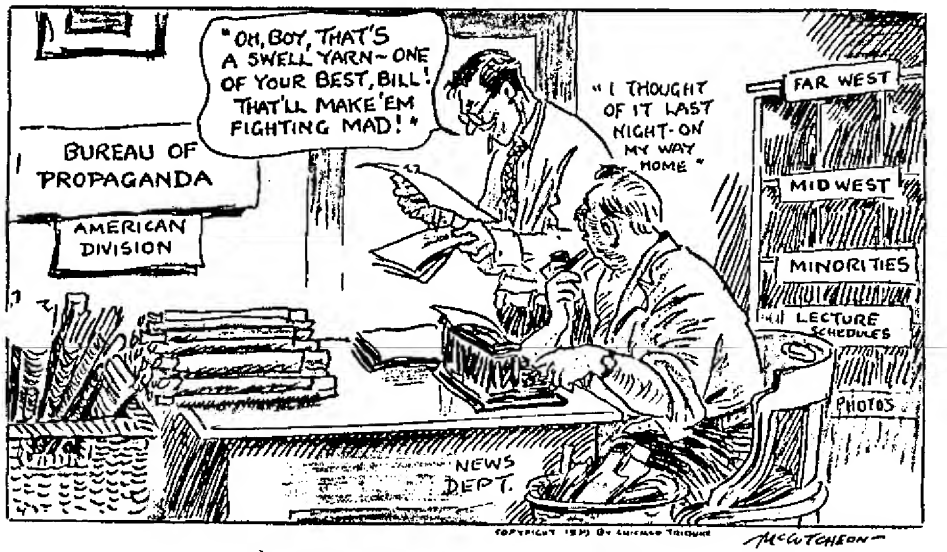
The America First Committee was formed by a group of citizens gravely concerned over our country's alarming drift toward war.

Every member shares the firm conviction that the preservation of American liberties and the future of democracy itself depend on keeping out of foreign wars.

NOTE: The principles of the America First Committee heartily approve all possible aid to Britain permitted under the provisions of the Neutrality Act, but we oppose aid beyond the limits of that Act, sometimes miscalled "aid short of war".

HOW TO TELL THE PROPAGANDA

If it makes you so mad you want to get into the war at once—



—just remember that's the very kind of stuff the clever propagandist is trying to send out.

In these critical weeks, the Interventionists lead us step by step closer to actual warfare—with its disastrous consequences, sure to affect the lives of every living American.

Now is the time when every citizen faces a tremendous responsibility to THINK STRAIGHT in a world gone mad with war—to MAKE THE WISE DECISION in a whirlwind of propaganda such as never before has confused the thinking of a neutral nation.

THE UNDERTOW WILL DO THE REST

The grim choice between Peace or War should be fairly and honestly placed before the people.

Instead the Internationalists have deliberately confused the issue with that flexible phrase "aid short of war."

The America First Committee gladly extends to Britain the tremendous facilities of our private production under the provisions of our Neutrality Act.

But we oppose shipment in American merchant vessels convoyed by American warships. This would not be aid short of war. It would be WAR!

WE'VE HAD EXCHANGE PROFESSORS—WHY NOT EXCHANGE PROPAGANDISTS?

British speakers are allowed to come here and fill us with their brand of 100 per cent British propaganda—— "Ladies and gentlemen—or may I say, fellow Anglo-Saxons! Civilization is facing its greatest test! Democracy stands at the barricades, breasts bared to defend all those nations which, like us, love peace and justice. We know your sympathies are with us and that you will cheer us on as we fight for the safety of your homes!"

Supposing American speakers from West of Long Island went over and tried to give the British some of our American brand of propaganda——

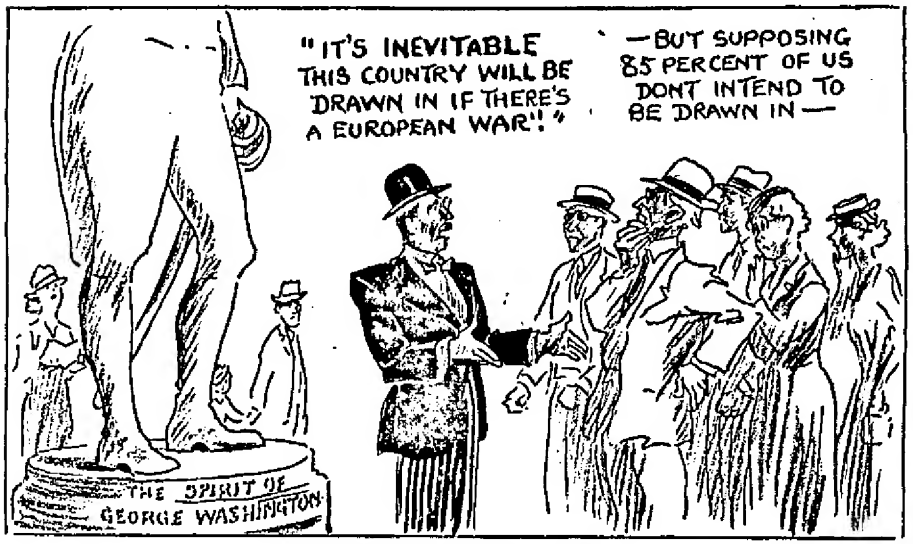
"Gentlemen—I note with interest that you always say civilization is in danger whenever you get into a war. That is not strictly accurate. As long as America keeps its senses and stays out of your European wars there will be a fair amount of civilization left—but not the kind we fought to save in the last big European war. We Americans remember that rescue very well. We remember the shocking ingratitude, the sickening disillusionments, not to mention other things, that the saving of civilization brought. We are keeping out of this war as the best way of saving our kind of civilization."

The leaders of the United States are trustees for the future of over 130,000,000 Americans. They must be realists, unswayed by our admiration and friendship for Britain or our hatred of Totalitarianism.

They must realize that the basic American democratic liberties, which the Interventionists tell us are at stake, would be instantly suspended and permanently threatened if we go to war.

The hope of Democracy throughout the world lies in a PEACEFUL America, strong and unafraid.

IT SHOULD BE MADE UNPOPULAR IN THIS COUNTRY—



—For war wishers to pave the way for—

—American entanglement in future wars.

The Interventionists have carefully built up the mistaken belief that our entry into the war is inevitable—that if we must fight sooner or later, we might as well fight now.

This is clever propaganda—but it is ridiculous when subjected to the light of reason.

If we enter this war, it will be because we CHOOSE to enter. No nation and no group of nations can ever successfully attack a PREPARED America. And they realize that fact!

THE BIG PARADE

The America First Committee believes that if we enter the war we will eventually win. But we will face the most difficult military problem in all history in attacking and conquering the forces of Germany and her allies on their own front.

The costs and consequences will be disastrous—human, social and material. There can be no true victors in such a war. The victors, as always, will be Death, Debt and Depression.

THE HIGH COST OF FOREIGN ENTANGLEMENTS

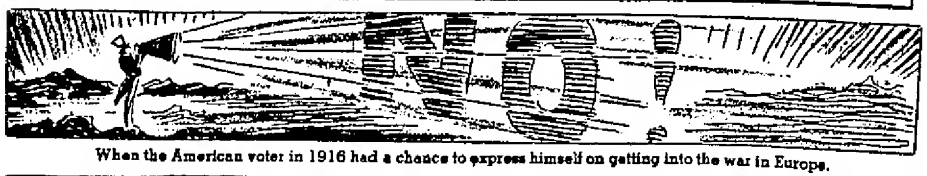
The last time we went to war for the ideals of democracy we got off lightly. But war settles nothing.

The spawn of that war was Communism, Nazism and Fascism. No less than eight distinct wars have arisen in Europe during the past twenty years to resettle the same eternal quarrels.

American costs of the last war now add up to one-quarter of our national debt. So that every one of us who pays Federal taxes—direct or indirect—is still paying for the *last* war.

THE WAY THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ALWAYS HAVE VOTED

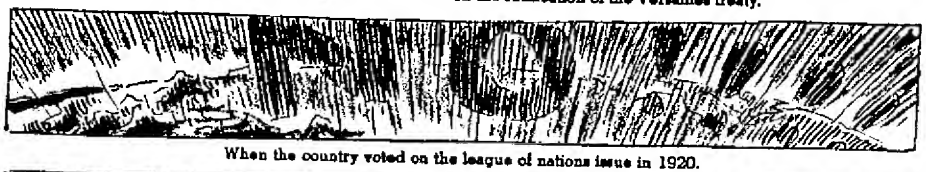
and the way they would undoubtedly vote today if given the chance.



When the American voter in 1916 had a chance to express himself on getting into the war in Europe.

When the United States senate voted on entangling our country in an Anglo-French-American alliance.

When the United States senate voted on the ratification of the Versailles treaty.



When the country voted on the league of nations issue in 1920.

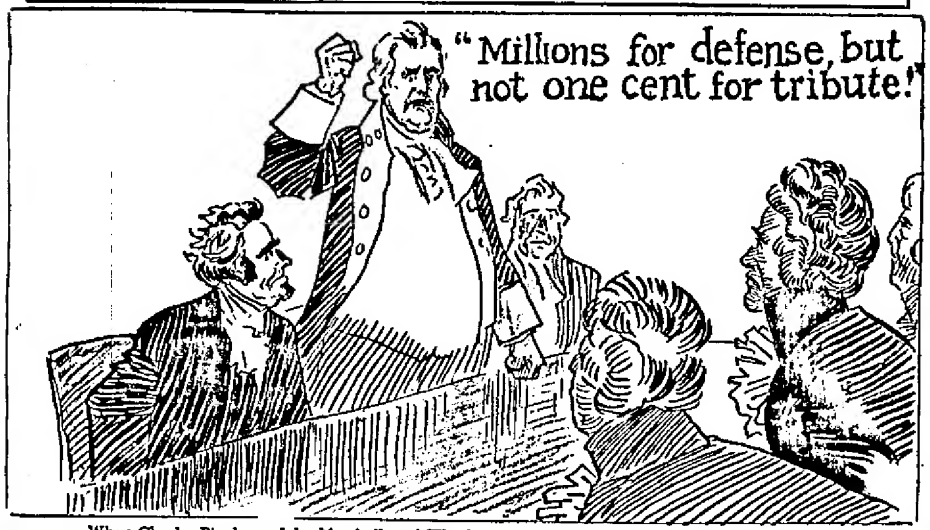
When our Interventionists tried to entangle the U. S. still further in Europe by keeping American troops on the Rhine.

And if congress ever votes to send American men to fight in Europe again, it will be in defiance of the profound convictions of an overwhelming majority of our people.

The great majority of the American people do not want this war. They do not believe that the mission of America is to police the world. They do not think that we are called upon to enforce our ideas on other peoples by force of arms.

Good Americans know our job is here at home—to strengthen and improve the working of our own democracy. And when Peace comes, a strong, healthy America will be the sole hope of a war-torn world.

MOTHER'S DAY



When Charles Pinckney, John Marshall, and Elbridge Gerry were sent as American ambassadors to protest to France against unjust treatment on the high seas, Ambassador Pinckney used these ringing words to Foreign Minister Talleyrand.

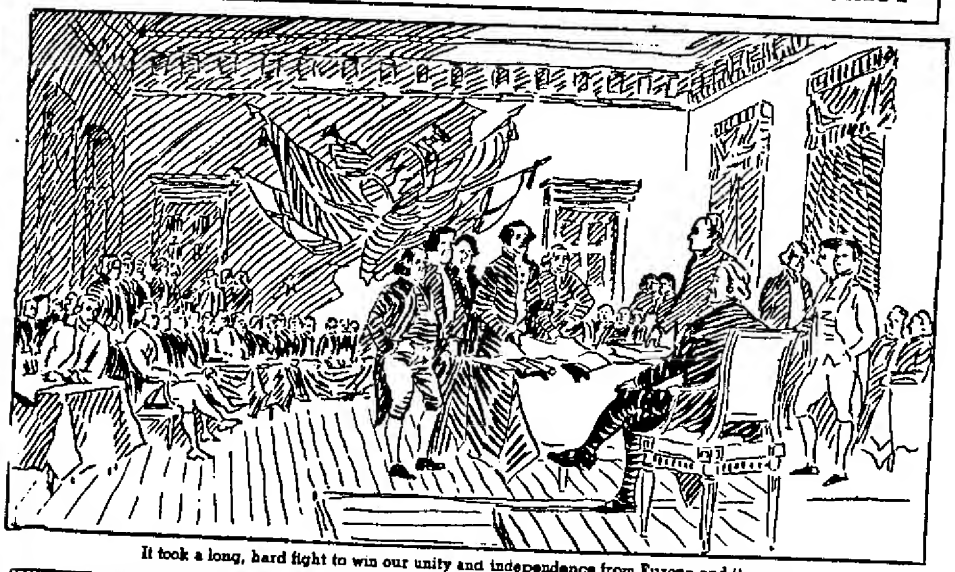
Today the overwhelming majority of American mothers will paraphrase those historic, undying words.

The Interventionists try to delude us with the promise that even if their efforts bring us into the war, there will be no A. E. F.—that planes and ships and other tools of war will be enough.

That was the promise last time. It was false then. It is false today.

When the United States goes to war, it goes in to win. A deadlock will never satisfy us. We will want a decisive victory. And that means men as well as machines—men enough to destroy the most powerful military machine ever developed, entrenched upon a continent 3,000 miles away.

INDEPENDENCE DAY SHOULD BE A DAY OF NATIONAL UNITY



It took a long, hard fight to win our unity and independence from Europe and its wars.

Can we retain our unity and our independence when there is a small, but active, minority striving to get the nation back into Europe and its wars?

We must all realize that even the most ardent Interventionist will not promise us that *this* war will be the last one.

Should we become involved in war, we also find ourselves involved in the unending aftermath. We shall be a part of the explosive quarrels that spring up with clock-like regularity after the Peace Treaty is signed.

Let us unite in our adherence to the time-honored American policy of Independence of Europe and its affairs.

WHICH IS THE BEST WAY OF SECURING NATIONAL UNITY—

—let the 86 per cent go over and join the 14 per cent?

—or let the 14 per cent go over and join the 86 per cent?

For many months that small minority of Americans, eager to have us go to war regardless of the costs, had things their own way.

They bombarded the public through the press and over the radio with their hysterical arguments. They made those who differed with them feel like a small, voiceless and ineffective group.

But now the America First Committee is giving a voice to the many millions of loyal and patriotic Americans who believe we must keep out of war. We are the majority!

A BIG NO STORM IN WASHINGTON

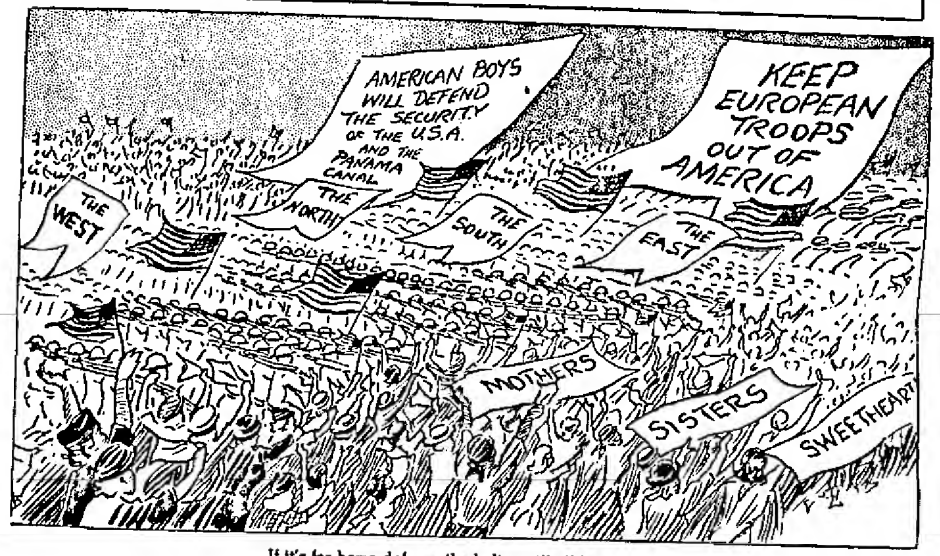
The Country Doesn't Seem to Want That Kind of Saving.

Perhaps the most important objective of the America First Committee is to consolidate that great mass of American public opinion that stands firmly opposed to involvement in the present war.

Letters and telegrams from good citizens in every one of the United States are pouring into Washington—addressed to Congress and the Administration.

So the will of the people is becoming unmistakable—a clear-cut mandate for Peace.

AN UNJITTERED PORTRAYAL OF THE NATIONAL SITUATION



If it's for home defense the ladies will all be rooting.

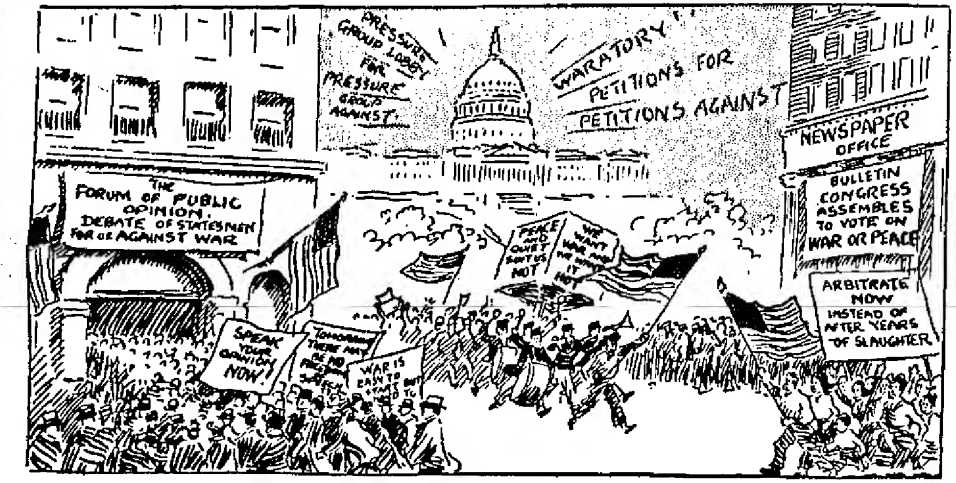
If it's for the defense of other nations 3,000 miles away, a sensational restraint of rooting.

The President of the United States stands ready to carry out the will of the people. The Congress is in Washington to enforce your wishes.

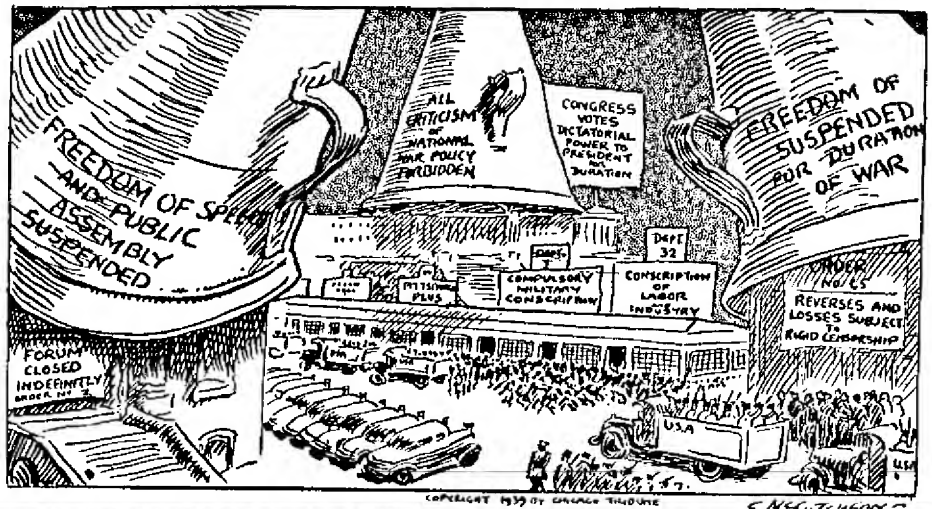
But the pressure of the Interventionists has been enormous. Their strength, concentrated in the nation's capital and a few Eastern cities, has given a false impression of their numbers.

Now all forty-eight states are speaking out! The tide is unmistakably turning toward Peace.

ONE OF THE IRONIC FEATURES OF A WAR BETWEEN DEMOCRACY AND DICTATORSHIPS IS—



—the fact that as soon as such a war is declared, the



—democracy at once has to suspend most of the constitutional rights we are fighting for and immediately has to clamp down the harsh restraints of dictatorship for the duration of the war.

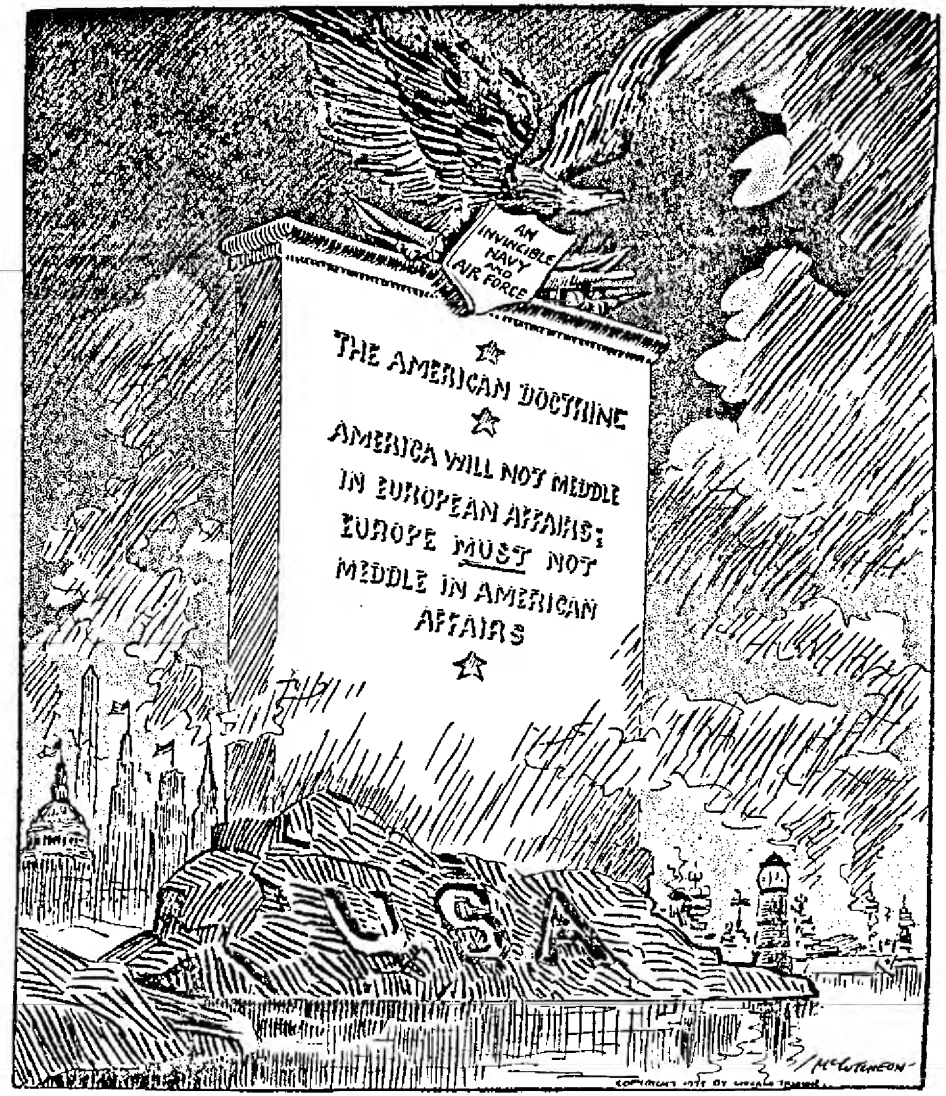
As individuals, it is our right to hate Totalitarianism and all its wrongs. But we cannot destroy that philosophy of life by making war upon it. We cannot destroy among other peoples a form of government that they have chosen and continue to maintain for themselves.

The human liberties that make up our democratic way of life must be preserved here in America.

At the very outbreak of war, all of our liberties must be suspended. For how long? After the war is over they may be returned to us. How many of them? And in what form?

Remember, it is war that breeds dictatorships! The ideals we go to war to protect are the first that we must relinquish when war comes.

THIS DOCTRINE, IF ADOPTED AND IMPARTIALLY ADHERED TO, IS THE ONLY FOREIGN POLICY THAT WILL KEEP THE UNITED STATES OUT OF ENDLESS TROUBLE

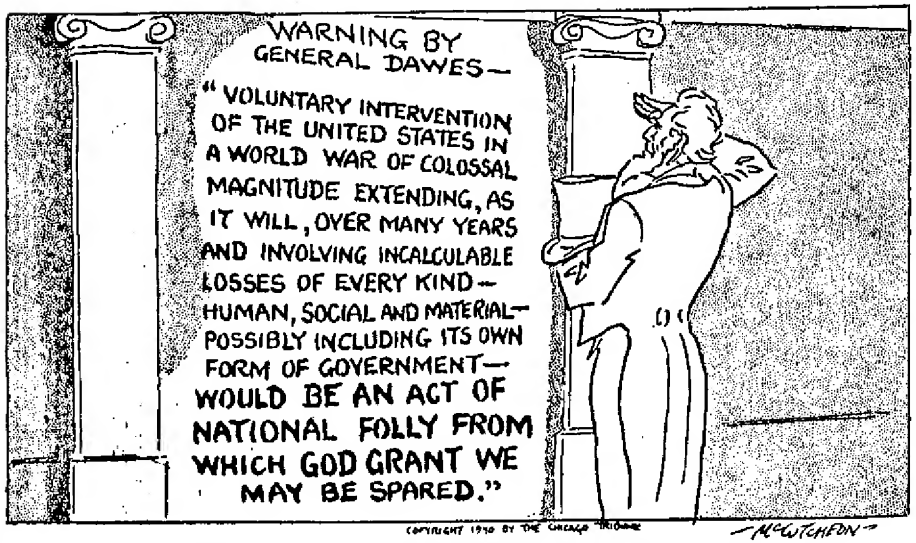


If you support the principles of the America First Committee, you may be called an Isolationist. But no man can truthfully be called an Isolationist who stands ready to extend humanitarian aid to peoples of England and the small democracies—and when Peace shall come, to help rebuild the world along saner lines.

The Monroe Doctrine, keystone of American Foreign Policy for over a hundred years, forbids European forces to intervene in American affairs. It is both inconsistent and foolhardy for American forces to intervene once more in European affairs.

AN AMERICAN PATRIOT PUTS INTO WORDS WHAT MILLIONS OF LOYAL AMERICANS FEEL

In 1775 Paul Revere and William Dawes rode on swift horses to warn the country of danger.



Today a descendant of William Dawes warns the country of another and far greater danger.

The issue of Peace or War for the United States is by far the most important issue we will be called upon to face in our life-times.

The consequences of participation will be so far-reaching that we will be called upon to suffer for them every day for many years to come.

Our country can be spared from such an act of national folly. But not if we stand idly by while the Interventionists have their way with us. We must ACT!

AS HE LISTENED TO THE PRESIDENT'S NATIONAL DEFENSE MESSAGE

The America First Committee holds that there is no real danger of attack, for several years, if at all, from any nation.

If Hitler cannot cross thirty miles of Channel with his scores of near-by bases, it is ridiculous to fear that he can attack us across 3,000 miles of ocean.

But we must build impregnable defenses so that our shores will always be safe—now and forever!

THE BEST RECIPE FOR NATIONAL UNITY

On Nov. 5, President Roosevelt was elected to a third term by an overwhelming majority. The chief reason for his great victory was his repeated and emphatic promise that he would keep us out of this war.

We trust that promise. But if the Interventionists have a free hand, America will have no choice for Peace or War.

If we ship munitions to England in American ships convoyed by American warships, the fighting will begin immediately.

Such a calamity must not be allowed to happen.

OUR LIGHTNING RODS

The United States must build and maintain a Navy and an Air Force second to none and a trained Army fully competent to repel any future attack upon the Americas.

These three will form a permanent line of defense behind which our liberties will always be secure.

Any attempt to weaken them for any purpose must be opposed with vigor and determination.

[Reprinted by request.]

A strong, free, prosperous America is the best and only safeguard of Democracy here—and the true hope of democracies throughout the world.

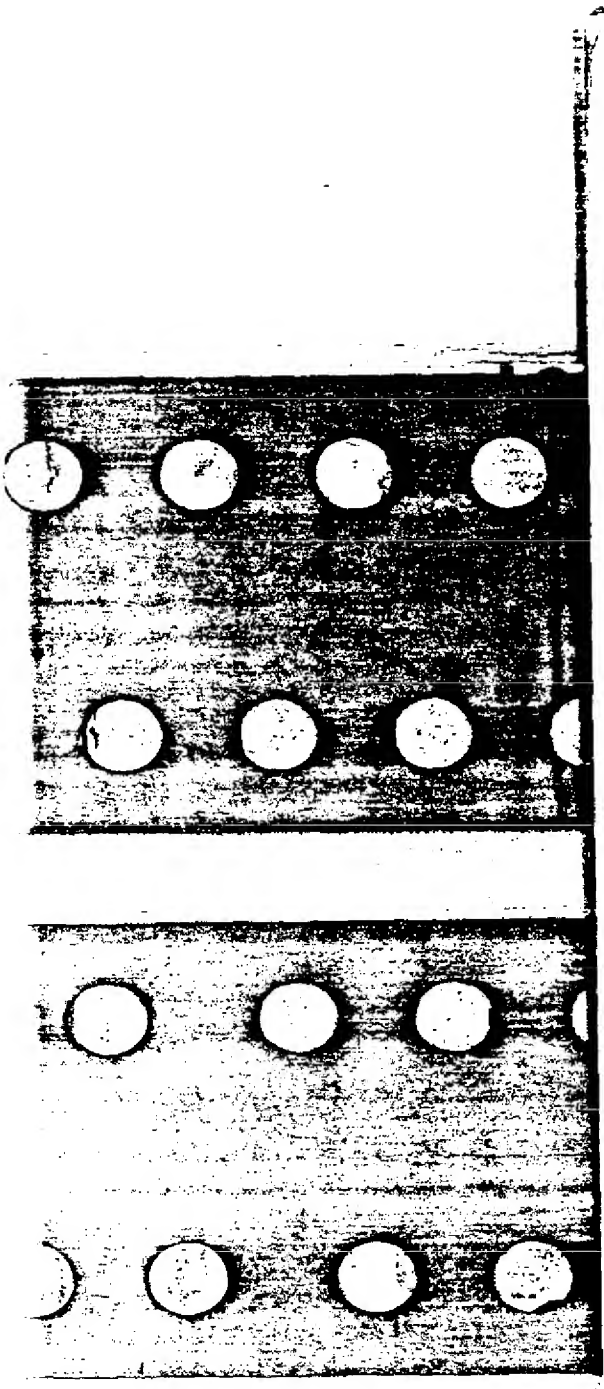
When the peoples of Europe, Asia and Africa ravaged by all the horrors of modern war, turn to Peace at last, America's strength will help rebuild them and bring them back to health and hope.

The PRINCIPLES of the America First Committee

1. The United States must build an impregnable defense for America.
2. No foreign power, or group of powers, can successfully attack a PREPARED America.
3. American democracy can be preserved only by keeping out of the European war.
4. The cash-and-carry provisions of the existing Neutrality Act are essential to American peace and security. Aid to a belligerent beyond the limitations of the Act weakens our defense at home and may involve us in war abroad. Any change in the law to permit American vessels to enter the combat zone would inevitably plunge the country into Europe's war.
5. America should give humanitarian aid to the suffering and needy of England and the small democracies, with safeguards for the proper distribution of supplies and the maintenance of its own neutrality.

Objectives—Non-Partisan

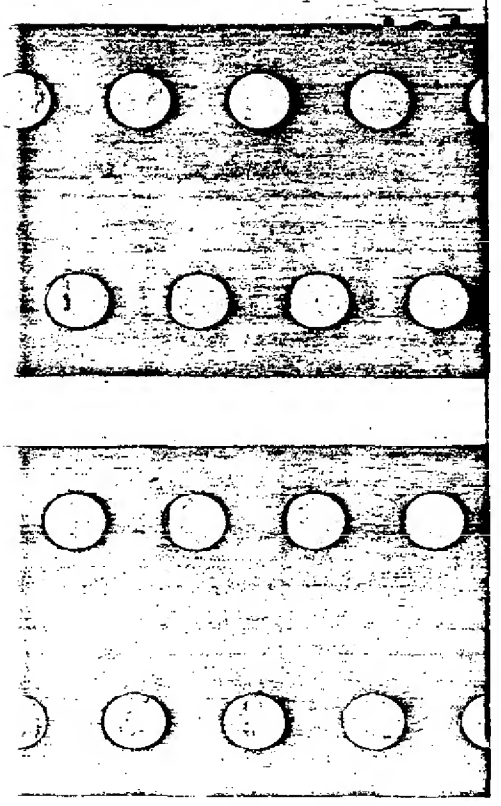
1. To bring together all Americans, regardless of possible differences on other matters, who see eye-to-eye on these principles. (This does not include Nazists, Fascists, Communists, or members of other groups that place the interest of any other nation above those of our country.)
2. To urge Americans to keep their heads amid rising hysteria in times of crisis.
3. To provide sane national leadership for the majority of the American people who want to keep out of the European war.
4. To register this opinion with the President and with Congress.



National Committee

General Robert E. Wood, Acting Chairman
R. Douglas Stuart, Jr., National Director
J. Sanford Otis, Treas.

Dr. A. J. Carlson
William R. Castle
Mrs. Bennett Champ Clark
Irvin S. Cobb
Janet Ayer Fairbank
John T. Flynn
Henry Ford
Bishop W. E. Hammaker
Gen. Thomas Hammond
Jay C. Hormel
Gen. Hugh S. Johnson
Clay Judson
Kathryn Lewis
Alice Roosevelt Longworth
Hanford MacNider
Thomas N. McCarter
Ray McKaig
Sterling Morton
William H. Regnery
Capt. Edward Rickenbacker
Edward L. Ryerson, Jr.
Louis J. Taber
Mrs. Burton K. Wheeler
Dr. George H. Whipple



HERE is the road to WAR!

Read these amazing proposals now being quietly tested before the court of Public Opinion to see whether America is ready to tolerate them. Through such proposals the minds of our people are being "conditioned" for war — brought closer and closer to the point where we can be induced to accept active participation.

1. **To amend the Neutrality Act so as to permit American ships to carry supplies to England.**

   England prevents shipping from reaching Germany. Germany tries desperately to prevent ships from reaching England.

   If we change our laws to permit American ships to sail the war routes, it is only a matter of time — weeks or even days — until the first American ship is sunk.

   American seamen will be drowned. Popular hatred will rise to irresistible heights. The actual state of war will become easier to face! This is a *long* step — a *sure* step, toward WAR!

2. **To convoy shipments of munitions with units of the United States Navy.**

   This is by far the most drastic proposal to be advanced by the Interventionists.

   The commencement of actual fighting between the forces of Germany and the United States dates from the moment that the first merchant ships guarded by our Navy are attacked by a German warship.

   Our destroyers will be sailing through zones in which attacks constantly occur — with guns loaded and gun crews alert.

   It will be a matter of days at most until the first shot is fired — and it will be a matter of years until the last shot is fired.

   This incredible example of interventionist folly must not be allowed to take place!

3. **To amend the Johnson Act and the Neutrality Act so as to give direct money help to England — as loans or gifts.**

   The great majority of Americans know by experience that WAR is the worst possible investment. The return in cash or good will is zero!

   Why deliberately cultivate one more direct financial stake in Europe's newest war? Why pour our own resources into this bottomless pit?

   What return was ever made to us for the billions we presented Europe with last time? Our only reward was a rich harvest of ill-will — even from our debtor allies.

   Besides, the British balance in this country is reported to be nearly $2,400,000,000 even at this date — exclusive of Canadian, Australian and South African holdings.

   The urge to lend to Britain is therefore not because of desperate need. It simply offers one more easy step toward war.

4. **To withdraw recognition from the Vichy government.**

   Have we not enemies enough, that we should go far out of our way to make more?

   Is this the traditional gallantry of America to kick France when she's on her knees — and helpless?

   Is there not enough hostility three thousand miles away, so that we must challenge a friendly nation whose colonies lie within a few hundred miles? This is no defense measure! There is no slightest hint that French possessions will ever be used against us. It is simply creating another source of friction — another step toward war.

FELLOW AMERICANS!

Oppose each of these steps toward War with all your strength and all your energy!

The advocates of war for the United States do not work openly — with a frank statement of their true position.

They lead us blindly into War by easy stages. Each individual step may seem inconclusive. But add them up and they spell WAR!

ACT NOW! Write today to the President of the United States in Washington, to your Senators and to your Representatives in Congress.

Tell *them* you wholeheartedly oppose each of these steps toward war — and any *other* measures which help to involve us in this conflict!

***DEFEND* AMERICA FIRST!** Make it quite clear you take a positive stand for the protection of our own country. Tell them we want more ships, planes, tanks and guns to keep our own shores safe — independent of any other nation.

Insist we keep our military and naval strength intact. If we do so, no nation, nor group of nations, will dare attack us!

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
1806 Board of Trade Building
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

DEFEND AMERICA FIRST

OBJECTS AND PURPOSES

1. To preserve peace for America — to keep America out of War — to keep America free; by

   (a) Establishing a functioning, permanent American neutrality policy;

   (b) Building an adequate national defense through efficient spending of preparedness moneys;

   (c) Counteracting and exposing the forces leading our country toward war.

2. To publicize the war profiteering and corruption of the last World War; and to establish the identity of the forces of 1917 and of today.

3. To expose and to counteract all subversive "isms" including British Imperialism of such organizations as "Union-Now" and the William Allen White Committee, as well as the more publicized Communism, Nazi-ism and Fascism.

4. To re-dedicate and to educate our people to the fundamental concepts of our American Government — to renounce the present-day materialistic philosophy and return to a governmental philosophy based on God.

100-427123-13 83

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

Gen. Robert E. Wood, Acting Chairman

J. Sanford Otis, Treasurer

R. Douglas Stuart, Jr., Director

★ ★ ★

Dr. A. J. Carlson
William R. Castle
Mrs. Bennett Champ Clark
Janet Ayer Fairbank
John T. Flynn
Henry Ford
Bishop Wilbur E. Hammaker
Gen. Thomas Hammond
Jay C. Hormel
Gen. Hugh S. Johnson
Clay Judson
Kathryn Lewis
Mrs. Alice Roosevelt Longworth
Hanford MacNider
Thomas N. McCarter
Ray McKaig
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Dr. Albert W. Palmer
William H. Regnery
Edward Rickenbacker
Lessing J. Rosenwald
Edward L. Ryerson, Jr.
Louis J. Taber
Mrs. Burton K. Wheeler
Dr. George H. Whipple

★ ★ ★

Moisten the Other Side and Stick on Your Automobile Windshield or Store or Home Window

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
1806 Board of Trade Building
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

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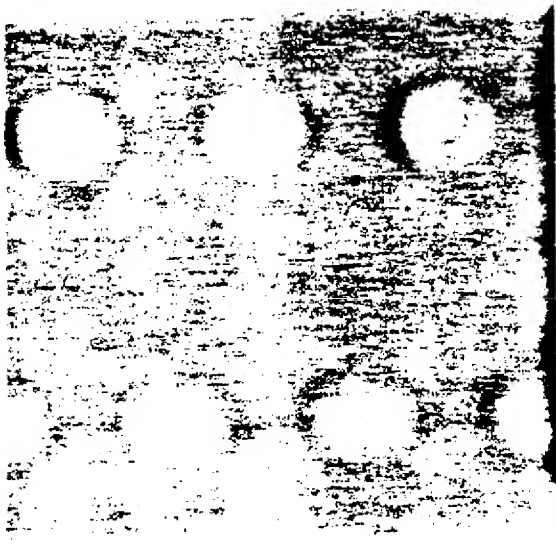


APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP

CITIZENS KEEP AMERICA OUT OF WAR COMMITTEE

AVERY BRUNDAGE, HONORARY CHAIRMAN — WM. J. GRACE, CHAIRMAN — W. H. REGNERY, TREASURER — EARL SOUTHARD, SECRETARY

ROOM 412—77 W. WASHINGTON ST.
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
TELEPHONE STATE 7298

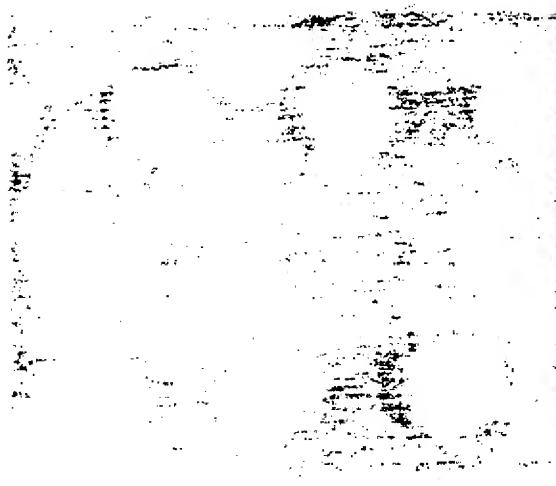
I hereby make application for membership in this Committee and tender the annual fee of $1.00. I state that I am an American citizen — that I believe in our Constitutional Government — that I will support the objects of the Committee as stated on the reverse side hereof, and that in the event of my disagreeing with said objects my membership in this Committee shall automatically cease.

I believe that the perpetuation of the Republic of the United States depends upon keeping out of the entanglements and quarrels of foreign nations. I pledge myself to promote these ideas and to increase our strength by securing at least two new members for our Committee.

Name ..... *Address* .....

Sponsor ..... *Phone* .....

(Over)



AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
CONTRIBUTION CARD

I AM CONVINCED that we can preserve our American democracy only by keeping out of foreign war. Therefore I am contributing to support the work of the America First Committee. $_____

*Name*_____
(PLEASE PRINT)

*Address*_____

ANY AMOUNT YOU WISH—DIMES OR DOLLARS—*Make Checks payable to*—

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE • 1806 Board of Trade Building • CHICAGO

(The work of the Committee depends entirely on voluntary contributions of time and money)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/16/86 BY SP6 byatty

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

1606 BOARD OF TRADE BUILDING
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

PRINCIPLES

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2. No foreign power, or group of powers, can successfully attack a PREPARED America.
3. American democracy can be preserved only by keeping out of the European war.
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2. To urge Americans to keep their heads amid rising hysteria in times of crisis.
3. To provide sane national leadership for the majority of the American people who want to keep out of the European war.
4. To register this opinion with the President and with Congress.

WRITE OR WIRE THE PRESIDENT AND YOUR ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES TODAY, AND EACH WEEK, URGING THEM TO UPHOLD THE JOHNSON ACT (prevents extension of credit to belligerents), AND THE NEUTRALITY ACT, TO KEEP THE UNITED STATES OUT OF ALL FOREIGN WARS.

GET TEN OF YOUR FRIENDS AND NEIGHBORS TO WRITE ALSO, IF ONLY A PENNY POST CARD.

If you don't remember who your Congressman is, see list below.

Your local City Hall or Post Office can tell you the number of your Congressional district.

Cong. Dist. ALABAMA

Senators:
John H. Bankhead
Lister Hill

Representatives:
1 Frank William Boykin
2 George McInvale Grant
3 Henry Bascom Steagall
4 Sam Hobbs
5 Joe Starnes
6 Pete Jarman
7 W. W. Bankhead
8 John J. Sparkman
9 Luther Patrick

ARIZONA

Senators:
Henry Fountain Ashurst
Carl Hayden

Representative-At-Large:
John R. Murdock

ARKANSAS

Senators:
Hattie W. Caraway
John E. Miller

Representatives:
1 Ezekiel Candler Gathings
2 Wilbur D. Mills
3 Clyde Taylor Ellis
4 Fadjo Cravens
5 David Dickson Terry
6 William F. Norrell
7 Wade Kitchens

CALIFORNIA

Senators:
Hiram W. Johnson
Sheridan Downey

Representatives:
1 Clarence Frederick Lea
2 Harry Lane Englebright
3 Frank H. Buck
4 Franck R. Havenner
5 Richard J. Welch
6 Albert E. Carter
7 John H. Tolan
8 John Z. Anderson
9 Bertrand W. Gearhart
10 Alfred J. Elliott
11 Carl Hinshaw
12 Jerry Voorhis
13 Charles Kramer
14 Thomas Francis Ford
15 John Martin Costello
16 Leland M. Ford
17 Lee E. Gayer
18 (Vacant)
19 Harry R. Sheppard
20 Edouard V. M. Izac

COLORADO

Senators:
Alva Blanchard Adams
Edwin Carl Johnson

Representatives:
1 Lawrence Lewis
2 Fred Cummings
3 (Vacant)
4 Edward Thomas Taylor

CONNECTICUT

Senators:
Francis T. Maloney
John A. Danaher

Cong. Dist. CONNECTICUT (Cont.)

Representatives:
At Large: Boleslaus J. Monkiewicz
1 William J. Miller
2 Thomas Raymond Ball
3 James A. Shanley
4 Albert E. Austin
5 J. Joseph Smith

DELAWARE

Senators:
John G. Townsend, Jr.
James H. Hughes

Representative-At-Large:
George Short Williams

FLORIDA

Senators:
Charles O. Andrews
Claude Pepper

Representatives:
1 James Hardin Peterson
2 Robert Lee Green
3 Millard F. Caldwell
4 Pat Cannon
5 Joe Hendricks

GEORGIA

Senators:
Walter Franklin George
Richard B. Russell

Representatives:
1 Hugh Peterson
2 Edward Eugene Cox
3 Stephen Pace
4 Albert Sidney Camp
5 Robert Ramspeck
6 Carl Vinson
7 Malcolm Connor Tarver
8 W. Ben Gibbs
9 B. Frank Whelchel
10 Paul Brown

IDAHO

Senators:
D. Worth Clark
John Thomas

Representatives:
1 Compton I. White
2 Henry C. Dworshak

ILLINOIS

Senators:
Scott W. Lucas
C. Wayland Brooks

Representatives:
At-Large: John C. Martin
T. V. Smith
1 Arthur W. Mitchell
2 Raymond S. McKeough
3 Edward A. Kelly
4 Harry P. Beam
5 Adolph J. Sabath
6 Anton F. Maciejewski
7 Leonard W. Schuetz
8 Leo Kocialkowski
9 James McAndrews
10 Ralph E. Church
11 Chauncey W. Reed
12 Noah Morgan Mason
13 Leo Elwood Allen
14 Anton J. Johnson
15 Robert Bruce Chiperfield
16 Everett McKinley Dirksen
17 Leslie C. Arends

Cong. Dist. ILLINOIS (Cont.)

18 Jessie Sumner
19 William Howard Wheat
20 James M. Barnes
21 Frank W. Fries
22 Edwin Martin Schaefer
23 Laurence F. Arnold
24 Claude V. Parsons
25 Kent Ellsworth Keller

INDIANA

Senators:
Frederick Van Nuys
Sherman Minton

Representatives:
1 William Theodore Schulte
2 Charles A. Halleck
3 Robert A. Grant
4 George W. Gillie
5 Forest Arthur Harness
6 Noble J. Johnson
7 Gerald W. Landis
8 John William Boehne, Jr.
9 Eugene B. Crowe
10 Raymond Smiley Springer
11 William Henry Larrabee
12 Louis Leon Ludlow

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8 Arthur Daniel Healey
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10 George Holden Tinkham
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12 John W. McCormack
13 Richard B. Wigglesworth
14 Joseph William Martin, Jr.
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5 Bartel J. Jonkman
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10 Roy Orchard Woodruff
11 Fred Bradley
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15 John D. Dingell
16 John Lesinski
17 George Anthony Dondero

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5 Oscar Youngdahl
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7 H. Carl Andersen
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5 Joseph B. Shannon
6 Reuben Terrell Wood
7 Dewey Short
8 Clyde Williams
9 Clarence Cannon
10 Orville Zimmerman
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Representatives:
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Patrick A. (Pat) McCarran

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8 Donald L. O'Toole
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14 M. Michael Edelstein
15 Michael Joseph Kennedy
16 James H. Fay
17 Bruce Barton
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24 James M. Fitzpatrick
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26 Hamilton Fish
27 Lewis K. Rockefeller
28 William Thomas Byrne
29 E. Harold Cluett
30 Frank Crowther
31 Clarence E. Kilburn
32 Francis D. Culkin
33 Fred J. Douglas
34 Edwin Arthur Hall
35 Clarence E. Hancock
36 John Taber
37 W. Sterling Cole
38 Joseph J. O'Brien
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42 Pius L. Schwert
43 Daniel Alden Reed

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3 Graham Arthur Barden
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7 J. Bayard Clark
8 William Olin Burgin
9 Robert L. Doughton
10 A. L. Bulwinkle
11 Zebulon Weaver

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Gerald P. Nye

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Lycurgus L. Marshall
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12 John M. Vorys
13 Dudley Allen White
14 Dow W. Harter
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21 Robert Crosser
22 Frances P. Bolton

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Josh Lee

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27 Harve Tibbott
28 Robert Gray Allen
29 Robert Lewis Rodgers
30 Robert J. Corbett
31 John McDowell
32 Herman P. Eberharter
33 Joseph A. McArdle
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Tom Connally

Representatives:
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6 Luther A. Johnson
7 Nat Patton
8 Albert Thomas
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10 Lyndon Baines Johnson
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12 Fritz Garland Lanham
13 Ed Gossett
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Homer Truett Bone
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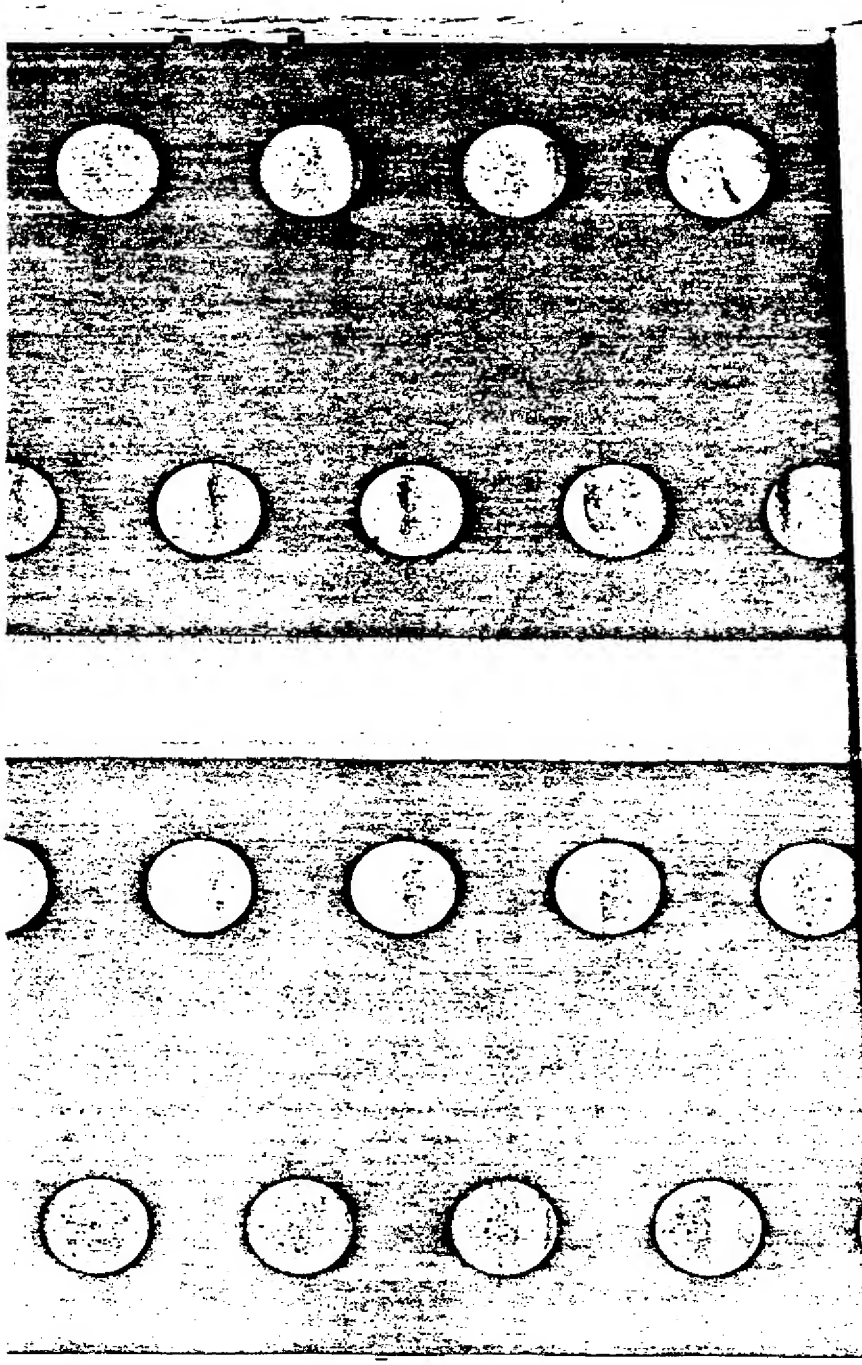
10 B. J. Gehrmann

WYOMING

Senators:
Joseph C. O'Mahoney
H. H. (Harry) Scharfs

Representative-At-Large:
Frank Ogilvie Horton



This address by General Wood is perhaps the most complete presentation of our views. Will you please read it carefully?

The America First Committee

"Our Foreign Policy"

Speech by

GENERAL ROBERT E. WOOD

Acting Chairman
America First Committee

★

Delivered before the

Chicago Council on Foreign Relations

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 4, 1940

★

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

National Headquarters

1806 BOARD OF TRADE BUILDING • CHICAGO

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The PRINCIPLES of the America First Committee

1. The United States must build an impregnable defense for America.
2. No foreign power, or group of powers, can successfully attack a PREPARED America.
3. American democracy can be preserved only by keeping out of the European war.
4. The cash-and-carry provisions of the existing Neutrality Act are essential to American peace and security. Aid to a belligerent beyond the limitations of the Act weakens our defense at home and may involve us in war abroad. Any change in the law to permit American vessels to enter the combat zone would inevitably plunge the country into Europe's war.

Objectives—Non-Partisan

1. To bring together all Americans, regardless of possible differences on other matters, who see eye-to-eye on these principles. (This does not include Fascists or Communists.)
2. To urge Americans to keep their heads amid rising hysteria in times of crisis.
3. To provide sane national leadership for the majority of the American people who want to keep out of the European war.
4. To register this opinion with the President and with Congress.

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

National Headquarters

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Introduction of . . .

GENERAL ROBERT E. WOOD

By MR. CLAY JUDSON

Former President of the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations

We are at a crisis in our international relations. On the decisions now made by the people of this country and their leaders may depend our national welfare for generations to come.

At earlier meetings you have had presented to you dramatically, brilliantly, emotionally, the views of those who believe that the ideal of American life now demands a full participation in the war between England and Germany, and a willingness to take all the risks of war which that involves.

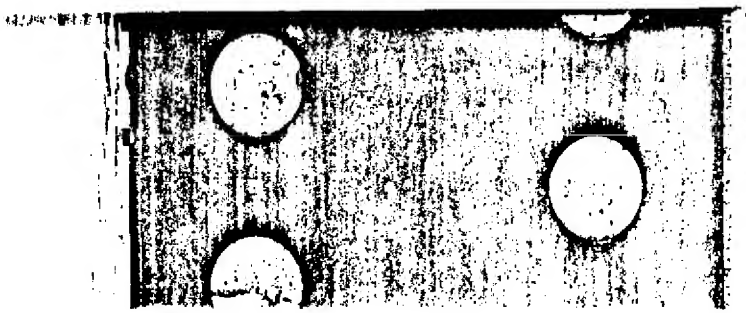
Now there is another view, equally patriotic, equally above question from the standpoint of ideals—but diametrically opposed in its spiritual and its practical approach to the problem. This view sees America's destiny as the preservation of peace for its 135,000,000 people; the abstention on any account, and no matter how emotional the appeal, from European and Asiatic wars; the maintenance of the processes of democracy and of civilization.

Those who hold this view are certain that we cannot enforce democracy on the rest of the world by force and arms. They believe war will be ruinous to everything we cherish most, and they believe we *can* avoid war, and should make every effort to do so.

This is the view of the man who addresses you today. He was born sixty-one years ago in the State of Missouri. Forty years ago he graduated from the United States Military Academy at West Point. His first military service was in the Philippine insurrection. As Chief Quartermaster at Panama during the days of the canal construction under General Goethals, he was charged with the duty of acquiring food, clothing, and supplies for the 40,000 employees and officials in the canal zone. During the World War he had a major responsibility for supplying our entire military establishment. After the war, in civil life, his ability gave him immediate recognition in the commercial world, where he served for ten years as President of Sears, Roebuck & Company, and is now the Chairman of its Board of Directors.

For his outstanding services during the World War he was awarded the Distinguished Service Medal. He is a Commander of the British Order of St. Michael & St. George. He is a Knight of the French Legion of Honor. At present he is the Acting Chairman of the America First Committee.

I am honored in presenting to you General Robert E. Wood, who will speak on "Our Foreign Policy."



General Robert E. Wood's Speech

"Our Foreign Policy"

I, hesitated to accept the invitation of my friends, Dr. Lichtenstein and Mr. Utley, to address this gathering for two reasons—first, because I do not feel on a par as a speaker with the very eminent persons who have addressed these gatherings; second, because my views are opposed to those of a probable majority of my listeners—and I may add—opposed to those of some of my dearest friends and relatives. I have a brother-in-law on the William Allen White Committee.

But it is one of the beauties of a democracy that in time of peace, at least, men are free to express their opinions and honest men respect opposing opinions if those opinions are sincere and free of ulterior motive, and now is a time for all honest men to express their convictions.

The Hour of Decision

This country is on the eve of momentous decisions. The results of these decisions may be so far reaching that they may have an effect for good or bad on the life of this country for at least a generation. I am at the stage of life when I do not care as to the effect on myself or my own generation. I do greatly care what the effects will be on my children and grandchildren and their generation.

There are two schools of thought in this country on the subject of our foreign policy. They may be termed "Interventionists" and "Isolationists." These terms are not exactly descriptive, because all interventionists are not extreme interventionists and most isolationists are only isolationists as to Europe and Asia, but not isolationists as to the balance of North America and South America.

I except from my discussion those who have ulterior motives—anything except the welfare of our country. That would include the Communists who really desire to destroy our Government; the Nazis and members of the Bund who put the interests of Germany above those of this country; some ultra-pacifists who forget the interests of their country in their desire for peace at any price; a limited number of extreme Anglophiles who put the interests of Great Britain above those of their own country.

Our Common Ground

These schools of thought are in violent opposition, but there are certain points of agreement among all classes except perhaps what may be called the lunatic fringe of our population.

These points of agreement are:

First—The necessity for a strong defense—a strengthening of our army and navy and air force. Our people are practically unanimous on this subject—the only differences are on differences of detail. It is obvious that the richest nation of the world, in a world of force, must make itself impregnable.

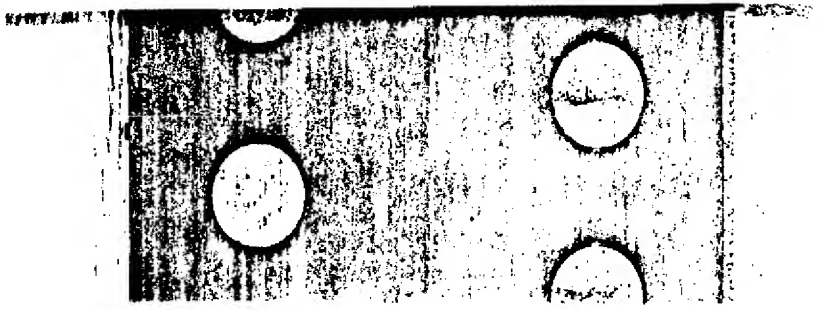
Second—The belief that no foreign nation must obtain possession of any part of the two Americas and that the United States must be prepared to defend the North American continent, and at least that portion of the South American continent as far as the Equator. There is some difference of opinion as to whether military and naval protection should go as far as Cape Horn.

Third—Access to our great industrial plant by Great Britain within the limits of the neutrality law—that is, unlimited right of purchase by Great Britain of planes, tanks, munitions of war, raw materials from private manufacturers, provided she can pay for them and provide her own transportation. And this I may add is a very great aid.

Without this aid now being given, England could not long carry on the war, for her supplies of raw materials, her steel making capacity, munitions and plane plants are insufficient for a long major war. Without the production facilities of the United States she would be crushed. Theoretically, Germany is entitled to the same privilege—actually, on account of the British blockade, she cannot use our facilities, but she has no right to complain. I believe the overwhelming majority of the citizens are in accord with these three principles. I know I am.

Here Differences Begin

But it is when we get beyond the third point that opinion diverges sharply. The present administration in power, probably the majority of our editors and columnists, a very influential body of public opinion as represented by the Committee to Defend America by Aiding Britain is in favor of our government turning over some of our flying fortresses, more destroyers, more planes, and merchant ships. Others, even more extreme, favor an outright alliance with Great Britain and a declaration of war on Germany.



Now what are the fundamental arguments for this point of view? They may be reduced to three principal reasons:

First—The totalitarian state with its ideology, with its record of persecution, is repugnant to our ideals and should be destroyed, even if we have to enter a war to accomplish this result.

Second—Our own protection depends on Britain as our first line of defense, and if she falls, we are exposed to the onslaught of a totalitarian combination. Per se, it follows that we must give England all the aid we can, even at the risk of entering the war.

Third—If Britain is defeated, it will be impossible for a free competitive, unorganized and unmanaged industrial system to compete with a totalitarian system.

War Does Not Destroy Ideologies

As to the first reason, you cannot destroy an ideology by waging war on it. The conditions created in Europe by the Versailles Treaty were largely responsible for the rise of Hitler and the Nazi philosophy. The history of Europe for the last 100 years is a story of cruelties, persecutions, injustices. No government was more repugnant to our ideals and ideas than the old Czaristic regime of Russia—it had over many years a series of pogroms, but we remained on friendly terms with Russia. Up to 1917 we had always remained true to the principles of foreign policy laid down by the founders of our country: the policy of keeping aloof from the quarrels of Europe and Asia.

The Communistic regime of Russia under Lenin and Stalin was equally opposed to our principles and was detested by the majority of our people. Nevertheless, we have maintained our relations with Russia, and we have certainly had no idea of making war on that country.

Sentimentalists or Realists?

A nation cannot be a knight-errant. It must be realistic. Great Britain, during her entire history, has been coldly realistic, and her success in building up her Empire has been due to her realism. As individuals we can give vent to our generous impulses or even to our pet hates, but our statesmen, our editors, our moulders of public opinion must consider that it is not their individual fortunes and lives that are to be considered, but those of 130,000,000 of their fellow citizens.

Now as to the second reason—our military defense in the event of a German victory. Our country has gone through a curious transformation of thought since May 10th. From an underestimate of the military and economic strength of Germany, it has gone to the opposite extreme of overestimating that strength. From some of the remarks heard on the Eastern seaboard in June, we would have thought that New York and Boston were in imminent danger of being bombed.

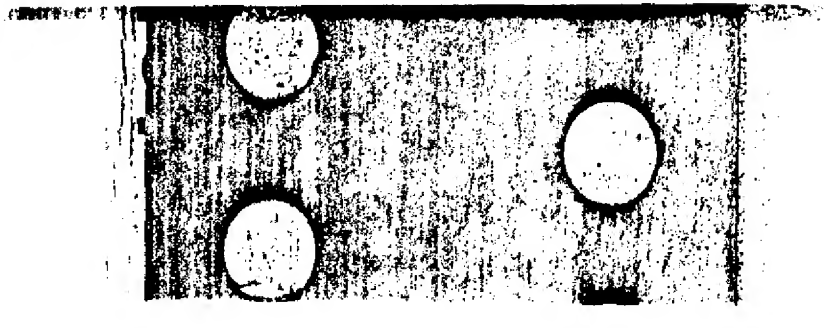
Bombings Alone Cannot Win

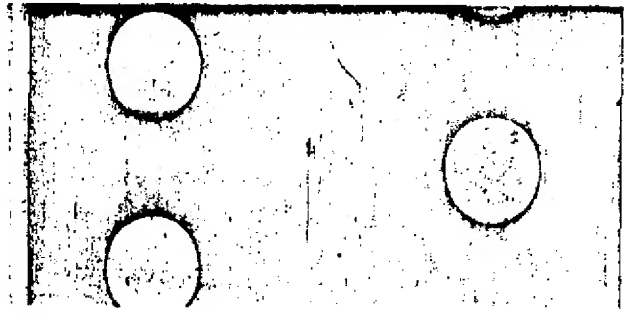
Now the events in Spain, Poland, Belgium and France showed the major importance of the air arm when supported by tanks, infantry and a modern army. But Spain showed that bombing of cities, unsupported by an army, cannot win a war or even shake the morale of a population if the nation is of tough fibre like the Spanish and English peoples.

Apparently the Battle of England is demonstrating the same principle. Unless an army can cross the Channel, the German air force cannot impose a decision on England. Casualties and material damage—yes. The 15,000 casualties in London so far are but a drop in the bucket for a nation of 45,000,000 people; more casualties were incurred in single days of the Verdun, Ypres and Somme offensives. The destruction of apartment houses, stores, public buildings do not constitute a blow to the military strength of a nation. If the docks, railroads, power plants and munitions plants are put out of commission, it does affect the military effort, but unless it is done on a gigantic scale the nation cannot be subdued, and all evidence is to the effect that military damage thus far has not been of such a serious character as to severely impair the island's defense.

Can England Be Invaded?

As for an invasion, at the great risk of being called a false prophet, I doubt whether any invasion will ever be made, and if it is attempted, it will be decisively repulsed. To land 250,000 Germans in England, with mechanized equipment, ammunition and necessary supplies, would be a gigantic operation. Once landed, that force would have to face 1,500,000 Englishmen under arms, fighting on their own island behind strong defenses. And to land those 250,000 Germans means practically complete mastery of the air, blocking off the English fleet, complete control of the Channel—none of which objectives have yet been attained after more than a month of intensive





effort. To sum up, I doubt whether the island can be conquered, and I am quite sure the British fleet cannot be put out of commission.

Now we come to our own danger of invasion and the perfectly fantastic hysteria that pervaded this country after the battle of France. I think any competent military or naval expert, certainly the vast majority, will tell you that there is absolutely no danger of an invasion of the United States even if Germany is completely victorious, and I doubt whether she will be. The amount of shipping required for the transportation of even 250,000 men of a modern mechanized army with their ammunition and supplies over 3,000 miles of ocean is colossal and it is to be presumed that our own navy and air force will not be idle.

No Army Can Attack Us

If it is impracticable or at least exceedingly difficult for an army to cross 25 miles of Channel, what valid grounds are there for supposing that a large army can cross 3,000 miles of ocean to invade a continent?

Some will inquire—why should it not be possible for Germany to seize bases in Mexico or Central America and attack from those countries. Again, that presupposes an overwhelming sea power. But even if that sea power were present, there would again be the same difficulties of a 3,000 mile long line of communication for an invading army. And an army once landed must cross an exceedingly difficult terrain before ever arriving at the Texas border. I think that hypothesis may be safely dismissed.

Panic First—Then War!

Now we come to the favorite bogey—air attacks. I quote from Major Al Williams' recent speech, reprinted in the Congressional Record—"Oceans and extended lines of communications are still vital factors in modern warfare. President Roosevelt's panicky flight schedule for the air invasion of America is ridiculous, worthy of Hollywood and certainly not of the White House. To support my argument against the President's wild flight schedule for a foreign air invasion of the United States I offer a single incontrovertible reason. With all their air power the Germans could not attack and subdue England from air bases 300 to 500 miles distant. Instead they seized air bases on the north coast of Holland, Belgium and France 20 to 100 miles distant from the coast of England. Each and every stage of

the fantastic itinerary for the air invasion of America would have to be conquered for the establishment of major air bases for the enemy attempting the job. The President must know this—but apparently the pattern is panic first, and then war."

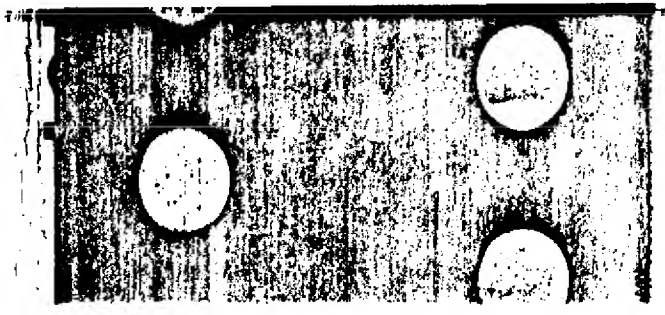
An Exhausted Germany Is Harmless

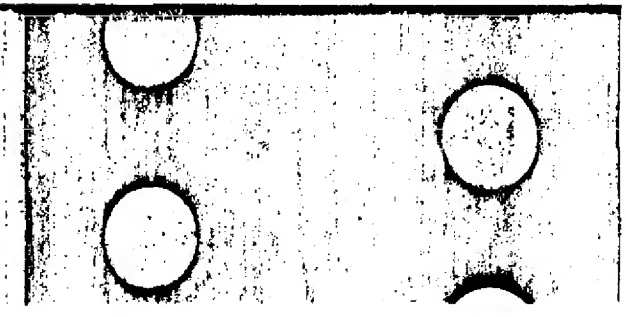
All of this presupposes a completely victorious Germany, ready at the end of a long and costly struggle, to immediately embark on a new and perilous adventure across 3,000 miles of ocean against a nation of 130,000,000 people. The present war represents seven years of preparation on the part of Germany. So-called total war represents a prodigal expenditure of labor, money and effort. Steel is rapidly consumed, aircraft and mechanical equipment are rapidly worn out, reserves of all kinds are exhausted, not to mention the wear and tear on human beings. A nation that for seven years has been given guns instead of butter is apt at the end of this war to demand more butter from its leaders.

So on every count it seems inconceivable to me that Germany at the end of the war, even if aided by its allies, who will be in a worse condition of exhaustion than Germany itself, will attack the United States. And if this country with its 130,000,00 people and its two great natural ocean barriers cannot defend itself unaided by Britain or anybody else, it does not deserve to survive. The great nation that has to trust to others for its defense is on the downward path to destruction.

Europe Must Have Our Goods

Now as to our economic problems. An economic war after the war—the loss of our European, Asiatic and South American trade. I have a high personal regard for Walter Lippmann's brains and ability, but I believe his picture of an unequal contest between a totalitarian economy and a free economy is misleading. After all, when two nations or two continents each have things the other needs trade eventually results regardless of the feelings each may have for the other. Europe needs us more than we need Europe—our materials and products are more important to her than hers to us. True, Germany has reduced largely its purchases from us, but more from necessity than choice. As far as South America is concerned, we can always obtain the lion's share of the trade of Mexico, Central America, Colombia and Venezuela because we buy the metals of Mexico, the coffee and bananas of Central America and Co-





lombia, the oil of Venezuela. In those countries, our geographical location must always give us the edge. We can take the coffee of Brazil but not its cotton; so its trade will naturally divide between Europe and the United States. It is in Argentina and Chile that our troubles come. We cannot take the meat, cotton and wool of the Argentina because we produce those products ourselves. The same applies to the copper and nitrates of Chile. We cannot sell unless we buy and that is a far greater obstacle than all Nazidom.

It must not be forgotten that Germany put on an intensive drive for trade in South America in the period 1936-1938, and if my recollection of the figures is correct, while Germany's percentage of the trade gained somewhat, the gain was not large, and it was largely at the expense of Great Britain; our trade declined only a fraction of one per cent.

We'll Get Our Share of Foreign Trade!

No man can foretell the future, but as long as we have products South America can use and above all, if they have products we can use, we will get our full share of the trade. As for Asia, the same remarks pertain as to Europe. Japan needs us far more than we need her. Our trade with Japan incidentally runs between five and six times the trade of China, whom we are making such great efforts to help. Even if Japan gets control of the Dutch East Indies—and that is not assured—she is going to be more anxious to sell us rubber and tin to obtain dollar exchange than we are to buy the products. And if war with Japan comes, we can get Bolivian tin and develop our synthetic rubber. We are certainly as resourceful as the Germans who are filling 90% of their rubber requirements with the synthetic article.

In 1937 Colombia's trade with us was 168,000,000 pesos, with Germany 40,000,000. Of Venezuela's trade, the United States took 12.5% of their imports and furnished 53% of the exports, Germany 13.6%. Of Costa Rica's imports, 42.5% came from the United States, 23% from Germany. Of her exports 45% went to the United States and 19.5% to Germany.

As for lack of organization, if needs be, we can meet fire with fire; we can set up export cartels and mass purchasing organizations and we can do this without danger to our system.

The Americas Must Stand Together!

Americans like myself feel that our true mission is in North America and South America. We stand today in an unrivalled position. With our resources and organizing ability we can develop, with our Canadian friends, an only partially developed continent like North America and a virgin continent like South America. The reorganization and proper development of Mexico alone would afford an outlet for our capital and energies for some time to come. And while I think we should try in every way to maintain the friendship of our neighbors to the South, I think we should also make it clearly understood that no government in Mexico, Central America and the Caribbean South American countries will be tolerated unless it is friendly to the United States and that, if necessary, we are prepared to use force to attain that object.

Instead of what seems to be a sane objective we are on the verge of throwing our treasure and our blood into a European war, with consequences that no one can foretell.

I respect the honest views of honest Americans, no matter how opposed they may be to my own, but there are two matters that I resent: First is the attempt to smear any one opposed to what I might call the majority publicized viewpoint of what we should do in this war. When the editor of a pink New York sheet denounces Col. Lindbergh as the head of the Fifth Column in the U. S., we have reached the summit of mud slinging. You may disagree violently with Col. Lindbergh, you may feel he has made serious mistakes, but you have no right to denounce a courageous, patriotic American citizen as a traitor merely because he disagrees with your views. That is as bad as the Nazis, an attempt to suppress freedom of speech.

The other point I resent is the way the issue is being presented to the American people. We are being edged into the war without the masses' knowledge. We have the anomalous situation of the polls showing a majority of the people favoring a course that is bound to get us into the war, while the same polls show 86% of the same people oppose actual entry into the war. That shows that the minds of the people are confused.

How Wars Are Sold to Us

Many of my hearers were adults at the time of the previous war and were familiar with the propaganda that led up to that war. If you want to know the

propaganda and its falsity, read a Sir Philip Gibbs with the title of "Now It Can Be Told," in which he admitted the outrageous lies that were perpetrated on the American public. And Sir Philip Gibbs was no German but the leading English war correspondent, knighted by his King. The London Economist in a recent issue said it was only a question of time until American public opinion could be brought to the point where we would actively enter the war.

I believe a majority of the people who are advocating "aid short of war" do not desire us to enter the war. But there are others who do desire us to enter the war, who are taking the necessary steps to prepare the American people for active participation, who would enter it tomorrow if they dared, and unfortunately they are the people who are shaping our national policy today. You hear in Washington today that we are now in the war. You hear predictions from men, and men who ought to know, that we will actively enter the war within sixty days after the election.

The American people should think this matter through. The course we are pursuing is bound to involve us in the war. You cannot play with fire and not get burned. You cannot have your government, not private manufacturers, transfer its equipment to foreign powers, you cannot have your government in an unofficial alliance with a foreign power, you cannot be a meddler in Indo-China, berate Italy and Germany without eventually involving the nation in war, and if war comes I venture to predict that we will repeat the history of the last originally it was intended to send only the Navy to the assistance of the Allies.

Man-Power, Too!

Joffre came over in the spring of 1917, told the plight of the French Army after the 1917 spring Champagne offensive, where whole divisions of the French Army mutinied, and implored us to send over a token force, otherwise France would collapse. We sent Pershing and the First Division, about 30,000 men. Then came the impending collapse of Russia, frantic calls for more men, then the great German offensive of 1918 and the rout of the British Fifth Army, more frantic appeals, until finally we put under arms 4,000,000 men, sent 2,000,000 men

to France, spent 20 billion dollars and had 150,000 casualties. I need not refer to our treatment by our former allies after the Armistice. They took the loot, we did not even get thanks.

I do not often agree with the editorials on foreign policy in my friend Frank Knox's paper, but there is a recent editorial with which I am in 100% agreement. The editorial quoted two recent speeches by both Presidential candidates in which both pledged themselves never to send American boys to France. The editorial spoke of both these pledges as political bunk and very truly stated that if we entered the war we would enter it to win, and, if necessary to win, we would send an expeditionary force—and that is the absolute truth.

The People Must Know the Truth

The issue should be honestly presented to the people. If we aid Britain, short of war and beyond the limits of the Neutrality Act, it ultimately means war and should mean war. If we enter the war, we must enter it with all our strength in men and money. That is the only way to win a war.

If the military reports from abroad are correct, I feel there is no doubt that Great Britain can defend her island, her dominions like Canada, Australia and New Zealand. She may lose Egypt, the Suez and Gibraltar, though this is extremely doubtful. So far the Italians have shown no signs of real offensive strength. There is little doubt that England can make a negotiated peace by which she can keep her fleet and her colonies, but which will leave Germany the economic control of Western Europe. But she cannot decisively defeat Germany unaided. Her statesmen privately admit that, and say that for her to gain a decisive victory we will have to actively enter the war. One of the great mistakes made by the Allies in this war was that in its first six months they thought they could win a safe economical war, with France sitting behind the Maginot line and England maintaining its blockade, with little expenditure of blood and a minimum expenditure of treasure. For us to actively enter the war means ships, planes, money, men, expeditionary forces. That is the issue that must ultimately be presented to the American people, and it should be presented openly, honestly and squarely.

Our Own Democracy Will Be Sacrificed

In deciding this issue, the American people should face the costs. We start with a debt of $50,000,000,000. With the enormous cost of waging modern war, the cost of sending forces over 3,000 miles of ocean, of engaging our navy in the Far East, we would ultimately face a debt of from 100 to 150 billions. Victorious or defeated, we will be faced at the conclusion of such a war with great economic dislocations —the rich would face a capital levy, the middle classes impoverishment, and the masses a lowered standard of living and the loss of most of the social gains so far secured.

Competent observers believe that if the war is prolonged in Europe over one or two years, it will result in Communism in all Europe, and a species of National Socialism in England. If we are involved, it probably spells the end of capitalism all over the world.

Defend America First, Last, Always

I would unhesitatingly say to throw everything we have into a war to defend the United States or our own sphere of influence, which is the North American continent and part, if not all, of the South American continent. I do not think the American people should make these sacrifices to interfere in the quarrels of Europe and Asia, old, sick and overpopulated continents with ancient rivalries that cannot be healed. It is up to the American people to decide whether they want to make these sacrifices to preserve not England but the British Empire, and help regulate Europe and Asia. But they should make the decision with all the cards on the table, not misled by artifice and subterfuge.

But if that decision is given affirmatively, I think you will find Americans like myself, who sincerely believe such a course spells disaster to the nation, will be at their posts of duty in the service of this country. I am old fashioned enough to believe in the toast offered by Stephen Decatur back in 1816, "Our Country! In her intercourse with foreign nations, may she always be in the right: but Our Country, right or wrong."

Additional copies of this speech can be secured by addressing America First Committee, 1806 Board of Trade Building, Chicago.

If you, as an American citizen, believe that our first duty is to our own country, join the America First Committee by signing your name below and mail to the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE, 1806 Board of Trade Building, Chicago, Illinois.

I wish to join the America First Committee.

In addition, I will ☐ *arrange with my local theater to show the Committee's film, "Which Way America?"* ☐ *urge my local radio station to broadcast transcribed talks by the Committee's speakers,* ☐ *write to my Congressman, and urge others to do so.*

☐ *I am enclosing a list of names of others who are interested and to whom literature should be sent.*

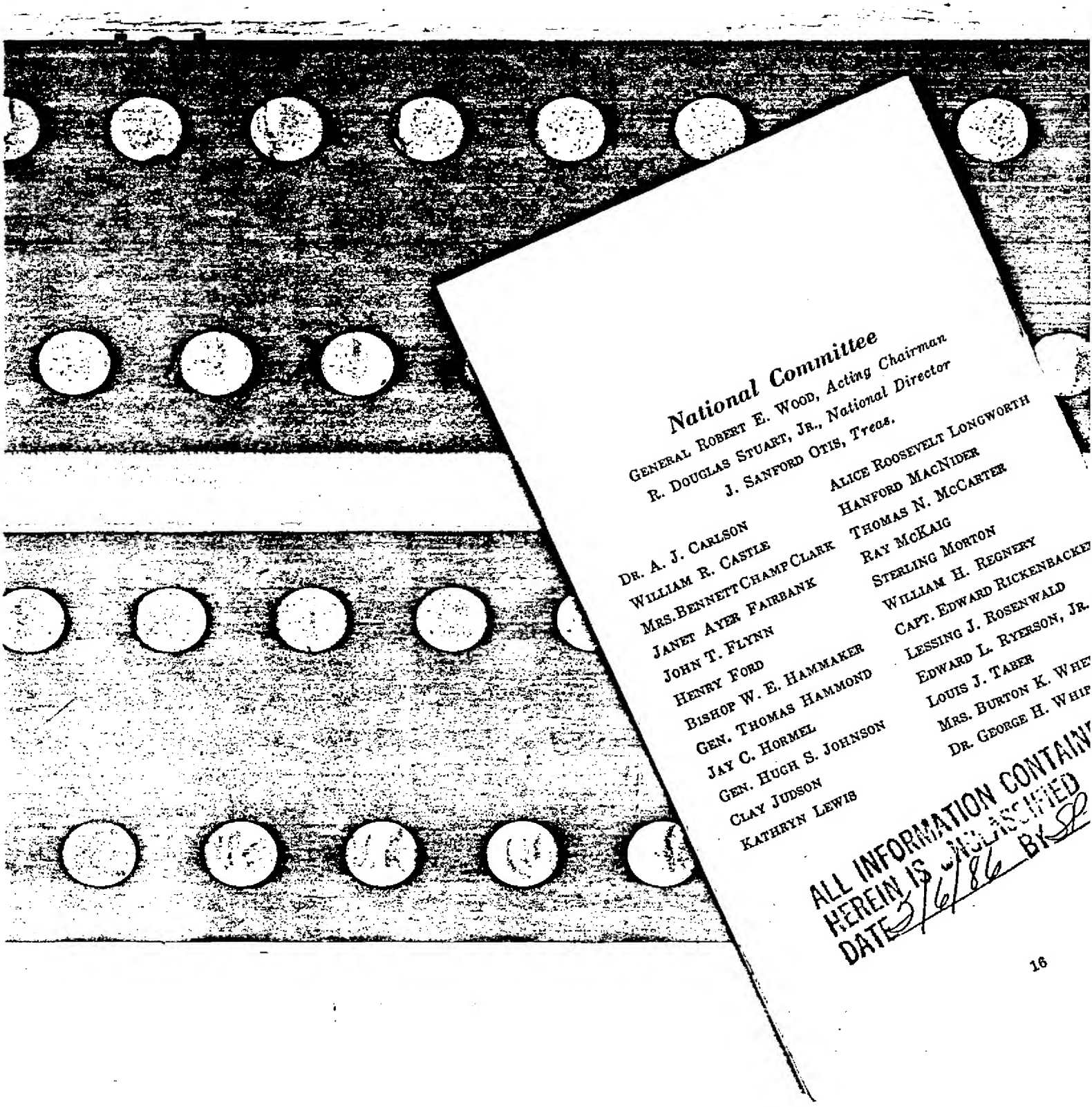
☐ *I am enclosing $_____to support the work of the America First Committee. (Make your check payable to the America First Committee.)*

NAME_____

ADDRESS_____

CITY_____STATE_____

The work of the Committee is supported entirely by voluntary contributions of time or money.



National Committee

GENERAL ROBERT E. WOOD, *Acting Chairman*
R. DOUGLAS STUART, JR., *National Director*
J. SANFORD OTIS, *Treas.*

DR. A. J. CARLSON
WILLIAM R. CASTLE
MRS. BENNETT CHAMP CLARK
JANET AYER FAIRBANK
JOHN T. FLYNN
HENRY FORD
BISHOP W. E. HAMMAKER
GEN. THOMAS HAMMOND
JAY C. HORMEL
GEN. HUGH S. JOHNSON
CLAY JUDSON
KATHRYN LEWIS
ALICE ROOSEVELT LONGWORTH
HANFORD MACNIDER
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WILLIAM H. REGNERY
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LESSING J. ROSENWALD
EDWARD L. RYERSON, JR.
LOUIS J. TABER
MRS. BURTON K. WHEE
DR. GEORGE H. WHIP

ALL INFORMATION CONTAIN
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/6/86 BY

Federal Bureau of Investigation

United States Department of Justice

Boston, Massachusetts
February 20, 1941

Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Re: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE OF
GREATER BOSTON
91-93 Federal St., Boston, Mass.

Dear Sir:

I am forwarding herewith a circular put out by the above organization.

It was thought that the Bureau might be interested in this circular.

Very truly yours,

V. W. PETERSON
Special Agent in Charge.

VWP:LMC

Enclosure

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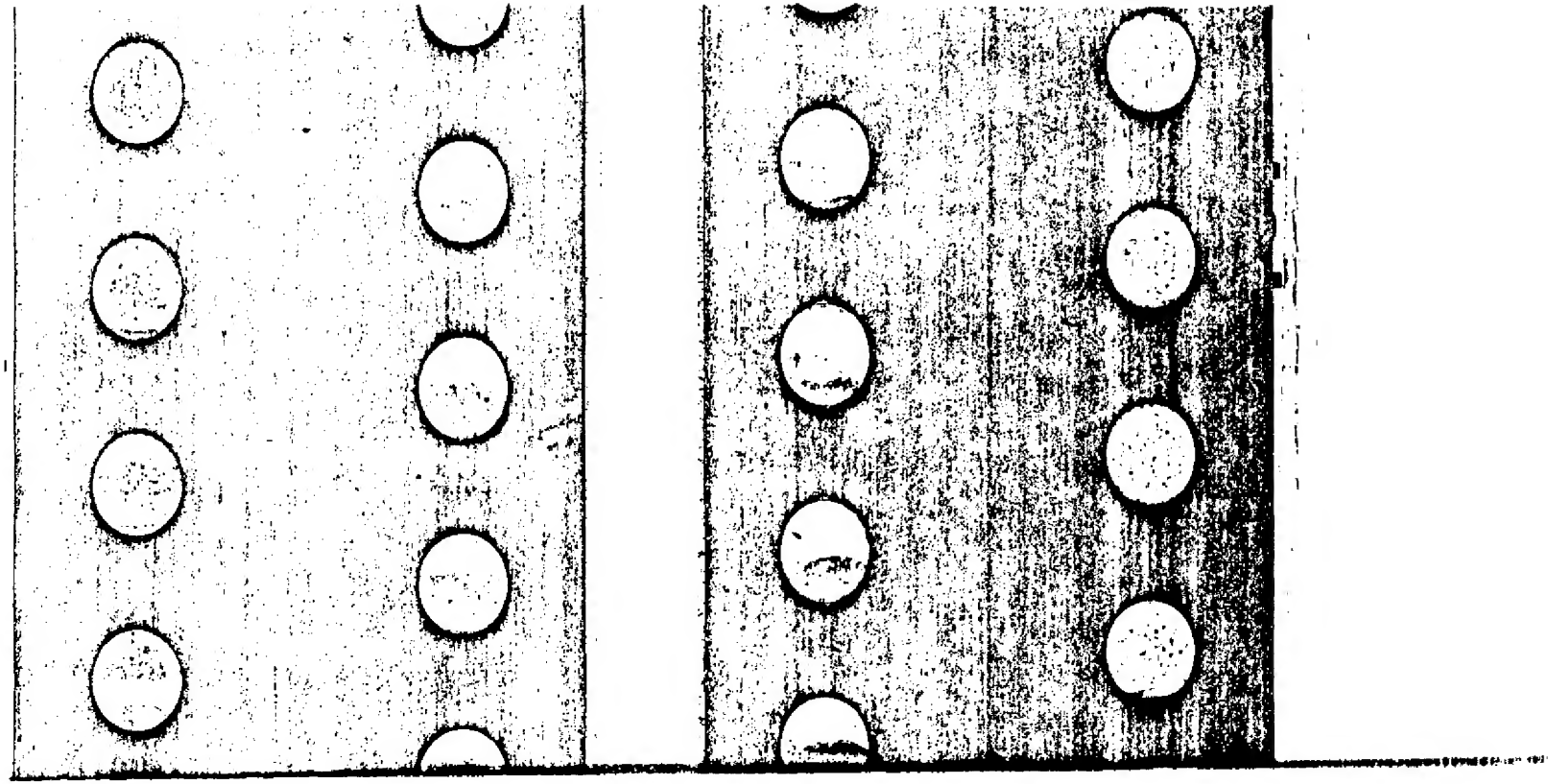

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

OFFICIAL BUSINESS

PENALTY FOR PRIVATE USE TO AVOID
PAYMENT OF POSTAGE, $300

Enclosure to Director

Circular put out by
America First Committee of Greater Boston

ALL INFORMATION ~~CONTAINED~~ on this envelope
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
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ARE YOU WILLING TO GIVE UP DEMOCRACY?

DO YOU WANT TO GO TO WAR WITHOUT BEING ASKED?

ARE YOU READY TO MAKE THE U.S. A DICTATORSHIP?

THEN SPEAK UP NOW!

A war dictatorship bill has been introduced in Congress

The President would have absolute power to do these things without consulting Congress or the people

1. Cancel the Neutrality Act and send our warships and merchant vessels into the war zones.
2. Cancel the Johnson Act and give unlimited funds to foreign nations.
3. Cancel any other law on the statute books.
4. Make military alliances with any nations anywhere in the world.
5. Take us into war whenever, wherever and against whomever he chooses.
6. Give away our Navy to any nation.
7. Give away every gun and bullet in our Army to any nation.
8. Give away every American airplane to any nation.
9. Give away all our military secrets to any nation.
10. Open our harbors and all their facilities to the warships of any nations engaged in war.
11. Seize the ships of one country and give them to another country.

ACT NOW!

HERE'S WHAT YOU MUST DO NOW TO SAVE OUR REPUBLIC

ACT NOW!

- Telegraph, telephone or write your two Senators; also your Congressman; also Senator Walter F. George, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.
- Tell them you are opposed to the war dictatorship bill, that you want them to fight and vote against it, that you won't stand for compromises, that the WHOLE BILL MUST BE KILLED and thrown out of the Capitol.
- Make a list of all your friends and relatives and get them to do the same.
- Do it immediately.

RECORDED
INFORMATION COMPILED

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE OF GREATER BOSTON
21-23 FEDERAL STREET BOSTON

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI K.C. FILE NO. 100-1077

REPORT MADE AT	DATE WHEN MADE	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE	REPORT MADE BY
KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI	2-20-41	1-13/16/31-41 2-12-41	[redacted] b7C

TITLE	CHARACTER OF CASE
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE	INTERNAL SECURITY MATTER

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

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b7D

[redacted] Names of the leaders of this movement in Kansas City obtained and set out herein.

- P -

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DETAILS: AT KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI:

b2
b7D

[redacted]

APPROVED AND FORWARDED:	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES
Dwight Brantley		100-4770-12

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2 - Kansas City
1 -

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FEB 24 1941

MAR 6 1941

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE 7—2034

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

7 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

☑ Deleted under exemption(s) b2 b7D with no segregable material available for release to you.

☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.

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[redacted]

The names of the Executive Committee of the Kansas City Chapter are incorporated as follows:

DAVID B. CHILDS
ROY K. DIETRICH
PORTER T. HALL
DR. BRUCE TRIMBLE
HAL LUHNOW
MRS. R. J. HIGGINS
CLIFF O. JONES
MRS. E. H. VINCENT
MRS. E. C. MESERVEY, JR.
RAY F. MOSELEY
MRS. FRANKLIN MURPHY

The following are the sponsors of the Committee:

E. C. ALEXANDER
ORVILLE ANDERSON
MR. AND MRS. MITCHELL T. BEHEN
DONALD R. BLACK —
PHILLIP S. BROWN
MR. AND MRS. CHARLES BYERS
W. K. CANTWELL
MR. AND MRS. PHILLIP E. CAMPBELL
MRS. CHARLES F. CARROLL
MRS. DAVID B. CHILDS
B. C. CHRISTOPHER, JR.
REV. JOSEPH CLEVELAND
J. E. DANIELS
R. L. DANIELS
E. C. BOYLE
MRS. GEORGE FULLER
MRS. PORTER T. HALL
MRS. J. C. BARLINE
MR. F. E. WILCOX
MR. AND MRS. PAUL WILSON
REV. WILLIAM L. YOUNG
MR. AND MRS. J. SCOTT HARRISON
WILLIAM S. HOGSETT
JOHN JENKINS
PAUL JUNKINS
MRS. CLIFF C. JONES
A. S. KEENE
FRANK C. KING
MR. AND MRS. EUGENE KLECAN
MISS LEONA KOEHLER
HARRY LUNSFORD
MR. AND MRS. WILLIAM LUBY
MR. AND MRS. JOHN MAYER
MR. AND MRS. ROBERT E. McDONNELL
JUDGE GEORGE MONTGOMERY
JOHN F. REINHARDT
SAM SAWYER
HENRY SHEA
R. C. TRELEASE
MRS. BRUCE R. TRIMBLE
E. H. VINCENT
MR. AND MRS. HARRY C. WALTON

It is noted that among the Executive Committee members are Dr. BRUCE TRIMBLE, head of the Political Science Department of the University of Kansas City and HAL LUHNOW, president of William Volker Company. Mr. LUHNOW is a prominent civic leader in Kansas City and during the City Election of April, 1940, he headed the Anti-machine forces that drove the PENDERGAST group out of power in the City Hall. Among the sponsors of the organization are WILLIAM S. HOGSETT, prominent attorney of Kansas City, and Professor WILLIAM LUBY, who is a member of the faculty at the University of Kansas City; also, Judge GEORGE MONTGOMERY, presiding Judge of the Jackson County, Missouri Court.

b7C
b7D

On the evening of January 30, 1941, [redacted] came to the Kansas City office and turned over a pamphlet published by the America First Committee, 141 West Jackson Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois. [redacted] stated he learned that 10,000 of these pamphlets were to be distributed in Kansas City on January 31, 1941. This pamphlet reflects that it is put out by the America First Committee, 141 West Jackson Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois. It is headed as follows: "Are you Willing to Give up Democracy? Do you want to Go to War Without Being Asked? Are You Ready to Make The U. S. A Dictatorship?" The pamphlet then assails the President for attempting to intervene in Europe without consulting Congress or the people. It says that in order to save our Republic each citizen should write his Senators and Congressmen and tell them to oppose the War dictatorship bill.

A copy of the above-described pamphlet is being retained in the Kansas City file.

UNDEVELOPED LEAD:

THE KANSAS CITY FIELD DIVISION:

b2
b7D

AT KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI, will keep in touch with [redacted] for the purpose of obtaining developments in regard to the progress of the America First Committee.

- P E N D I N G -

Federal Bureau of Investigation

United States Department of Justice

Post Office Box #2344
Boston, Massachusetts

February 20, 1941

Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Re: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
141 West Jackson Boulevard
Chicago, Illinois;
Internal Security

Dear Sir:

I am forwarding herewith one copy of a booklet entitled "Our Foreign Policy" by General ROBERT E. WOOD, which was forwarded to me by [redacted] Boston, Massachusetts. b7C

Very truly yours,

V. W. PETERSON
Special Agent in Charge

VWP/jf
Enclosure

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WASHINGTON, D.C.
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Director of
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D.C.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
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ENCLOSURE TO THE BUREAU FROM BOSTON
MASS RE AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE;
INTERNAL SECURITY

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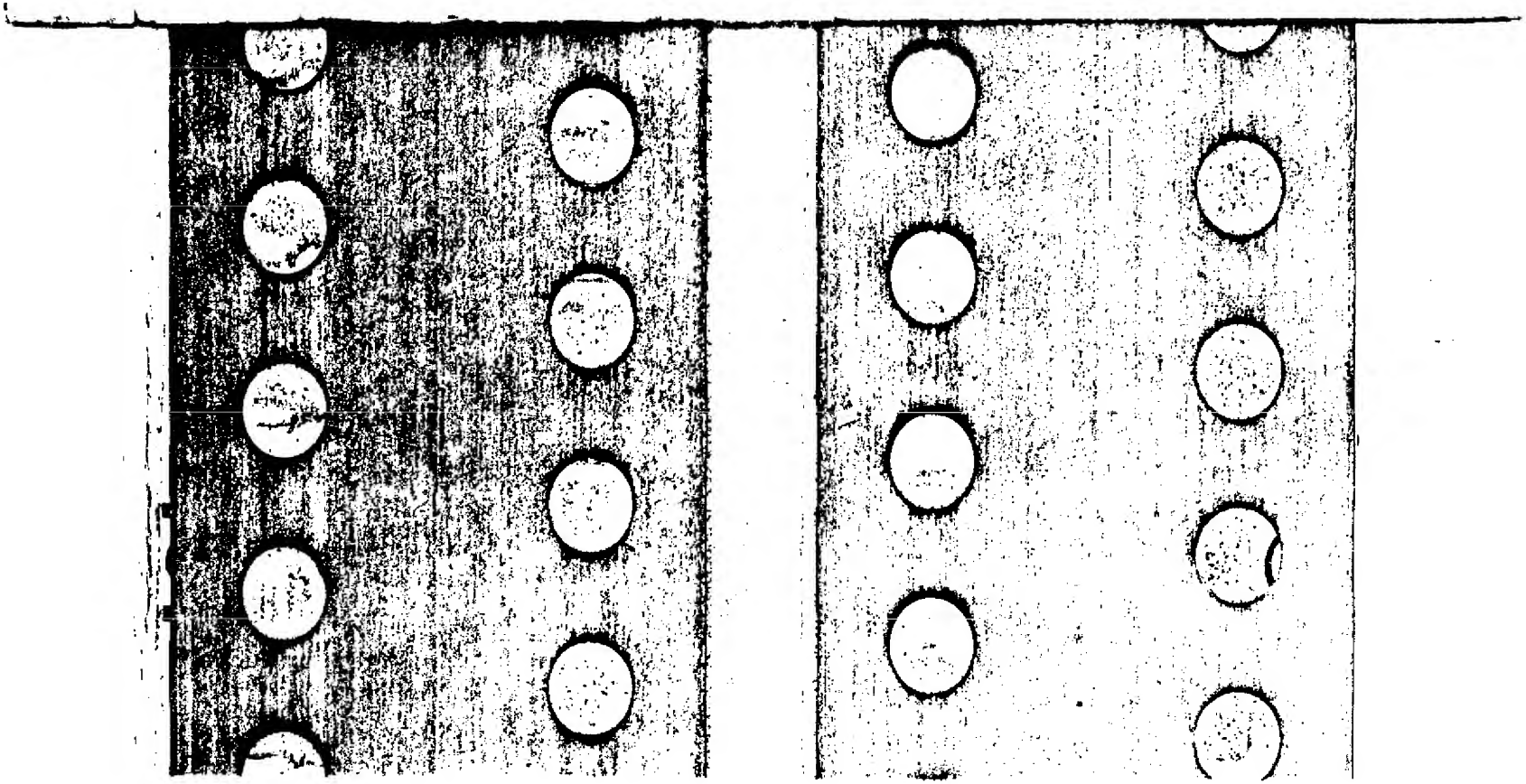
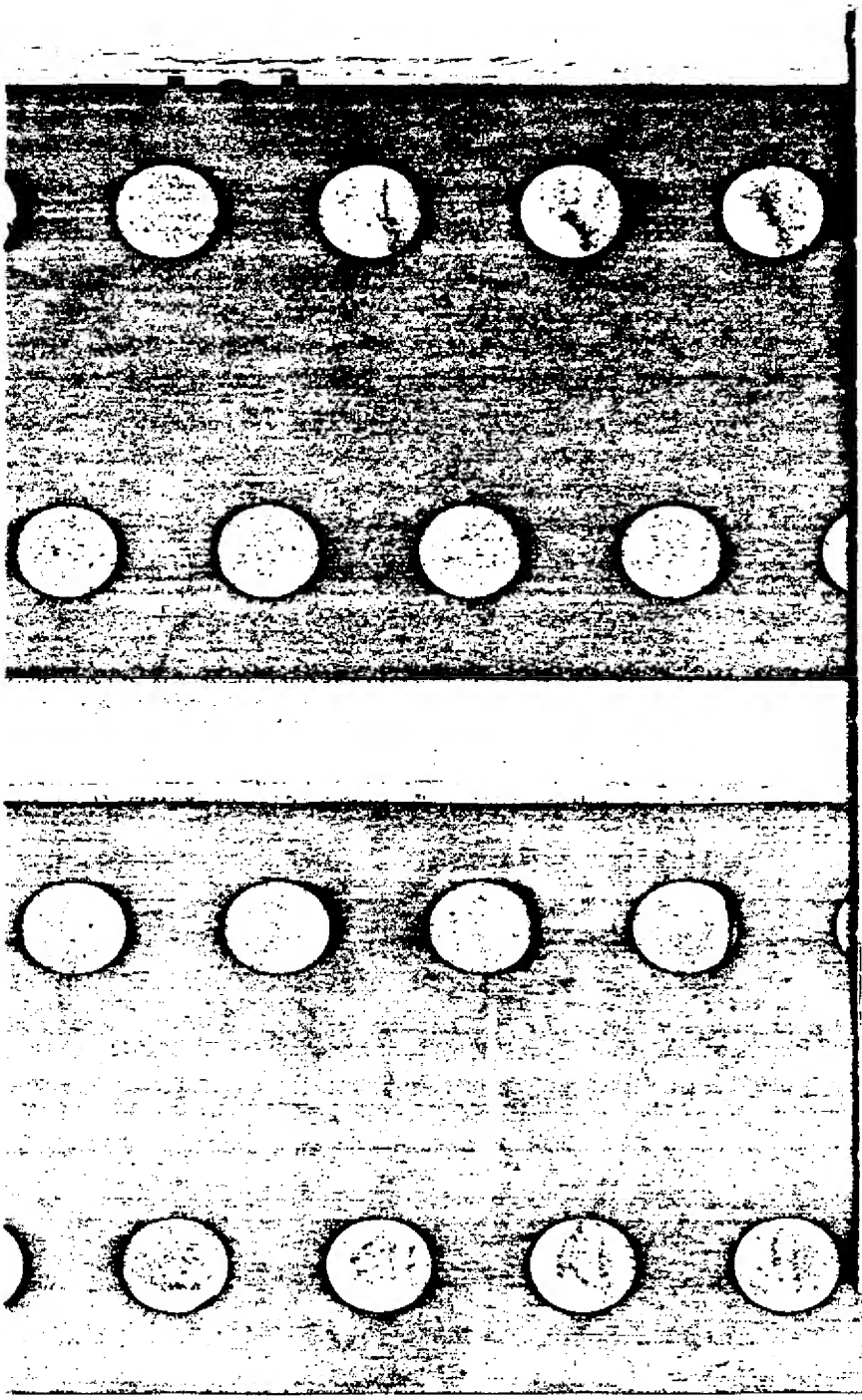




Our Foreign Policy

by

GENERAL ROBERT E. WOOD

Acting National Chairman

America First Committee

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 5/6/86 BY SP6 bja Hay

Speech before the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations

67C

FEB 10 P.M.

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

141 WEST JACKSON BOULEVARD

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

America First Committee Principles

1. The United States must build an impregnable defense for America. With such a defense no foreign power, or group of powers, can successfully attack us.

2. Americans should and do cherish the ideals of democracy and abhor dictatorship, but the welfare of one hundred thirty million Americans and the preservation of democracy on this continent demand that the United States keep out of foreign wars.

3. The cash and carry provisions of the existing Neutrality Act are essential to American peace and security. Within the limits of that Act, Americans may properly aid Great Britain. Aid to her beyond the limitations of the present Neutrality Act would weaken our defense at home, and might well involve us in conflict. We oppose any change in the law which would permit American vessels to enter the combat zone or which would permit the American Navy to convoy merchant ships through that zone, as any such course would inevitably plunge this country into Europe's war.

4. With proper safeguards for the distribution of supplies and the maintenance of our neutrality, Americans should, to the limit of their ability, give humanitarian aid to the suffering and needy people of England and the occupied countries.

Introducing General Wood

By Clay Judson

Former President of the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations

We are at a crisis in our international relations. On the decisions now made by the people of this country and their leaders may depend our national welfare for generations to come.

At earlier meetings you have had presented to you dramatically, brilliantly, emotionally, the views of those who believe that the ideal of American life now demands a full participation in the war between England and Germany, and a willingness to take all the risks of war which that involves.

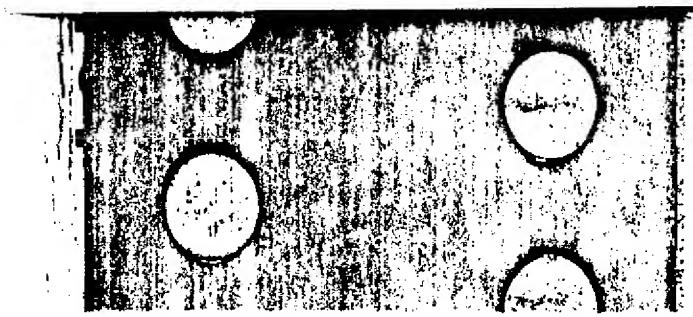
Now there is another view, equally patriotic, equally above question from the standpoint of ideals—but diametrically opposed in its spiritual and its practical approach to the problem. This view sees America's destiny as the preservation of peace for its 135,000,000 people; the abstention on any account, and no matter how emotional the appeal, from European and Asiatic wars; the maintenance of the processes of democracy and of civilization.

Those who hold this view are certain that we cannot enforce democracy on the rest of the world by force and arms. They believe war will be ruinous to everything we cherish most, and they believe we *can* avoid war, and should make every effort to do so.

This is the view of the man who addresses you today. He was born sixty-one years ago in the State of Missouri. Forty years ago he graduated from the United States Military Academy at West Point. His first military service was in the Philippine insurrection. As Chief Quartermaster at Panama during the days of the canal construction under General Goethals, he was charged with the duty of acquiring food, clothing, and supplies for the 40,000 employees and officials in the canal zone. During the World War he had a major responsibility for supplying our entire military establishment. After the war, in civil life, his ability gave him immediate recognition in the commercial world, where he served for ten years as President of Sears, Roebuck & Company, and is now the Chairman of its Board of Directors.

For his outstanding services during the World War he was awarded the Distinguished Service Medal. He is a Commander of the British Order of St. Michael & St. George. He is a Knight of the French Legion of Honor. At present he is the Acting Chairman of the America First Committee.

I am honored in presenting to you General Robert E. Wood, who will speak on "Our Foreign Policy."



General Robert E. Wood's Speech

"Our Foreign Policy"

I hesitated to accept the invitation of my friends, Dr. Lichtenstein and Mr. Utley, to address this gathering for two reasons—first, because I do not feel on a par as a speaker with the very eminent persons who have addressed these gatherings; second, because my views are opposed to those of a probable majority of my listeners—and I may add—opposed to those of some of my dearest friends and relatives. I have a brother-in-law on the William Allen White Committee.

But it is one of the beauties of a democracy that in time of peace, at least, men are free to express their opinions and honest men respect opposing opinions if those opinions are sincere and free of ulterior motive, and now is a time for all honest men to express their convictions.

The Hour of Decision

This country is on the eve of momentous decisions. The results of these decisions may be so far reaching that they may have an effect for good or bad on the life of this country for at least a generation. I am at the stage of life when I do not care as to the effect on myself or my own generation. I do greatly care what the effects will be on my children and grandchildren and their generation.

There are two schools of thought in this country on the subject of our foreign policy. They may be termed "Interventionists" and "Isolationists." These terms are not exactly descriptive, because all interventionists are not extreme interventionists and most isolationists are only isolationists as to Europe and Asia, but not isolationists as to the balance of North America and South America.

I except from my discussion those who have ulterior motives—anything except the welfare of our country. That would include the Communists who really desire to destroy our Government; the Nazis and members of the Bund who put the interests of Germany above those of this country; some ultra-pacifists who forget the interests of their country in their desire for peace at any price; a limited number of extreme Anglophiles who put the interests of Great Britain above those of their own country.

Our Common Ground

These schools of thought are in violent opposition, but there are certain points of agreement among all classes except perhaps what may be called the lunatic fringe of our population.

These points of agreement are:

First—The necessity for a strong defense—a strengthening of our army and navy and air force. Our people are practically unanimous on this subject—the only differences are on differences of detail. It is obvious that the richest nation of the world, in a world of force, must make itself impregnable.

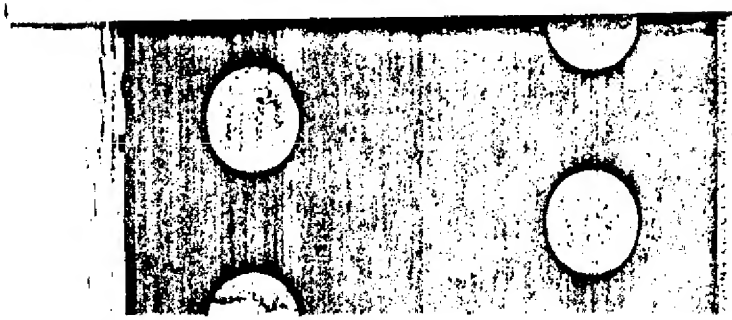
Second—The belief that no foreign nation must obtain possession of any part of the two Americas and that the United States must be prepared to defend the North American continent, and at least that portion of the South American continent as far as the Equator. There is some difference of opinion as to whether military and naval protection should go as far as Cape Horn.

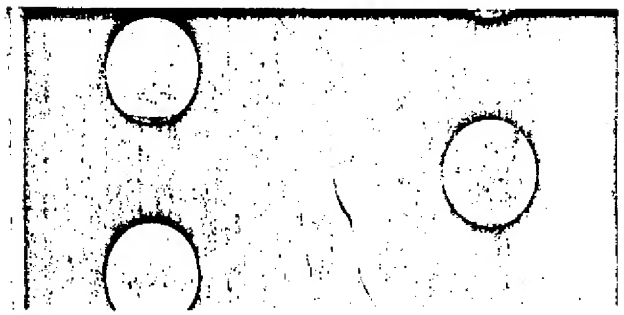
Third—Access to our great industrial plant by Great Britain within the limits of the neutrality law—that is, unlimited right of purchase by Great Britain of planes, tanks, munitions of war, raw materials from private manufacturers, provided she can pay for them and provide her own transportation. And this I may add is a very great aid.

Without this aid now being given, England could not long carry on the war, for her supplies of raw materials, her steel making capacity, munitions and plane plants are insufficient for a long major war. Without the production facilities of the United States she would be crushed. Theoretically, Germany is entitled to the same privilege—actually, on account of the British blockade, she cannot use our facilities, but she has no right to complain. I believe the overwhelming majority of the citizens are in accord with these three principles. I know I am.

Here Differences Begin

But it is when we get beyond the third point that opinion diverges sharply. The present administration in power, probably the majority of our editors and columnists, a very influential body of public opinion as represented by the Committee to Defend America by Aiding Britain is in favor of our government turning over some of our flying fortresses, more destroyers, more planes, and merchant ships. Others, even more extreme, favor an outright alliance with Great Britain and a declaration of war on Germany.





Now what are the fundamental arguments for this point of view? They may be reduced to three principal reasons:

First—The totalitarian state with its ideology, with its record of persecution, is repugnant to our ideals and should be destroyed, even if we have to enter a war to accomplish this result.

Second—Our own protection depends on Britain as our first line of defense, and if she falls, we are exposed to the onslaught of a totalitarian combination. Per se, it follows that we must give England all the aid we can, even at the risk of entering the war.

Third—If Britain is defeated, it will be impossible for a free competitive, unorganized and unmanaged industrial system to compete with a totalitarian system.

War Does Not Destroy Ideologies

As to the first reason, you cannot destroy an ideology by waging war on it. The conditions created in Europe by the Versailles Treaty were largely responsible for the rise of Hitler and the Nazi philosophy. The history of Europe for the last 100 years is a story of cruelties, persecutions, injustices. No government was more repugnant to our ideals and ideas than the old Czaristic regime of Russia—it had over many years a series of pogroms, but we remained on friendly terms with Russia. Up to 1917 we had always remained true to the principles of foreign policy laid down by the founders of our country: the policy of keeping aloof from the quarrels of Europe and Asia.

The Communistic regime of Russia under Lenin and Stalin was equally opposed to our principles and was detested by the majority of our people. Nevertheless, we have maintained our relations with Russia, and we have certainly had no idea of making war on that country.

Sentimentalists or Realists?

A nation cannot be a knight-errant. It must be realistic. Great Britain, during her entire history, has been coldly realistic, and her success in building up her Empire has been due to her realism. As individuals we can give vent to our generous impulses or even to our pet hates, but our statesmen, our editors, our moulders of public opinion must consider that it is not their individual fortunes and lives that are to be considered, but those of 130,000,000 of their fellow citizens.

Now as to the second reason—our military defense in the event of a German victory. Our country has gone through a curious transformation of thought since May 10th. From an underestimate of the military and economic strength of Germany, it has gone to the opposite extreme of overestimating that strength. From some of the remarks heard on the Eastern seaboard in June, we would have thought that New York and Boston were in imminent danger of being bombed.

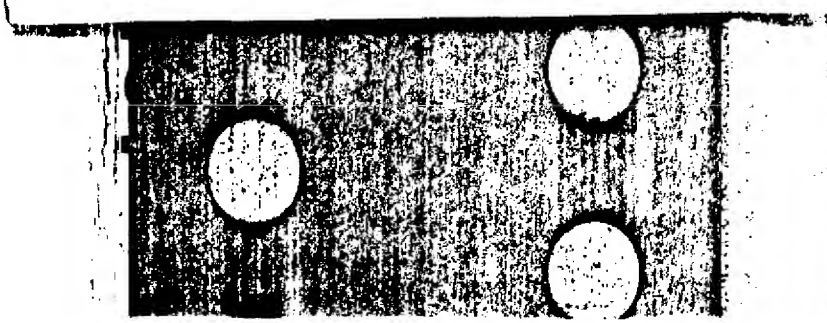
Bombings Alone Cannot Win

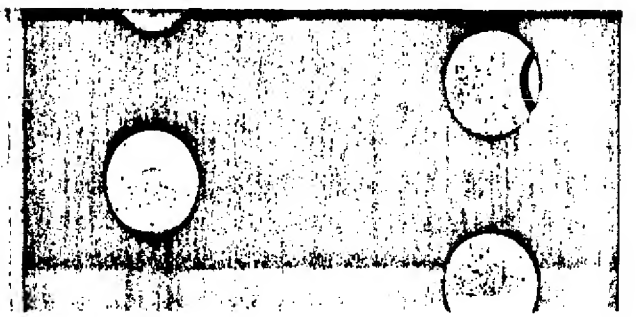
Now the events in Spain, Poland, Belgium and France showed the major importance of the air arm when supported by tanks, infantry and a modern army. But Spain showed that bombing of cities, unsupported by an army, cannot win a war or even shake the morale of a population if the nation is of tough fibre like the Spanish and English peoples.

Apparently the Battle of England is demonstrating the same principle. Unless an army can cross the Channel, the German air force cannot impose a decision on England. Casualties and material damage —yes. The 15,000 casualties in London so far are but a drop in the bucket for a nation of 45,000,000 people; more casualties were incurred in single days of the Verdun, Ypres and Somme offensives. The destruction of apartment houses, stores, public buildings do not constitute a blow to the military strength of a nation. If the docks, railroads, power plants and munitions plants are put out of commission, it does affect the military effort, but unless it is done on a gigantic scale the nation cannot be subdued, and all evidence is to the effect that military damage thus far has not been of such a serious character as to severely impair the island's defense.

Can England Be Invaded?

As for an invasion, at the great risk of being called a false prophet, I doubt whether any invasion will ever be made, and if it is attempted, it will be decisively repulsed. To land 250,000 Germans in England, with mechanized equipment, ammunition and necessary supplies, would be a gigantic operation. Once landed, that force would have to face 1,500,000 Englishmen under arms, fighting on their own island behind strong defenses. And to land those 250,000 Germans means practically complete mastery of the air, blocking off the English fleet, complete control of the Channel—none of which objectives have yet been attained after more than a month of intensive





effort. To sum up, I doubt whether the island can be conquered, and I am quite sure the British fleet cannot be put out of commission.

Now we come to our own danger of invasion and the perfectly fantastic hysteria that pervaded this country after the battle of France. I think any competent military or naval expert, certainly the vast majority, will tell you that there is absolutely no danger of an invasion of the United States even if Germany is completely victorious, and I doubt whether she will be. The amount of shipping required for the transportation of even 250,000 men of a modern mechanized army with their ammunition and supplies over 3,000 miles of ocean is colossal and it is to be presumed that our own navy and air force will not be idle.

No Army Can Attack Us

If it is impracticable or at least exceedingly difficult for an army to cross 25 miles of Channel, what valid grounds are there for supposing that a large army can cross 3,000 miles of ocean to invade a continent?

Some will inquire—why should it not be possible for Germany to seize bases in Mexico or Central America and attack from those countries. Again, that presupposes an overwhelming sea power. But even if that sea power were present, there would again be the same difficulties of a 3,000 mile long line of communication for an invading army. And an army once landed must cross an exceedingly difficult terrain before ever arriving at the Texas border. I think that hypothesis may be safely dismissed.

Panic First—Then War!

Now we come to the favorite bogey—air attacks. I quote from Major Al Williams' recent speech, reprinted in the Congressional Record—"Oceans and extended lines of communications are still vital factors in modern warfare. President Roosevelt's panicky flight schedule for the air invasion of America is ridiculous, worthy of Hollywood and certainly not of the White House. To support my argument against the President's wild flight schedule for a foreign air invasion of the United States I offer a single incontrovertible reason. With all their air power the Germans could not attack and subdue England from air bases 300 to 500 miles distant. Instead they seized air bases on the north coast of Holland, Belgium and France 20 to 100 miles distant from the coast of England. Each and every stage of

the fantastic itinerary for the air invasion of America would have to be conquered for the establishment of major air bases for the enemy attempting the job. The President must know this—but apparently the pattern is panic first, and then war."

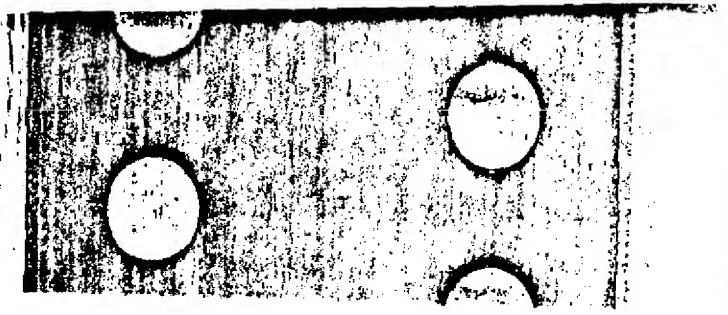
An Exhausted Germany Is Harmless

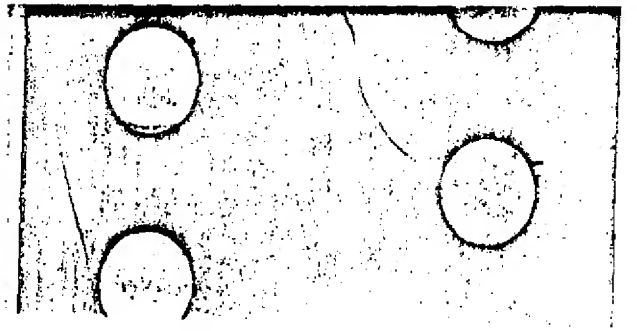
All of this presupposes a completely victorious Germany, ready at the end of a long and costly struggle, to immediately embark on a new and perilous adventure across 3,000 miles of ocean against a nation of 130,000,000 people. The present war represents seven years of preparation on the part of Germany. So-called total war represents a prodigal expenditure of labor, money and effort. Steel is rapidly consumed, aircraft and mechanical equipment are rapidly worn out, reserves of all kinds are exhausted, not to mention the wear and tear on human beings. A nation that for seven years has been given guns instead of butter is apt at the end of this war to demand more butter from its leaders.

So on every count it seems inconceivable to me that Germany at the end of the war, even if aided by its allies, who will be in a worse condition of exhaustion than Germany itself, will attack the United States. And if this country with its 130,000,00 people and its two great natural ocean barriers cannot defend itself unaided by Britain or anybody else, it does not deserve to survive. The great nation that has to trust to others for its defense is on the downward path to destruction.

Europe Must Have Our Goods

Now as to our economic problems. An economic war after the war—the loss of our European, Asiatic and South American trade. I have a high personal regard for Walter Lippmann's brains and ability, but I believe his picture of an unequal contest between a totalitarian economy and a free economy is misleading. After all, when two nations or two continents each have things the other needs trade eventually results regardless of the feelings each may have for the other. Europe needs us more than we need Europe—our materials and products are more important to her than hers to us. True, Germany has reduced largely its purchases from us, but more from necessity than choice. As far as South America is concerned, we can always obtain the lion's share of the trade of Mexico, Central America, Colombia and Venezuela because we buy the metals of Mexico, the coffee and bananas of Central America and Co-





lombia, the oil of Venezuela. In those countries, our geographical location must always give us the edge. We can take the coffee of Brazil but not its cotton; so its trade will naturally divide between Europe and the United States. It is in Argentina and Chile that our troubles come. We cannot take the meat, cotton and wool of the Argentina because we produce those products ourselves. The same applies to the copper and nitrates of Chile. We cannot sell unless we buy and that is a far greater obstacle than all Nazidom.

It must not be forgotten that Germany put on an intensive drive for trade in South America in the period 1936-1938, and if my recollection of the figures is correct, while Germany's percentage of the trade gained somewhat, the gain was not large, and it was largely at the expense of Great Britain; our trade declined only a fraction of one per cent.

We'll Get Our Share of Foreign Trade!

No man can foretell the future, but as long as we have products South America can use and above all, if they have products we can use, we will get our full share of the trade. As for Asia, the same remarks pertain as to Europe. Japan needs us far more than we need her. Our trade with Japan incidentally runs between five and six times the trade of China, whom we are making such great efforts to help. Even if Japan gets control of the Dutch East Indies—and that is not assured—she is going to be more anxious to sell us rubber and tin to obtain dollar exchange than we are to buy the products. And if war with Japan comes, we can get Bolivian tin and develop our synthetic rubber. We are certainly as resourceful as the Germans who are filling 90% of their rubber requirements with the synthetic article.

In 1937 Colombia's trade with us was 168,000,000 pesos, with Germany 40,000,000. Of Venezuela's trade, the United States took 12.5% of their imports and furnished 53% of the exports, Germany 13.6%. Of Costa Rica's imports, 42.5% came from the United States, 23% from Germany. Of her exports 45% went to the United States and 19.5% to Germany.

As for lack of organization, if needs be, we can meet fire with fire; we can set up export cartels and mass purchasing organizations and we can do this without danger to our system.

The Americas Must Stand Together!

Americans like myself feel that our true mission is in North America and South America. We stand today in an unrivalled position. With our resources and organizing ability we can develop, with our Canadian friends, an only partially developed continent like North America and a virgin continent like South America. The reorganization and proper development of Mexico alone would afford an outlet for our capital and energies for some time to come. And while I think we should try in every way to maintain the friendship of our neighbors to the South, I think we should also make it clearly understood that no government in Mexico, Central America and the Caribbean South American countries can be tolerated unless it is friendly to the United States and that we will make every effort to prevent the spread of totalitarian influence there.

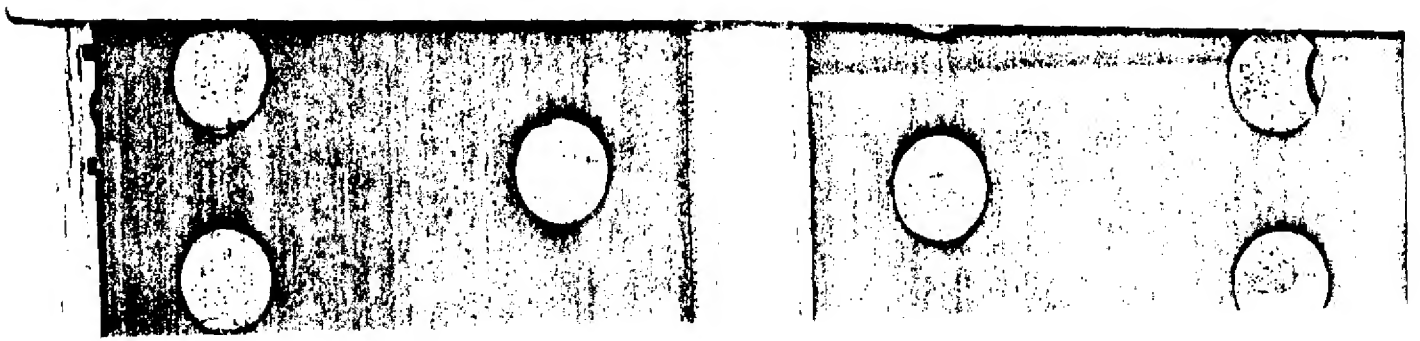
Instead of what seems to be a sane objective we are on the verge of throwing our treasure and our blood into a European war, with consequences that no one can foretell.

I respect the honest views of honest Americans, no matter how opposed they may be to my own, but there are two matters that I resent: First is the attempt to smear any one opposed to what I might call the majority publicized viewpoint of what we should do in this war. When the editor of a New York "newspaper" denounces Col. Lindbergh as the head of the Fifth Column in the U. S., we have reached the summit of mud slinging. You may disagree violently with Col. Lindbergh, you may feel he has made serious mistakes, but you have no right to denounce a courageous, patriotic American citizen as a traitor merely because he disagrees with your views. This is as bad as the Nazis, an attempt to suppress freedom of speech.

The other point I resent is the way the issue is being presented to the American people. We are being edged into the war without the masses' knowledge. We have the anomalous situation of the polls showing a majority of the people favoring a course that is bound to get us into the war, while the same polls show 88% of the same people oppose actual entry into the war. That shows that the minds of the people are confused.

How Wars Are Sold to Us

Many of my hearers were adults at the time of the previous war and were familiar with the propaganda that led up to that war. If you want to know the



history of that propaganda and its falsity, read a book by Sir Philip Gibbs with the title of "Now It Can Be Told," in which he admitted the outrageous lies that were perpetrated on the American public. And Sir Philip Gibbs was no German but the leading English war correspondent, knighted by his King. The London Economist in a recent issue said it was only a question of time until American public opinion could be brought to the point where we would actively enter the war.

I believe a majority of the people who are advocating "aid short of war" do not desire us to enter the war. But there are others who do desire us to enter the war, who are taking the necessary steps to prepare the American people for active participation, who would enter it tomorrow if they dared, who are today in practical alliance with England, and unfortunately they are the people who are shaping our national policy today. You hear in Washington today that we are now in the war. You hear predictions from men, and men who ought to know, that we will actively enter the war within sixty days after the election.

The American people should think this matter through. The course we are pursuing is bound to involve us in the war. You cannot play with fire and not get burned. You cannot have your government, not private manufacturers, transfer its equipment to foreign powers, you cannot have your government in an unofficial alliance with a foreign power, you cannot be a meddler in Indo-China, berate Italy and Germany without eventually involving the nation in war, and if war comes I venture to predict that we will repeat the history of the last war. When the declaration of war was made in 1917 originally it was intended to send only the Navy to the assistance of the Allies.

Man-Power, Too!

Joffre came over in the spring of 1917, told the plight of the French Army after the 1917 spring Champagne offensive, where whole divisions of the French Army mutinied, and implored us to send over a token force, otherwise France would collapse. We sent Pershing and the First Division, about 30,000 men. Then came the impending collapse of Russia, frantic calls for more men, then the great German offensive of 1918 and the rout of the British Fifth Army, more frantic appeals, until finally we put under arms 4,000,000 men, sent 2,000,000 men

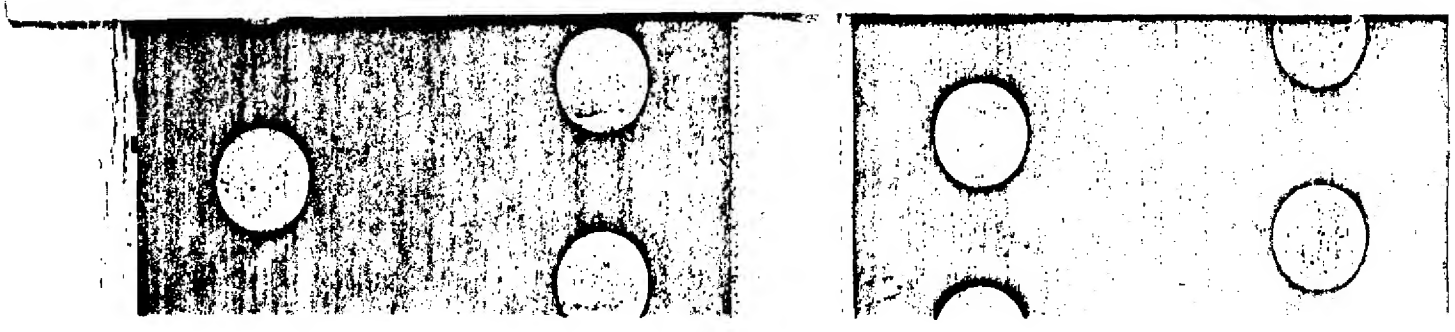
to France, spent 20 billion dollars and had 150,000 casualties. I need not refer to our treatment by our former allies after the Armistice. They took the loot, we did not even get thanks.

I do not often agree with the editorials on foreign policy in my friend Frank Knox's paper, but there is a recent editorial with which I am in 100% agreement. The editorial quoted two recent speeches by both Presidential candidates in which both pledged themselves never to send American boys to France. The editorial spoke of both these pledges as political bunk and very truly stated that if we entered the war we would enter it to win, and, if necessary to win, we would send an expeditionary force—and that is the absolute truth.

The People Must Know the Truth

The issue should be honestly presented to the people. If we aid Britain, short of war and beyond the limits of the Neutrality Act, it ultimately means war and should mean war. If we enter the war, we must enter it with all our strength in men and money. That is the only way to win a war.

If the military reports from abroad are correct, I feel there is no doubt that Great Britain can defend her island, her dominions like Canada, Australia and New Zealand. She may lose Egypt, the Suez and Gibraltar, though this is extremely doubtful. So far the Italians have shown no signs of real offensive strength. There is little doubt that England can make a negotiated peace by which she can keep her fleet and her colonies, but which will leave Germany the economic control of Western Europe. But she cannot decisively defeat Germany unaided. Her statesmen privately admit that, and say that for her to gain a decisive victory we will have to actively enter the war. One of the great mistakes made by the Allies in this war was that in its first six months they thought they could win a safe economical war, with France sitting behind the Maginot line and England maintaining its blockade, with little expenditure of blood and a minimum expenditure of treasure. For us to actively enter the war means ships, planes, money, men, expeditionary forces. That is the issue that must ultimately be presented to the American people, and it should be presented openly, honestly and squarely.



Our Own Democracy Will Be Sacrificed

In deciding this issue, the American people should face the costs. We start with a debt of $50,000,000,000. With the enormous cost of waging modern war, the cost of sending forces over 3,000 miles of ocean, of engaging our navy in the Far East, we would ultimately face a debt of from 100 to 150 billions. Victorious or defeated, we will be faced at the conclusion of such a war with great economic dislocations —the rich would face a capital levy, the middle classes impoverishment, and the masses a lowered standard of living and the loss of most of the social gains so far secured.

Competent observers believe that if the war is prolonged in Europe over one or two years, it will result in Communism in all Europe, and a species of National Socialism in England. If we are involved, it probably spells the end of capitalism all over the world.

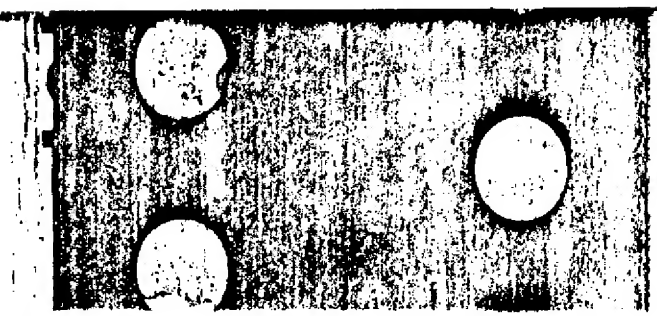
Defend America First, Last, Always

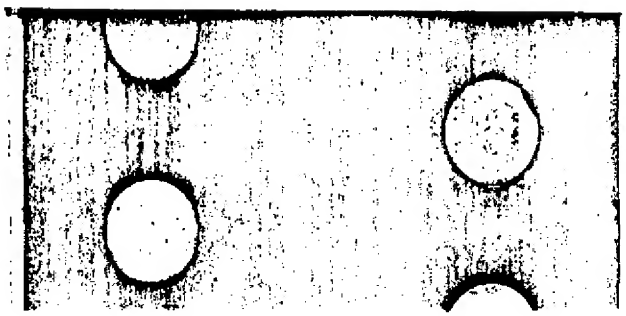
I would unhesitatingly say to throw everything we have into a war to defend the United States or our own sphere of influence, which is the North American continent and part, if not all, of the South American continent. I do not think the American people should make these sacrifices to interfere in the quarrels of Europe and Asia, old, sick and overpopulated continents with ancient rivalries that cannot be healed. It is up to the American people to decide whether they want to make these sacrifices to preserve not England but the British Empire, and help regulate Europe and Asia. But they should make the decision with all the cards on the table, not misled by artifice and subterfuge.

But if that decision is given affirmatively, I think you will find Americans like myself, who sincerely believe such a course spells disaster to the nation, will be at their posts of duty in the service of this country. I am old fashioned enough to believe in the toast offered by Stephen Decatur back in 1816, "Our Country! In her intercourse with foreign nations, may she always be in the right: but Our Country, right or wrong."

10-4-40

Additional copies of this speech can be obtained from America First Committee, 141 West Jackson Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois.





AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

Membership and Contribution Blank

I am a patriotic American citizen and agree with the principles of the America First Committee.

Enroll me as a member.

Name _____

Address _____

I contribute $_____ to the work of the Committee.
(You do not need to contribute to join the America First Committee.)

Send this application to

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
141 West Jackson Boulevard
Chicago, Illinois

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U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

SPEAK

A war dictatorship bill has been introduced in Co[illegible]

5/16/86 Pl 5 6 pgs

The President would have absolute power to do these things without consulting Congress or the people

1. Cancel the Neutrality Act and send our warships [illegible] into the war zones.
2. Cancel the Johnson Act and give unlimited funds to foreign nations.
3. Cancel any other law on the statute books.
4. Make military alliances with any nations anywhere in the world.
5. Take us into war whenever, wherever and against whomever he c
6. Give away our Navy to any nation.
7. Give away every gun and bullet in our Army to any nation.
8. Give away every American airplane to any nation.
9. Give away all our military secrets to any nation.
10. Open our harbors and all their facilities to the warships of any n engaged in war.
11. Seize the ships of one country and give them to another country.

13300

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
1319 VERMONT AVE.
NA 2425 WASHINGTON, D. C.

ACT NOW!

HERE'S WHAT YOU MUST DO NOW TO SAVE OUR REPUBLIC

- Telegraph, telephone or write your two Senators; also your Congressman; also Senator Walter F. George, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.
- Tell them you are opposed to the war dictatorship bill, that you want them to fight and vote against it, that you won't stand for compromises, that the whole bill must be killed and thrown out of the Capitol.
- Make a list of all your friends and relatives and get them to do the same.
- Do it immediately.

586

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

13297

b7C [redacted] February 27, 1941

RECORDED & INDEXED 100-4712-148

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

As of possible interest to you, I am furnishing information pertaining to the activities of [redacted] of the American First Committee of Los Angeles, California. b7C

Respectfully,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Enclosure

SEARCHED SERIALIZED FILED
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Mr. Tolson
Mr. Clegg
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Nathan
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Egan
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

Sent 6:50 PM 2-27-41

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b7C [redacted]

Federal Bureau of Investigation

United States Department of Justice
NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA
February 24, 1941

Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

RE: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE;
INTERNAL SECURITY

Dear Sir: -

b7C On February 12, 1941, [redacted] called at the New Orleans Field Office and furnished the following items pertaining to the America First Committee:

(1) Blank Membership Card;

(2) Flyer opposed to H.R. 1776;

(3) Letter addressed to "Fellow American" signed "R. Douglas Stuart, Jr., National Director";

(4) Flyer entitled "What Every Citizen Can Do to Defeat the War Bill (No. 1776)";

(5) A list of all Senators and Representatives.

This material is apparently published by the America First Committee with offices at 141 West Jackson Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois, and although b7C [redacted] is considered to be possibly a psychopathic complainant, it is believed this material should be in the possession of the Bureau for its information.

Very truly yours,

A. C. RUTZEN
Special Agent in Charge

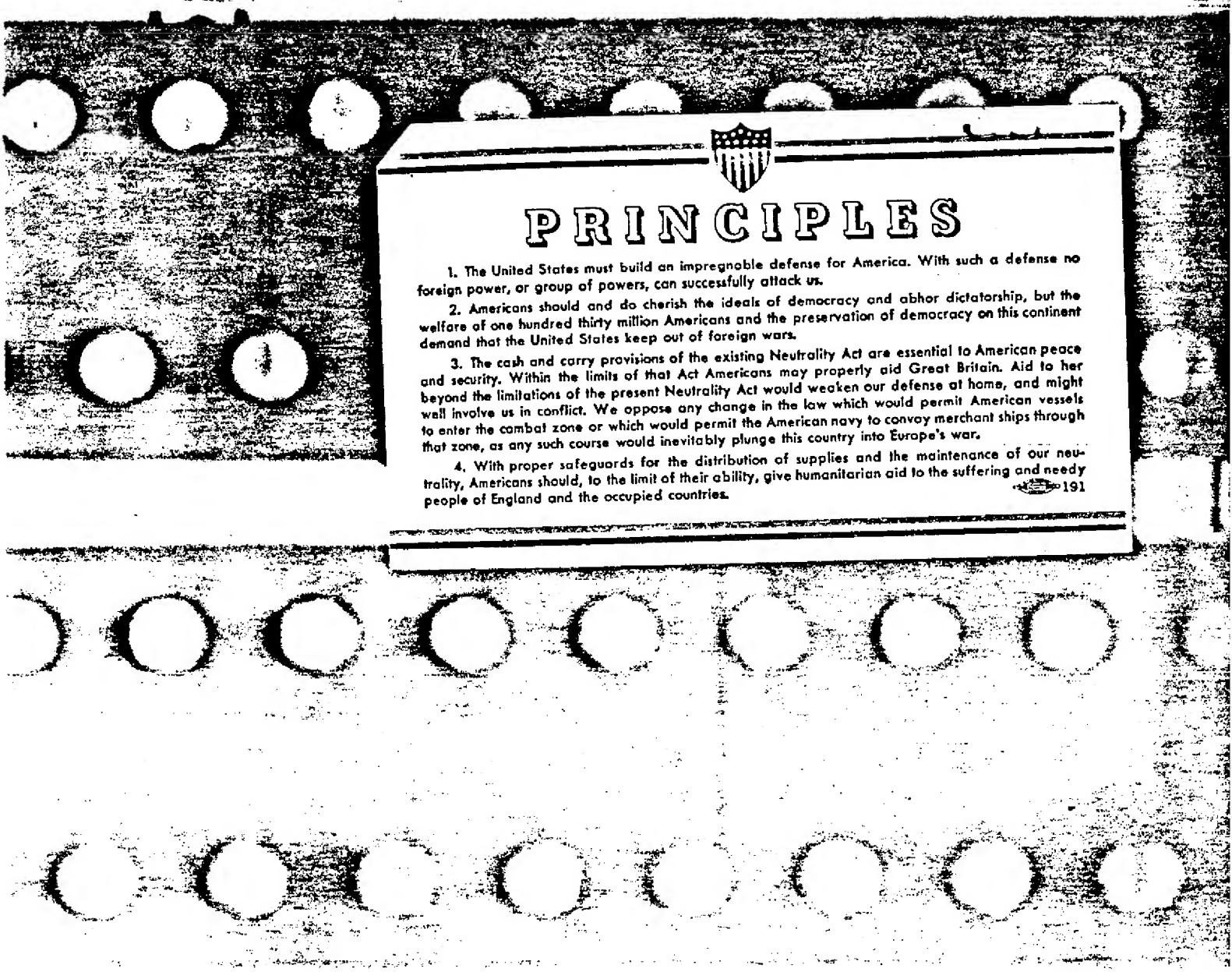
b7C [redacted]

Enclosures

RECORDED & INDEXED

100-4712-15
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
6 FEB 27
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 5/16/86 BY SP6 bjw/kcw



PRINCIPLES

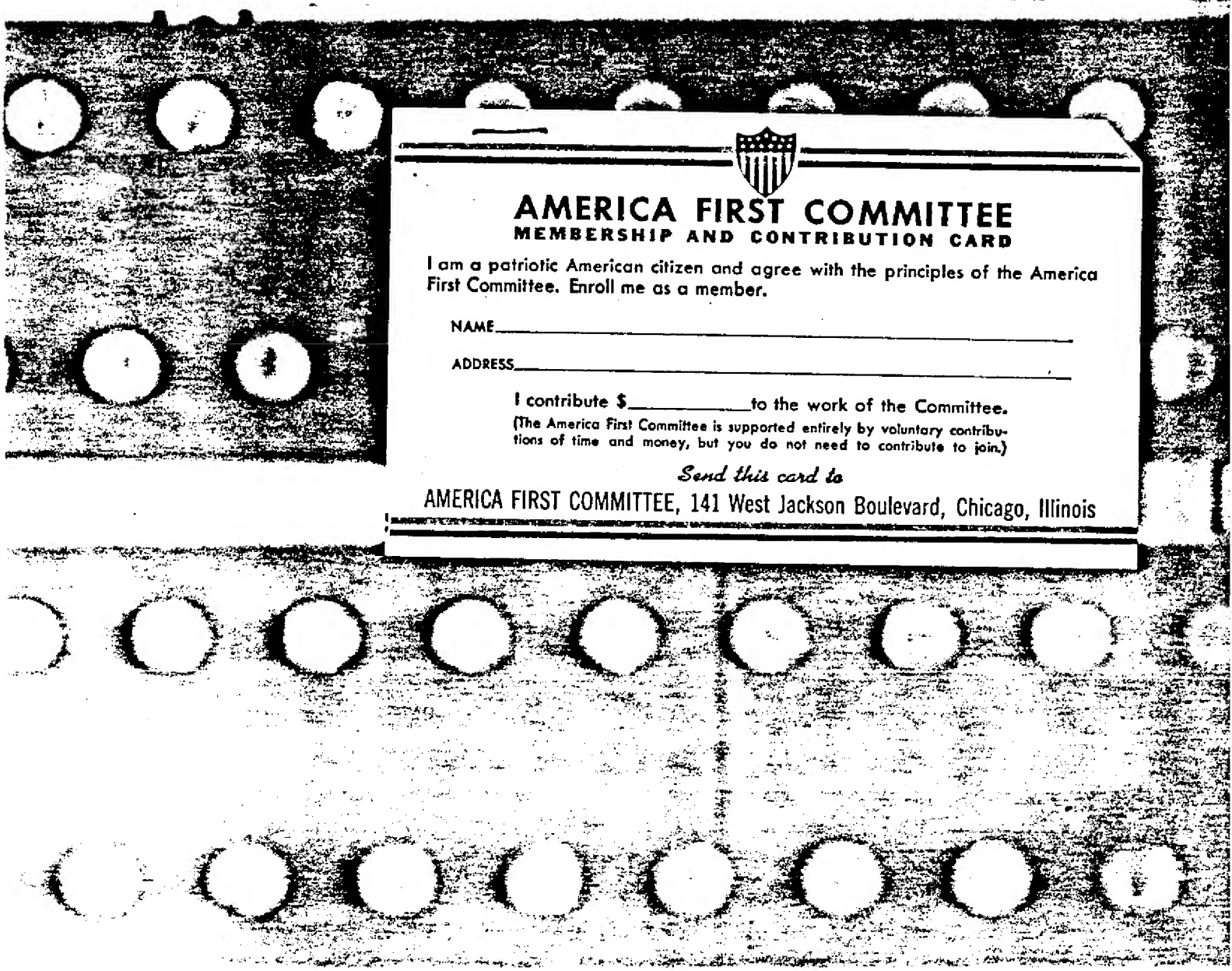
1. The United States must build an impregnable defense for America. With such a defense no foreign power, or group of powers, can successfully attack us.

2. Americans should and do cherish the ideals of democracy and abhor dictatorship, but the welfare of one hundred thirty million Americans and the preservation of democracy on this continent demand that the United States keep out of foreign wars.

3. The cash and carry provisions of the existing Neutrality Act are essential to American peace and security. Within the limits of that Act Americans may properly aid Great Britain. Aid to her beyond the limitations of the present Neutrality Act would weaken our defense at home, and might well involve us in conflict. We oppose any change in the law which would permit American vessels to enter the combat zone or which would permit the American navy to convoy merchant ships through that zone, as any such course would inevitably plunge this country into Europe's war.

4. With proper safeguards for the distribution of supplies and the maintenance of our neutrality, Americans should, to the limit of their ability, give humanitarian aid to the suffering and needy people of England and the occupied countries.

191



AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

MEMBERSHIP AND CONTRIBUTION CARD

I am a patriotic American citizen and agree with the principles of the America First Committee. Enroll me as a member.

NAME_____

ADDRESS_____

I contribute $_____ to the work of the Committee.

(The America First Committee is supported entirely by voluntary contributions of time and money, but you do not need to contribute to join.)

Send this card to

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE, 141 West Jackson Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois

ARE YOU WILLING TO GIVE UP DEMOCRACY?

DO YOU WANT TO GO TO WAR WITHOUT BEING ASKED?

ARE YOU READY TO MAKE THE U.S. A DICTATORSHIP?

THEN SPEAK UP NOW!

A war dictatorship bill has been introduced in Congress

The President would have absolute power to do these things without consulting Congress or the people

1. Cancel the Neutrality Act and send our warships and merchant vessels into the war zones.
2. Cancel the Johnson Act and give unlimited funds to foreign nations.
3. Cancel any other law on the statute books.
4. Make military alliances with any nations anywhere in the world.
5. Take us into war whenever, wherever and against whomever he chooses.
6. Give away our Navy to any nation.
7. Give away every gun and bullet in our Army to any nation.
8. Give away every American airplane to any nation.
9. Give away all our military secrets to any nation.
10. Open our harbors and all their facilities to the warships of any nations engaged in war.
11. Seize the ships of one country and give them to another country.

● **The President does not need these powers to help Britain.**

ACT NOW!

HERE'S WHAT YOU MUST DO NOW TO SAVE OUR REPUBLIC

ACT NOW!

● Telegraph, telephone or write your two Senators; also your Congressman; also Senator Walter F. George, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Address: Washington, D. C.

● Tell him you are opposed to the war dictatorship bill, that you want them to fight and vote against it, that you won't stand for compromises, that the whole bill must be killed and thrown out of the Capitol.

● Make a list of all your friends and relatives and get them to do the same.

● Do it immediately.

586

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
411 WEST JACKSON BOULEVARD
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

America First Committee

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS ★ 141 WEST JACKSON BOULEVARD ★ CHICAGO

TELEPHONE WABASH 6966

GEN. ROBERT E. WOOD, ACTING CHAIRMAN

R. DOUGLAS STUART, JR., DIRECTOR

J. SANFORD OTIS, TREASURER

National Committee

CHESTER BOWLES
DR. A. J. CARLSON
WILLIAM R. CASTLE
MRS. BENNETT CHAMP CLARK
IRVIN S. COBB
JANET AYER FAIRBANK
JOHN T. FLYNN
BISHOP WILBUR E. HAMMAKER
GEN. THOMAS HAMMOND
JAY C. HORMEL
GEN. HUGH S. JOHNSON
CLAY JUDSON
FLORENCE P. KAHN
KATHRYN LEWIS
ALICE ROOSEVELT LONGWORTH
FRANK O. LOWDEN
HANFORD MacNIDER
THOMAS N. McCARTER
RAY McKAIG
STERLING MORTON
GEORGE N. PEEK
AMOS R. E. PINCHOT
WILLIAM H. REGNERY
EDWARD L. RYERSON, JR.
LOUIS J. TABER
MRS. BURTON K. WHEELER
DR. GEORGE H. WHIPPLE
MAJOR ALFORD J. WILLIAMS

191

Fellow American:

We deeply believe that your response to this letter will help determine the fate of American democracy.

You are one who has indicated that you want to keep America out of war. You are one who knows that war means dictatorship.

Now we are actually faced with both horrors. A bill is now before Congress (ironically numbered 1776) which would give the President the power to take us into war.

Through this single bill the expressed determination of the American people to avoid war abroad could be thwarted by one man.

The fight to keep out of war and to preserve our democracy is now the fight to defeat this war dictatorship bill -- to defeat it completely and without compromise.

We are enclosing some of the weapons with which this threat to our liberty and security can be fought.

You must act now and keep active during the next few weeks. It may be our last chance.

We ask you to follow the suggestions on the enclosed sheet. And we ask you to send us a contribution immediately. Such a contribution, we believe, will be the greatest investment you have ever made -- an investment in American democracy.

Yours for action,

R. Douglas Stuart Jr.

R. Douglas Stuart Jr.
National Director

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DATE 5-6-86 BY SP6Bpa/tcg

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
National Headquarters
141 West Jackson Boulevard
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

What Every Citizen Can Do

To Defeat the War Bill [No. 1776]

REMEMBER: This bill CAN be defeated if you will make your voice heard in Washington immediately.

These Are the Men Who Must Hear From You ...

1—Your two Senators X wrote them —

2—The President

3—Your Congressman

4—Senator Walter F. George, Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. I wrote him urging vote for

How You Can Reach Them ...

1—Send telegrams

2—Write letters or postcards

3—Telephone. Yes! Phone your Senators in Washington. Ask to speak to them PERSONALLY. Tell them why you want them to vote against the bill. Ask them how they are going to vote. Just give long distance the names of your Senators and say you want to speak to them in Washington.

How You Can Get Others to Act ...

1—Make a list of all the men and women you know—friends, relatives, neighbors—and get them to do exactly what you are doing. (Get at least 10 as your minimum goal).

2—Urge organizations of which you are a member to pass resolutions against the bill and invite speakers to describe its dangers. (Rotary, Kiwanis, Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A., Etc.)

3—Write letters to the editors of your local newspapers, also to the editors of magazines you read, also to the Washington political columnists you read. Write your radio commentators in care of your local station, or the network.

What Else You Can Do ...

1—Become active in the local Chapter of the America First Committee.

2—If there is no local chapter, now is the time to get together with like-minded citizens and organize one. Write immediately for further details.

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DATE 5/6/86 BY Sabja/tay

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE ☆ ☆ CHICAGO, ILLINOIS ☆ ☆

Democracy in Action

If you want to keep America out of war, let your officials know about it. Write or wire today and every week to your two Senators, your Representative, the Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee (Senator Walter F. George), the Chairman of the House Foreign Relations Committee (Representative Sol Bloom), and to the President. Also write your newspaper editor.

Get your friends and neighbors to write.

You can get the number of your Congressional District from your City Hall, local Post Office, local Western Union or Postal Telegraph Office, or the local chapter of the America First Committee.

ere is a list of all Senators and Representatives. Yours is among them. The members of the Senate and House oreign Relations Committees have an asterisk (*) in front of their names. Senators should be addressed: Senate ffice Building. Representatives should be addressed: House Office Building.

Cong. Dist. ALABAMA

Senators:
John H. Bankhead
Lister Hill

Representatives:
1 Frank William Boykin
2 George McInvale Grant
3 Henry Bascom Steagall
4 Sam Hobbs
5 Joe Starnes
6 *Pete Jarman
7 Walter W. Bankhead
8 John J. Sparkman
9 Luther Patrick

ARIZONA

Senators:
Ernest W. McFarland
Carl Hayden

Representative-At-Large:
John R. Murdock

ARKANSAS

Senators:
Hattie W. Caraway
John E. Miller

Representatives:
1 Ezekiel Candler Gathings
2 Wilbur D. Mills
3 Clyde Taylor Ellis
4 Fadjo Cravens
5 David Dickson Terry
6 William F. Norrell
7 Oren Harris

CALIFORNIA

Senators:
*Hiram W. Johnson
Sheridan Downey

Representatives:
1 Clarence Frederick Lea
2 Harry Lane Englebright
3 Frank H. Buck
4 Thomas Rolph
5 Richard J. Welch
6 Albert E. Carter
7 John H. Tolan
8 John Z. Anderson
9 Bertrand W. Gearhart
10 Alfred J. Elliott
11 Carl Hinshaw
12 Jerry Voorhis
13 Charles Kramer
14 Thomas Francis Ford
15 John Martin Costello
16 Leland M. Ford
17 Lee E. Geyer
18 Ward Johnson
19 Harry R. Sheppard
20 *Edouard V. M. Izac

COLORADO

Senators:
Alva Blanchard Adams
Edwin Carl Johnson

Representatives:
1 Lawrence Lewis
2 William S. Hill
3 J. Edgar Chenoweth
4 Edward Thomas Taylor

CONNECTICUT

Senators:
Francis T. Maloney
John A. Danaher

Cong. Dist. CONNECTICUT (Cont.)

At-Large: Lucien L. Maciora
1 Herman Kopplemann
2 William J. Fitzgerald
3 *James A. Shanley
4 Leroy D. Downs
5 J. Joseph Smith

DELAWARE

Senators:
James M. Tunnell
James H. Hughes

Representative-At-Large:
Phillip A. Traynor

FLORIDA

Senators:
Charles O. Andrews
*Claude Pepper

Representatives:
1 James Hardin Peterson
2 Robert Lee Green
3 *Robert Sikes
4 Pat Cannon
5 Joe Hendricks

GEORGIA

Senators:
*Walter Franklin George
Richard B. Russell, Jr.

Representatives:
1 Hugh Peterson
2 Edward Eugene Cox
3 Stephen Pace
4 Albert Sidney Camp
5 Robert Ramspeck
6 Carl Vinson
7 Malcolm Connor Tarver
8 John S. Gibson
9 B. Frank Whelchel
10 Paul Brown

IDAHO

Senators:
D. Worth Clark
John Thomas

Representatives:
1 Compton I. White
2 Henry C. Dworshak

ILLINOIS

Senators:
Scott W. Lucas
C. Wayland Brooks

Representatives:
At-Large: William G. Stratton
Stephen A. Day
1 Arthur W. Mitchell
2 Raymond S. McKeough
3 Edward A. Kelly
4 Harry P. Beam
5 Adolph J. Sabath
6 Anton F. Maciejewski
7 Leonard W. Schuetz
8 Leo Kocialkowski
9 Charles S. Dewey
10 George A. Paddock
11 Chauncey W. Reed
12 Noah Morgan Mason
13 Leo Elwood Allen
14 Anton J. Johnson
15 *Robert Bruce Chiperfield
16 Everett McKinley Dirksen
17 Leslie C. Arends

Cong. Dist. ILLINOIS (Cont.)

18 [illegible]
19 William Howard Wheat
20 James M. Barnes
21 Evan Howell
22 Edwin Martin Schaefer
23 *Laurence F. Arnold
24 James V. Heidinger
25 C. W. Bishop

INDIANA

Senators:
*Frederick Van Nuys
Raymond E. Willis

Representatives:
1 William Theodore Schulte
2 Charles A. Halleck
3 Robert A. Grant
4 George W. Gillie
5 Forest Arthur Harness
6 Noble J. Johnson
7 Gerald W. Landis
8 John William Boehne, Jr.
9 Earl Wilson
10 Raymond Smiley Springer
11 William Henry Larrabee
12 Louis Leon Ludlow

IOWA

Senators:
*Guy Mark Gillette
Clyde LaVerne Herring

Representatives:
1 Thomas Ellsworth Martin
2 William Sebastian Jacobsen
3 John W. Gwynne
4 Henry O. Talle
5 Karl Miles LeCompte
6 Paul H. Cunningham
7 Ben Franklin Jensen
8 Fred C. Gilchrist
9 Vincent F. Harrington

KANSAS

Senators:
*Arthur Capper
Clyde Martin Reed

Representatives:
1 William Purnell Lambertson
2 Ulysses Samuel Guyer
3 Thomas D. Winter
4 Edward H. Rees
5 John M. Houston
6 Frank Carlson
7 Clifford R. Hope

KENTUCKY

Senators:
*Alben William Barkley
Albert Benjamin Chandler

Representatives:
1 *Noble Jones Gregory
2 Beverly Mills Vincent
3 Emmet O'Neal
4 Edward Wester Creal
5 Brent Spence
6 Virgil Chapman
7 Andrew Jackson May
8 Joe B. Bates
9 John Marshall Robsion

LOUISIANA

Senators:
John Holmes Overton
Allen Joseph Ellender

Cong. Dist. LOUISIANA (Cont.)

Representatives:
1 F. Edward Hebert
2 T. Hale Boggs
3 James Domengeaux
4 Overton Brooks
5 Newt V. Mills
6 Jared Y. Sanders
7 Vance Plauche
8 A. Leonard Allen

MAINE

Senators:
Ralph O. Brewster
Wallace Humphrey White, Jr.

Representatives:
1 James Churchill Oliver
2 Margaret Chase Smith
3 Frank Fellows

MARYLAND

Senators:
Millard E. Tydings
George L. Radcliffe

Representatives:
1 David J. Ward
2 William Purington Cole, Jr.
3 Thomas D'Alesandro, Jr.
4 John A. Meyer
5 Lansdale G. Sasscer
6 William Devereux Byron

MASSACHUSETTS

Senators:
David I. Walsh
Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr.

Representatives:
1 Allen Towner Treadway
2 Charles Russell Clason
3 Joseph E. Casey
4 Pehr G. Holmes
5 *Edith Nourse Rogers
6 George Joseph Bates
7 Lawrence J. Connery
8 Arthur Daniel Healey
9 Thomas H. Eliot
10 *George Holden Tinkham
11 Thomas A. Flaherty
12 John W. McCormack
13 Richard B. Wigglesworth
14 Joseph William Martin, Jr.
15 Charles L. Gifford

MICHIGAN

Senators:
*Arthur H. Vandenberg
Prentiss M. Brown

Representatives:
1 Rudolph G. Tenerowicz
2 Earl Cory Michener
3 Paul W. Shafer
4 Clare E. Hoffman
5 *Bartel J. Jonkman
6 William W. Blackney
7 Jesse Paine Wolcott
8 Fred L. Crawford
9 Albert J. Engel
10 Roy Orchard Woodruff
11 Fred Bradley
12 Frank E. Hook
13 George D. O'Brien
14 Louis Charles Rabaut
15 John D. Dingell
16 John Lesinski
17 George Anthony Dondero

(OVER)

586

Cong. Dist. MINNESOTA

Senators:
*Henrik Shipstead
Joseph Ball

Representatives:
1 August Herman Andresen
2 Joseph P. O'Hara
3 Richard P. Gale
4 Melvin J. Maas
5 Oscar Youngdahl
6 Harold Knutson
7 H. Carl Andersen
8 William Alvin Pittenger
9 Richard Thompson Buckler

MISSISSIPPI

Senators:
*Pat Harrison
Theodore Gilmore Bilbo

Representatives:
1 John Elliott Rankin
2 Wall Doxey
3 William Madison Whittington
4 *Aaron Lane Ford
5 Ross A. Collins
6 William Meyers Colmer
7 Dan R. McGehee

MISSOURI

Senators:
*Bennett Champ Clark
Harry S. Truman

Representatives:
1 William [illegible]
3 Richard M. Duncan
4 Charles Jasper Bell
5 Joseph B. Shannon
6 Phil A. Bennett
7 Dewey Short
8 Clyde Williams
9 Clarence Cannon
10 Orville Zimmerman
11 John B. Sullivan
12 Walter Ploeser
13 John C. Cochran

MONTANA

Senators:
Burton Kendall Wheeler
*James E. Murray

Representatives:
1 Jeanette Rankin
2 James Francis O'Connor

NEBRASKA

Senators:
George W. Norris
Hugh A. Butler

Representatives:
1 Oren S. Copeland
2 Charles F. McLaughlin
3 Karl Stefan
4 Carl T. Curtis
5 Harry Buffington Coffee

NEVADA

Senators:
Berkeley L. Bunker
Patrick A. (Pat) McCarran

Representative-At-Large:
James Graves Scrugham

NEW HAMPSHIRE

Senators:
[illegible]
Charles William Tobey

Representatives:
1 Arthur Byron Jenks
2 *Foster Stearns

NEW JERSEY

Senators:
William H. Smathers
W. Warren Barbour

Representatives:
1 Charles A. Wolverton
2 Elmer H. Wene
3 William H. Sutphin
4 D. Lane Powers
5 *Charles Aubrey Eaton
6 Donald H. McLean
7 J. Parnell Thomas
8 Gordon Canfield
9 Frank C. Osmers, Jr.
10 Fred A. Hartley, Jr.
11 Albert Lincoln Vreeland
12 Robert Winthrop Kean
13 Mary Teresa Norton
14 Edward J. Hart

NEW MEXICO

Senators:
Carl A. Hatch
Dennis Chavez

Representative-At-Large:
Clinton P. Anderson

Cong. Dist. NEW YORK

Senators:
*Robert F. Wagner
Jam[illegible] Mead

Representatives:
At-Large: Matthew J. Merritt
Caroline O'Day
1 Leonard W. Hall
2 William B. Barry
3 *Joseph L. Pfeifer
4 Thomas H. Cullen
5 James H. Heffernan
6 Andrew L. Somers
7 John J. Delaney
8 Donald L. O'Toole
9 Eugene J. Keogh
10 Emanuel Celler
11 James A. O'Leary
12 Samuel Dickstein
13 Louis J. Capozzoli
14 M. Michael Edelstein
15 Michael Joseph Kennedy
16 William T. Pheiffer
17 Kenneth F. Simpson
18 Martin J. Kennedy
19 *Sol Bloom
20 Vito Marcantonio
21 Joseph A. Gavagan
22 Walter A. Lynch
23 Charles A. Buckley
24 James M. Fitzpatrick
25 Ralph Abernethy Gamble
26 *Hamilton Fish
28 William Thomas Byrne
29 E. Harold Cluett
30 Frank Crowther
31 Clarence E. Kilburn
32 Francis D. Culkin
33 Fred J. Douglas
34 Edwin Arthur Hall
35 Clarence E. Hancock
36 John Taber
37 W. Sterling Cole
38 Joseph J. O'Brien
39 James W. Wadsworth
40 Walter Gresham Andrews
41 Alfred E. Beiter
42 Pius L. Schwert
43 Daniel Alden Reed

NORTH CAROLINA

Senators:
Josiah William Bailey
*Robert Rice Reynolds

Representatives:
1 Herbert C. Bonner
2 John Hosea Kerr
3 Graham Arthur Barden
4 Harold Dunbar Cooley
5 Alonzo Dillard Folger
6 Carl Thomas Durham
7 J. Bayard Clark
8 *William Olin Burgin
9 Robert L. Doughton
10 A. L. Bulwinkle
11 Zebulon Weaver

NORTH DAKOTA

Senators:
William Langer
*Gerald P. Nye

Representatives-At-Large:
Usher L. Burdick
Charles Robertson

OHIO

Senators:
Harold H. Burton
Robert Alphonso Taft

Representatives:
At-Large: George H. Bender
Stephen M. Young
1 Charles H. Elston
2 William E. Hess
3 Greg Holbrook
4 Robert Franklin Jones
5 Cliff Clevenger
6 *Jacob E. Davis
7 Clarence J. Brown
8 Frederick C. Smith
9 John F. Hunter
10 Thomas A. Jenkins
11 Harold K. Claypool
12 *John M. Vorys
13 A. D. Baumhart, Jr.
14 Dow W. Harter
15 Robert Thompson Secrest
16 William R. Thom
17 J. Harry McGregor
18 Laurence E. Imhoff
19 Michael Joseph Kirwan
20 Martin L. Sweeney
21 Robert Crosser
22 *Frances P. Bolton

Senators:
Elmer Thomas
Josh Lee

Representatives:
At-Large: Will Rogers
1 Wesley Ernest Disney
2 Jack Nichols
3 Wilburn Cartwright
4 Lyle H. Boren
5 A. S. Mike Monroney
6 Jed Johnson
7 Sam C. Massingale
8 Ross Rizley

OREGON

Senators:
Charles L. McNary
Rufus C. Holman

Representatives:
1 James W. Mott
2 Walter Marcus Pierce
3 Homer D. Angell

PENNSYLVANIA

Senators:
James John Davis
*Joseph F. Guffey

Representatives:
1 Leon Sacks
2 James P. McGranery
3 Michael J. Bradley
4 John Edward Sheridan
5 Francis B. Smith
6 Francis John Myers
7 Hugh D. Scott, Jr.
8 James Wolfenden
9 Charles L. Gerlach
10 J. Roland Kinser
11 Patrick J. Boland
12 J. Harold Flannery
13 Ivor D. Fenton
14 Guy L. Moser
15 Albert G. Rutherford
16 Robert F. Rich
17 J. William Ditter
18 Richard M. Simpson
19 John Crain Kunkel
20 Benjamin Jarrett
21 Francis E. Walter
22 Harry L. Haines
23 James E. Van Zandt
24 John Buell Snyder
25 Charles I. Faddis
26 Louis Edward Graham
27 Harve Tibbott
28 Augustine B. Kelley
29 Robert Lewis Rodgers
30 Thomas E. Scanlon
31 Samuel A. Weiss
32 *Herman P. Eberharter
33 Joseph A. McArdle
34 James A. Wright

RHODE ISLAND

Senators:
Peter G. Gerry
*Theodore Francis Green

Representatives:
1 Aime J. Forand
2 John E. Fogarty

SOUTH CAROLINA

Senators:
Ellison DuRant Smith
*James Francis Byrnes

Representatives:
1 L. Mendel Rivers
2 Hampton Pitts Fulmer
3 Butler B. Hare
4 Joseph Raleigh Bryson
5 *James Prioleau Richards
6 John L. McMillan

SOUTH DAKOTA

Senators:
William John Bulow
Chan Gurney

Representatives:
1 *Karl E. Mundt
2 Francis Case

TENNESSEE

Senators:
Kenneth McKellar
Tom Stewart

Representatives:
1 Brazilla Carrol Reece
2 John Jennings, Jr.
3 Estes Kefauver
4 Albert Arnold Gore
5 J. Percival Priest
6 *Wirt Courtney
7 Herron Pearson
8 Jere Cooper
9 Clifford Davis

Morris Sheppard
*Tom Connally

Representatives:
1 Wright Patman
2 Martin Dies
3 Lindley Beckworth
4 Sam Rayburn
5 Hatton W. Sumners
6 *Luther A. Johnson
7 Nat Patton
8 Albert Thomas
9 Joseph Jefferson Mansfield
10 Lyndon Baines Johnson
11 William Robert Poage
12 Fritz Garland Lanham
13 Ed Gossett
14 Richard M. Kleberg
15 Milton H. West
16 Robert Ewing Thomason
17 Sam Russell
18 Eugene Worley
19 George H. Mahon
20 Paul J. Kilday
21 Charles L. South

UTAH

Senators:
Abe Murdock
*Elbert Duncan Thomas

Representatives:
1 Walter K. Granger
2 J. W. Robinson

VERMONT

Senators:
Warren Robinson Austin
George D. Aiken

Representative-At-Large:
Charles Albert Plumley

VIRGINIA

Senators:
*Carter Glass
Harry Flood Byrd

Representatives:
1 Schuyler Otis Bland
2 Colgate Whitehead Darden, Jr.
3 Dave E. Satterfield, Jr.
4 Patrick Henry Drewry
5 Thomas G. Burch
6 Clifton Alexander Woodrum
7 A. Willis Robertson
8 Howard Worth Smith
9 John W. Flannagan, Jr.

WASHINGTON

Senators:
Homer Truett Bone
Mon. C. Wallgren

Representatives:
1 Warren G. Magnuson
2 Henry M. Jackson
3 Martin F. Smith
4 Knute Hill
5 Charles H. Leavy
6 John Main Coffee

WEST VIRGINIA

Senators:
Matthew M. Neely
Harley M. Kilgore

Representatives:
1 Robert L. Ramsey
2 Jennings Randolph
3 Andrew Edmiston
4 George William Johnson
5 *John Kee
6 Joe L. Smith

WISCONSIN

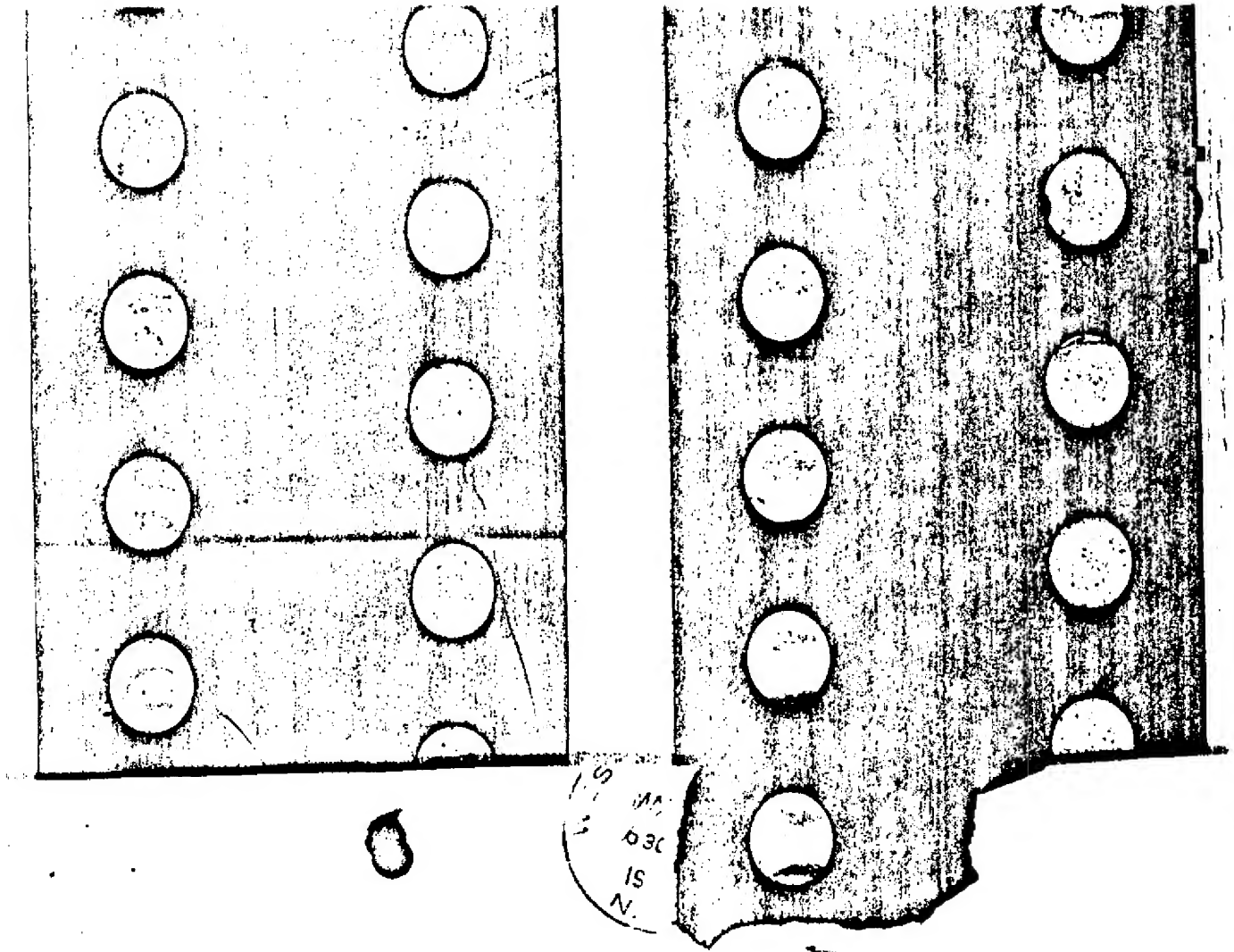
Senators:
*Robert M. LaFollette, Jr.
Alexander Wiley

Representatives:
1 Stephen Bolles
2 Harry Sauthoff
3 William H. Stevenson
4 *T. F. B. Wasielewski
5 Lewis D. Thill
6 Frank Bateman Keefe
7 Reid F. Murray
8 Joshua Leroy Johns
9 Merlin Hull
10 Bernard J. Gehrmann

WYOMING

Senators:
Joseph C. O'Mahoney
Harry H. Schwartz

Representative-At-Large:
John J. McIntyre



Honorable President
Franklin D. Roosevelt
"The White House"
Washington, D.C.

FEE PAID 10 CENTS

Los Angeles 4/1/41

5/6/42 SL by Galley Copy #23

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10-1-85 BY SP2 mac
NW 1103

Dear Mr Hoover -

The following may
how to get the lowdown on a lot of
Nazi + communist 5th columnists
who may be ready to sabotage our
defense industry. The enclosed
clipping gave me this idea.

How about having a flock
of F.B.I. agents planted at one or
several of these America First Com
-mittee meetings where Burton K. Wheeler or
Lindbergh speaks and also Senator
Nye speaks at a certain crucial
moment have one of your selected
men get up and shout
"Heil Hitler" Then
Nazi + communist fist
fights will break out
and about
Dec-5-11-41

RECORDED & INDEXED
100-4712-
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
6 FEB 26
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

b7c

fore it ...

President's Name Booed and Hissed

NEW YORK, Feb. 20. (AP)— The names of supporters of the British aid bill, including President Roosevelt, were booed and hissed tonight at a mass meeting at which Senator Burton K. Wheeler (D.) Mont. and Senator Gerald P. Nye (R.) N.D., asserted passage of the bill would mean almost immediate involvement of this country in war.

The audience at the meeting, sponsored by the America First Committee and the Keep America Out of War Congress, was described as "un-American" in a statement issued at its conclusion by Dr. Frank Kingdon and Herbert Bayard Swope, chairman and vice-chairman, respectively, of the New York chapter of the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies. Their committee supports the bill.

"This audience booed and hissed every mention of the names of President Roosevelt, Wendell L. Willkie and other American spokesmen, yet not a murmur of disapproval was evidenced when one speaker referred to Hitler, Mussolini and Stalin," Dr. Kingdon and Swope said in a joint statement.

#241183

ALL ... CONTAINED

... 10-1-85 ... 5/6/86 ... by ... Comp# 262359

b7c [redacted]

100-4712-16

RECORDED

March 12, 1941

5/6/86 SP6 by a/Key Comp #2359
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DATE 9/1/85 BY 3pfmac/pt
E.O. 11/1/93

b7c [redacted]
Los Angeles, California

b7c Dear [redacted]

I wish to acknowledge receipt of your letter dated February 21, 1941, with enclosure, and to thank you for your courtesy and interest in writing to this Bureau.

You may be assured the content of your communication and its enclosure has been made a matter of official record at the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Nathan
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Trapp
Miss Gandy

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED
MAR 13 1941
P.M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

b7c [redacted]

CONNECTION ATTACHED

Honorable President: 3/1/41.

Enclosed please find card which I have just received, and as an American Citizen I feel it is my duty, to let you know of this, as perhaps it would be of interest to you.

Kindest regards and may God Bless you and yours.

JENCL

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/6/86 BY SP6 bja/tkg

RECORDED 100-4712-17

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
5 [illegible] 1941
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

[redacted] b7C

WILL YOU DO YOUR PART TODAY?

Senator Wheeler tells us the Lend-Lease War BILL CAN be defeated IF Senators are deluged NOW with more letters against the Bill.

H. R. 1776 MUST NOT PASS!

It will let our men be sent to fight in Europe and Asia notwithstanding the provision in the Draft Act to keep them here for defense of the Western Hemisphere.

Write again and again! Get others to write!

(See other side)

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE 49 East 53 Street, N.Y.C.

(Help distribute these cards — $1 a hundred)

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DATE 5/6/86 BY SP6 byatt cy

100-3912-17

100-4112-1X

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. E. A. Tamm	
Mr. Clegg	
Mr. Foxworth	
Mr. Nathan	
Mr. Ladd	
Mr. Glavin	
Mr. Nichols	
Mr. Hendon	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Tracy	
Miss Gandy	

March 3, 1941

M E M O R A N D U M

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

Information has been received by the Bureau as of February 10, 1941, from an unknown outside source that John L. Wheeler, a Los Angeles attorney, son of Senator Wheeler, has recently been named head of the Los Angeles section of the America First Committee [redacted] b7C

It is further reported by this source that the wife of Senator Wheeler is one of the Board of Directors of the America First Committee. [redacted] b7C

The same informant has also advised that the America First Committee is now using Harry Elmer Barnes as a lecturer, who is talking against the Lend-Lease Bill. Harry Barnes is reported to be one of the editorial sponsors of the Socialist Party's anti-British newsletter, Uncensored [redacted] b7C

100-4112-1X

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
MAR 24 1941
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FIVE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 5/6/86 BY SP6 bja/ltcg

b7c [redacted]

13230

, 1941

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

The America First Committee was incorporated under the Not for Profit Laws of the State of Illinois on September 19, 1940. The purposes of the Committee, as outlined in its charter, are to encourage and maintain in the United States of America:

1 - Peace and the Democratic ideal.

2 - A program of adequate defense.

3 - In furtherance of peace on this continent, a policy of nonintervention in the affairs of other continents; and to encourage the giving of help to refugees and the needy in other lands in so far as such help does not endanger the maintenance of peace in the United States.

The America First Committee has advertised itself elsewhere as being a

"nonpartisan organization of loyal and patriotic American citizens who believe:

1 - The United States must build an impregnable national defense.

2 - No foreign power nor group of powers can ever successfully invade a prepared America.

3 - Our Government's sending more of its own ships, planes and materials of war to a belligerent overseas, dangerously weakens our defense at home and threatens to involve America in war abroad.

Per FOIA Request

COPIES DESTROYED
3-27-58
.R69
Serial 14
.SNIFEM
1 ENCL. FM

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Nathan
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rendon
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

100-4712-1

4 MAR

#248,563

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56-86 Sf by attey Corp # 262359

"4 - Our American Democratic liberties can only be preserved by keeping out of foreign war - in Europe or in Asia."

The National Headquarters of the America First Committee is located at 1806 Board of Trade Building, Chicago, Illinois. A local headquarters is maintained in Washington, D. C. at 1010 Vermont Avenue, Northwest.

There is a total of 586 local chapters and affiliated units of the America First Committee throughout the United States. The following persons constitute the Officers of the local chapter in Washington, D. C.:

Chairman	-	Mrs. Bennett Champ Clark
Secretary	-	Mrs. Frank Simonds
Treasurer	-	Mrs. Burton K. Wheeler
Membership Committee	-	(Mrs. Frank West (Pete Macias (Emil Hurja (Mrs. Emil Hurja
Finance Committee	-	(Clarence Mewes (Katrina McCormack Barnes.

Among those who have participated actively in the work of the America First Committee are the following:

Edwin S. Webster, Jr., Senior member of the Wall Street firm of Kidder, Peabody and Company
Colonel Theodore Roosevelt
Dorothy Dunbar Bromley
John T. Flynn
Archibald B. Roosevelt
Amos E. R. Pinchot
Mrs. Bennett Champ Clark
Dorothy Detzer, head of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

William R. Castle, former
Under Secretary of State.

The Washington Chapter of the America First Committee sponsored a mass meeting in the National Theatre on Sunday, January 26, 1941. The speakers on the program were listed as follows:

John T. Flynn	-	columnist, lecturer and economist
Mrs. Robert A. Taft	-	wife of the Ohio Senator
Philip La Follette	-	former Governor of Wisconsin.

It is reported that Mrs. C. H. Robertson is the Chairman of the Hyde Park, New York, Chapter of the America First Committee. She has announced that a house-to-house canvass is being made to obtain signatures demanding the defeat of legislation now pending in Congress calculated to aid Great Britain.

It is also reported that Chapter Chairmen of the America First Committee met in Washington, D. C. on February 21, 1941, to discuss plans for a final drive to defeat legislation now pending in Congress to aid Great Britain. The announced purpose of this meeting was to devise means of urging voters to write their Senators and Congressmen in opposition to pending legislation.

The following is a list of the Officers and Directors of the America First Committee with a background as to each individual:

Acting Chairman - GENERAL ROBERT E. WOOD, 925 S. Homan Avenue, Chicago, Illinois; graduate of West Point and served many years as officer in the U. S. Army; presently Chairman of the Board of Directors of Sears Roebuck and Company.

National Director and Secretary - R. DOUGLAS STUART, JR., 141 W. Jackson Blvd., Chicago, Illinois; graduate of Yale University and studied three years in the Yale Law School before terminating his study to become associated with the America First Committee; is the son of R. Douglas Stuart of the Quaker Oats Company.

Treasurer - J. SANFORD OTIS, Vice-President of the Central Republic Bank of Chicago.

Board of Directors

HANFORD MAC NIDER - Mason City, Iowa; presently a banker; former National Commander of the American Legion; former Assistant Secretary of War, 1925 to 1928; served with the United States Army in France during the World War and was promoted to Lieutenant Colonel on May 6, 1919; received Croix de Guerre - five citations; also connected with various civic organizations.

GENERAL THOMAS HAMMOND - Retired U. S. Army Officer; president of Whiting Corporation, manufacturers of cranes and foundry equipment, Harvey, Illinois; served with U. S. Army in World War; chairman of Republican Party in Illinois.

J. C. HORMEL - Formerly with George A. Hormel and Company, Packers, Austin, Minnesota.

CLAY JUDSON - Attorney, 120 West Adams Street, Chicago, Illinois; associated with the law firm of Wilson and McIlvaine; former president of Chicago Council of Foreign Relationships; member of Board of Trustees of United Charities, Chicago, and president of Board of Trustees, Frances Parker School, Chicago, which is a well-known private school.

In addition to the above Officers, the following are Members of the America First Committee:

DR. ANTON JULIUS CARLSON - Professor of University of Chicago; reported to be an international pacifist; has studied in Moscow, U.S.S.R.; considered an extreme liberal; was a Lieutenant Colonel in the Sanitary Corps, U. S. Army in 1917 and was with the American Expeditionary Forces from March to September, 1919.

WILLIAM R. CASTLE, JR. - Former Assistant Secretary of State; former Ambassador to Japan.

IRVIN S. COBB - Nationally known speaker and author.

JANET AYER FAIRBANKS	- Active in cause of women suffrage and politics; former member of the Executive Committee of the Democratic National Committee; was a member of the Women's National Liberty Loan Committee during the World War; has written several books.
JOHN T. FLYNN	- Noted economist and writer; wrote "Country Squire in the White House."
HENRY FORD	- Automobile manufacturer.
GENERAL HUGH S. JOHNSON	- Nationally known retired Army officer.
ALICE ROOSEVELT LONGWORTH	- Daughter of the late President Theodore Roosevelt.
THOMAS N. McCARTER	- Attorney General of New Jersey, 1902 to 1907, which post he resigned to become president of the Public Service Corporation of New Jersey, which operates and controls nearly all of the gas, electric and transportation utilities in New Jersey; Director of Chase National Bank, New York City; Federal Union Trust Company, Newark, New Jersey; American Surety Company; American Super Power Corporation and United Gas Improvement Company.

CAPTAIN EDWARD RICKENBACKER	Nationally known aviation figure.
LOUIS J. TABER	Nationally known for his work in connection with agricultural developments.
DR. GEORGE H. WHIPPLE	Nationally known pathologist.

The following persons, who are nationally known, are also Members of this Committee:

Mrs. Bennett Champ Clark
Bishop W. E. Hammaker
Kathryn Lewis
Sterling Morton
Edward L. Ryerson, Jr.
Mrs. Burton K. Wheeler.

The America First Committee is reported to be financed solely by voluntary contributions by those interested in the organization. The Committee conducted a radio broadcast on October 21, 1940, at which time the radio announcer requested his listeners to send anything from dimes to dollars to the America First Committee, Board of Trade Building, Chicago, Illinois.

The Committee has also issued a card called "America First Committee Contribution Card," bearing the following:

> "I am convinced that we can preserve our American Democracy only by keeping out of foreign war. Therefore I am contributing $_____ to support the work of the America First Committee."

In connection with the financing of the said Committee, attention is respectfully directed to the financial positions held by:

General Robert E. Wood
R. Douglas Stuart, Jr.
J. Sanford Otis
Hanford MacNider
General Thomas Hammond
J. C. Hormel
Clay Judson
William R. Castle, Jr.
Henry Ford
Alice Roosevelt Longworth
Thomas N. McCarter.

ARE YOU WILLING TO GIVE [illegible]

DO YOU WANT TO GO TO WAR WITHOUT BEING ASKE

ARE YOU READY TO MAKE THE U.S. A DICTATORSH

13296 1

THEN SPEAK UP NOW!

A war dictatorship bill has been introduced in Congress

The President would have absolute power to do these things without consulting Congress or the people

1. Cancel the Neutrality Act and send our warships and merchant vess into the war zones.
2. Cancel the Johnson Act and give unlimited funds to foreign nations.
3. Cancel any other law on the statute books.
4. Make military alliances with any nations anywhere in the world.
5. Take us into war whenever, wherever and against whomever he cho
6. Give away our Navy to any nation.
7. Give away every gun and bullet in our Army to any nation.
8. Give away every American airplane to any nation.
9. Give away all our military secrets to any nation.
10. Open our harbors and all their facilities to the warships of any n engaged in war.
11. Seize the ships of one country and give them to another country.

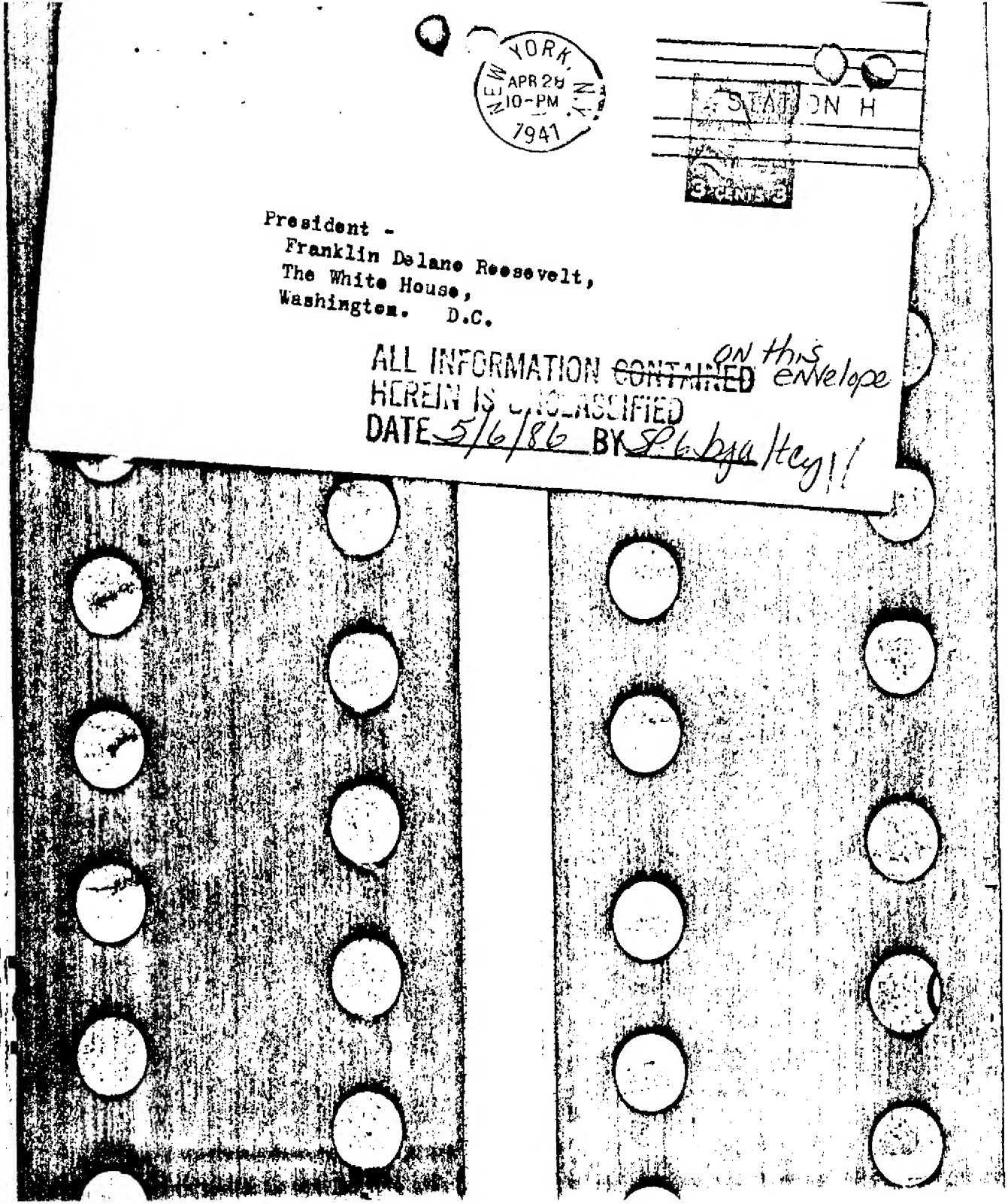
NOW!

HERE'S WHAT YOU MUST DO NOW TO SAVE OUR REPUBLIC

- Telegraph, telephone or write your two Senators; also your Congressman; also Senator Walter F. George, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.
- Tell them you are opposed to the war dictatorship bill, that you want them to fight and vote against it, that you won't stand for compromises, that the whole bill must be killed and thrown out of the Capitol.
- Make a list of all your friends and relatives and get them to do the same.
- Do it immediately.

586

[illegible] COMMITTEE


NEW YORK, N.Y.
APR 28
10-PM
1941
STATION H
3 CENTS
President -
Franklin Delano Roosevelt,
The White House,
Washington. D.C.
ALL INFORMATION ~~CONTAINED~~ ON this envelope
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DATE 5/6/86 BY Library!!

b1c [redacted] 18

FILE # 100-4712-

March 1, 1941

[redacted]

Secretary to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Steve:

Reference is made to your communication of February 21, 1941, to which was attached a memorandum directed to you on February 21, 1941, by the President. It is noted that there was attached to the memorandum from the President a circular distributed by the America First Committee.

With regard to the President's request for information as to the source of funds of the America First Committee, I am attaching hereto a memorandum, dated March 1, 1941, which not only furnishes the desired information, but provides additional data concerning the America First Committee.

If it is the President's wish that a more exhaustive investigation be made relative to the means by which the America First Committee is being financed, I hope you will not hesitate to call upon me to conduct such investigation.

With assurances of my highest regards,

Sincerely yours,

[redacted]

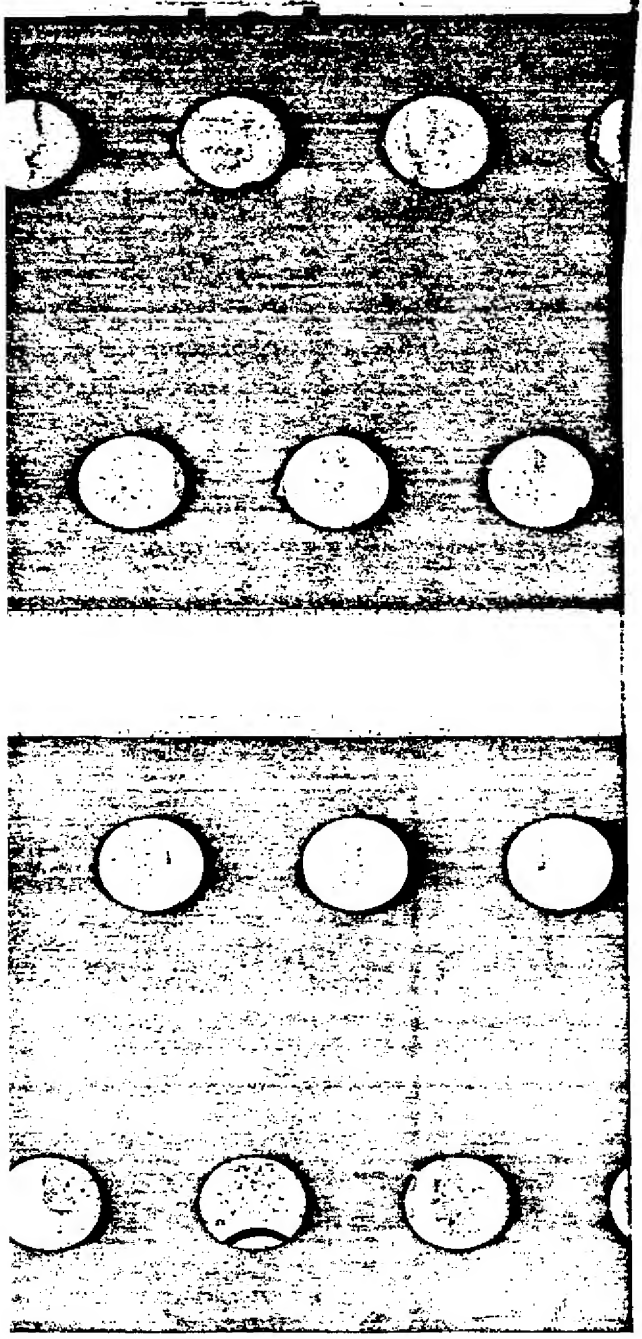
Enclosure

[redacted]

5-6-86 [redacted]

BY SPECIAL MESSENGER

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED
MAR 1 1941
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 21, 1941

[redacted]

Respectfully referred to

J. Edgar Hoover.

[redacted] b7C

STEPHEN EARLY .
Secretary to the President

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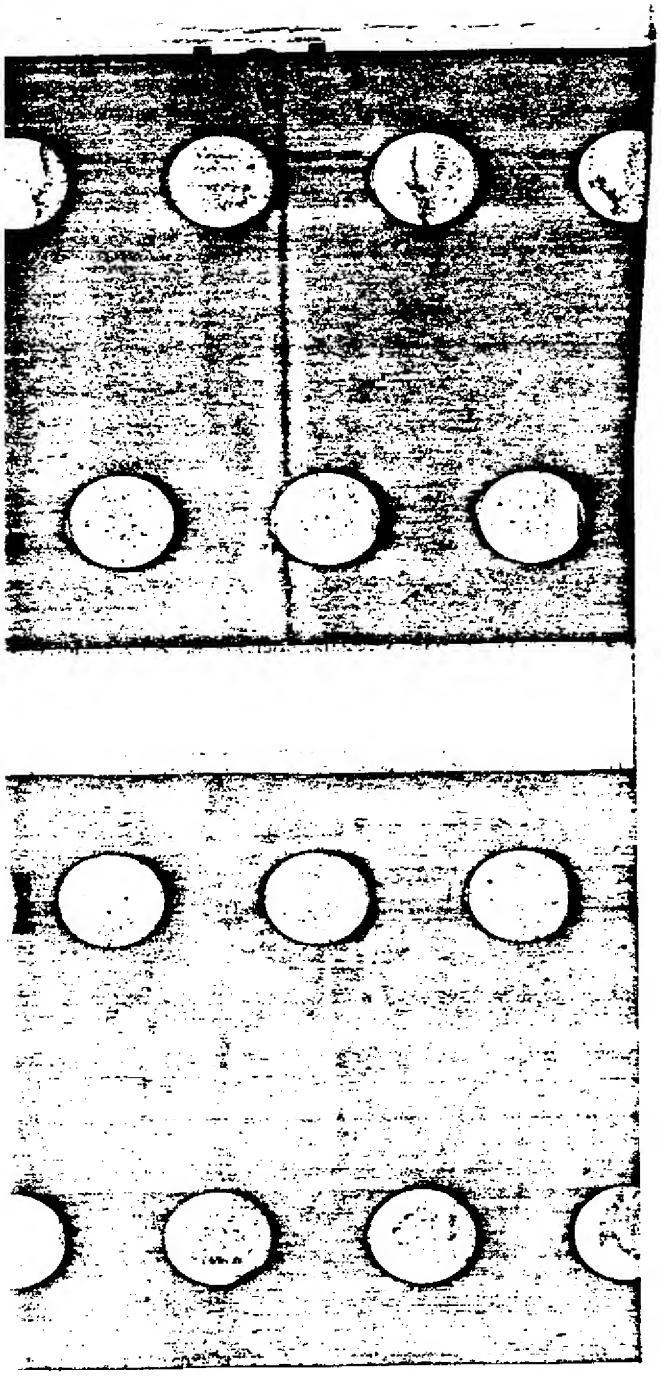
DATE 5-6-86 BY SP6 byalter

Steve Early
3/11/41

RECORDED 100-4712-18

4 MAR 4 1941

EARLY FIVE



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 21, 1941.

MEMORANDUM FOR

S. T. E.

Will you find out from someone -- perhaps F.B.I. - who is paying for this?

F. D. R.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-6-86 BY SP6bja/tcj

ND-17

NATIONAL DEFENSE DIVISION - FIVE

2/26/ 1941

___Mr. E. A. Tamm	___Files Section
___Mr. Clegg	___Mechanical Division
___Mr. Tolson	___Identification Division
___Mr. Nathan	___Technical Laboratory
___Mr. Ladd	___Translation Unit
___Mr. Foxworth	___Crime Records Section
___Mr. Nichols	___Crime Statistics
___Mr. Glavin	
___Mr. Tracy	___Mr. Kramer
___Miss Gandy	___Mr. Drayton
___Mr. Carson	___Mr. Holloman
___Mr. _____	___Mr. Kimball
	___Mr. Murphy

SUPERVISORS

___G. M. Alderson	___F. G. McGeary
___H. S. Boone	___K. R. McIntire
___R. J. Brandt	___J. C. Mulroy
___G. C. Burton	___J. B. O'Leary
___J. A. Cimperman	___H. Ranstad
___D. Currie	___A. M. Thurston
___D. A. Flinn	___E. W. Timm
___R. S. Garner	___D. L. Traynor
___H. H. Hair	___E. W. Youngs

******

___Mrs. Dorset	___Clerk
___Mr. McGahey	___Send reference
___Correct	___Send File
___Redate	___Bring file up to date
___Appropriate action	___Record, search, serialize and route
___Call me	___Indicate index references
___See me	

Recent memo attached

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 6-26-76 BY SP2 [illegible]

Get reply out to Early by tomorrow with summary of info. on hand. If specific question not answered thereby tell him it is being (over)

J. K. Mumford - 1531

J. E. Hoover

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER, *Director.*

ND NUMBER	ARRESTED OR RECEIVED	CHARGE	DISPOSITION

presents notations unsupported by fingerprints in F. B. I. files.

ply dispositions to this Bureau in any of the foregoing cases where they do not appear.

*** 7—2245

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

FILE NO. 100-508

REPORT MADE AT	DATE WHEN MADE	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE	REPORT MADE BY
MIAMI, FLORIDA	2-28-41	1-9-41	b7C [redacted]

TITLE: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

CHARACTER OF CASE: INTERNAL SECURITY - G

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS: b7C [redacted] has passed out cards for the America First Committee, b7D [redacted] because of unusual activity, and has been heard to talk pro-German with associates.

- RUC -

REFERENCE: Letter to Bureau dated 11-13-40;
Bureau letter to Chicago Office dated 12-6-40.

DETAILS:

The Miami Field Division by letter dated November 13, 1940, transmitted to the Bureau three cards, one marked "Post Card, House Office Building, Washington, D. C.," the second card marked "Principles of the America First Committee," and the third marked "America First Committee, Contribution Card."

The Bureau by letter dated December 6, 1940, addressed to the Chicago Field Division, called attention to the letter from the Chicago Field Division dated November 9, 1940, which reflects that the America First Committee has sponsored programs over the radio which possibly indicated they are a form of German propaganda. The Bureau further called attention to the Miami letter of reference and noted investigation was to be conducted of this organization in this district to ascertain its background and activities and [redacted] b7

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APPROVED AND FORWARDED: [signature] SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES
100-4712 +19

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- Chicago 3-27-68 K69

MAR 3 1941

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE 7—2034

who is one of its promoters. The Chicago Field Division was requested by the Bureau to conduct investigation at Chicago, Illinois, as to this organization, and the Chicago Office was designated as the office of origin in this case.

AT SARASOTA, FLORIDA

b7C
b7D

[redacted]

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXX

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

3 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

☑ Deleted under exemption(s) b7C b7D with no segregable material available for release to you.

☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.

☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.

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170-4712-19 pg. 3-5

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
X DELETED PAGE(S) X
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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
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☐ Deleted under exemption(s) _____ with no segregable material available for release to you.

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_____ Pages contain information furnished by another Government agency(ies). You will be advised by the FBI as to the releasability of this information following our consultation with the other agency(ies).

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Page is duplicate of 100-4712-17x

☐ For your information: _____

☑ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:
100-4712-19x

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X NO DUPLICATION FEE X
X FOR THIS PAGE X
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXX

[redacted]

Cincinnati, Ohio

March 14,1941

Hon. F. D. Roosevelt,

Charge d'affeires

British Empire

Washington,D.C.

Dear Mr. Roosevelt,

5-6-86 SP-6 by a/tg

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A241183

100-4712-20

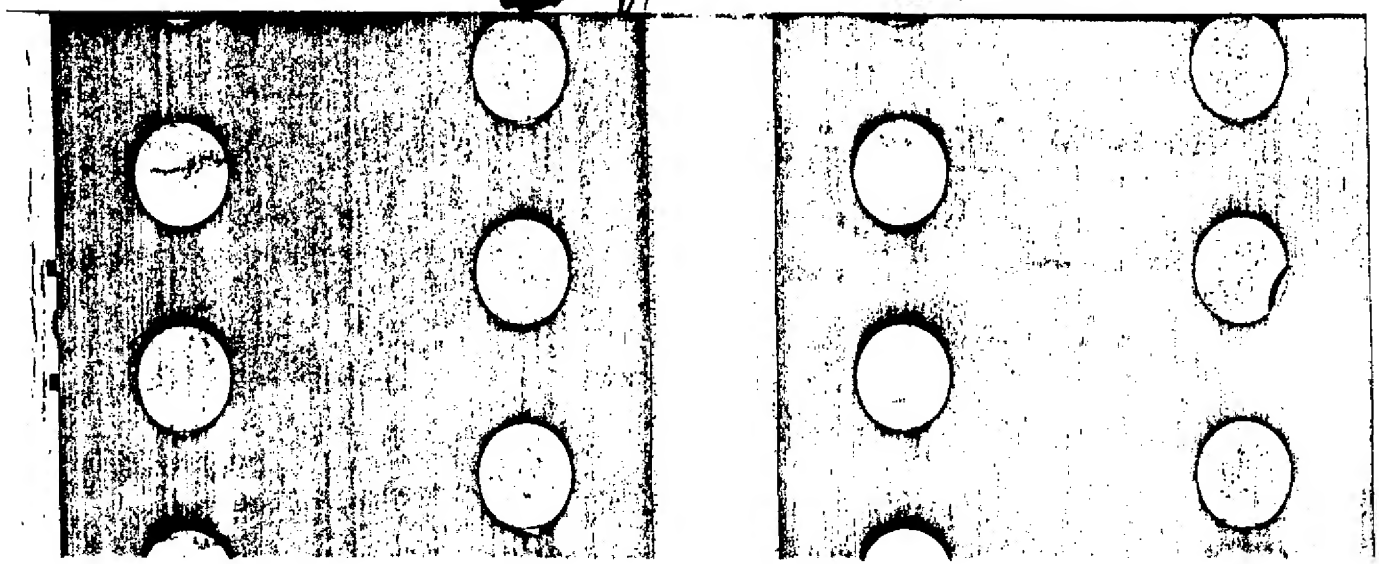
RECORDED & INDEXED

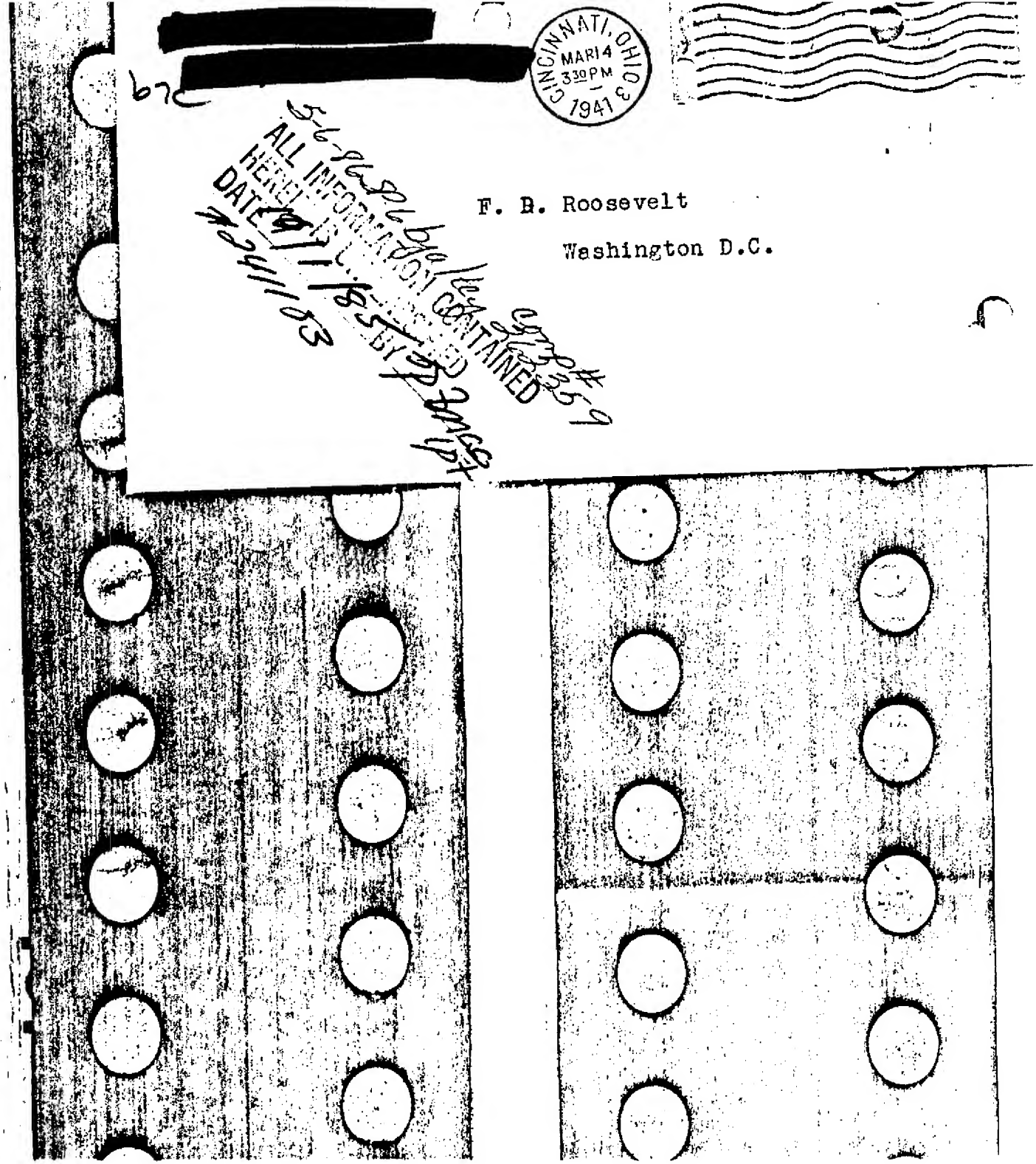
You forgot, Mr. Roosevelt, to lease-lend our women to the British to mitigate the biologic urge of their troops. Churchill should call you home for this!

ltr to SAC. Cincinnati 3/20/41

[redacted]

b7c





[redacted]

CINCINNATI, OHIO
MAR 14
3:30 PM
1941

67C

F. B. Roosevelt

Washington D.C.

56-9[illegible] by [illegible]
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9-1-85 BY SP2 [illegible]
#24103

[illegible] #369

b7C [redacted]

March 19, 1941

14106

RECORDED / 100-4712-20

~~PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

I am furnishing you herewith a memorandum of information which I have received from a confidential source with reference to the contemplated plans of the America First Committee.

I have also furnished this information to Major General Edwin M. Watson of the President's secretariat.

Respectfully,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 10-7-85 BY SP6 [illegible] 3-6-86 SP6 [illegible] Comp # 262359

Enclosure

Deleted Copy Sent R.W. Steele 3-8-76

3/20/41 2:14 pm

91

b7C [redacted]

March 17, 1941

In RE: Isolationists Plans to combat administration war hysteria in the United States, as claimed by this group.

14109

Plans are under way, in conjunction with the cooperation with the America First Committee, in having Senators, Congressmen and various peace and patriotic organizations travel throughout the country for complete coverage in opposition to any plans that the President might have in bringing this country into war. It is planned that three Senators, several Congressmen, and various members of patriotic, civic, and peace organizations will cover the Northern part of the United States, where another similar train-load will cover the Southern part of the United States, and a third will leave the East for coverage throughout the Middle part of the United States, completely out to the Coast. It is the plan of this America First Committee, together with numerous Senators and Congressmen, to give this plan complete coverage throughout the United States. It appears that sufficient funds are at hand to complete this program. General Wood and Senator Wheeler will be known as the spearhead organization.

5-6-86 BY Baley 2332

DATE 10-16 BY SP/ta

RECORDED & INDEXED 100-4712-20

MAR 22 1941

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b7C

14107

March 19, 1941

#74183
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10-7-85 BY SP2 [illegible]
5-6-86 SP6 bga/ltg comp#2622

MEMORANDUM

Information of a strictly confidential character has been received to the effect that plans are presently under way to have Senators, Congressmen, and various peace and patriotic organizations travel throughout the United States to reach all areas for the purpose of opposing any plans that the President might have in bringing this country into war. It is said that these plans are in cooperation with the America First Committee.

It is reported that three Senators, several Congressmen, and various members of patriotic, civic, and peace organizations will cover the Northern section of the United States, while a similar trainload of individuals will cover the Southern part of the United States. A third group will proceed from the East through the Central part of the United States and to the West Coast.

Apparently there are sufficient funds on hand to complete this program. General Robert Wood and Senator Burton K. Wheeler are to be known as leaders of this plan.

1 ENCL. FBM

RECORDED & INDEXED 100-4712-20

MAR 22 1941

FBI

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

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3-27-59
169

b7c

March 28, 1941

b7c [redacted]

14405

RECORDED: ~~100-4712-2~~
100-4712-20 X

Special Agent in Charge
Cincinnati, Ohio

b7c

RE: [redacted]
INTERNAL SECURITY.

Dear Sir:

There are being transmitted herewith copies of a letter dated March 14, 1941, addressed to the President by an individual named [redacted] Cincinnati, Ohio, which, together with the original envelope postmarked March 14, 1941, Cincinnati, Ohio, was received at the Bureau by reference from the White House.

b7c

You are advised that this letter has not been acknowledged and copies thereof are being forwarded to your office for your information only at this time.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Enclosure

b7c [redacted]

MAILED
MAR 23 1941

★ AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE ★

49 EAST 53rd STREET, N. Y. C. ★ NEW YORK CHAPTER ★ PLaza 3-5425

NEW ADDRESS
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
515 MADISON AVE., NEW YORK, N. Y.

Gen. Robert E. Wood
National Chairman

NATIONAL COMMITTEE

Dr. A. J. Carlson
William R. Castle
Mrs. Bennett Champ Clark
Irvin S. Cobb
Janet Ayer Fairbank
John T. Flynn
Bishop Wilbur E. Hammaker
Gen. Thomas Hammond
Jay C. Hormel
Gen. Hugh S. Johnson
Clay Judson
Florence P. Kahn
Kathryn Lewis
Alice Roosevelt Longworth
Frank O. Lowden
Hanford MacNider
Thomas N. McCarter
Ray McKaig
Sterling Morton
Kathleen Norris
Amos R. E. Pinchot
William H. Regnery
Edward L. Ryerson, Jr.
Louis J. Taber
Mrs. Burton K. Wheeler
Dr. George H. Whipple
Major Alford J. Williams

John T. Flynn
Executive Chairman
New York Chapter

March 28, 1941

APR 1

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover,
Chief, Federal Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice Building,
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Hoover,

We have been working in New York in forming the New York Chapter of America First. We have now between fifteen thousand and twenty thousand members. We specifically state on our membership card that these members sign up as American citizens and are not connected with any foreign power or subversive influence.

Nevertheless, to be completely sure that our membership is in accordance with our desires, we would like to have one of your agents go through our membership lists to discover whether or not there may be a few who do not answer the qualifications required for membership.

We are all loyal American citizens working for a cause which we think is right and, naturally, don't want to have any foreign influence in our membership.

Very truly yours,

Edwin S. Webster, Jr.

Edwin S. Webster, Jr.
Secretary

ESW:ND

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

MAR 31

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DATE 5/16/86 BY SP6 dgj/tdg

b7c [redacted] April 9, 1941

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RECORDED

Mr. Edwin S. Webster, Jr.
Secretary
America First Committee
515 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Webster:

I wish to acknowledge receipt of your letter of March 28, 1941, and to express my appreciation for your courtesy and interest in writing as you did.

Since the Federal Bureau of Investigation is authorized only to conduct investigations with respect to certain classifications of criminal matters, it is not properly within the scope of our activities to pass upon the qualifications of persons applying for membership in your organization. The information contained in the files of this Bureau is confidential and can only be released through official channels upon the specific authorization of the Attorney General. I am sure that you will understand the reasons why it is not possible to comply with your request.

However, should you receive any information which you feel would be of interest to this Bureau in connection with national defense matters, I wish that you would feel free to communicate directly with Mr. B. E. Sackett, Special Agent in Charge, Federal Bureau of Investigation, United States Department of Justice, 607 U. S. Court House, Foley Square, New York, New York.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

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COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
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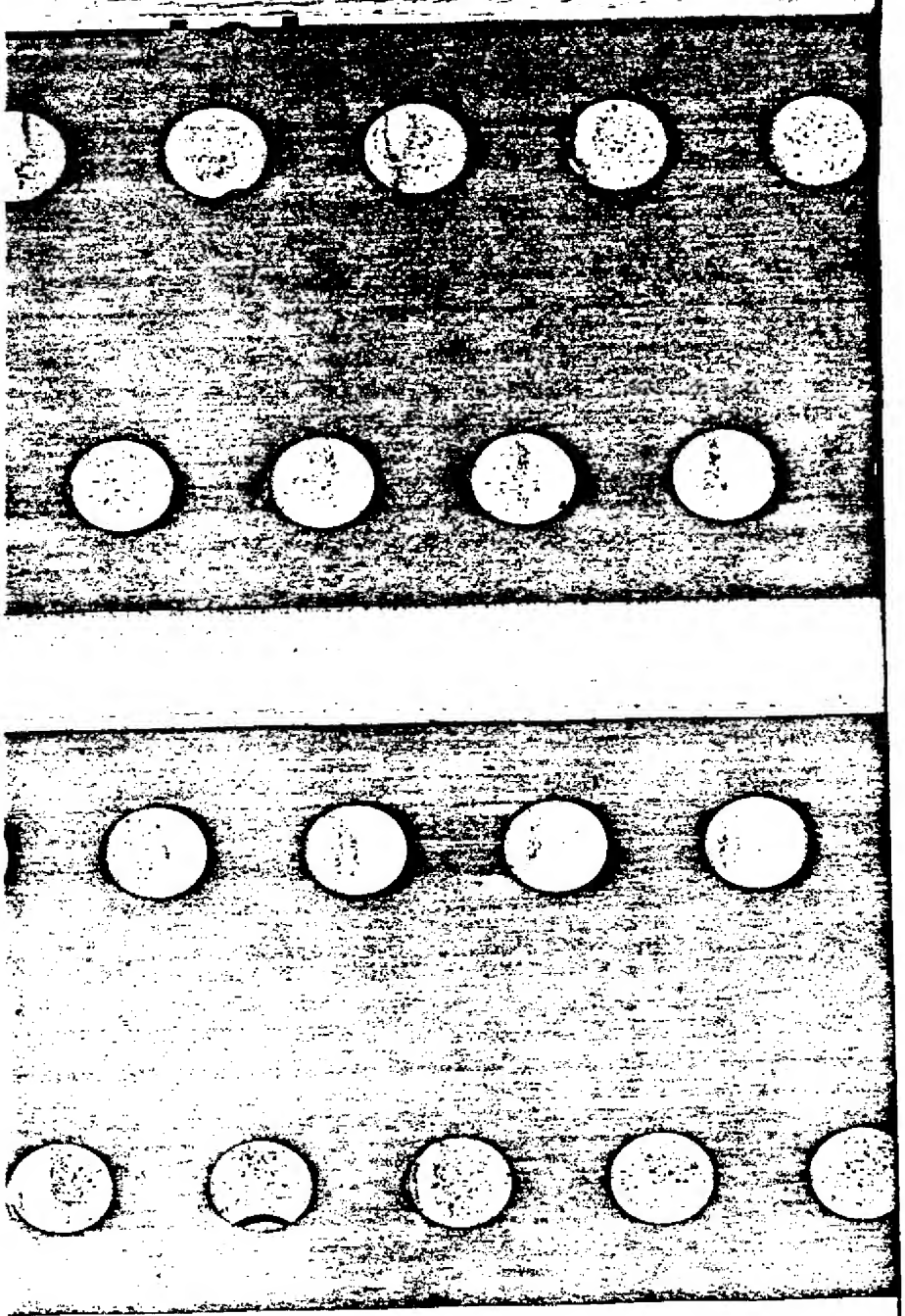
P.M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Trotter
Miss Gandy

cc- [redacted] NYC (with inclosure)
Chicago (with inclosure)

b7c



United States Senate

Washington, D.C., March 31, 1941

Respectfully referred to

Honorable J. Edgar Hoover Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/6/86 BY SP6 bjalty

ENCLD

RECORDED & INDEXED

Respectfully, 100-4712-22

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
APR 7 1941
U.S.S.

SCOTT W. LUCAS

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE 16—8313

b7C

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Senator Lucas: May I suggest that the Department of Justice, or other proper body, be required to look into the genesis of the so called America First organization. A local chapter is being formed and so far as I can see its foundation is a mixture of religious and political fanaticism mixed with blind hatred of Britian on the part of a small percent of our people of Irish and German extraction who allow their imported, (and in most cases inherited dislike) to dim their vision as regards the welfare of this nation. Being based on hatred the organization is certain to tear itself to shreds in time but for a period may attract quite a following among a considerable number of well intentioned but misguided folks. To the degree that it succeeds Hitler's contention that representative government can be depended upon to destroy itself by dissension within will have been proved.

Yours truly,

[redacted]

Freeport, Ill., 3/27/41

b7c

America First Committee

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DATE 5/6/86 BY SP-6 bja/tcg

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April 5, 1941

RECORDED [redacted]
100-4712-22

Honorable Scott W. Lucas
United States Senate
Washington, D. C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/6/86 BY SP6 by altg

My dear Senator:

b7C

I wish to acknowledge receipt of the communication directed to you by [redacted] Freeport, Illinois, dated March 27, 1941, which you transmitted to this Bureau under date of March 31, 1941.

Your courtesy in bringing [redacted] letter to my attention is sincerely appreciated and I want you to know that the information contained therein will receive appropriate consideration.

For your information I have acknowledged [redacted] letter and informed him that you have referred his communication to me.

With expressions of my highest esteem and best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Trotter
Miss Gandy

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
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★ APR 7 1941 ★
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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

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[redacted] April 5, 1941

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[redacted]
Freeport, Illinois

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 5/6/86 BY S-6 bja Hay

Dear [redacted]

I wish to advise that your letter of March 27, 1941, addressed to Honorable Scott W. Lucas, U. S. Senate, has been received at the Federal Bureau of Investigation by reference from Senator Lucas. Your courtesy and interest in bringing this information to the attention of the Federal Government are indeed appreciated.

You may be assured that the content of your letter has been noted and will receive appropriate consideration.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

APR 7 10 57 AM '41
RECEIVED FBI

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Lead
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Trotter
Miss Gandy

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

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1 ENCL.

-AIR MAIL-

AFTER 5 DAYS RETURN TO

[redacted]

Yonkers N.Y.

Federal Bureau of Investigation

Washington D.C.

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b7C

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

5 MAR 28 1941

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

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The HERALD Statesman

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 26, 1941

Entered as second class mail matter at the postoffice Yonkers Westchester County New York

Published Daily, Except Sunday at Larkin Plaza Yonkers N. Y. by The Herald Statesman, Inc.
J. Noel Macy, President; L. S. Dayton, Vice-President
H. F. Lippold Secretary; W. L. Fanning, Treasurer

Telephone Nepperhan 5000. Yonkers 7700

Single copy 4 cents
Subscription rates by carrier: 20c per week

Subscription rates by mail in New York State:
Three Months, $3.00; Six Months $6.00; One Year, $12.00

Member Audit Bureau of Circulations

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Cites Nazi Support Of 'America First'

Editor, The Herald Statesman:

The Westchester Chapter of the America First Committee recently held a meeting in Bronxville, which was reported in your newspaper. The speaker said that the aim of the committee is to keep America out of war. He said that the group is neither anti-British nor pro-Nazi.

I hope that any of your readers who are interested in the America First Committee will send to the Friends of Democracy, Inc., 103 Park Avenue, New York, for a free brochure entitled, "The America First Committee—The Nazi Transmission Belt."

This pamphlet, fully documented, shows how the America First Committee is being strongly supported by American Nazi and anti-Semitic groups. Their members swarm to America First meetings. They are urged to distribute its literature, recruit members for it, and support it financially. The brochure also quotes a radio broadcast from Berlin, commending the America First Committee as "true Americanism and true patriotism." Virginio Gayda, Mussolini's mouthpiece, is also quoted as praising the committee.

The pamphlet does not indict the sincerity of the rank and file of America First members, nor does it accuse the committee of being a Nazi group. But it points out that it is always a totalitarian device to get other groups to further its propaganda. Thus Berlin and Rome, and their pro-Fascist groups in this country, have rallied to the America First banner because its advocation of a foreign policy favorable to the Axis is doubly effective, since it comes from a group which does not bear the stigma of an alien loyalty.

E. SINCLAIR HERTELL,
54 Sagamore Road,
Bronxville.

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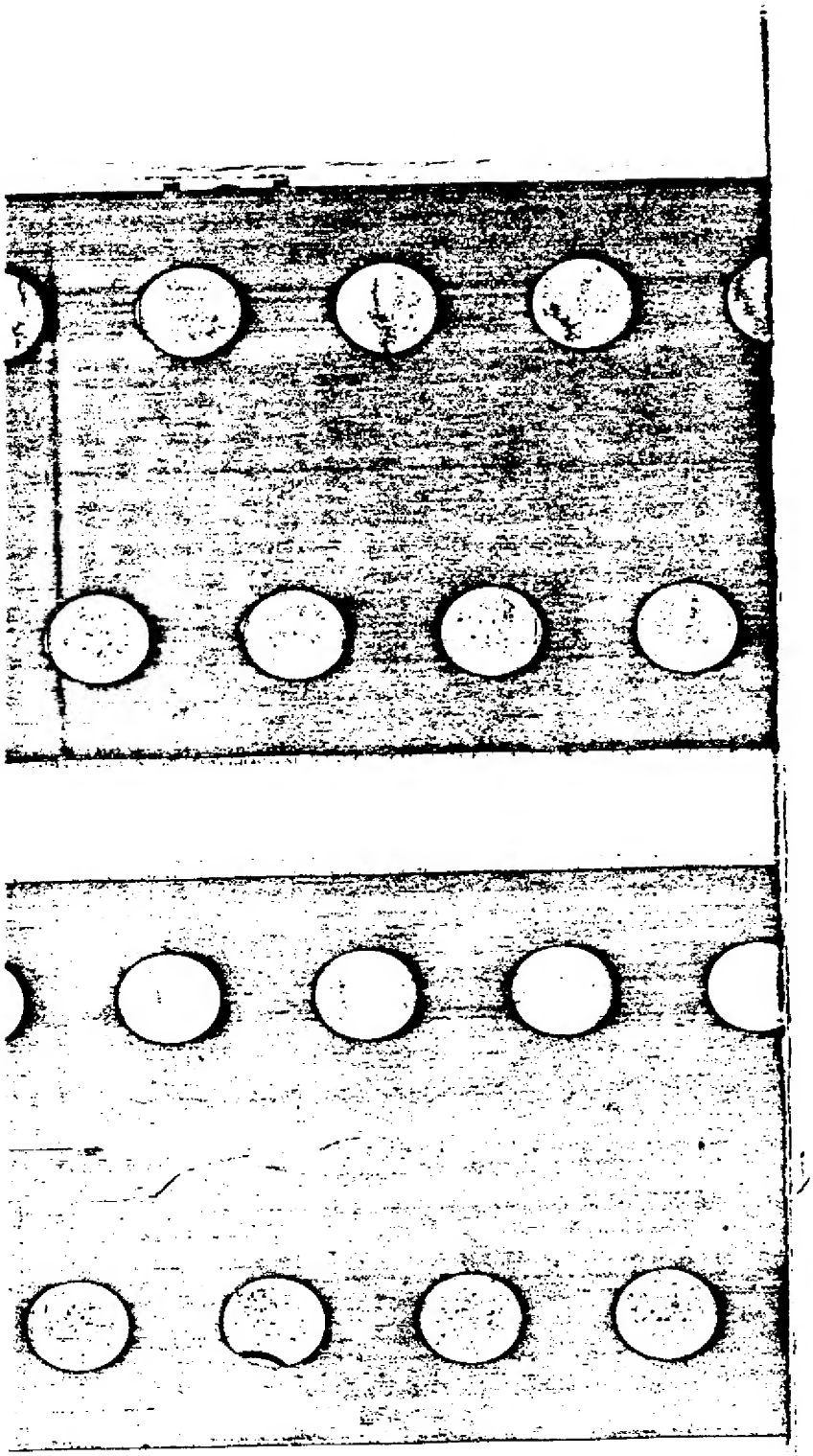

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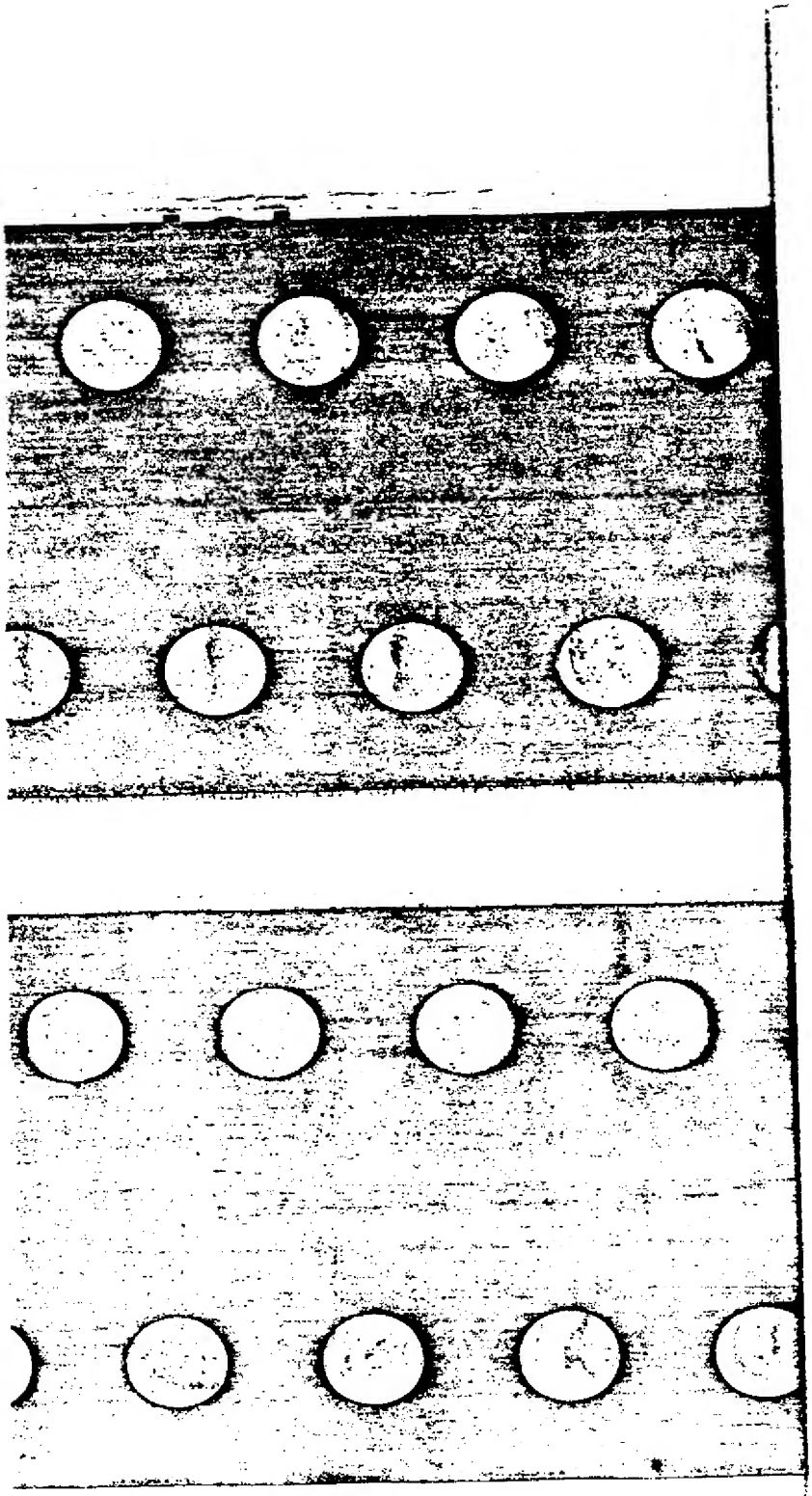

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Ben Trout
N.P.S.

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Columbus, Ohio

(Not printed at Government expense)

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 76th CONGRESS, THIRD SESSION

SPEAK UP, MR. WHITE!

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWIN C. JOHNSON

OF COLORADO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, December 19 (legislative day of Tuesday, November 19), 1940

OPEN LETTER BY WILLIAM E BARRETT TO WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Mr. President, Mr. William E. Barrett, a distinguished newspaper man and author, of Denver, Colo., recently addressed an open letter to William Allen White which should be read and studied by every pro-American in the United States.

One need not agree fully with Barrett's inferences and deductions to be challenged by his demand that we think this European war through to the peace table before we move further into the vortex of its hell. After all, what goes on at the peace table when the war is finished is what counts. At the end of the last war we listed 14 points as the objectives of the Allies, only to find in the end that the Allies were only "kidding" us. Shall America forget her bitter disillusionment at Versailles?

This time let Britain name the objectives now and give us some assurance of her sincerity to stick to them come what may before we serenely follow her up the "blind alley" of British imperialism to our own destruction. William Allen White owes it to America to frankly answer Mr. Barrett, and if he himself does not know the answer, let him get it from Britain before he leads us farther down that one-way road.

I ask unanimous consent of the Senate to insert in the Appendix of the RECORD Mr. Barrett's open letter to Mr. White.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AN OPEN LETTER TO WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE

(By William E. Barrett, author of Woman on Horseback, etc.)

MY DEAR MR. WHITE: You are the spearhead of the drive for all possible United States aid to Great Britain in the present war. By your own definition, you are an "engine of publicity and propaganda." Laying aside the unpleasant thought that any worthy cause needs propaganda in order to win the support of the American people, you are doubtless interested, as a publicist, in any suggestion which will win millions of converts to the cause you serve.

There are many millions of people in the United States who do not believe with you that the safety and security of this Nation rests, or ever has rested, in the hands of Great Britain. Many millions of us refuse to believe that we owe our existence as a nation to the protection of the British Fleet, which you would have us bolster at the expense of our own fleet. Many millions of us are opposed to the future moves on your agenda: To repeal the Johnson Act; to further stripping of our own defenses in Britain's behalf; to the use of the United States Fleet for convoy duty in the Atlantic; to the use of our fleet for the defense of Singapore; and to the use of American troops as an expeditionary force to any part of the British Empire, leased or otherwise.

You acknowledge the weight of opposition to your "Britain first" program by the very intensity of your propaganda drive. High-pressure selling and advertising invariably indicate an inferior product or strong sales resistance to be overcome. You can overcome sales resistance to your drive by a few honest answers to the questions which every American has the right to ask. Americans must pay in money, in the sacrifice of personal liberty, and ultimately in blood for the British victory which is your avowed objective. They should not be asked to purchase blindly at so great a price.

Imagine for the moment that your objective has been attained. Nazi Germany has been smashed, Italy crushed, and the victors are seated at the treaty table. Obviously, this time there are but two victors—Great Britain and the United States. It is not necessary to imagine the steps that place those victors at the treaty table. You should be able to tell us what will happen when your objective is attained, because surely you are not leading your followers on a blind gamble without knowing your goal. Or are you?

All right; the war is over. Great Britain, with the United States aid which you did so much to win for her, is victorious. What follows that victory? Europe is impoverished; Great Britain and the United States have accumulated monstrous debts. The economic system of the conquered nations has been destroyed—and English-speaking nations hold the destiny of the world upon a table.

You have won a reputation as a homely philosopher of the plains, and you carry the role well into the field of foreign affairs. You are quoted as advocating the outright gift of fabulous sums to Great Britain rather than the making of loans because "nations are like human beings. Loans destroy friendship." Probably, in thinking about that future treaty table, another homespun saying might be as pat: "Nations are like human beings. You can only judge them by their past performances."

We sat at a treaty table before with Great Britain after a war that we helped her win. Our objective in pouring out money, sacrifice, and blood was vague then, as now. We merely wanted to rid the world of the Kaiser and of German imperialism, which was trampling human rights. We wanted to make the world safe for democracy. We were assured by other stanch American spokesmen for Britain of that day that such, too, was Britain's objective. There was the war aim. At the treaty table we found out that Great Britain, strangely enough, wanted enormous additions to her vast Empire, colonies, and mandates; furthermore, that Great Britain's demands fitted a carefully planned pattern. In previous wars she had encircled the coal-producing regions, but the age of oil had crept upon her. Versailles fixed that, and the new map brought the oil regions into the British orbit as well as additional territories which converted her controls over vital raw materials into virtual world monopolies. We went into the war with an ideal and into the treaty room with 14 points. Both went out the window—and, since Great Britain took vast loot from the victory that we helped her to win, that loot, in the cold light of history, was the British war aim in the first World War—that and nothing else.

Now, imagining this war as over, Great Britain and the United States are partners again. Having won, is it your idea that we will retire once more with Great Britain's debts and our own debts to pay, with nothing to show for it save some kind of a League of Nations' diploma attesting that again we have saved democracy and

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

the right of Britain to divide up the lands and the waters of the earth?

Or, having shared the cost of the war, is it your idea that we should split the proceeds, share and share alike on the loot, with Great Britain? That would mean imperialism, you know; the maintenance of colonies and the exploitation of subject races. We have never done that because our forefathers, who were all isolationists like those who oppose you and your committee, had an idea that such practices are incompatible with the idea of democracy. You have changed much of that line of thought, however, and the American people have come to believe that Great Britain is a democracy like our own, so probably you will not have serious trouble. The people of Kansas, for example, may even like the idea eventually of black men toiling under a distant sun for gentlemen farmer absentees.

Or do you believe that the treaty table of the two victors will merely restore the pre-1939 status quo? Will they put all the little nations back in their places, restore the world monopolies to Great Britain—plus the advantages of no more competing synthetics—and allow us the glow of a good deed well done? If that is the idea, and most of your followers seem to think so, there are some real questions for you to answer.

What are the two victors going to do about Russia, who certainly will not have lost anything since Russia has played the role which you and your friends have not permitted us to play; the role of powerful neutrality, without expense, without casualties, and without domestic upheaval? In restoring the map of Europe to its pre-war status, will the two victors insist on Russia's withdrawal from Poland or will they be satisfied with a half Poland on the map? This is an important question since Poland is the excuse which Great Britain used for starting the holocaust in Europe with her declaration of war. Will the two victors insist upon Russia's withdrawal from Finland? What about Estonia, Lithuania, and Latvia?

If nothing is done about these nations, isn't it possible that even propaganda-drugged minds will suspect that perhaps the war was not fought for freedom, democracy, and the rights of small nations; that perhaps it was just another trade war to eliminate a strong competitor with the rights of small nations no more important to one side than the other?

Suppose that Russia refuses to surrender any territory—or even insists upon being handed more territory as the price of acquiescence in the transactions of the British-American treaty table? Will the United States and Britain immediately launch into another war against Russia—or will they pay Russia's price? Will this be appeasement and are you in favor of it? Consistently, it does not seem to us that you could be in favor of that, and so we are afraid that by following your lead now we shall be at war for a long, long time: First, the European continent to be rewon and then Russia to be conquered—to say nothing about the Orient.

Of course, many of the people who follow your doctrines are ready now to accept Communist Russia as a democracy, provided Russia makes favorable trade agreements with Great Britain, so perhaps Russia will not be such a problem at that peace table. If the Soviet is then accepted as a democracy there may not be any mass protest over assigning to Stalin any nation or people he may demand. What do you think?

Leaving Russia out of it, there are a few small nations left that may prove troublesome when it comes to restoring the map as it was. The people of Belgium, for instance, may want to retain their king. Great Britain will hardly stand for that. Perhaps you have some plan for Belgium. Would you favor removing the Belgian king in defiance of the wishes of the people he refused to sacrifice to protect a British retreat? Would it help you if a nice term were coined for the deed; such as the redemocratizing of Belgium?

What about Holland? Queen Wilhelmina ruled over 8,000,000 Dutch and 63,000,000 subject people in the Dutch colonies. The labor of the 63,000,000 made Wilhelmina the richest monarch in the world, and made her English partners millionaires, but over one-quarter of her 8,000,000 subjects at home were on relief. When trouble came to Holland, as a consequence of the noble queen's under-the-table dealing with her financial partners in England, the Queen fled to where her money already reposed. Suppose the people of Holland prefer to leave the wily Wilhelmina in England? Do you favor restoring her to the post which enriched her and impoverished Holland? Do you favor the use of United States pressure to so restore her to the historic Dutch Empire capital in Holland or the new seat of power in Batavia?

And Denmark? We know, of course, from your voluminous writings that the taking of vengeance upon noncooperating people is a purely Nazi trait and a piece of wickedness in which noble nations like Britain never indulge; but just suppose that at the treaty table Great Britain suggests measures of punishment for the Danes who cooperated with Germany in order to prevent their country from becoming a battlefield. Should the United States protest—or can the United States protest?

Just what is the position of the United States at that future treaty table of the victors, at which Great Britain will never sit unless we put her there? What do we stand for in Europe, now that you have brought us into it? Do we stand for a federation of European states, operating on a free-trade principle like ours upon their own continent? If we do, what are we doing in an alliance with Great Britain? Great Britain will never stand for that and will fight wars in the future, as she has fought them in the past, to prevent any such federation, with its threat of competition to the Empire. Do we stand for the doctrine that Europe should be broken into a series of small and individually helpless nations, forced to arm perpetually against one another and to surrender the rights of their citizens in exchange for the right to trade with the Empire monopolies? If we do not stand for that, why the British alliance? Britain stands for just that and never for any other orientation of Europe.

At the treaty table will we repeat Versailles? If not, can you quote a single British or American statesman on how Britain's war aims differ in the second World War from what they were in the 1914–18 struggle?

Are we going to take colonies for ourselves, or will we consent to Britain's taking control of the French colonies as she seized Germany's colonies after the first World War? Can you suggest how the United States can prevent such action, once we have conveyed all of our strength to Britain, won her war for her, and, by Herculean effort, maintained her as mistress of the seas? Have we any guaranties that Britain, her list of world monopolies increased, will not double and triple the cost to us of vital raw materials, as she did when Versailles gave her the German colonies?

We are not only being committed to a course of action beneficial to Great Britain, but we are implementing that commitment at great sacrifice and cost to ourselves. To what is Great Britain committed so far as the United States is concerned? Please name one thing.

Do you believe that the British Government would permit a pro-American committee to operate in England as your pro-British committee works in the United States? If not, do you think it is fair to whip American feeling to such a pro-British pitch to the positive detriment of America's future when there is no corresponding effort being made to impress upon the British people their indebtedness to us? As a matter of fact, isn't it true that your committee's releases are being quoted in England as evidence that even Americans believe that our aid to Britain is inadequate?

At that treaty table, is there any reason to believe that Winston Churchill will feel any differently than he felt about us before—after we had already delivered everything Britain wanted and when they no longer needed us? Remember what he said then: "President Wilson sought to play a part out of all proportion to any stake which his country had contributed or intended to contribute to European affairs."

In other words, having fought for an ideal, we sought to have the ideal recognized at a time when Britain was concentrated upon loot. Our Navy's great convoy job, the blood we shed in France, and our billions which Britain never paid, or intended to pay, did not add up to much of a stake then so far as Mr. Churchill was concerned. The war was over. The income alone on the rich loot which Britain took from Versailles, where the United States—guarantor of her victory—took nothing, would have paid her debt to us several times over in the past 20 years—but Britain welshed; and you, in simple homespun words, say that we should not lend again, but we should give!

Have you the slightest idea as to what the economic issue is in this war—or do vulgar economics bore the high-minded idealists of your committee? You wave at us the danger of Nazi penetration in Latin-America and you use Latin-America as the big fear spot to urge aid to Britain. Do you know that a long line of Englishmen, back over a great many years, are on record to the effect that any close rapprochement between North and South America is fraught with danger to Great Britain and must be prevented lest Great Britain find it necessary to fight some day in order to dissolve the threat to Empire which a solid pan America would represent? Do you know that the nations of South America must trade with Europe because they have no other market for their principal products—and that an impoverished Europe must barter with Latin-America after the war, whether Germany wins or England does? England, with the European control we win for her, as a vital customer will dictate the foreign policies of Latin-American nations—and Great Britain dares not permit North and South America to work in harmony? Figure that out.

Imagine the United States at the treaty table as one of the two victors in a war over the destiny of Europe, Mr. White, and tell us your idea of what should come of it. That is all that you have to do in order to win millions of converts. Generalities will not do, of course. Tell us what our war aims are as they will be expressed at that treaty table. Tell us what you believe England will want, and Russia. Tell us what ace in the hole the United States will retain in order to command respect for American demands at that treaty table—and tell us how we are going to protect ourselves against Great Britain if hostility grows out of the post-war settlement, considering the fact that we are accepting an inferior role and restoring another nation to greatness and to possessions beyond our own.

In other words, if you have given any thought at all to the future of the United States during these many months when you have been preoccupied with the affairs of Britain, let us have your ideas. We are weary of taking one blind step after another. We want to view the distant scene which so appeals to you.

Quite frankly, there are millions of us who believe that you are beating the drums for the greatest blind gamble in history. We are opposing you because we believe you represent the greatest danger which this country has faced in all its history. We do not believe that you have the slightest idea of where you are going, and it is time to say that a vast majority of our people hope that you are not taking us with you.

281215—19842

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1940

A PETITION T THE PRESIDENT 'ND CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STA'ES

We, the undersigned citizens of Central Ohio, are decidedly opposed to the convoy of either American ships or ships of foreign flags by the United States Navy.

Equally determined, we are opposed to the entry of this country, with any part of the armed forces of the United States, into any foreign war.

NOTE: (Sign this petition only if you are an American Citizen.)

NAME	ADDRESS

ination, she does not believe it. At the beginning of this war, Britain offered Hungary all of Czecho-Slovakia if Hungary would fight on the Allied side. What we should believe is that, each nation deserves and should have its political independence but its economic independence, with tariffs, trade barriers, etc., will have to be co-ordinated with the larger powers if peoples are to survive the Machine Age with its impact upon every phase of human endeavor. Otherwise, it will be dog eat dog in trade wars until the race is exterminated.

Quote: "These men and their hypnotized followers call this a New Order. It is not new and it is not order."—(Mr. Roosevelt's speech, March 15th.)

Comment: Carl Becker writing in the Spring issue of the Yale Review says, "We have been hearing a good deal lately about the New Order in Europe. As a description of the existing situation the phrase is slightly inaccurate in two respects: first, the new order isn't new; second, it isn't an order. Perhaps it will clarify the situation a little to call it the same old disorder." Since Mr. Roosevelt does not write his own speeches and indeed, often has not even seen them until ready to deliver them, it would not be fair to blame him for this steal from another man's writings. But his ghost writer should have the fairness to refrain from taking half a sentence from another's thoughts. Europe is certainly not yet in order but much has been accomplished toward that end during the past ten years. They have solved many economic problems we have not solved. Socialism is not new, but the economics applied to the form of Socialism adopted in Germany is new. It is far better than Russia's effort to make everything community owned (communism) and better than our effort to do nothing that would radically offend the capitalists. You can imagine for instance, what an appropriation of 15 billion dollars to make the wheels of industry start turning again would have done to our capitalists! We had to prevent peace in Europe and get squarely into the war before such sums of money could be gotten. Having gotten it, the capitalists will get much of it in contracts but when there is no one left to fight, what then?

Quote: "A British victory over Germany will lead to the restoration of the gold standard, fixed currency ratios, and a vast program of development in Asia, Africa and South America."—(Sir George Paish in his new book, Out of Chaos.)

Comment: The Christian Century suggests that the word 'exploitation' should be substituted where 'development' appears in the sentence above. Sir George had much to do with America's entry into the last war 'to save democracy'. It was Sir George who stormed into Senator Carter Glass' office last Fall and informed the Senator that the United States would come into the war any time Great Britain wished us to. The Senator pretended great (but short lived) indignation and Lord Lothian suggested that Sir George go home to England. But apparently Sir George has many American supporters in his scheme for a new imperialism which would open three backward continents and greatly enrich the British Empire. Unfortunately, the American taxpayer is supposed to foot the bill. Also, we are expected to help police these worlds after conquering them. Josiah C. Wedgwood broadcasting from England has this to say to us and about us, "If I pin my hopes to union with America, it is because union is the strongest bond, leaving no loophole for evasion of duty, or responsibility for sacrifice in the future." (!) In other words, having escaped our net in 1918 we will give you no chance this time. The Union Now movement is very strong in interventionist circles.

Quote: "Our investments in the East amount to exactly the sum of this nation's annual chewing gum bill. Are we going to fight a costly naval war to protect those investments?"—(John Flynn.)

Comment: If we fight Japan it is solely to protect British and Dutch holdings in the Far East. There is no reason for this except that we purchase tin and rubber from the Dutch East Indies. The rubber we can make artificially and the tin we could buy from the Patino Mines in South America if the British owned smelting interests would sell to us but so far refuse to. The reason is clear, they wish us to fight Japan. It looks as if we are going to oblige them.

Quote: "Now we find these same international bankers, with their royal refugee friends, the Sassoons of the Orient, the Rothchilds and the Warburgs of Europe in another theme song—our investments in in India and Europe must be preserved—save democracy!"—(Senator Burton Wheeler, in radio address March 4th.)

Comment: The Sassoons are the fabulously rich British Jews who own the cotton mills of India where labor laws and child labor regulation is non-existent, while the Rothchilds and Warburgs are international bankers, also fabulously rich. For this remark Mr. I. F. Stone writing in the March Nation calls Mr. Wheeler anti-Semitic.

Quote: "We cannot have mass production and mechanization without planning. Engineers and their financial backers are planners. Dictators are planners. Whether they know it or not, most corporation executives and engineers are necessarily totalitarian in practice. Hitler, Mussolini and Stalin clearly have the instincts of engineers. Their states are social structures."—Waldemar Kaempffert in Foreign Affairs, January.)

Comment: The United States is moving towards this planned kind of economy, which in Germany is called Socialism. But the correlation between these New Deal ideas (socialism as we wished to endorse it under the New Deal) and the new imperialists who are really our capitalists, is something that will have to be revealed later on—perhaps only by events themselves.

LOUISE N. WHEELWRIGHT.

Blowing Rock, N. C.
March 22nd, 1941.

Fellow Citizen:

These are quotations from the great and the near-great, with comments upon the quotations. It is not meant as criticism but rather an effort to understand their processes of reasoning and in some instances, to point out their meaningless play upon words, effectively used to bemuse the human mind.

Quote: "Control of the radio means control over the minds and emotions of millions of listeners. This trump card is held by the interventionists."—(John Flynn in the March Commentator.)

Comment: How many of us know who owns the Columbia and National broadcasting companies? The Government Communications Bureau has the power of censorship in the last analysis.

Quote: "In two of our chapters—New York and Washington—we have a bunch of war-mongers and under our organization we have no way to oust them and I just can't remain at the head of an organization which is being used by these two chapters to ghost dance for war."—(M. Wm. Allen White stating his reasons for resigning from the "Aid to Allies Committee.")

Comment: Mr. White's statement was suppressed by the Associated Press after having been published in a Birmingham paper to whose editor the statement was made. Who owns the Associated Press?

Quote: "We believe firmly that when our production is in full swing the democracies of the world (where are they?) will be able to prove that dictatorships cannot win."—(Mr. Roosevelt's speech March 15th)

Comment: Ours is the only country left not under a rigid dictatorship, or a viceroy with dictator powers, or a monarch and dictator, (as in Greece), to depose any one of which would mean the establishment of another. To conquer the continent and establish another dictator (more to our liking) in either Germany, Italy, or Russia, would cost the lives of at least fifteen million men. The truth is, it is not dictators but full production (full employment) that is Mr. Roosevelt's problem. Granted that totalitarian economy has its advantages over free enterprise, it seems selfish indeed to destroy something because it is more efficient. We are using the war to obtain full production and full employment and that is why Mr. Tugwell exclaims with glee . . . "from an economic standpoint, it's a grand war" . . . It is said in Washington that our economists have known all along that we could have gotten full production, employment, consumption, etc., without war with appropriations of from 12 to 15 billions but the appropriations could not be had without the war crisis. The other reasons for war were outlined in last week's leaflet—the question is, are we getting in too deep? In other words, if we cannot solve our own problems why should we think we can solve world problems by force of arms in strange lands?

Quote: "I know that the war, even if it ends in victory for England, involves very grave dangers to democracy and freedom. I fear also that British war aims—which Mr. Churchill still refuses to state —will probably be found, if we win, to have contained an element of imperialism."—(Bertram Russell, New York Times, March 8th).

Comment: Britain and France had well formulated and clearly stated war aims when the war began. Taking this information from an editorial appearing in the Philadelphia Ledger for April 18th, 1940, these aims were: Close collaboration between the British-French empires in economic matters with the view to extending this collaboration even to the point of common citizenship. Control of Central Europe with a newly formed "English Commercial Trading Corporation, Ltd.," financed by the British Treasury for the purpose of controlling barter trade between Germany and other nations. The Balkan countries were to continue getting the products they needed from German industry but the Balkan products needed by Germany would be bought by the Corporation. To relieve post-war unemployment and make control more complete, an Allied force of two million men would be stationed in Europe for twenty years. Germany would be cut into small states. This editorial ends with the observation that the peace was not to be unlike war itself.

Quote: "There never has been, there never will be, any race of men fit to serve as masters over their fellow men."—(Mr. Roosevelt's speech, March 15th)

Comment: Wallace Novestein writing in the January Yale Review states, "Deliberately in the 19th century English public school masters (our private schools) set themselves the task of training a governing class for Britain's job in the East. Not for nothing were the English taught to think of themselves as successors of the Romans. Young men must be trained for their imperial tasks of ruling their subordinates with few words and authority." Those of us who have lived in British colonial possessions know well the master-slave attitude of the Briton, which when you are on the spot seems justified. The difference between the British and the brutally honest modern German is that the latter denies that all men are born free and equal. The British join us in proclaiming that all men are born free and equal but spend the rest of our lives proving it is not true. Hitler asserts that it is the destiny of the Nordic (white) race to rule the world. Do you believe that? If you do, why do you applaud a demagogue who says that is not true?

Quote: "We believe that any nation, no matter how small, has the inherent right to its own nationhood." —(Mr. Roosevelt's speech, March 15th.)

Comment: "If we believe that what are we doing in an alliance with Great Britain? She believes it only if it supports her balance of power policy. If it means nationhood for nations under British dom-

Blowing Rock, N. C.
March 15th, 1941

Fellow Citizen:

Since this sheet was printed last Saturday Bill 1776 has become a law. Twenty million voters approved it, ten million disapproved it, twenty million took refuge in qualifications or had no opinion. To many of us it seems the most humiliating hour in the nation's history, to others it seems the salvation of civilization, and to others who dislike Germany it is sweet revenge. But whatever the personal reaction, it is the law and for better or for worse must be lived up to. None of that should make us forget:

—that from time immemorial governments have obscured their real reasons for going to war

—that Truth is mightier than the sword but unpopular in war time

—that your favorite columnist is paid to write what you read and that the "free" press represents the interests of those who own it (See Harold Ickes' "Lords of the Press")

—that without differences of political opinion the United States would cease to exist as a democratic form of government

—that trade is the life blood of every nation and the longer we refuse to trade with Europe, the more self sufficient we force them to become, thereby killing our own much needed markets

—that Europe is South America's natural market since they produce things we have little need for and we cannot continue indefinitely paying them not to sell to Europe

—that learning to get along with people we do not like, in the home, the state, the nation and in foreign nations is the road to peace. Refusing to compromise differences and insistence upon destructive warfare is wrong

—that National Socialism saved Germany and Central Europe from communism and economic chaos

—that Democracy is right for America because our nation is rich and can afford it, (for a while yet, maybe) but Europe was impoverished and could not afford it. The corruption and exploitation inherent in democracy compelled its abandonment in many nations and brought ruin to France

—that Peace without Victory should be urged by every man.

—that the United States never ratified the Treaty of Versailles

—that prior to 1917 this nation got along in the world with absolute monarchies (dictatorships) and prospered, attending to our own affairs.

—that prior to 1917 for 150 years it had been the policy of this government to rush mercy ships to stricken peoples all over the world. Our Christian charity died with the hunger blockade of Germany in 1918

—that this nation since 1917 has had no foreign policy worthy the name and no diplomacy worthy our history

—that England has always known how to get what she wants. That is why the sun never sets on her Empire.

—that sea blockades are illegal

—that England was first to bomb cities at night. Germany did not retaliate for three months, negotiating for its discontinuance. England refused, citing their shortage of planes as the reason.

—that British and German flyers greet each other with friendly politeness in the bars of neutral Lisbon, Portugal.

—that so long as that spirit lives there is hope for mankind

—that Bill 1776 was conceived by the brilliant and fertile brain of Felix Frankfurter, ably assisted by Morgenthau and Ben Cohen, as reported by Ray Tucker. Lawrence Dennis, author of "Dynamics of War and Revolution" calls the Jew's wish for war upon Germany "the most dynamic force in America today"

—that London is the banking center of the world

—that the banking House of Rothchilds once loaned England money to wage war upon France. His Majesty's Government was paying 2½%. Napoleon offered 3½ but the Baron refused. Napoleon asked, "Are you afraid your interest will not be forthcoming?" to which Rothchilds replied, "No, Bonaparte, it isn't a question of interest. If you win the war, you will control Europe. If England wins, I will control Europe." That was true, the three Rothchilds brothers have controlled the banking of England and Europe ever since.

—that after this war was declared six million of England's plain people signed a petition asking that peace be negotiated at once

—that the wish for peace in America is demonstrated by the fact that 85% of our people refuse to endorse war but that "aid short of war" is an illusion. A fleet of troop transports are being assembled at Norfolk, 4,500,000 identification tags have been ordered, (properly marked with the letters meaning "Killed in action", or "Wounded") 2,000,000 coffins, 4,000,000 surgical dressings, 3,000,000 cheap flag drapes for coffins

—that many of these orders such as felt bands for tin hats were ordered in million lots two years ago. Conscription blanks were printed two years ago, long before conscription was discussed aloud for you and me to hear it

—that populations are mere pawns in the hands of a few men who decide the fate of millions. When will we learn to say "No?"

—that the only way to please everybody you know all of the time is to say nothing, do nothing, see nothing, be nothing.

LOUISE N. WHEELWRIGHT.

NO CONVOYS - NO WAR

TELL IT TO CONGRESS AND THE CABINET THIS CONVENIENT WAY

Dear Fellow American:

Today this nation stands at the crossroads between war and peace. The overwhelming majority of the people, 83% strong, demand peace. A small but vocal minority advocates war.

CONVOYS MEAN WAR

Our public officials, from the President on down, have stated that convoys mean war -- not economic or diplomatic war but all-out actual shooting war. Convoys are not "short of war" -- they are war.

WE WERE PROMISED PEACE

The President and Congress were elected on a pledge to keep America out of war. The warmongers are using every effort to make the people's representatives break their pledge.

WHAT YOU CAN DO NOW

Fill the petition and return in the enclosed envelope. These petitions will be photographically reproduced and copies sent to the President, each member of the Cabinet and the entire Congress. Your petition will be reproduced 600 times in order that every man and woman in the Senate, House and Cabinet will receive a copy.

ACTION NOW

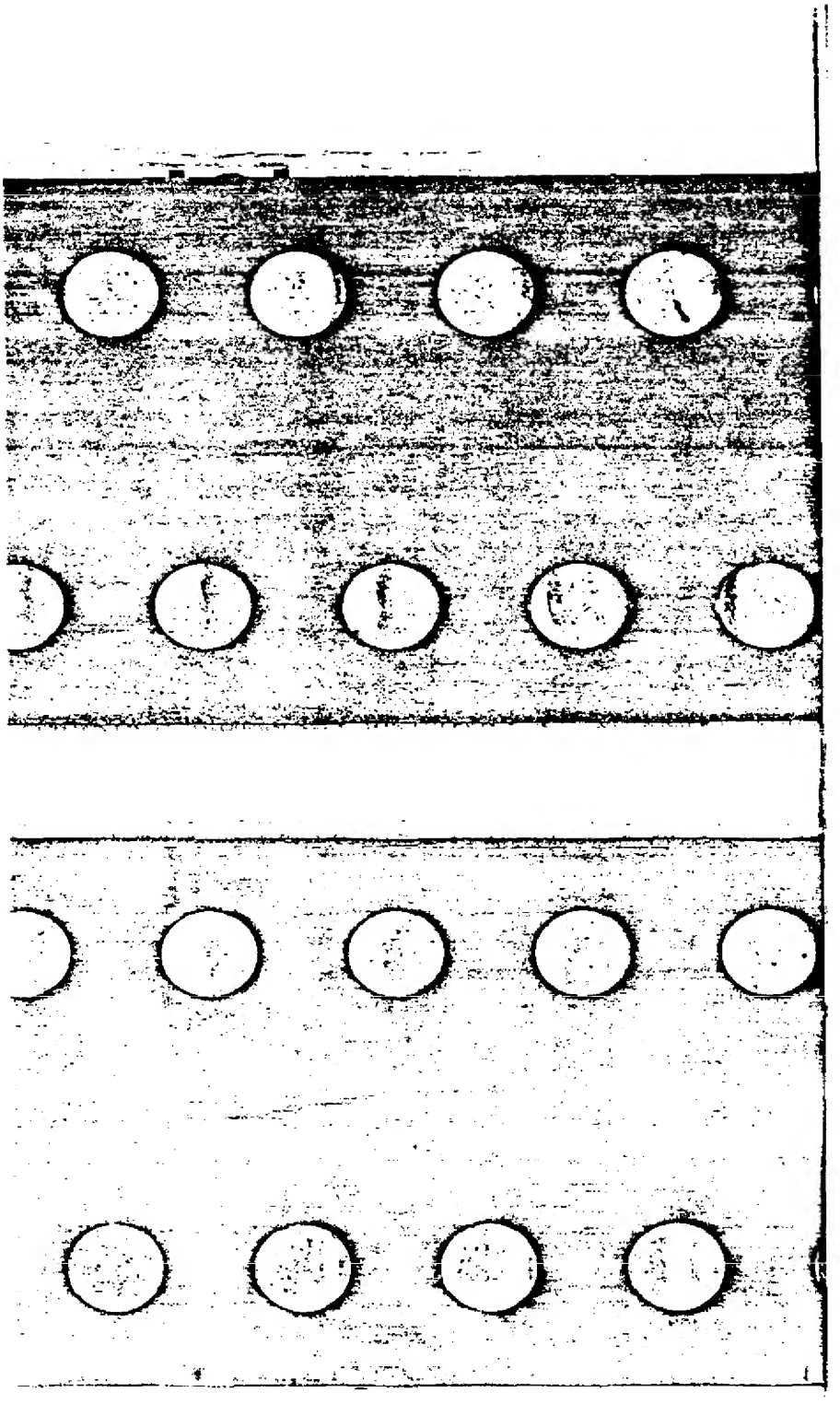
Here is your chance for direct, large-scale action. The future of our nation depends on results now. You'll be surprised how glad your friends will be to sign this petition. Please return by the first week in May.

Sincerely,

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
of Central Ohio

April 26, 1941

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED



AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

GENERAL ROBERT E. WOOD, Acting Chairman
JANET AYER FAIRBANK, Vice Chairman
HANFORD MacNIDER, Vice Chairman
R. DOUGLAS STUART, JR., Director
J. SANFORD OTIS, Treasurer

★

PRINCIPLES

1. Our first duty is to keep America out of foreign wars. Our entry would only destroy democracy, not save it. "The path to war is a false path to freedom."
2. Not by acts of war abroad but by preserving and extending democracy at home can we aid democracy and freedom in other lands.
3. In 1917 we sent our American ships into the war zone and this led us to war. In 1941 we must keep our naval convoys and merchant vessels on this side of the Atlantic.
4. We must build a defense, for our own shores, so strong that no foreign power or combination of powers can invade our country, by sea, air or land.
5. Humanitarian aid is the duty of a strong, free country at peace. With proper safeguard for the distribution of supplies, we should feed and clothe the suffering and needy people of the democracies of Europe.

Send me more information about the America First Committee, 141 West Jackson Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois.

Name.....

Address.....

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS [illegible] FIED
DATE 5-6-86 BY Slabyaltey

CONVOYS mean war — a shooting, bloody war.

Senator Walter F. George, during the debate on H. R. 1776, admitted as much. William Allen White, as Chairman of the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies, wrote on December 23, 1940:

"The story is floating around that I and our committee are in favor of sending convoys with British ships or our own ships, a silly thing, for convoys, unless you shoot, are confetti and it's not time to shoot now or ever."

Just what is a convoy? A convoy is a protecting force, an armed escort, accompanying ships transporting munitions, merchandise and money to a nation at war. And what is a convoy for? It is supposed to fight off ships, submarines and airplanes that attack the supply vessels. And how does a convoy do that? By using its heavy guns, its torpedoes its anti-aircraft fire and by sinking the attacking ships and their crews.

In any man's language this means war, and an offensive war at that.

The Neutrality act of 1939 was passed during comparatively calm days when we knew we would need a wise policy for excited, emotional times such as we are now experiencing. This law prohibits our merchant vessels from entering zones defined by the President as combat areas.

This prohibition was written into the law at the insistence of the President himself. The President regarded this prohibition as the first objective of his policy. In the course of his message on September 21, 1939, to the special session of Congress which enacted the Neutrality law of 1939, President Roosevelt said:

"With the repeal of the embargo this Government clearly and definitely will insist that American citizens and American ships keep away from the immediate perils of the actual zones of conflict."

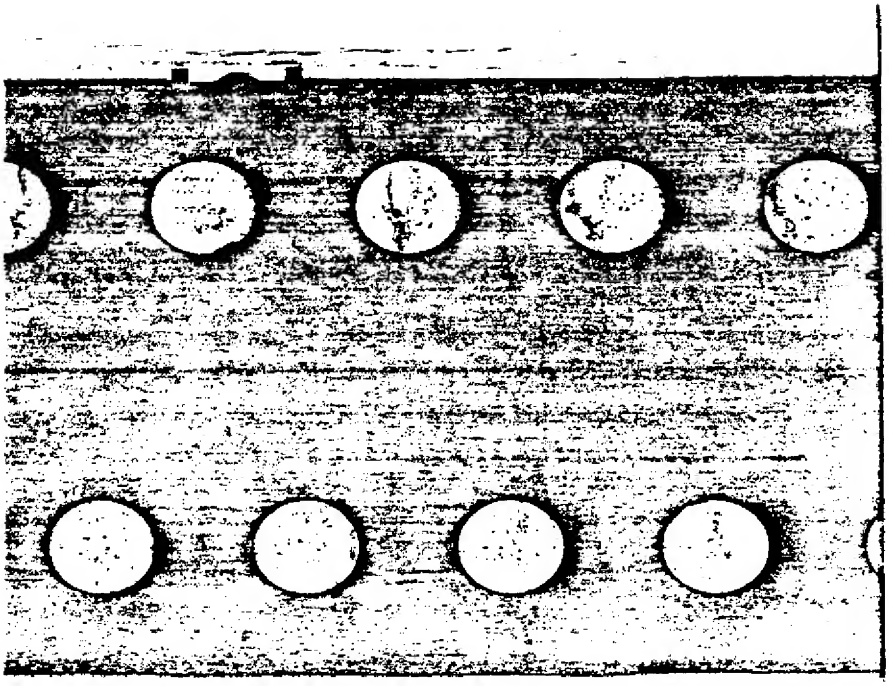
Both the opponents and proponents of the bill recognized that incidents which would certainly involve us in war could not occur if American vessels were kept out of danger zones. There is good, American common sense in such a policy.

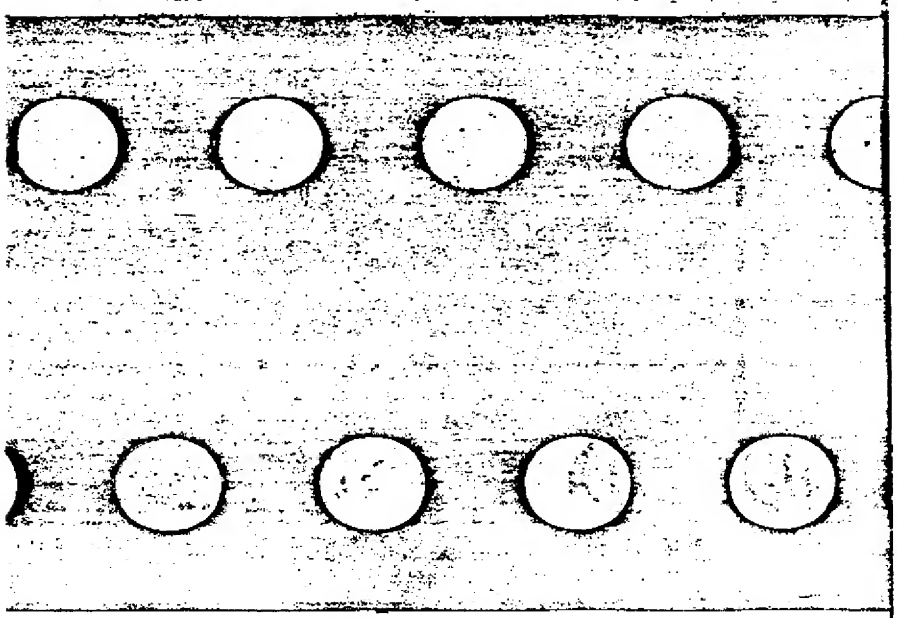
The Neutrality act does not apply to the Navy. But if it is sound to keep our merchant ships out of dangerous waters it is twice as sound to keep our fighting ships out of these zones. When our vessels, both merchant and naval, do not sail into war zones, the possibility of embroilment in war abroad is radically lessened. The fact that not a single incident involving American ships has occurred on the high seas in this war shows the wisdom of this policy.

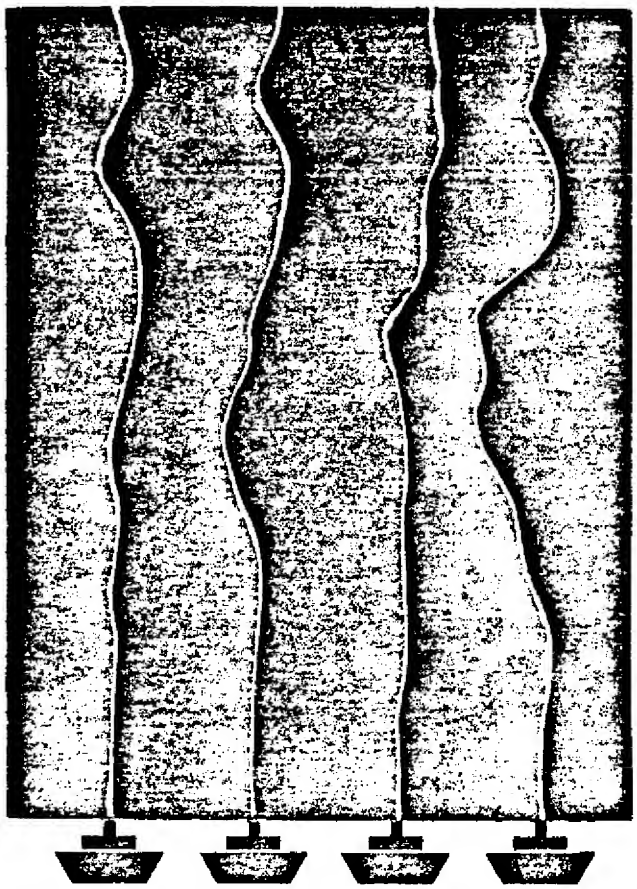
Almost every public man in the country, including Franklin D. Roosevelt and Wendell Willkie has pledged his opposition to "sending our boys abroad." This is also a pledge against naval convoys. Our warships are manned by American boys. American planes, piloted by American boys, will be needed to make the convoys effective. With our Navy and Air Force in the war, our Army will not be far behind.

The dictionary gives as one definition for convoy, "a funeral train." That is just what it will be for the United States if we permit our Navy to convoy supply ships to Britain. It will be a funeral train for millions of our boys killed in an unnecessary war and a funeral train for the remains of a democracy murdered in a foolhardy venture.

Americans, after all the hysterical propaganda, are still 83 per cent opposed to entry into war. By the same percentage, Americans must be opposed to convoys.







CONVOY

A FUNERAL TRAIN

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
General Robert E. Wood, Acting Chairman
National Headquarters
141 West Jackson Boulevard
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

12626

Federal Bureau of Investigation,

Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir:

The two inclosures have come to me lately unsolicited. Ordinarily I would have paid no attention to such trash, but in these days of totalitarian propaganda the smallest things may be important. Hence I am forwarding them to you for investigation if you deem it necessary.

[redacted] Naturally my curiosity has been aroused as to whether the woman, whose name appears on the propaganda, pays for it, or whether another party or parties, perhaps inimical to the interests of the United States is paying the bill.

If you see fit to investigate and it is not against your rules I would appreciate it very much if you will inform me of the results.

[redacted] Too, if there is any way in which I can serve you and through you my country ~~in any way~~ I will appreciate it if you will call on me.

Respectfully,

[redacted]

Stantonsburg, N.C.,
March 27, 1941.

Wilson County.

[redacted]

RECORDED & INDEXED

100-4712-2

MAR 28 1941

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 5-6-86 BY SP6 bja/tcy

[redacted] April 9, 1941 12625

RECORDED 100-4712-24

[redacted]
Stantonsburg, North Carolina

b7c

Dear [redacted]

I wish to acknowledge receipt of your letter dated March 27, 1941 with enclosures and to thank you for your interest in writing to this Bureau.

You may be assured that the content of your communication and the material submitted therewith has been made a matter of official record at this Bureau.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Gandy

Unclassified
5/6/86 SP6 bja/tcg

RECORDING SECTION
RECEIVED
APR 10 1941
FBI

b7c [redacted]

b7c [redacted] March 29, 1941

[redacted]
SPECIAL DELIVERY

14404

Major General Edwin M. Watson
Secretary to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear General Watson:

As of possible interest to the President and you I am furnishing herewith a memorandum of information concerning the contemplated plans of the America First Committee.

With assurances of my highest regards,

Sincerely yours,

Enclosure

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED
MAR 29 1941
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

RECORDED

100-4712-25

Deleted Copy Sent A. W. Stevens
by [illegible] 3-28-76
Per [illegible] request

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/6/86 BY SP6 bja/ltcg

Federal Bureau of Investigat....

United States Department of Justice

1300 Biscayne Building
Miami, Florida

April 5, 1941

Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D.C.

Re: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
INTERNAL SECURITY -G.

Dear Sir:

There is being transmitted herewith a booklet entitled "IS THIS OUR WAR?" which was given out in a meeting held by [redacted] b7C b7D.

[redacted] the organization "America First Committee" intends to conduct a five week campaign flooding different people and organizations with telegrams, one of their purposes of this campaign being to wire the Jergens Lotion company to curtail the activities of WALTER WINCHELL.

b7C During the meeting [redacted] quoted from the April issue of Scribners-Commentator and dealt particularly on paragraphs on pages 5, 9 and 47.

The above information is being furnished the Bureau for information purposes.

Very truly yours,

RECORDED
&
INDEXED

PERCY WYLY, II
Special Agent in Charge.

100-4712-2

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
7 APR 8 1941
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 5-6-86 BY SP6 bja/tcy

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
WASHINGTON, D. C.

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CHICAGO, ILL. (23)

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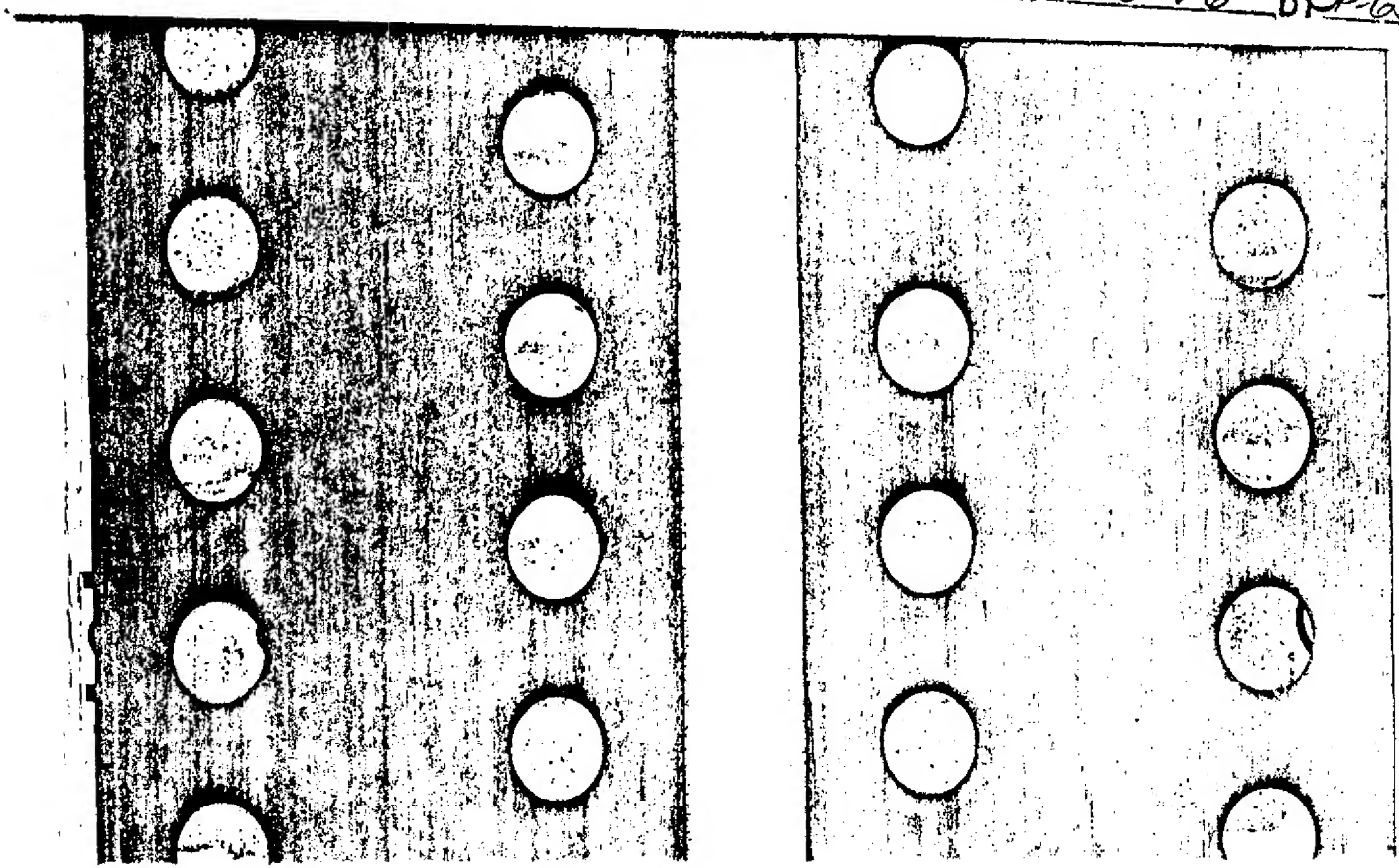

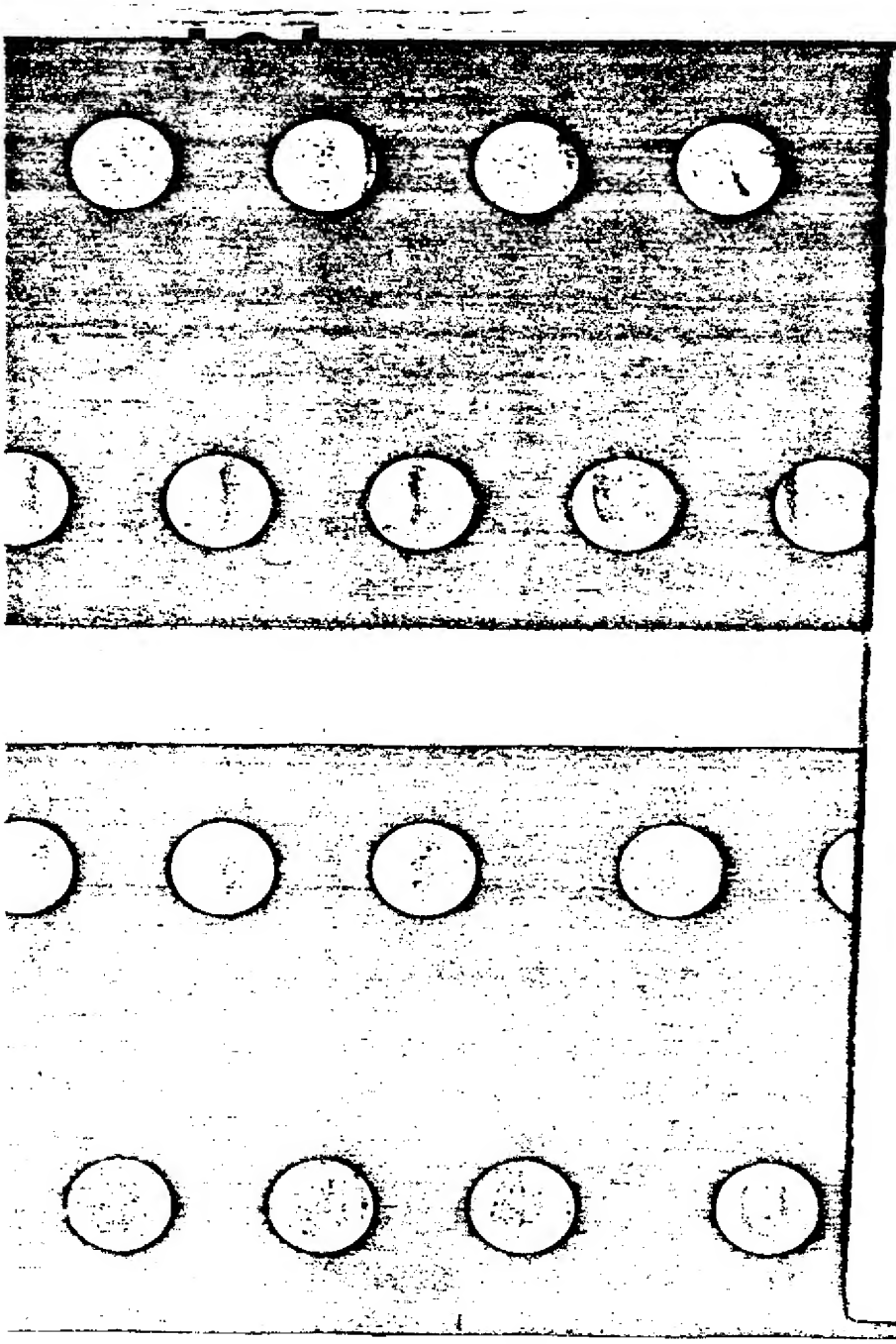

"Is This Our War?"

by

CLAY JUDSON

Member of the Firm of Wilson & McIlvaine

Former President of the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations

★

Delivered before the

Chicago Bar Association

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 30, 1940

ALL INFOR[illegible]ON CONTAINED
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DATE 5-6-86 BY SP6 bja/tc

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

National Headquarters

141 W. JACKSON BLVD. CHICAGO

100-4712-26

Principles

1. The United States must build an impregnable defense for America. With such a defense no foreign power, or group of powers, can successfully attack us.

2. With proper safeguards for the distribution of supplies and the maintenance of our neutrality, Americans should, to the limit of their ability, give humanitarian aid to the suffering and needy people of England and the occupied countries.

3. The cash and carry provisions of the existing Neutrality Act are essential to American peace and security. Within the limits of that Act, Americans may properly aid Great Britain. Aid to her beyond the limitations of the present Neutrality Act would weaken our defense at home, and might well involve us in conflict. We oppose any change in the law which would permit American vessels to enter the combat zone or which would permit the American navy to convoy merchant ships through that zone, as any such course would inevitably plunge this country into Europe's war.

4. Americans should and do cherish the ideals of democracy and abhor dictatorship, but the welfare of one hundred thirty million Americans and the preservation of democracy on this continent demand that the United States keep out of foreign wars.

Subsidiary Objectives

1. To bring together all Americans, regardless of possible differences on other matters, who see eye-to-eye on these principles. (This does not include Nazis, Fascists or Communists.)

2. To urge Americans to keep their heads amid rising hysteria in times of crisis.

3. To provide sane national leadership for the majority of the American people who want to keep out of the European war.

4. To register this opinion with the President and with Congress.

"IS THIS OUR WAR?"

An address by

CLAY JUDSON

of the

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

Delivered before Chicago Bar Association, November 30, 1940

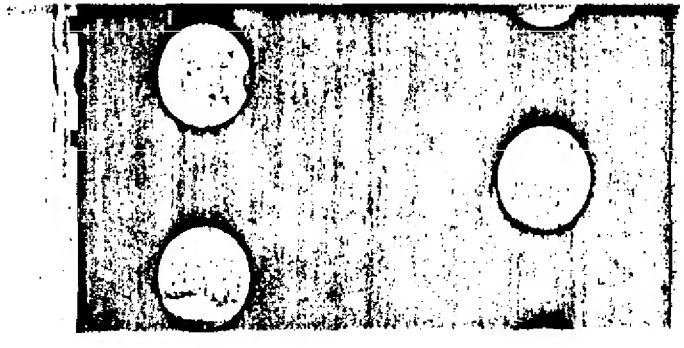
The crisis in our international relations continues. On the decisions which we make now may depend our national welfare for generations to come.

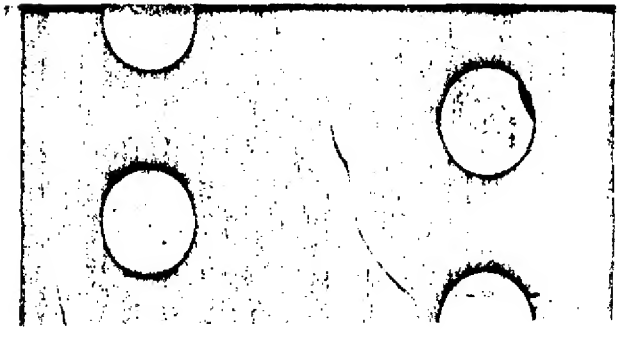
Those in power must decide daily the course of action to be followed under rapidly changing circumstances. They must decide whether to follow or ignore the continual pressure on our Government to go beyond the laws of neutrality and to send its own vessels, tanks, airplanes and guns to Great Britain. They must decide whether to finance Great Britain in this war, as we did in the last, and with the same results. They must decide whether to follow or oppose those who are already urging a change in our national policy and neutrality act so that we can aid Great Britain by sending our merchant vessels into the war zone, loaded with munitions for England. They must decide whether our navy shall be used to convoy vessels to and from England, a proposal made this week in Col. Knox's paper, the *Chicago Daily News*. And finally, the decision must be reached, after the internationalist group believes that it has finally made public opinion ready for the question, whether this nation should enter the war.

We Must Decide Now

The answer to all these definite problems will be found in the answer to one fundamental question: Is this our war? That is the question which the American people must think about and answer before it is too late.

If it is our war, clearly our participation must be to the





fullest extent possible at any given moment, regardless of the terrible cost in human life and human values which that participation would entail, and regardless of the certainty that our entry into this war would be a veritable cataclysm, and not a comparatively simple effort as it was the last time we made the world safe for democracy.

On the other hand, if this is not our war, we must so guide our steps as to avoid all risk of being drawn into it. We must give no aid to any belligerent which would violate the laws of neutrality, lead to sabotage and reprisal, and plunge us into the conflict.

It will therefore be my effort today to answer the fundamental question: Is this our war? That answer must be based not on our emotional reactions to the bombings of London, our deep affection and admiration for the English people, or our hatred of dictatorship; it must depend upon a logical analysis of the issues and alternatives before us, and our conclusion as to what is best for this country of one hundred thirty million people.

Because it seems difficult for many people to view the situation objectively, you are perhaps entitled to know something of the background of anyone who speaks on the question. Certainly, no one against whom there is any possible suspicion of harboring any ulterior motives should be listened to at such a time.

That fact leads me to make a few personal references to my own background. All my forbears are English or New York Dutch; most of them have been in this country at least three hundred years—none was German. My father was a graduate of West Point, and served throughout his life as an officer in the United States army.

I, myself, did not approve of our entry into the World War in 1917, but upon our declaration of war in April, 1917, the debate was over for me. It would be the same in 1940, if the interventionists should succeed in embroiling us once again.

In 1917 I entered the first officers' training camp immediately after war was declared and before I had quite completed the last year of my law course. I spent two

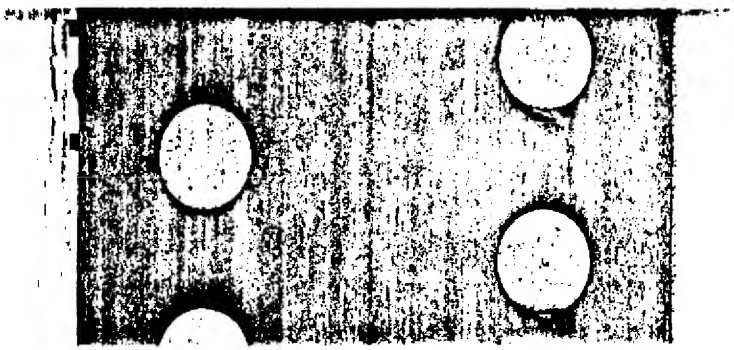
and one-half years in the army, seventeen months of which were in France and Germany. There is nothing in my life which starts me off with any prejudice so far as our international relations are concerned. I have only one thought in mind, and that is the welfare of this country.

What Are America's Objectives?

Before deciding whether this is our war we must know just what we are aiming at. There are several possible objectives for this country. One of them might be to crush Hitler and the evils of dictatorship. But this cannot be accomplished in any final sense by war, for these evils, which we hate and fear, are themselves the spawn of war, the products of blockade, military victory and military defeat. If we join in this mad destruction now going on, we will not terminate dictatorship. On the contrary, the ground will be made fertile for the wider and wider spread of Communism and the Nazi poison.

Is our main objective to preserve the British Empire no matter what the cost to us? If so, there can be no question as to what we should do about it. We should give everything we have to Great Britain. We should enter the war today on her side without limitation or reservation. It would be our war. But may I humbly suggest that however desirable the preservation of the British Empire may be, however desirable it may be for us to preserve the power of England, not only in the British Isles, but in Africa and in India, that is not a main objective of American foreign policy; an objective so powerful that we should actually go to war to attain it. If such were the case, our position would be merely that of a colony of Great Britain, with our foreign policy wholly subservient to the preservation of the Empire.

The statement has been made that it should be America's aim "to preserve law and order in the world." If that is our objective, God help us! It would mean complete abandonment of all hope for an American peace, abandonment of the policy of non-interference in foreign quarrels, and in place of that hope and that policy we



would undertake the job of policing the world! Perpetual war would be our lot, and the permanent maintenance of an overpowering military machine.

"UNITY" Must Be Defined

Of late we have been told that every American should be for national unity. So that, perhaps, has become an objective. Superficially considered, it might seem that everyone must be for "unity." But when the searcher for truth scratches beneath the surface he finds that it is not to be "unity" for improving the lot of the underprivileged in America; it is not to be "unity" for preserving democracy in the United States; it is not to be "unity" to keep this country out of war; but, believe it or not, it is to be "unity" to aid Great Britain!

The same day that the campaign for national unity was launched, William Allen White, Chairman of the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies, announced that "Unity Mass Meetings" would be held throughout the nation within the next few days. He further stated "The mass meetings should plead for unity of national spirit in support of a foreign policy to defend America by aiding the allies."

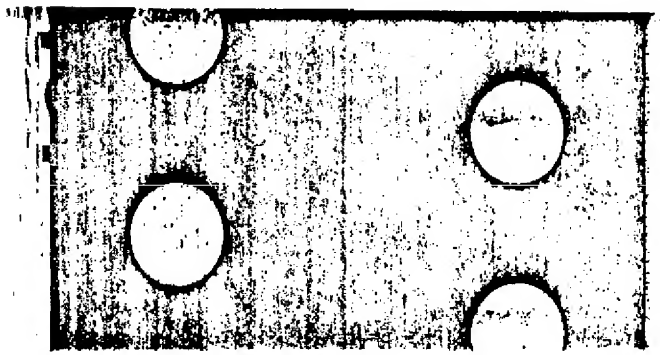
I daresay that each of us would like to have unanimous support for his own point of view. But freedom to express one's opinion, freedom within the framework of government to oppose a particular national policy, is, in time of peace, the very essence of democracy. Doubtless the greatest political unity on earth today is found in Germany. There it is enforced by the Gestapo. Let us preserve political freedom here, and let us use that freedom to avoid any action that will involve us in this European holocaust. If we are to have unity, let it be for the defense of America; let it be to carry out the oft-repeated pledge of both candidates for President, to keep this country out of war.

Is our main objective to make ourselves safe? This, it seems to me, should be, and must be, one of the main purposes of our foreign and military policy. If it is, we

should certainly prepare for the defense of this continent so that no nation can successfully attack us here. But this does not mean that we should be led by panic into war today on the theory that if we do not fight now we may have to fight tomorrow! We may not have to fight tomorrow. If we are strong and exercise self-restraint, we need not fight now or within the limits of the predictable future. Certainly we would be better able to crush an enemy who tomorrow, in his madness, might seek to attack us across three thousand miles of sea, than we would today to invade a continent three thousand miles away.

Our First Line of Defense

It has been said that England is our first line of defense. This point deserves a short examination. Just what do we mean by a first line of defense? We mean, I take it, that line which we will first defend. Now, theoretically, we could adopt a military policy which would establish our first line of defense at any place on the globe. We might say it is in England. We might urge that it is on the Rhine, or at the European borders of European Russia, or even in Siberia. Or, going around the globe the other way, we might have as our policy the establishment of our first line of defense at the Panama Canal, Hawaii, and Alaska; or perhaps Guam and the Philippines, or even Japan or China. In fact, if we were not careful our first line of defense on the east might meet our first line of defense on the west! It is all a question of policy. Our first line of defense, on both the east and the west, is properly our own navy, our own air force, our own coast line, and so much of the rest of this continent and its adjacent islands as is necessary for our own military security, without entering the European or Asiatic arenas. Any other policy would inevitably and perpetually involve us in European and Asiatic squabbles. It is dangerous doctrine to establish our military frontier in other nations thousands of miles across the sea, and to depend on the army and navy of other nations for our own defense.



Though one of our major objectives, therefore, is to make ourselves safe, this does not mean establishing our frontiers on the English battle front. It does not mean that this is *our* war.

Our OWN Democracy Must Be Preserved!

Is our goal the preservation of democracy in this country? I believe that this should be one of our principal objectives, along with the military safety of this country. If it is, we must certainly pursue a course which above everything else will keep us out of war. We cannot enforce democracy on Europe or on Asia by force and arms! We tried that in 1917. We fought then to make the world safe for democracy—and what happened to democracy in Italy, in Russia, in Japan, three of our principal allies—and in Germany, our vanquished enemy? To preserve democracy in the world we must have *peace*.

To summarize: Our legitimate national objectives are to make this country safe and to preserve democracy here. Both objectives demand peace, not war.

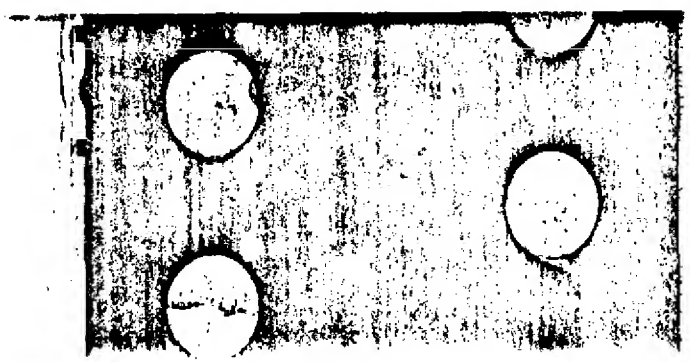
It may help to clarify the situation if we examine some of the arguments of those who favor war for us now.

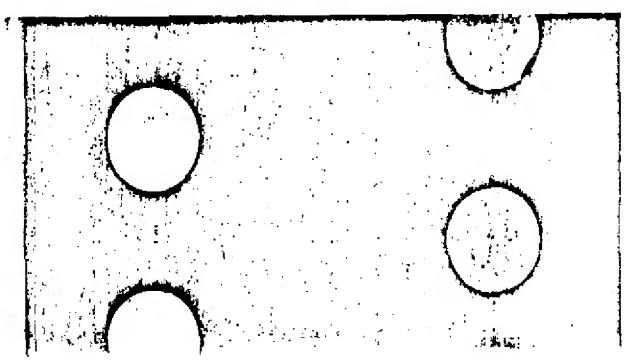
Arguments for War

In a recent article in the *Chicago Daily News*, William Stoneman, that journalist's correspondent in England, who had just returned from London, pointed out Great Britain's tremendous desire that the United States should join in the war *now*. And one of the most forceful arguments for this, from the British point of view, was that it would stiffen their morale and remove any possibility of a compromise peace. In other words, America is to exhaust the wealth and man power of this country and of the world in a devastating war so that peace may be postponed until Germany is destroyed, until millions of the best youth in all lands have been killed or maimed, until what is left of the victors are in a position to grant a dictated peace to what is left of the vanquished! A rosy picture, and a persuasive reason for us to make this our war.

Our interventionist friends are fond of calling attention to the fact that neutrality has not worked in Europe; that many neutral nations, Norway, Denmark, Holland, Belgium, were overrun by the German juggernaut; and that it will be the same with us if we continue to maintain a peaceful position in this hemisphere. An examination of this proposition immediately shows its fallacy. These comparatively weak little nations of Europe were literally in Germany's front yard—a few hours' drive by a powerful tank to their very center, or in the case of Norway, a fifteen minute flight by bombers and fighting planes. Is there any possible analogy between their position and that of the richest, most powerful industrial nation in the world, three thousand miles across the Atlantic, possessing the greatest navy on earth, backed up by one hundred thirty million people? It is true that neither neutrality nor the armies of Britain and France saved Norway, Denmark, Holland and Belgium. This was not, however, because those countries were neutral, but because they were weak and close at hand, and because Germany needed a flank from which to roll up the Maginot line, and bases from which to attack Great Britain. America is not Norway, or Denmark, or Holland, or Belgium. Our policy must be fitted to America and bears no relation whatsoever to the experiences or the trials or the troubles of those little nations in the heart of Europe.

With a clairvoyance to which I cannot pretend, the interventionists paint a most fantastic picture of the world which would result from a German victory or a compromise peace in Europe. I do not know what that world would be; I do not know what Germany, exhausted by a conflict involving terrible destruction, concerned with her conquered territories, could, or would want to, undertake in this continent. I believe that we should and would be strong enough to resist her no matter what she undertook to do which might endanger our safety. None of the evils of peace, following a cessation of hostilities between European powers, no matter who may be the victor, could possibly involve losses to this country which actual war would bring.





Our Foreign Trade

One of the threats held up to induce us to enter this war now is that a victorious Germany would not trade with us. If we have goods which other nations want, and they have what we want, there will be trade in the future as there has been in the past. This country should not enter a European war on the theory that such action will in some way better our trade relations and avoid a risk, which may never eventuate, and which, today, has no existence save in the heated imagination of the internationalists. It may be that the terms on which we could trade with a German controlled Europe might not be our terms. But they would have to be satisfactory to both parties or there would be no trade. Germany and Japan have greater need for our products than we have for theirs. Germany is suffering from a blockade today, though she controls all of central Europe. Does anyone seriously believe that in time of peace she would refuse to trade with the rest of the world, and thus in effect voluntarily impose such a blockade upon herself? And in any commerce of the future I have faith in the Yankee trader's ability to hold his own.

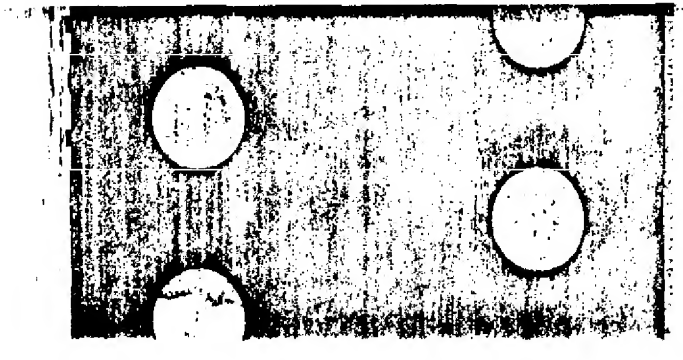
We Cannot Be Successfully Invaded

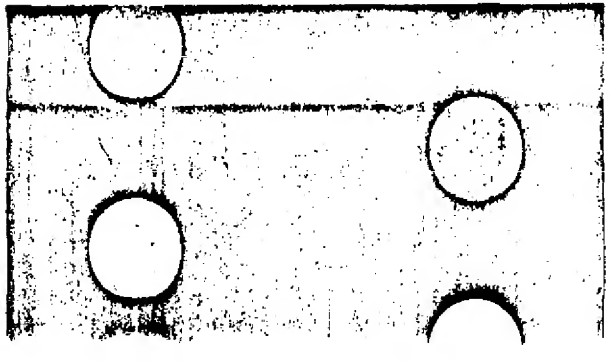
The interventionist has one prize arrow in his quiver. It is the threat of invasion by Germany. This spectre is conjured out of thin air for one purpose, to drive us by panic into war now in order to avoid the assumed threat of war in the future. Let us remember the facts. Germany, with air bases only twenty miles away, has been unable to invade England. It is unthinkable that she could succeed in any attack against us across three thousand miles of sea. Aviation experts, such as Major Al Williams and Colonel Lindbergh are agreed that an air invasion is impossible. But even if we make the preposterous assumption that Germany's air force could successfully attack this country, there are not enough vessels in the world to transport, at one time, the necessary army to drive home such an attack. During the last World War, it is true, we

transported some two million troops to France. It took us a year and a half to do it, and those troops landed on a friendly coast, protected by a sea power infinitely greater than that of the enemy, and at a time when the combatant power of an air force was relatively undeveloped. There is no possible comparison between the landing of our expeditionary force in France during the World War and the hypothetical landing of a German invading force in a hostile America, defended by the greatest fleet in the world and by thousands of airplanes flying from their home bases. We must have a strong military and naval defense of this country, so strong that any such attack from over-seas would be unthinkable and doomed to failure if made. But we must not be tricked into desperate action based on unreasonable panic.

If there were ever any fear of military danger to the safety of this country, that fear must have been dissipated by the speech of Colonel Frank Knox, Secretary of the Navy, on November 14, 1940. He said:

> "Now, in all of the continent of Europe, only one nation, one great power survives with its independence—Great Britain.
>
> "Why? Because of all the great powers in Europe, England alone enjoys an insular position. Due to the unmatched gallantry and superb skill and the devotion of the Royal Air Force of Britain we are frequently all too prone to say that the weapon that stopped the Germans was air force alone.
>
> "I would not detract one iota from the great praise which is properly given to that element of British defense. But, my friends, if you analyze the picture carefully it was 27 miles of open water plus British sea power and air power that saved the British Isles from the invader's heel.
>
> "It was because the German could not cross that Channel, denied that passage by sea power, plus air power, that today England, like France, is not a conquered country.





"Now, this truth, and I'm sure if you haven't already thought of it, now that I mention it, you will see its force, this truth was of extremely great pertinence for us because we, too, have that tremendous advantage—we're insular in our geography too.

"What is perhaps of equal importance, our insularity arises not from a narrow strip of water 27 miles wide, but because we are bounded on either side by wide oceans, and with this factor for our defense, the only way in which a successful invasion of the Western Hemisphere can be accomplished is over the surface of the sea.

"You may say 'what about air power and its importance?' I do no underestimate it in the slightest degree, but, so long as the law of gravity remains, a significant attack by air is impossible."

Does Might Make Right?

One further argument, not in the realm of practical affairs but of ethics, should also be noted. It is said that we must participate in this war to prove to the world that might does not make right! And how are we to do this? By adding our might to that of the mightiest Empire on earth so that the German nation may be crushed by that combined and superior might! I doubt if that would prove to Germany, Italy, Japan, or any other nation, that might does not make right!

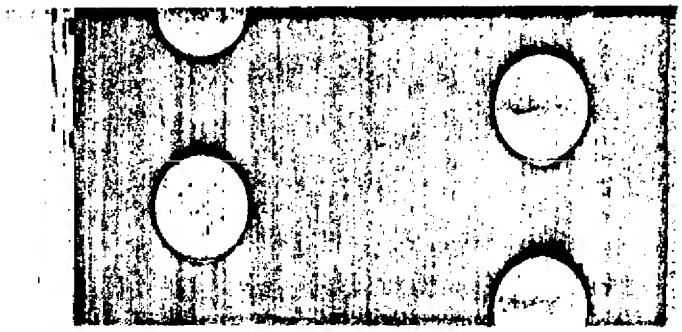
And what about Russia and Communism? At present all the nations, including Great Britain, even including the United States, seem to be flirting with the Soviet Union. The only Ambassador we still have in Europe is in Moscow. Yet this struggle is said to be for democracy against dictatorship! Is it that we prefer the Communist dictatorship to that of National Socialism? Russia sits enigmatically on the side lines hoping for the spread of ruin and desolation in the rest of the world, hoping that

the United States, too, will enter the arena, believing that out of this war, if we enter it, and its inevitable aftermath, will come the spread of Communism like wildfire throughout the world.

The aid we should give to Great Britain, therefore, is limited by the risk of war which is involved. I hope that so long as we act in accord with the cash and carry provisions of the Neutrality Act, war may be avoided. If we cast neutrality aside and send our own vessels, planes and guns to England, the danger of war is immensely increased. If we actually send our merchant ships to England loaded with munitions, if we actually use our own navy to convoy these vessels, no reasonable man could have any question of the immediate results.

The Public Deserves Honest Dealing

Before the interventionists put all their cards on the table and frankly admitted that they believed in aiding England no matter what risk of war that involved, we were told that one purpose of furnishing armaments to European, or even to Asiatic, belligerents was actually to keep us out of war. This seems to me so far fetched that it is difficult to believe in the sincerity of those who make the suggestion. Certainly when it comes from the William Allen White Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies, it must be received with a grain of salt. That greatest of all war propaganda agencies organized a great mass meeting in Chicago recently. And who were the two principal speakers chosen by the leaders of this movement to arouse the mass meeting? Dorothy Thompson and Admiral Standley, both of whom are in favor of our entry into war. On November 20, my old friend and classmate, James Conant, President of Harvard University, speaking for the William Allen White Committee, urged that it was "purely a matter of strategy whether at some later time active belligerency is required" by the United States. Can we believe for a moment that these advocates of war are urging the sending of ships, planes and guns to Great Britain



to keep us o... when they think we should be in?

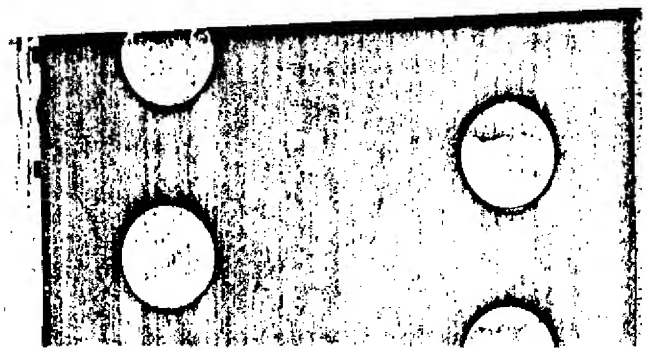
Surely it is obvious to any observer of world affairs that the way for us to get into war is by casting neutrality aside and putting the entire weight of our industrial (and military) strength in the scales on behalf of one of the belligerents. That is the road to war, unless the eyes of the American people are opened and our march along it is checked.

Let Us Preserve Our Democracy

Our goal should be the preservation and development on this continent of the processes of democracy and of civilization, of culture, understanding, and the good life. To be led by emotions and words of hate and bitterness into the fiery furnace of war today would not only imperil our objectives; they might well be lost at the very outset.

If, then, our guiding star is the maintenance of peace for America (not as an end in itself but as a means to working out the destiny of this nation and the fulfillment of its ideals), we should not enter this war. We should not pursue any course which will lead us, step by step, to the precipice. We must prepare ourselves so that no nation would dare attack us, or could succeed if it did dare. But we should not make this war in Europe our war. That way lie the very evils we should seek to avoid. That way lie destruction, Communism, Fascism and dictatorship. For these things are the products of war, not of peace

Clay Judson
11-28-40



If you, as an American citizen, believe that our first duty is to our own country, join the America First Committee by signing your name below and mail to the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE, 141 W. Jackson Blvd., Chicago, Illinois.

I wish to join the America First Committee.

In addition, I will ☐ *arrange with my local theater to show the Committee's film, "Which Way America?"* ☐ *urge my local radio station to broadcast transcribed talks by the Committee's speakers.*
☐ *write to my Congressman, and urge others to do so.*

☐ *I am enclosing a list of names of others who are interested and to whom literature should be sent.*

☐ *I am enclosing $_____to support the work of the America First Committee. (Make your check payable to the America First Committee.)*

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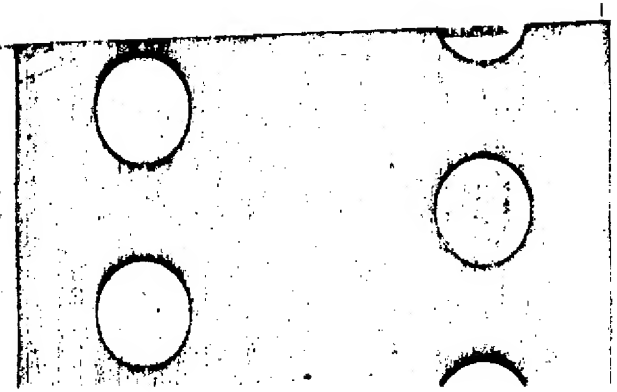
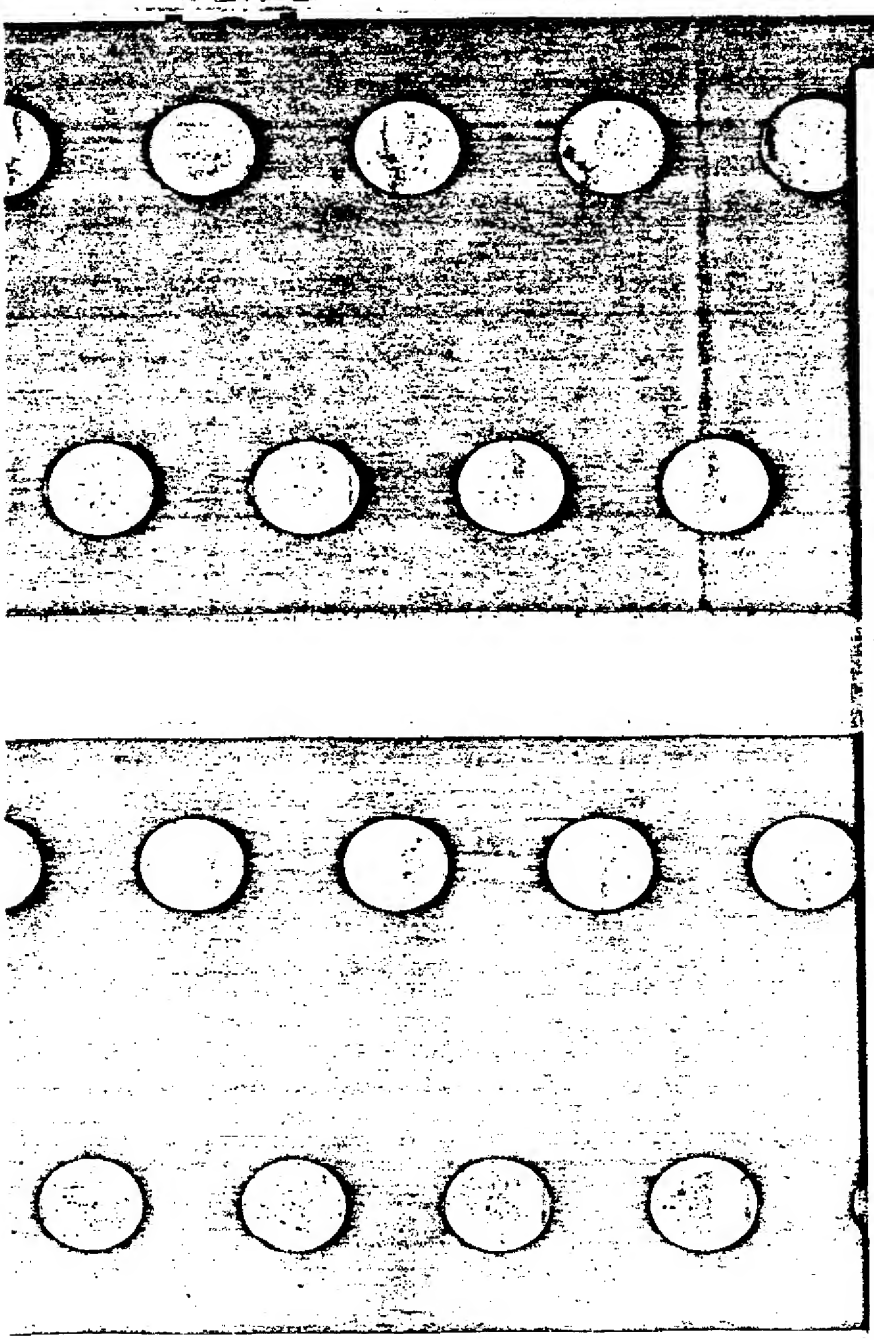
The work of the Committee is supported entirely by voluntary contributions of time or money.





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586

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER
DIRECTOR

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

May 1, 1941

[redacted]
Chicago, Illinois

b7C

Dear [redacted]

I desire to acknowledge receipt of your letter dated April 5, 1941.

Please be advised that the information contained therein has been carefully noted and is being incorporated in the official files of the FBI. In the event you obtain any additional information in this same regard, it is suggested that you communicate with Mr. M. S. Devereaux, Special Agent in Charge, Federal Bureau of Investigation, United States Department of Justice, 1900 Bankers' Building, Chicago, Illinois.

Your courtesy in bringing this matter to my attention is indeed appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover
Director

3-27-28
LHP

100-4771-27

b7 File [redacted]

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b7c [redacted]
Chicago, Ill.
April 5th, 1941

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
F.B.I.
Washington, D.C.

APR 12 19[illegible]

My dear sir:

I attended one meeting of Lincoln Park Chapter of the America First Committee and to my surprise I found that a young woman who was formerly deeply interested in communism and later switched to nazism was acting as Sec'y.

I saw many of her friends sitting in the front row who have always been known as communists and nazi sympathizers, and I believe that an investigation of that particular chapter should be made before the subversive element has completely taken over with its usual subtle suavity.

I hope that I am wrong in my surmises but my feelings are intensely American and I am sure that that chapter needs to be well weeded, else the harvest will be something that we do not wish to reap in this country.

Respectfully,

[redacted]

b7c

[redacted] b7c

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Mr.J.Edgar Hoover

Federal Bureau of Investigation

Washington
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on this envelope

To Hoey

One of the prize writers on the xxxx staff of the America First Committee is an out-and-out Nazi, [redacted] (NOTE- NOT SURE OF THIS, SHOULD BE CHECKED BEFORE USING.) b7C

b7C

[redacted]

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To Mr. John Edgar Hoover
Director
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United States Department of Justice
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America First Committee

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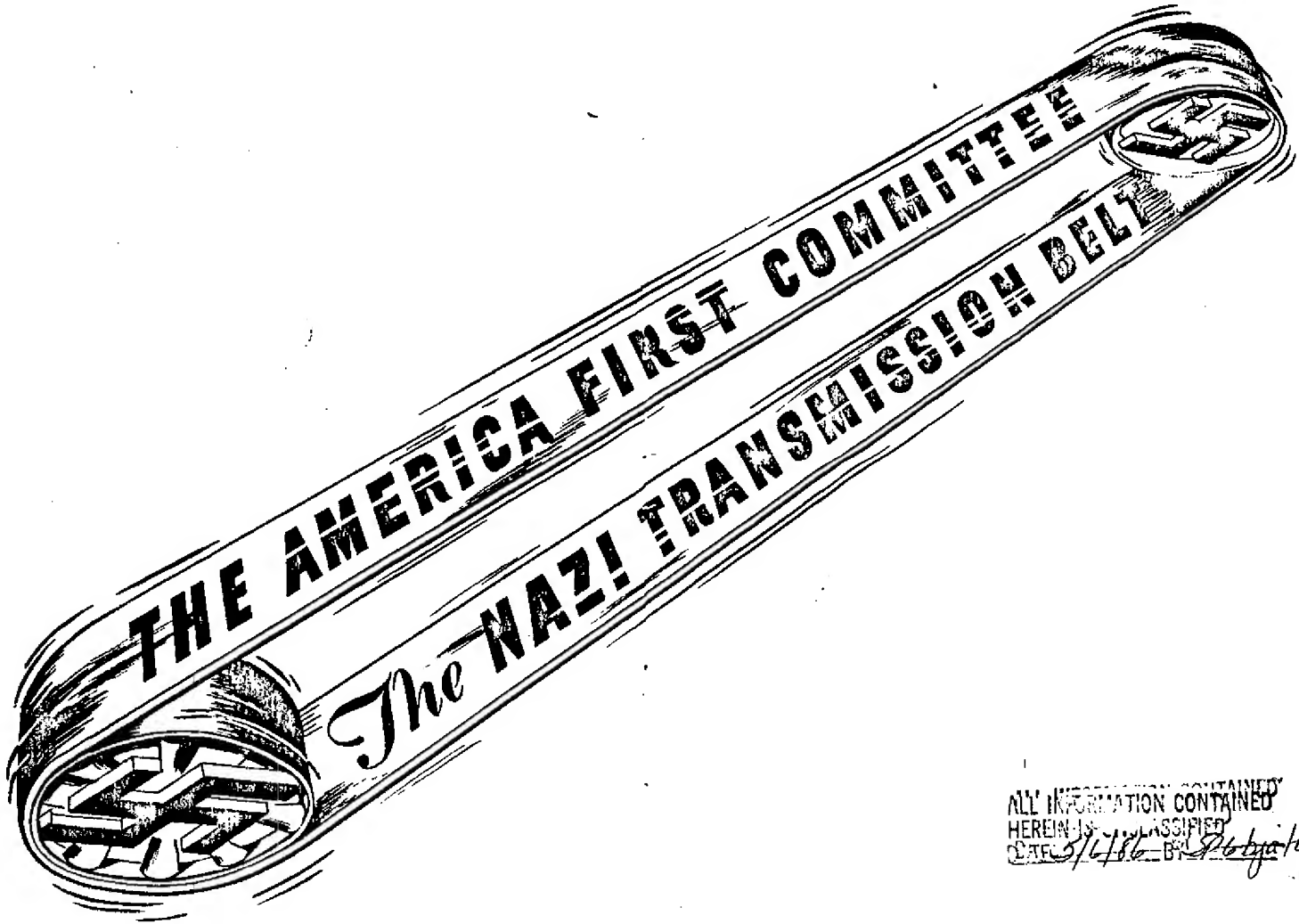

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Whether They Know It Or Not—

The America First Committee, whether its members know it or not and whether they like it or not, is a Nazi front!

It is a transmission belt by means of which the apostles of Nazism are spreading *their anti-democratic ideas into millions* of American homes!

This is not to say that the America First Committee is a Nazi organization. On the contrary, the great majority of its officers and members are patriotic Americans who sincerely believe that *this nation* should pursue a policy of isolationism and appeasement.

But that is exactly what Adolf Hitler and his disciples in the United States believe, and they are using—or misusing—the America First Committee to spread those ideas.

We do not question the integrity of the leadership and membership of the America First Committee nor the sincerity of its program. But we do seriously question the wisdom of the policy-makers *and* the soundness of a policy which has the unqualified approval of Adolf Hitler, Benito Mussolini and their agents in the United States. It is no secret that the Axis wishes for and works toward the destruction of democracy throughout the world.

In its war upon democracy the Axis has no more effective ally in the United States than the America First Committee. This is true *because* the America First Committee denounces the Axis while it advocates a foreign policy favorable to the Axis. Thus, it is more effective than any Nazi agent or organization, for *it does not bear the stigma* of an alien loyalty.

Recognizing this basic fact, the American organizations committed to totalitarianism have rallied around the banner of the America First Committee. The following pages will show how they operate openly at meetings of the America First Committee; how they distribute the literature of the Committee and recruit members; how they publicize the Committee in the American Nazi press; how the propaganda ministries in Berlin and Rome publicize the Committee on an international scale.

Friends of Democracy has always opposed front organizations serving as transmission belts for both Communists and Nazis. To us it seems unfortunate that the America First Committee, whose members in times past have fought the transmission belts of the Communists, now finds itself functioning as a Nazi transmission belt.

And it is equally unfortunate that a group of American citizens, consciously or unconsciously, is giving aid and comfort to an enemy whose very existence has caused the United States to spend billions of dollars in a rearmament program.

HITLER'S ARGUMENTS THROUGH THE MOUTHS OF THE AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE SPOKESMEN

—From Senator Wheeler by Radio, March 3, 1941:

"Now we find these same international bankers with their friends the royal refugees and with the Sassoons of the Orient and with the Rothschilds and Warburgs of Europe in another theme song . . . 'Our investments in India, Africa and Europe must be preserved. Save democracy!'"

—From Hitler, July 19, 1940:

"The Jewish capitalistic warmongers, their hands stained with blood, saw their tangible pretext for realizing their diabolical plans vanish. Once again we witness a conspiracy of . . . money-grabbing financial magnates for whom war was a welcome means for furthering their aims."

—From Senator Nye to the Senate, March 4, 1941:

"The greatest aggressor in all modern history has been the British Empire. . . . The Empire is the despotic, arbitrary and sometimes tyrannical rule over almost half a billion people. . . . It is this Empire that is calling us in the name of democracy."

—From Hitler to the German People, January 30, 1940:

"England had gradually built up her so-called world empire by force. Nation after nation was crushed and the structure was created which was called the British Empire."

These two Senators, Burton K. Wheeler of Montana (Dem.) and Gerald P. Nye of North Dakota (Rep.), have served the America First Committee as spokesmen. The wife of the Montana Senator, Lulu M. White Wheeler, is extremely active in the affairs of the America First Committee. So is their son, John Leonard Wheeler, who is known to be one of the heads of the America First Committee in Los Angeles, California.

The Nazis Pack the Hall

ADMIT TWO

RALLY

Free ADMISSION

America First Committee
and
Keep America Out of War Congress

MECCA
AUDITORIUM
133 West 55th Street

THURSDAY EVE.
8:15 P.M.
FEB. 20, 1941
No Reserved Seats
Doors Open 7 P.M.

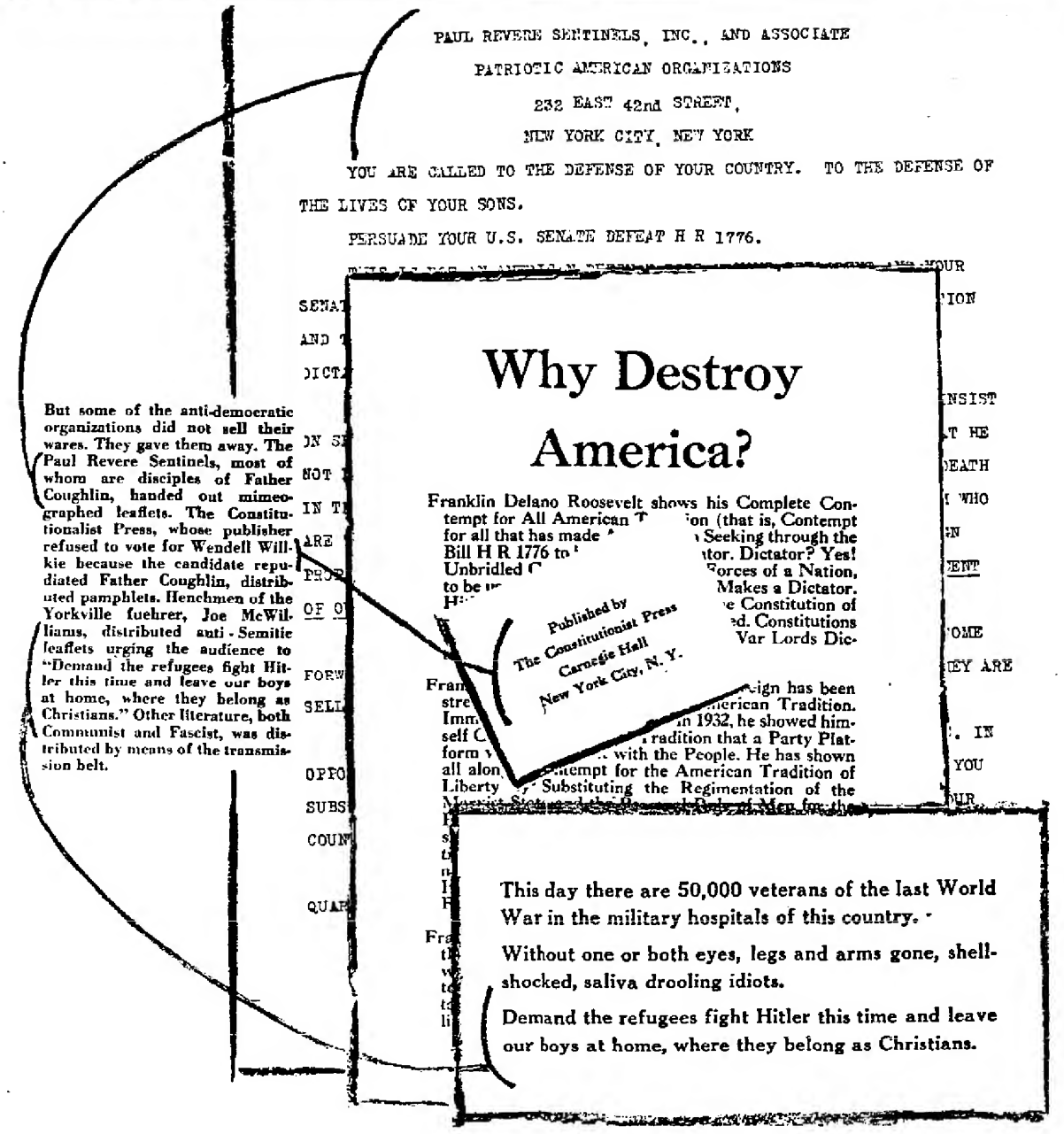
Speakers
SENATOR GERALD P. NYE
DOROTHY DUNBAR BROMLEY
JOHN T. FLYNN
REV. LAURENCE T. HOSIE
NORMAN THOMAS
GENERAL ROBERT E. WOOD
OTHERS
MUSIC

TO SAVE AMERICA FROM WAR!

The biggest show of the America First Committe thus far was a mass meeting at Mecca Temple New York City, on February 20th. The stage was occupied by spokesmen of the America First Committee, but a large part of the audience belonged to New York's petty fuehrers who desire not peace but a Nazi victory. Members of the Nazified American Destiny Party were there because their leader, Joe McWilliams, had said to them: "I want everyone of you who can to go to the important meeting at Mecca Temple." So were members of other pro-Nazi outfits—the Paul Revere Sentinels, the Christian Front, the American Nationalists, the German-American Bund and the Kyffhauser Bund. As always, the America First Committee served as a transmission belt to relay Adolf Hitler's propaganda to his American disciples.

Hawkers of Father Coughlin's anti-Semitic magazine, *Social Justice*, did a thriving business. This is understandable, because the issue on sale contained an article in praise of "B. K. Wheeler, Peace Crusader." Senator Wheeler, whose wife is a member of the national committee of the America First Committee, has become a hero not only of the anti-Semitic, fascist-minded radio priest but of all who would substitute totalitarianism for democracy in the United States.

... And Steal the Show



PAUL REVERE SENTINELS, INC., AND ASSOCIATE

PATRIOTIC AMERICAN ORGANIZATIONS

232 EAST 42nd STREET,

NEW YORK CITY, NEW YORK

YOU ARE CALLED TO THE DEFENSE OF YOUR COUNTRY. TO THE DEFENSE OF THE LIVES OF YOUR SONS.

PERSUADE YOUR U.S. SENATE DEFEAT H R 1776.

Why Destroy America?

Franklin Delano Roosevelt shows his Complete Contempt for All American T[radi]on (that is, Contempt for all that has made A[merica] Seeking through the Bill H R 1776 to [dic]tor. Dictator? Yes! Unbridled C[ontempt] Forces of a Nation, to be [used] Makes a Dictator. H[itler] Constitution of [the] United. Constitutions [of] Our Lords Dic-

Published by The Constitutionist Press Carnegie Hall New York City, N. Y.

Fram[klin] stre[tches] Imm[unity] self C[onstitution] form [with] all alon[g] Liberty [and] Substituting the Regimentation of the

This day there are 50,000 veterans of the last World War in the military hospitals of this country.

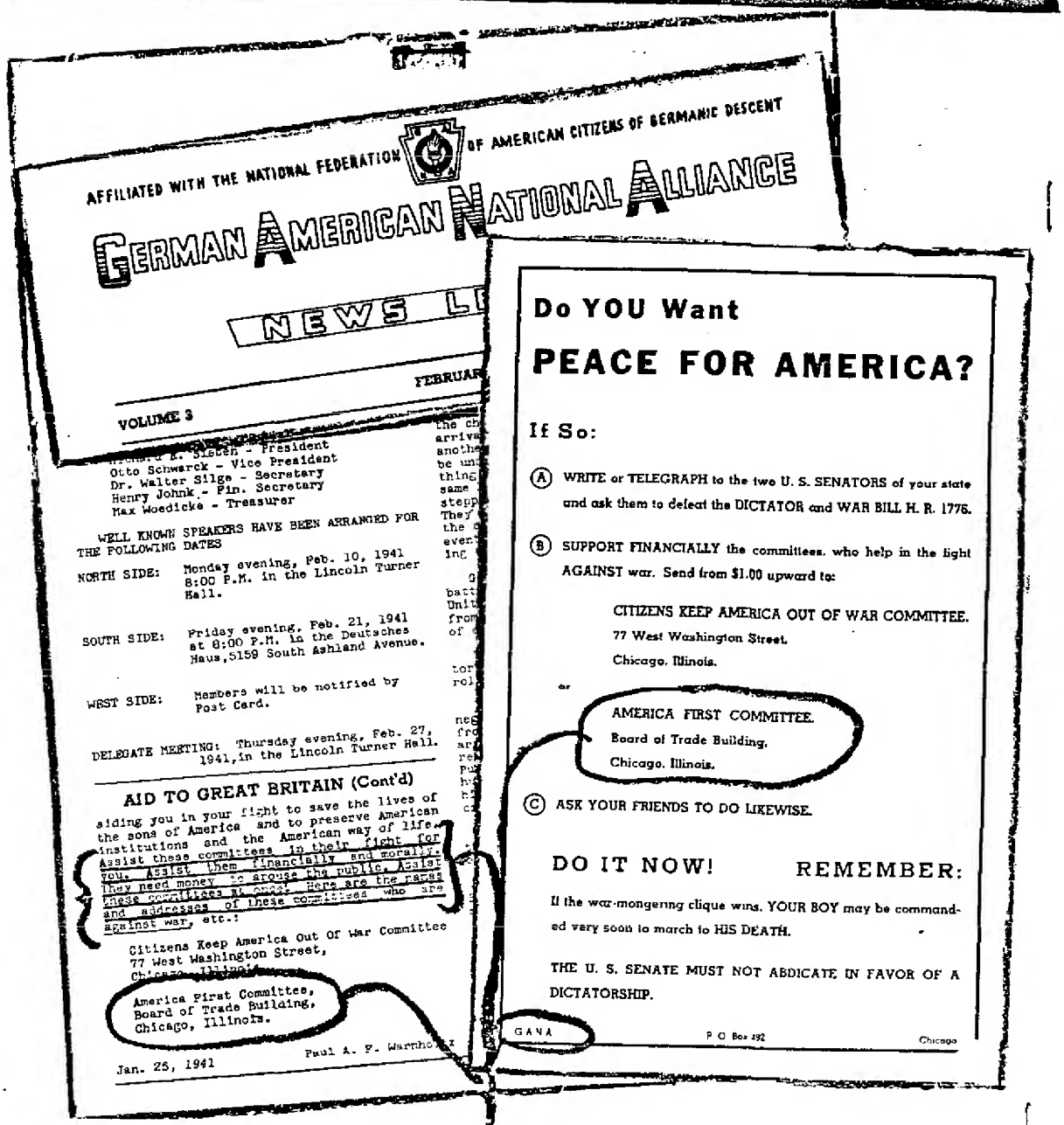
Without one or both eyes, legs and arms gone, shell-shocked, saliva drooling idiots.

Demand the refugees fight Hitler this time and leave our boys at home, where they belong as Christians.

But some of the anti-democratic organizations did not sell their wares. They gave them away. The Paul Revere Sentinels, most of whom are disciples of Father Coughlin, handed out mimeographed leaflets. The Constitutionalist Press, whose publisher refused to vote for Wendell Willkie because the candidate repudiated Father Coughlin, distributed pamphlets. Henchmen of the Yorkville fuehrer, Joe McWilliams, distributed anti-Semitic leaflets urging the audience to "Demand the refugees fight Hitler this time and leave our boys at home, where they belong as Christians." Other literature, both Communist and Fascist, was distributed by means of the transmission belt.

Yes, the Nazis stole the show. A newspaperman wrote: "They applauded violently as Senator Burton K. Wheeler, Senator Gerald P. Nye and Norman Thomas predicted that this country faced war and dictatorship if the lend-lease bill passed. With great heartiness they booed President Roosevelt, Wendell Willkie, Mayor LaGuardia, Walter Lipp- they shouted 'The Jews, the Jews!' and 'Morgenthau and Cohen' when speakers discussed public sentiment in favor of all-out aid to Britain.' And when the meeting was over, it was not the leaders of the America First Committee who shook hands with the audience as it left, but Joe McWilliams — he who openly

Chicago Nazis Solicit Funds



AFFILIATED WITH THE NATIONAL FEDERATION OF AMERICAN CITIZENS OF GERMANIC DESCENT

GERMAN AMERICAN NATIONAL ALLIANCE

NEWS L

FEBRUAR

VOLUME 3

Otto Schwarck - Vice President
Dr. Walter Silge - Secretary
Henry Johnk - Fin. Secretary
Max Woedicke - Treasurer

WELL KNOWN SPEAKERS HAVE BEEN ARRANGED FOR THE FOLLOWING DATES

NORTH SIDE: Monday evening, Feb. 10, 1941 8:00 P.M. in the Lincoln Turner Hall.

SOUTH SIDE: Friday evening, Feb. 21, 1941 at 8:00 P.M. in the Deutsches Haus, 5159 South Ashland Avenue.

WEST SIDE: Members will be notified by Post Card.

DELEGATE MEETING: Thursday evening, Feb. 27, 1941, in the Lincoln Turner Hall.

AID TO GREAT BRITAIN (Cont'd)

aiding you in your fight to save the lives of the sons of America and to preserve American institutions and the American way of life. Assist these committees in their fight for you. Assist them financially and morally. They need money to arouse the public. Assist these committees at once! Here are the names and addresses of these committees who are against war, etc.:

Citizens Keep America Out Of War Committee
77 West Washington Street,
Chicago, Illinois.

America First Committee,
Board of Trade Building,
Chicago, Illinois.

Jan. 25, 1941 Paul A. F. Warnhol[illegible]

Do YOU Want

PEACE FOR AMERICA?

If So:

(A) WRITE or TELEGRAPH to the two U. S. SENATORS of your state and ask them to defeat the DICTATOR and WAR BILL H. R. 1776.

(B) SUPPORT FINANCIALLY the committees, who help in the fight AGAINST war. Send from $1.00 upward to:

CITIZENS KEEP AMERICA OUT OF WAR COMMITTEE.
77 West Washington Street.
Chicago, Illinois.

or

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE.
Board of Trade Building.
Chicago, Illinois.

(C) ASK YOUR FRIENDS TO DO LIKEWISE.

DO IT NOW! REMEMBER:

If the war-mongering clique wins, YOUR BOY may be commanded very soon to march to HIS DEATH.

THE U. S. SENATE MUST NOT ABDICATE IN FAVOR OF A DICTATORSHIP.

GANA P. O. Box 492 Chicago

The German American National Alliance of Chicago also calls itself the *Einheitsfront*, or "United Front." Its Nazi origin and connections are well known.

The German American National Alliance brazenly uses the transmission-belt technique. It calls upon its members to work through the America First Committee and the Citizens' Keep America Out of War Committee. The "United Front" is to be extended to include the two "anti-war" committees. "Assist them mittees at once!" Such is the shrill command of the *Einheitsfront* to Hitler-lovers in the Middle West.

America First? Keep Out of War? Handy names and slogans for those who are neither *patriots* nor *pacifists* but mere handmaidens of the Axis!

America First? It is America First-Aid to the Nazis!

Keep Out of War? It is but a brown herring dragged across the [illegible]

N.Y. Nazis Recruit Members

JOHN B. SNOW
18 EAST 48TH STREET
NEW YORK

TELEPHONE PLAZA 3-8088

Fellow Americans:

The campaign pledges of both m... armed forces would not be cal... Asiatic or European.

47,0...

In spite of this, the prop... the people" will continue...

1. Those who would... man for the wo... in a crusade ... on different ... war to "pres... cannot be w...

2. All anti-... within th... much-des... means of...

To keep ...t of ... of all Ame...

We must wei... America fir... Robert E. ... Committee...

I appeal ... Americ... groups...

Broke...

Very truly yours,

John B. Snow

Another "friend" of the America First Committee is wealthy socialite John B. Snow, whose organization has been dedicated to Hitler first—America last. But this former distributor of "The Protocols of the Elders of Zion" and other Nazi propaganda now mails copies of "Our Foreign Policy" to his followers. Apparently Mr. Snow and the America First Committee see eye to eye on foreign policy.

Speech by
GENERAL ROBERT E. WOOD
Acting Chairman
America First Committee

"Our Foreign Policy"

delivered before the
Council on Foreign Relations
Friday, October 4, 1940

with an introduction by
MR. CLAY JUDSON
former President
of the Council on Foreign Relations

For the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
National Headquarters
1806 Board of Trade Building
CHICAGO

America First Committee,
New York Chapter,
49 East 53rd St., New York City

I subscribe to the aims of the America First Committee. Please enroll me as a member. I declare that I am an American citizen and in no way connected with any foreign power or subversive organization.

Name .....

Street .....

City ..... Telephone .....

It is understood that membership involves no financial obligations. Contributions are entirely voluntary.

See other Side

The notorious Christian Front distributes not only the literature of the America First Committee. It distributes also application forms for that "anti-war" and "anti-ism" organization. The Christian Front is in itself an "ism"—it advocates a Hitler-Mussolini brand of totalitarianism for the United States. By advocating racial and religious hatred, by threatening civil strife in this country, the Christian Front stands for war. Its leaders make no secret of their admiration for Hitler and Mussolini. They stand for war—Hitler's and Mussolini's war upon the last remaining democracies of the world.

And this is the organization which recruits members for the America First Committee with the latter's claim of being against war because war is the breeder of isms!

Poison at Nazi Conference

A few weeks ago several of the ranking leaders in the American Nazi hierarchy met in Chicago behind closed doors to discuss a course of joint action. Their number included Donald Shea, leader of the National Gentile League; Edward James Smythe, leader of the Protestant War Veterans, who arranged the recent joint meeting of the Ku Klux Klan and the German-American Bund at Camp Nordland; Colonel E. N. Sanctuary, leader of the American Christian Defenders, formerly known as the World Alliance Against Jewish Aggressiveness, and Olov Tietzov, leader of the admittedly fascist American Guard. For this important conference they had assembled great quantities of standard pieces of pro-Nazi, anti-British propaganda. With one exception this propaganda had been published by persons and organizations dedicated to the destruction of American democracy. That exception was the America First Committee whose literature was carefully read and later widely distributed by the Nazi leaders.

American Nazi Press Approves

Must America Fight?

THE LIVES of 12-million American boys, the wealth and resources of the America we have known, are being dragged each day closer to the brink of war.

Night and day, the American people are being subjected to a barrage of propaganda to enter the holocaust now devouring the people and the civilization of Europe.

In a recent address to the students and faculty of the University of Notre Dame, the Rev. John A. O'Brien, Ph.D., said:

"The propagandists for America's involvement in the feuds and hatreds of Europe at first centered their efforts to break down the barriers we had erected

ing out of American blood in Europe, Africa and Asia—and South America!

"Democracy took
Britain and Fra
authoritari
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"An ir
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liberty, the iro

"Shall we learn nothing fr our tragic involvement in that mor failure to establish peace and mong the nations of Eu

"'T of the
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pen to such a

see Britain win. We are admirers of the English people. nitely prefer Britain to Hitlerism.

"But the first duty of every true American is to America. Our first duty is to build up a mighty defense for America, not to police the ever-shifting boundaries of Europe, much less Egypt or Indo-China.

"Our first duty is to clothe America with the armor of an invincible defense, not to strip her naked to man the forts of Dakar, Dover or Singapore.

"The *Defend America by Aiding Britain Committee*—in spite of all their protestations to the contrary—should better be called the *'Drag-America-into-the War and Defend-the-British Empire Committee'*, or, as one American mother wrote me, the 'Mass

"We prefer the *America First* organization to which people throughout the country are now rallying—like the Minute Men of Paul Revere.

"Unless they rally to it fast, and in overwhelming numbers, we are in danger of having America stripped of all her defenses. For it is this *'Britain First and America Last Committee'* which now seems to be shaping the nation's foreign policy.

"Unless the plain masses of the American people write to their Congressmen and their Senators and thunder in their ears a protest against this betrayal of America's defense, and their determination to stay out of Europe's inferno, their sons will find their graves by the millions in Egypt, Europe and Indo-China, and the America that

NATIONAL WEEKLY

Social Justice

Published by The Social Justice Publishing Co.
Founded 1936 by Father Coughlin

Seite 8

CATHOLIC TEACHER CONDEMNS BRITISH PROPAGANDA

Dr. O'Brian of Notre Dame Calls White's Committee a Threat to the U. S.

The Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies should be called "The Mass-Murder Committee," Dr. John A. O'Brien, of the University of Notre Dame, said as he called for a national crusade to "Defend America First" and "Arm America First."

"It's concern," said the Notre Dame graduate school apolo
ics professor as he
students and f
ington

said that this country will "commi
national suicide if we repeat the mis
take of 1917."

"Shall we pour out our blood an
treasure to guarantee the ever shift
ing boundary lines in Europe and tr
to dictate to foreign nations the kin
of government they
asked.

Seite 4

THE FREE AMERICAN

at Stake

Brien, 23 years director
ric Newman foundation, began
teaching at Notre Dame last September upon his return from a year in

Urges National Protest.

"The Committee to Defend Ameri
by Aiding the Allies should be calle
the mass murder committee. The
concern is first with Great Britai
only secondly with America. To per
petuate Britain's hold on one-fifth o

The Nazis in New York and Father Coughlin in Detroit unite in praising the Rev. John A. O'Brien for saying: "We prefer the America First organization."

Here is an article to that effect from *Deutscher Weckruf und Beobachter*, the official newspaper of the Nazi Bund in America with headquarters in New York. (To cover up its work the Nazi paper also calls itself *The Free American.)*

And here is another article to the same effect from *Social Justice*, published by Father Coughlin, who has in the past lifted for his writings whole paragraphs from the speeches of Dr. Goebbels, Hitler's Minister of Propaganda.

Such are the men and journals who praise the America First Committee! They are the ones who applaud those who praise the America First Committee!

BERLIN APPROVES..

On the evening of January 22nd a short-wave radio broadcast from Berlin placed the official Nazi seal of approval upon the America First Committee. According to the minions of Dr. Goebbels, this Committee represents "true Americanism and true patriotism." The radio speaker from Berlin resented the fact that the Committee "has been given less publicity" in the United States than it deserves in Nazi eyes. Approval by the Nazi regime should cause the America First Committee to re-examine its program of Americanism. It is difficult to believe that the Nazis would approve a program truly beneficial to a democracy which they fear and detest.

Short-Wave Broadcast, Berlin, January 22, 1941

"THE AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE HAPPENS TO OPPOSE THE NEFARIOUS INFLUENCE OF THE COMMITTEE TO DEFEND AMERICA, WHICH TRAVELED FAR ON THE PRESTIGE OF THE NAME OF WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE. HE LATER, OF COURSE, LEFT TO CHOOSE HIS OWN UNSAVORY JUICE. THE AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE IS KNOWN AS TRUE AMERICANISM AND TRUE PATRIOTISM, AS OPPOSED TO THE SYNTHETIC BRAND DISPLAYED BY THOSE AMERICANS ENROLLED UNDER THE WHITE COMMITTEE. THAT COMMITTEE HAS BEEN GIVEN LESS PUBLICITY THAN THE MARRIAGE OF A MOVIE STAR WHO HAS ONLY TWO DIVORCES TO HER NAME SO FAR."

. . . SO DOES ROME

According to the Italian Propaganda Ministry, the "honest voices, thoughtful for the future of America," belong to the members of the "America Innanzi Tutto"—the America First Committee. And according to Virginio Gayda, Il Duce's "man Friday," the Italian Fascists have friends in America. Who are those friends, according to Virginio Gayda? They are Brigadier General Robert Wood, retired, who is acting chairman of the America First Committee; Senator Burton Wheeler of Montana, the spearhead of isolationist forces in Washington; former Governor Philip La Follette of Wisconsin; Colonel Charles A. Lindbergh. Mussolini and Gayda like them. The Fascists say so themselves. They tell the Italian people that Wood, Wheeler, La Follette, and Lindbergh are "eminent personalities" worshipped by the American people. And while telling this, they arrange anti-American demonstrations in the streets of Rome!

Dispatches from Rome

On January 7, 1941, John T. Whitaker, one of the most reliable American correspondents in Europe, cabled from Rome to the *Chicago Daily News* that the Fascist press printed a short version of President Roosevelt's speech before Congress on January 6th:

"THIS BRIEF VERSION OF THE SPEECH IS PRINTED IN SECONDARY POSITION UNDER THE FOLLOWING HEADLINE:

" 'HONEST VOICES, THOUGHTFUL FOR THE FUTURE OF AMERICA, CONTINUE TO BE RAISED AGAINST THE SPREADING BELLICISM OF ROOSEVELT.'

"THE HONEST AND THOUGHTFUL VOICES TURN OUT TO BE THOSE OF PHILIP LA FOLLETTE AND THE 'AMERICA INNANZI TUTTO' (America First) ORGANIZATION. WHAT THEY SAY IS TREATED AS MORE IMPORTANT THAN ROOSEVELT'S 'DEMAGOGIC HYPOCRISY,' AS THE NEWSPAPERS TERM THE MESSAGE TO CONGRESS."

And on February 6, 1941, a few weeks before Whitaker was expelled from Italy by Mussolini, he cabled this dispatch:

"AFTER DAYS OF PRESS ATTACKS AGAINST AMERICA, WHICH IS DESCRIBED AS A DICTATOR'S COUNTRY BEING LED TO WAR BY AN ALLIANCE OF THE ANGLO-SAXON ELEMENTS WITH THE JEWS, THE FASCIST UNIVERSITY STUDENTS WERE PUT INTO THE STREETS OF ROME THIS MORNING. IT WAS THE FIRST DEMONSTRATION OF THE SORT SINCE THE LATE NEVILLE CHAMBERLAIN'S UMBRELLA AND A COFFIN, LABELED FRANCE, WERE CARRIED THROUGH THE STREETS IN PREPARATION FOR ITALY'S ENTRY INTO THE WAR. . . . SOME SAID IT WAS ANTI-AMERICAN. OTHERS DENIED THAT AND SAID THAT THE STUDENTS CRIED OUT AGAINST ENGLAND. . . .

"THE PRESS CAMPAIGN, WHICH HAS BEEN WAGED FOR SOME DAYS, DIVIDES AMERICA INTO JEWS WHICH INCLUDE, ACCORDING TO VIRGINIO GAYDA, THE WHITE HOUSE, THE PRESS AND THE RADIO, ON THE ONE HAND, AND WHAT ARE TERMED 'EMINENT PERSONALITIES,' ON THE OTHER. THIS LATTER CATEGORY IS COMPRISED OF SENATOR BURTON K. WHEELER (DEM., MONT.), COL. CHARLES A. LINDBERGH, PHILIP LA FOLLETTE, FORMER PROGRESSIVE GOVERNOR OF WISCONSIN, AND BRIG. GEN. ROBERT WOOD, RETIRED. THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE DESCRIBED AS SHARING THE VIEWS OF THESE EMINENT PERSONALITIES."

Friends of Democracy believes members of the America First Committee should re-examine the policies of the organization in the light of the fact that it is being used as a Nazi transmission belt. We believe they should consider the implications of these facts:

1. A large part of the audiences of many America First meetings are members of pro-Nazi organizations.
2. Nazi propaganda is distributed at many of these meetings.
3. Nazi organizations not only distribute the *literature of the* America First Committee but recruit members and raise money for the committee.
4. The Nazi press in the United States has stamped the program of the America First Committee with its approval.
5. The propaganda ministries of the democracy-hating *Nazi and Fascist* governments endorse the policies of the committee.

In view of these facts, we believe the America First Committee should reorganize on a basis which does not lend itself to misuse as a Nazi transmission belt.

FRIENDS OF DEMOCRACY, INC.

L. M. Birkhead, National Director

National Headquarters:
Fidelity Building
Kansas City, Missouri

Eastern Regional Office:
103 Park Avenue
New York, N. Y.

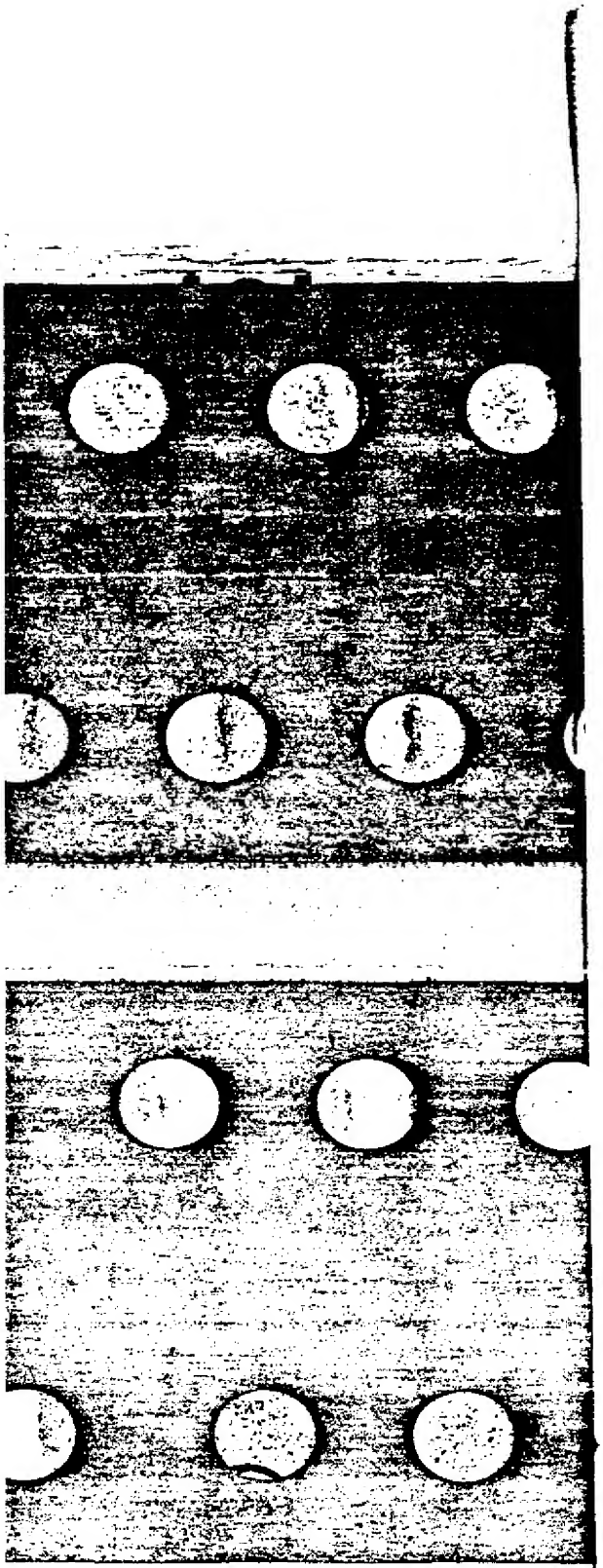
ANONYMOUS COMMUNICATION

It is reported Hitler has said the U.S. would be an "Inside Job". Let us not not be blinded by contempt for him. His own mouth will be the trap to get him. The "America First" organization can serve no other purpose except as the "Inside Job". Naturally, only certain leaders (present or later ones) know of the ultimate object and they appear (or try to) more loyal Americans than the elected representatives of the people in fact some were elected. Under the pretext of saving U.S. from war and war mongers they will surely try to overthrow U.S. by a coup. Beware!

a Friend.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/6/86 BY SP6 bja/tcy

RECORDED 100-4712-29
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
5 APR 16 1941
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 5/16/86 BY SP6 Lobyn Hoy

Defend America!

Stay Out of War!

COME TO THE MONSTER

Patriotic Rally

SUNDAY -- APRIL 20

at

TEMPLE HALL, ANDERSON AVE.

Port Richmond ..... 3:00 P. M.

SPEAKERS

HON. CHARLES TOBEY
U .S. Senator of New Hampshire

HON. JAMES A. O'LEARY
U. S. Congressman—Staten Island's Own

MISS JEANNETTE RANKIN
U. S. Congresswoman—from Montana

Who Are the America First Committee?

GEN. ROBERT W. WOOD
Acting Quartermaster General, U. S. Army, 1918-19.

MRS. BENNET CHAMP CLARK
Wife of U. S. Senator Clark of Missouri.

GENERAL HUGH S. JOHNSON
Former Head of N.R.A.

MRS. BURTON K. WHEELER
Wife of U. S. Senator Wheeler of Montana.

FRANK O. LOWDEN
Former Governor of Illinois.

MRS. ALICE ROOSEVELT LONGWORTH
Daughter of Ex-President Theodore Roosevelt.

HANFORD MacNIDER
Former National Commander of the American Legion.

IRVING S. COBB
Nationally known newspaper man and author.

MISS LILLIAN GISH
Prominent Motion Picture Star.

MAJOR ALFORD J. WILLIAMS
U. S. Army Aviator and Writer.

And Hundreds of Other Patriotic Americans.

[redacted]
NEW YORK

b7c

April 15, 1941.

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover,
Federal Bureau of Investigation,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

Perhaps the enclosed copies of the originals may have some significance.

They appeared in yesterday's (4/14) Staten Island (N.Y.) Advance newspaper - the advertisement on page 5 and the news item on page 2. The revelation is that the draftee who failed to appear for induction to the Army is an alleged conscientious objector and the son of the head of the Staten Island unit of the America First Committee. Is it possible that the listed speakers at the rally are condoning slackers? If so, how can this meeting be a "patriotic rally"?

Another alarming thing about this case is that the alleged conscientious objector is in a job in which he can, no doubt, commit some kind of sabotage.

I am a member of the Grasmere Post (S.I.) of the American Legion, Post #1191 and have already discussed this case with our Post Commander.

RECORDED & INDEXED

Very truly yours,

b7c [redacted]

1 ENCL. FM

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 5/6/86 BY SP6 bga/tcy

b7c [redacted]

b7c [redacted]

Attachments

100-4712-3

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

4 APR 17 1941

U S DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

[redacted]

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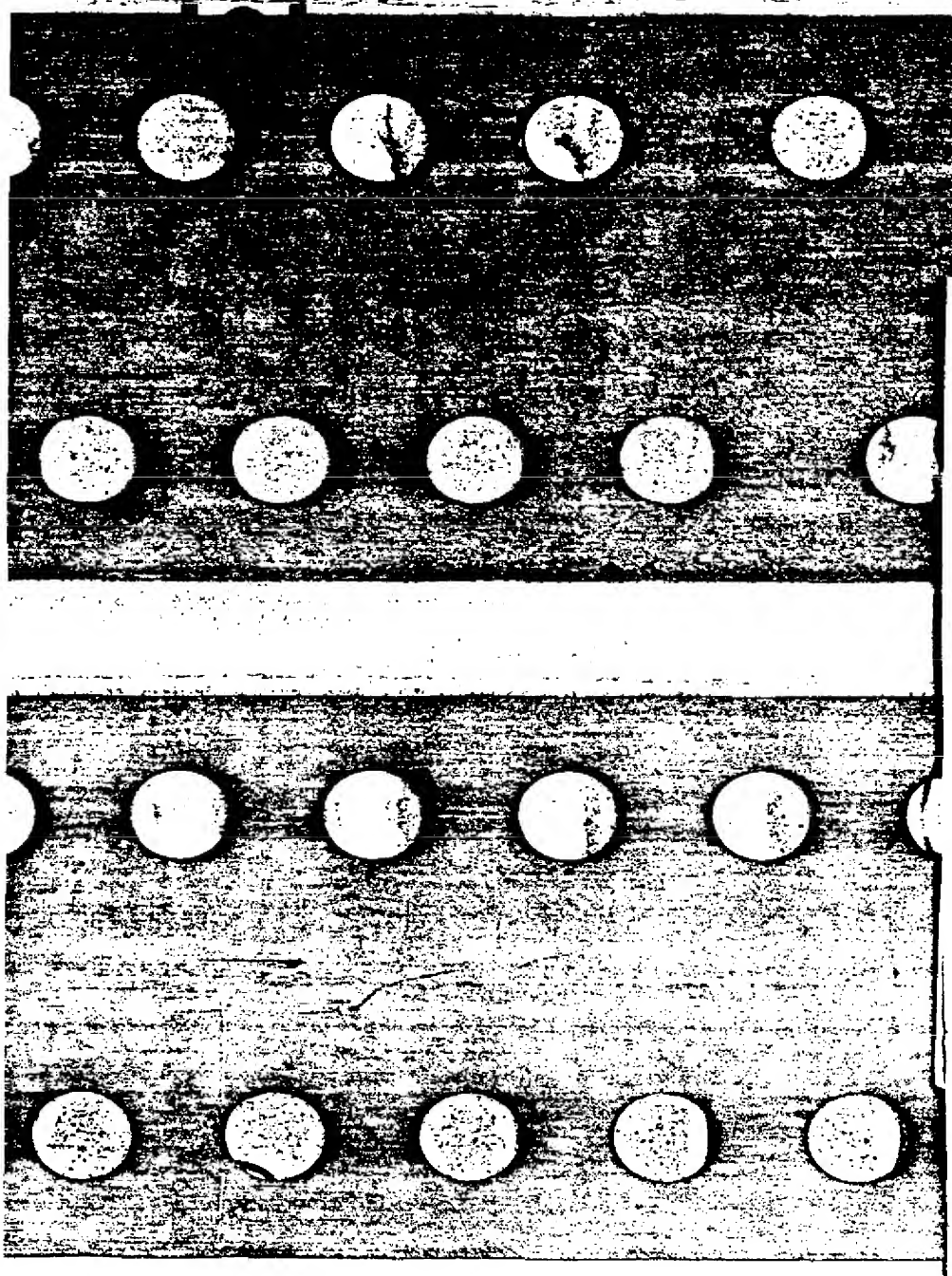

Draftee's Case Given Attorney

The U. S. district attorney's office in Brooklyn has been informed of the refusal of Howard Jump of Westerleigh to report for induction into the Army and is expected to take action against him shortly, it was disclosed today.

Jump, 21-year-old lark welder at the Maritime Harbor Shipyard of the Bethlehem Steel Company, was ordered by Local Draft Board 203 to report for induction last Monday, and, when he failed to appear, sent him a formal notice giving five days in which to change his mind.

James Wentford, chairman of the local board, explained that the facts in the case were carried Saturday noon to the U. S. district attorney's office. It is understood that Jump will stand trial as a delinquent before the U. S. District Court in Brooklyn.

The Islander a conscientious objector, is the son of Mrs. Lila Jump, head of the Staten Island unit of the America First Committee. Before being ordered to appear for induction, he was twice refused deferment by his local board, once on a medical deficiency claim and again on an occupational claim.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/6/86 BY SP6 bjg

May 1, 1941

b7C [redacted]
RECORDED 100-4712-30

b2C [redacted]
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Koch:

Receipt is acknowledged of your letter dated April 15, 1941, with enclosures, and I want to thank you for your courtesy and interest in writing to this Bureau.

Please be assured that the content of your communication and the enclosures therewith has been made a matter of official record at the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Trapp
Miss Gandy

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED
MAY 1 1941
P. M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/6/86 BY SP6 bjalkey

[redacted]
b7C
[redacted]

48

FREEDOM OF INFORMATION AND PRIVACY ACTS

SUBJECT: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

FILE NUMBER: 100-4712

PART: 2 OF 19

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

FILE DESCRIPTION

BUREAU FILE

SUBJECT America First Committee

FILE NO. 100-4712

SECTION NO. 2

SERIALS 30x

thru

95

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXX

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

1 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

☑ Deleted under exemption(s) b1 with no segregable material available for release to you.

☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.

☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.

☐ Documents originated with another Government agency(ies). These documents were referred to that agency(ies) for review and direct response to you.

_____ Pages contain information furnished by another Government agency(ies). You will be advised by the FBI as to the releasability of this information following our consultation with the other agency(ies).

_____ Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):

_____

_____

☐ For your information: _____

_____

☑ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:
102-4712-30X

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X DELETED PAGE(S) X
X NO DUPLICATION FEE X
X FOR THIS PAGE X
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXX

April 21, 1941.

Mr. Walter Wi
Daily Mirror,
235 E. 45th Street,
New York, New York.

Dear Mr. Winchell:

Perhaps the enclosed photostatic copies may be of some help to you in your wonderful work of uncovering subversive activities in this country.

They appeared in the April 14 issue of the Staten Island Advance - the advertisement on page 5 and the news item on page 2. The revelation is that the draftee who failed to appear for induction in the Army is an alleged conscientious objector and the son of the head of the Staten Island unit of the America First Committee. Is it possible that the listed speakers at the rally are condoning slackers? If so, how can this meeting be a "patriotic rally"?

One amusing sidelight is the headline of the advertisement "Defend America! Stay Out of War!" If the America First Committee is behind conscientious objectors we will have to stay out of war. But the question is how can we "Defend America"?

RECORDED INDEXED

Another alarming thing about this case is that the alleged conscientious objector is in a job in which he can, no doubt, do some real good sabotage work.

I would appreciate it if my name was not used at this time.

Very truly yours,

100-4212-30X1
1 JUN 25 1941
FBI
67

1 ENCL.

Defend America!

Stay Out of War!

COME TO THE MONSTER

Patriotic Rally

SUNDAY -- APRIL 20

at

TEMPLE HALL, ANDERSON AVE.

Port Richmond ..... 8:00 P. M.

SPEAKERS

HON. CHARLES TOBEY
U .S. Senator of New Hampshire

HON. JAMES A. O'LEARY
U. S. Congressman—Staten Island's Own

MISS JEANNETTE RANKIN
U. S. Congresswoman—from Montana

Who Are the America First Committee?

GEN. ROBERT W. WOOD
Acting Quartermaster General, U. S. Army, 1918-19.

MRS. BENNET CHAMP CLARK
Wife of U. S. Senator Clark of Missouri.

GENERAL HUGH S. JOHNSON
Former Head of N.R.A.

MRS. BURTON K. WHEELER
Wife of U. S. Senator Wheeler of Montana.

FRANK O. LOWDEN
Former Governor of Illinois.

MRS. ALICE ROOSEVELT LONGWORTH
Daughter of Ex-President Theodore Roosevelt.

HANFORD MacNIDER
Former National Commander of the American Legion.

IRVING S. COBB
Nationally known newspaper man and author.

MISS LILLIAN GISH
Prominent Motion Picture Star.

MAJOR ALFORD J. WILLIAMS
U. S. Army Aviator and Writer.

And Hundreds of Other Patriotic Americans.

15

This Ad Inserted by S. I. Chapter, America First Committee.

Draftee's Case Given Attorney

[illegible] a Brooklyn has been appointed the counsel of Howard [illegible] Wisconsin [illegible] case [illegible] was dismissed today.

[illegible] the Marchesa Hotel [illegible] the Residence Street Corporation [illegible] ordered to Local Draft Board 20 [illegible] report for induction next Monday [illegible] shall be failed to appear, [illegible] a formal notice giving five days [illegible] to change his mind.

[illegible] Board [illegible] that [illegible] in the case [illegible] room to the U. S. district attorney's office. It is understood that [illegible] will stand trial as a delinquent [illegible] fore the U. S. District Court [illegible] Brooklyn.

The Islander, a conscientious objector, is the son of Mrs. [illegible] Jump, head of the Staten Island unit of the America First Committee. Before being ordered to appear for induction, he was also refused deferment by his draft board, once on a medical exemption claim, and again on an occupational claim.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/6/86 BY SP6 jal

100-4712-30X1

April 28th,1941.

President of the
United States.

My dear Mr President,

I feel it is my honorable duty as an American Citizen to acquaint you with my knowledge of facts concerning a certain person.

The person in question is a divorcée from the South, of German descent, has lived for quite some time in New York City, previously in Florida and other places.

This person appears to be quite influential with the "America First". -It seems she is furious with a certain Senator of the South, accusing him of selling out the South. She intended to write and denounce him, but on finding he had too many backers to tackle the affair herself, she handed it over for "America First" to take care of it.

Her attitude is very antagonistic and hostile toward the head Executives of our Goverment, greatly opposed to the "Lend Lease Bill" corresponded with Senator Wheeler, about the matter - which was acknowledged by him - and now vehemently opposing the measure of aiding Great Britain in any way; wrote Senator Tobey, urging against convoys for Great Britain, Senator Tobey, replied, Thanking her for her aid, Last week I am given to understand- she wrote Senator Walsh, endeavouring to bring about the impeachment of our President, on the ground of a traitor to his Country. Calls the President a Jew, and other horrible names- I'll not type - also, none of the family are any good; frequently expresses her wish and hope "That some morning when she awakes she will hear that he "The President" has been assassinated.

Secretary Hull, Secretary Knox, and other members of the Cabinet, including Mayor LaGuardia, of New york City, should be thrown out of office, they are Jews, Communists, traitors to their Country, and this Country will never be at peace until such a man as Hitler, will drive the Jews, out of this Country. The Goverment should not permit Jewish refugees to enter this Country,it is due to the Jews, and the people at the head of this Goverment - "THAT THERE IS A WAR" - Let Great Britain & the others fight their own battles, let this Country mind her own business, and place such people at the head of this Goverment who will keep us out of war; these and many other rebellious and denouncing statements are often said, and this person attend meetings particularly those anti Roosevelt.

I have stated enough for you to realize my reason for taking the privilege of writing you. RECORDED

The name of the person in question - [redacted] New York City.

I believe you will find a record of her for selling liquer during "Prohibition" - I understand she once had a Night Club - and of late she is figuring in a case in the Bronx. N.Y.City. having to do with some Nursing Agency, trying to have their license revoked, however, it appears the Agency has brought or is bringing a case against her for having taken from their office two record books. - I do not know enough about this case to explain in detail - it is beside the point - I have simply mentioned it so as to make it possible for you to find out about her. I believe the last hearing was not in her favor

[redacted]

Lett. N.Y. 5-2-41

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 5/6/86 BY SP6 Byatt

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTI
1941
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUST

therefore, Mayor LaGuardia, some judges and lawyers were stamped as creeks, Communists and the whole Goverment corrupt.

For the safety of our Executives and our Country, I believe that the movements and actions of persons who are so rebellious, vindictive, hostile, stirring up dangereus trouble should be carefully and closely watched before it is too late.

May God bless our America, and our President, and keep the light of democracy shining brightly, always.

I have the honor to remain,

yours sincerely

[redacted] b7c

b7C [redacted]

RECORDED 100-4712 -31

May 8, 1941

Assistant Director E. J. Connelley
New York, New York

b7C

RE: [redacted]
Internal Security - C

Dear Sir:

For your information, I am transmitting herewith copies of an anonymous communication addressed to the President, which was received at the Bureau on May 1, 1941, together with the original envelope postmarked April 23, 1941, at New York, New York, by reference from the White House.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Enclosure

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 5/6/86 BY Lebyatley

[redacted] b7C

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Trosy
Miss Gandy

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED
★ MAY 8 1941 ★
P.M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

[redacted]

ANONYMOUS COMMUNICATION
KEEP ENVELOPE ATTACHED

N.Y.City, N.Y.
April 27, L941

Dear Sir;

[redacted] is a full Fledged member of the so-called America First Committee. He sold tickets for the recent meeting to hear Lindburg - he hates all things British, wants to see them licked hard, he hates President Rossevelt and hopes to see him dead . He is sure Hitler of some kind of world savior - etc. etc. It seems to me you should know of his activitie - since he is holding a job that a decent American could do better.

Very truly yours

100-4712

RECORDED

MAY 5 1941

100-4712-32
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
6 APR 29 19
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
[redacted]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/6/86 BY P. Labyatley

ON this envelope

ALL INFORMATION ~~CONTAINED~~
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/6/86 BY SP6/pjaltcy

b7C [redacted]

May 13, 1941

RECORDED 100-4712-32

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ASSISTANT TO THE ATTORNEY GENERAL
MR. MATTHEW F. McGUIRE

There are being transmitted herewith copies of an anonymous communication received at the Federal Bureau of Investigation April 29, 1941, in an envelope postmarked April 28, 1941, at New York, New York.

It will be noted that this letter makes reference b7C to an individual named [redacted] who allegedly is a [redacted] New York, New York, and has manifested pro-Nazi inclinations.

In view of these allegations concerning the personnel of another Governmental Agency, copies of the attached communication are being forwarded to your office for your information and whatever consideration deemed appropriate.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 5/6/86 BY SP6 bjatty

Enclosure

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED
★ MAY 14 1941 ★
P. M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FBI
MAY 13 5 47 PM '41
RECEIVED-DIRECTOR
U. S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

FBI
MAY 13 4 PM '41

b7c [redacted]

RECORDED 100-4712-32

May 13, 1941

Assistant Director E. J. Connelley
New York, New York

b7c Re: [redacted]
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Dear Sir:

For your information I am transmitting herewith copies of an anonymous communication received at the Bureau April 29, 1941, in an envelope postmarked April 28, 1941, at New York, New York.

You are advised that I have furnished the text of this communication to Mr. Matthew F. McGuire, the Assistant to the Attorney General.

Very truly yours,

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/6/86 BY SP6 baltcy

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Enclosure

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED
MAY 14 1941
P. M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

MAY 13 5 PM '41
RECEIVED-DIRECTOR
F B I
U.S. DEPT OF JUSTICE

b7c

4.8

JOHN EDGAR HOO
DIRECTOR

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

FCH:LL

April 23, 1941

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. FOXWORTH

In the absence of Mr. Carson from his office, the writer talked this afternoon at 4:30 P. M. with Mr. Little of ONI, who stated that ONI had received information that [redacted] b7C Machinists Mate, Second Class, U.S.S. Simms, a destroyer in New York, has been active aboard this ship and has obtained the signatures of twelve men on this destroyer to join the "America First Committee." Mr. Little stated that this committee was holding a meeting tonight at Manhattan Center, New York City, at which time Mr. Lindbergh, Kathaleen Norris, and Senator Walsh will speak. He also advised that newspaper accounts in New York reflect that L. W. Birkhead, National Director, "Friends of Democracy," had made a public statement to the effect this meeting of the "America First Committee" would be picketed.

Mr. Little furnished the above for our information.

Respectfully,

F. C. Holloman

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/6/86 BY S.Lebgaltcy

RECORDED

100-4712-33
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
1 APR 1941

b7c

[redacted] Detroit Apr 27-

Mr. J Edgar Hoover;

Dear Sir: Will you please have this America First Committee Incorporated investigated. The Incorporated part indicates that it is backed by at least 3 persons possibly the German and Italian Government. If you choose to do so

America First Committee

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2/6/86 BY SP-6 bja/tcg

RECORDED

100-4712-34

MAY 9 1941

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
6 APR 30 19[illegible]
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FIVE [redacted]

b7c

2/. please advise the result of your investigation.

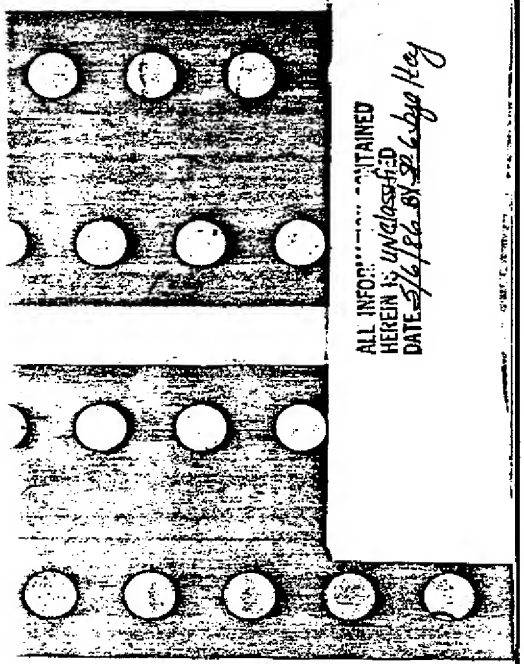
Thank you.

[redacted]

b7C

MAY 9 12 48 PM '41

FORM



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/16/82 BY SP2 Lodge Hoy

WAKE-UP AMERICA

The Interventionists have started their blitz to get us into the war. Let's stop them cold.

PROTEST

their deceptive, tricky propaganda with all the power at your command. Write today to the President, our Senators and Congressmen. They promised to keep us out of war. Demand that they keep those promises.

PROTEST

so-called neutrality patrols that cover the seven seas or convoys or whatever else they may choose to call them. They all mean shooting and shooting means millions of Selective Service Draftees for another and a bigger A.E.F.—next year and the next year and for many years to come. President Roosevelt promised many times that none of our boys will be asked to fight on foreign soil. Let's hold him to *that* promise.

PROTEST

the crushing tax load that is being fashioned for the American taxpayer's back. Taxes will go higher and higher till they break us unless we stop this war-madness now. The tax bill now before Congress is just a little sample of what is ahead.

PROTEST

efforts to smear such men as Colonel Lindbergh, Senators Wheeler, Nye and Clark. Thank God for these men. They stand for the traditional American policy of no entangling alliances with any nation. They are fighting our battle. Back them up with action as suggested herein. Compare these men with Knox and Stimson, the Warburgs, Lamonts and Morgenthaus, Dorothy Thompson and Frances Perkins or any one else you may think of. Then write to the President, also to Senator Vandenberg and Senator Brown and to your Congressman as well and tell them in the good old American way just what you think about sending our boys to war and all this war business.

WANTED: The spirit of Paul Revere.

Be a modern Paul Revere. The peril is as great today as when he rode through the night into immortal fame. To help him spread the alarm today, clip the coupon below and mail it at once with your contribution toward the expense of this and other messages like it. Be a *real* American.

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

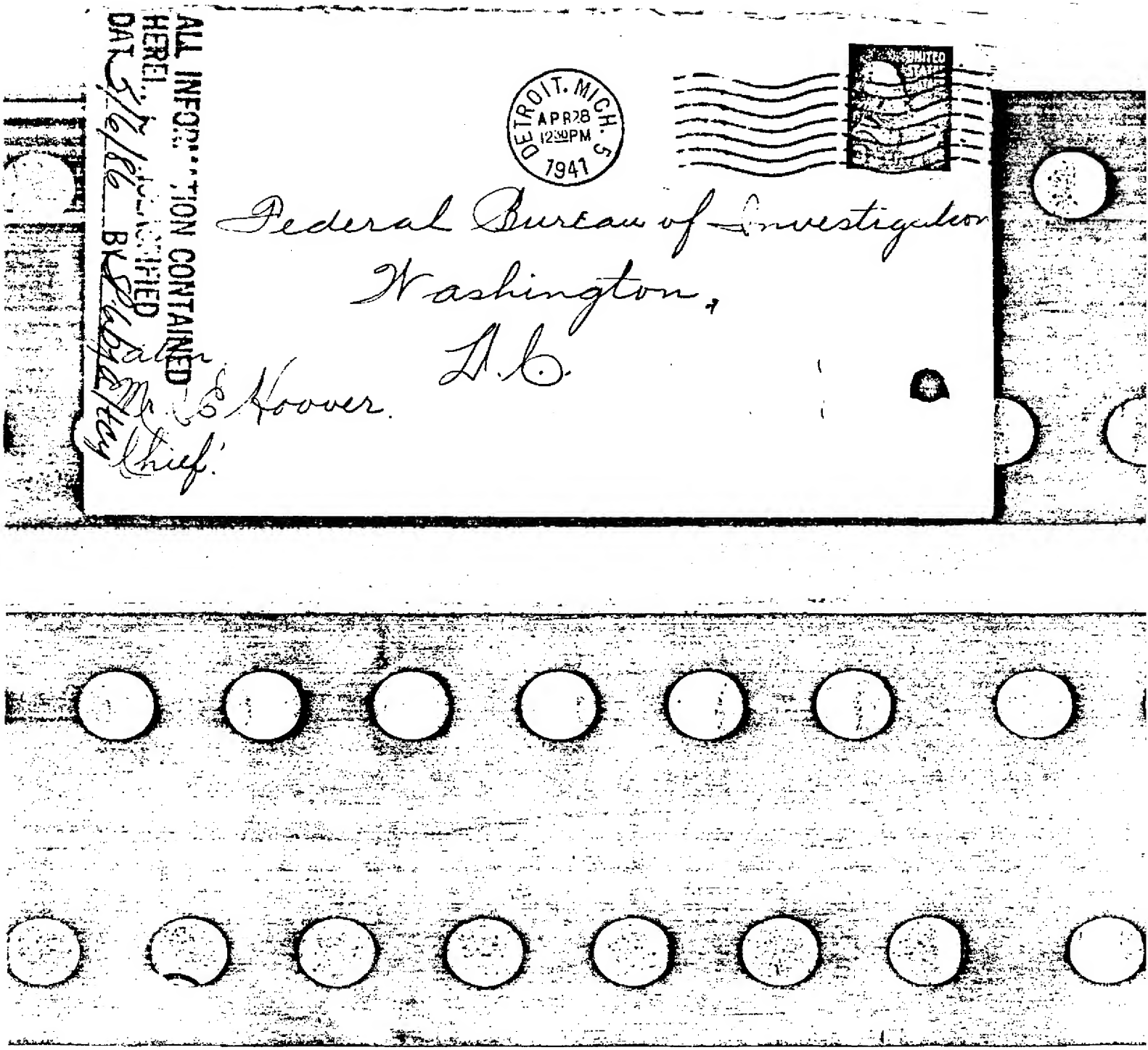
Incorporated

Anti-War Rally May 9th

Hon. Samuel B. Pettengill, chairman of the National Committee to Uphold Constitutional Government and author of Senate Resos will speak at 8 p. m. in Cass High School Auditorium. Keep the date open and plan to attend.

America First Committee,
Industrial Bank Building,
Detroit, Michigan.

Gentlemen: Enclosed please find $..... to help you carry on your fight on behalf of the cause


DETROIT, MICH.
APR 28
12:30 PM
1941
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington,
D. C.
Dear Mr. Hoover.
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/16/86 BY SP4 Alm/Rhy

COPY

3x5 index card

b7c [redacted]

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover:

Dear Sir: Will you please have this America First Committee Incorporated investigated. The Incorporated part indicates that it is backed by at least 3 persons possibly the German and Italian Government.

If you choose to do so please advise the result of your investigation.

Thank you,

b7c Signed - [redacted]

ENVELOPE

Postmarked - Detroit, Michigan
April 28, 1941

Enclosure - Clipping entitled "Wake-Up America"

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/6/86 BY SP6 bjatley

100-4112-34

RECORDED 100-4712-34

[redacted]

b
7
c

May 17, 1941

[redacted]
Detroit, Michigan

Dear [redacted]

I wish to acknowledge receipt of your communication, with enclosure, dated April 27, 1941, and to assure you that its content has been carefully noted and made a part of the official files of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. May I express my appreciation for your interest and courtesy in bringing these data to my attention.

With respect to your request to be advised of any possible action taken by the FBI, I must inform you that a well-adhered to policy of the Department of Justice precludes me from revealing any information contained in the files of this Bureau.

Sincerely yours,

1 encl
ag

John Edgar Hoover
Director

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 5/6/86 BY SP6bja/tcg

cc: Detroit
With copies of incoming.

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED
★ MAY 17 1941 ★
P. M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

[redacted]

57C

b7C [redacted]
Bronx, N.Y.
April 27, 1941

My dear Mr. President,

Until now I have had some hope that you were still a man of your word and would keep sacred your promises to the mothers of America not to send their sons to fight and die in any foreign lands and that you would fight for peace all the days of your life.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-6-86 BY SP6 bja/tcy

This week your untrue and unjust implications about Mr. Lindbergh and other speakers of the truth like Senators Wheeler, Nye, Clark and Walsh, I lost faith in you. Since you advocate a war that is opposed by 85% of the American people, you no longer represent us and were an election held now you could not be elected. I no longer trust you and regret that I voted for you last fall. In the light of present standings of all candidates Norman Thomas was the only sincere candidate among them. Mr. Willkie has proved what a fool he is.

RECORDED
100-47123-3
1941

I admired and respected you as one of our greatest presidents. Your labor legislation,

b7C [redacted]

housing project rank contrast close contact with
the people and a former honesty and sincerity of
purpose plus the ability to face the reality and
truth commanded my admiration and respect.

Today you have proved that Father Coughlin
was right when he called you a liar. You lied
when you said you would work for peace all the
days of your life, since all you have done was to
take steps first "short of war" and now to
the brink of war.

As an American citizen I wish to express
my disgust at your turnabout. I also
condemn any further steps you may take toward
more serious involvement in the European war.
I am joining the America First Committee in
the hopes that this organization may be
able to convince you and your administration
of how America feels. God Bless America.

Respectfully yours,

[redacted]

b7c

[redacted] b7C

Apr. 26, 1941

To the president of the U. S. A.:

The majority of the American people believe in (Amerikan) frist committee. They believe those that tell them the truth. They did not want the Lend Liese Bill to pass. They do not want convoying to be done. They dont want to enter the blood business even if those that like great Britain tell us. Otherwise we stand in back of the Amerikan frist committee

Yours very Truly

[redacted]

Melrose, Mass.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FIVE

[redacted]

b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 5/6/86 BY [illegible]

RECORDED 100-4712-36

MAY 14 1941

b7C

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

WAR DEPARTMENT
WAR DEPARTMENT GENERAL STAFF
MILITARY INTELLIGENCE DIVISION, G-2
WASHINGTON, D.C.

G2/10261-372

April 29, 1941

Subject: Letter of transmittal.

To: Lieut. Col. J. Edgar Hoover, Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation, U. S. Dept. of Justice, Washington, D. C.

The attached communications are forwarded for your information and such action as you consider advisable.

SHERMAN MILES,
Brigadier General, U. S. Army,
Acting Assistant Chief of Staff, G-2.

Enclosures:

Letter from [redacted] dtd 4-23-41 re: America First

b7C

1 ENCL. FM

RECORDED

100-4712-37

FEDERAL B...

4 MAY 9 1941

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FAIM FOURTH FIVE

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

Declassified per Army letter dtd 5/29/91 8123 mch/tlcp 8/9/91

02/10261-372

[redacted]

April 29, 1941

[redacted]

b7c

Dear [redacted]

Receipt is acknowledged of your letter of April 23, 1941, addressed to the Secretary of War.

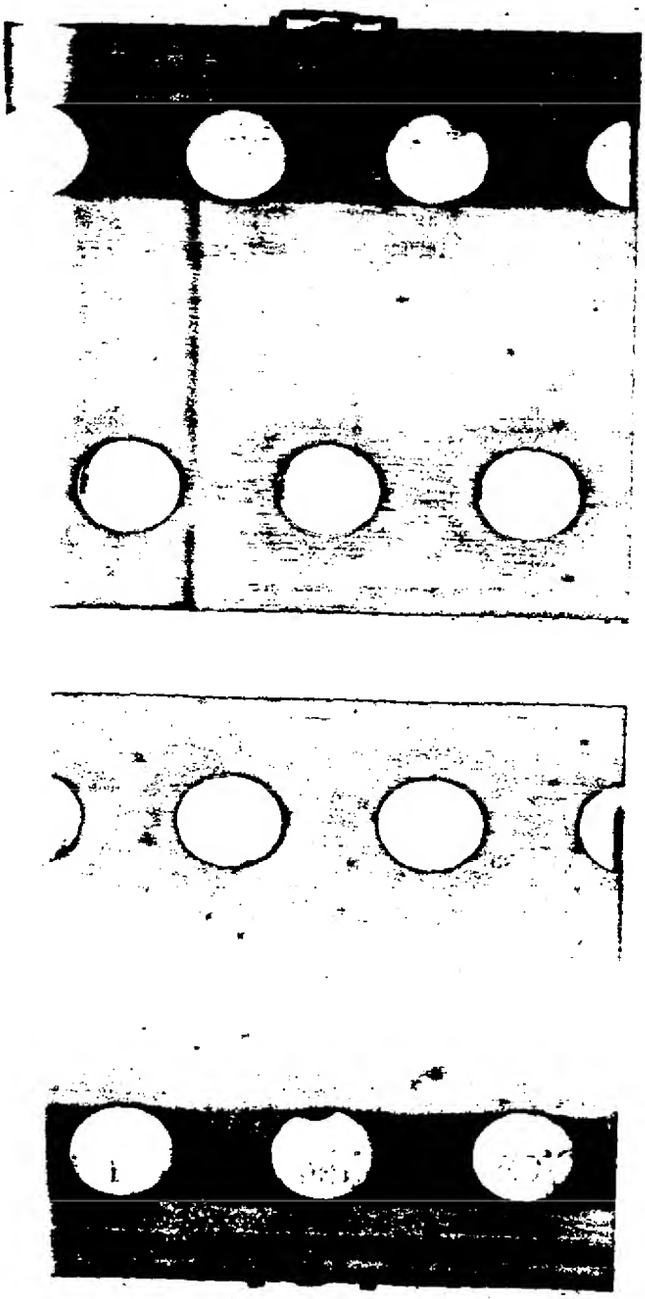
The information that you forwarded the War Department has been communicated to the appropriate authorities for necessary action.

The patriotic motive prompting you to submit this matter to the War Department is appreciated.

Yours sincerely,

RALPH C. SMITH,
Lieut. Colonel, General Staff,
Executive Officer, G-2.

[redacted]



APR 25 CONFIDENTIAL

APR 25 1941 OFFICE CHIEF OF MIL. INTEL. 10261-5 WAR DEPARTM

April 23 19[illegible]

b7c

The Hon. Henry L Stimson

Secretary of War

Dear Sir:

WAR DEPARTMENT SECRETARY'S OFFICE

The America First outfit at 331 Walnut St i this city has a board of showy directors and a band of impecunious workers such as lame duck b brokers and wives of business men who failed in business..

Two of the directors are B W Burroughs and George Du Pont. As Burroughs is agent here for the Ford Motor Co and Du Pont for the Du Pont Powder Co I think the War department should be informed of their activities on the isolationist side if you call it that.. Both of these huge corporations are profiting by defense orders and there is no excuse for their agents getting mixed up in this shady enterprise of the A Firsts.

Yours truly,

RECORDED & INDEX [redacted] b7c

100-4712-37 [redacted]

CONFIDENTIAL

Declassified per Army letter dtd 5/29/91 8123 mch Rev 8/9/91

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER
DIRECTOR

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

b7C [redacted]

April 30, 1941

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. FOXWORTH

In order this material may be appropriately indexed, I wish to advise that the April 9, 1941, edition of the News Letter contains an informative article relative to the activities of one Cathrine Curtis in connection with the America First Committee in Southern California.

Respectfully,

E. W. Timm

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/6/86 BY SP-6 bjatt

RECORDED & INDEXED

100-4712-38
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
6 MAY 10
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FIVE

FOXWORTH

b7C

INCL 2

News Letter

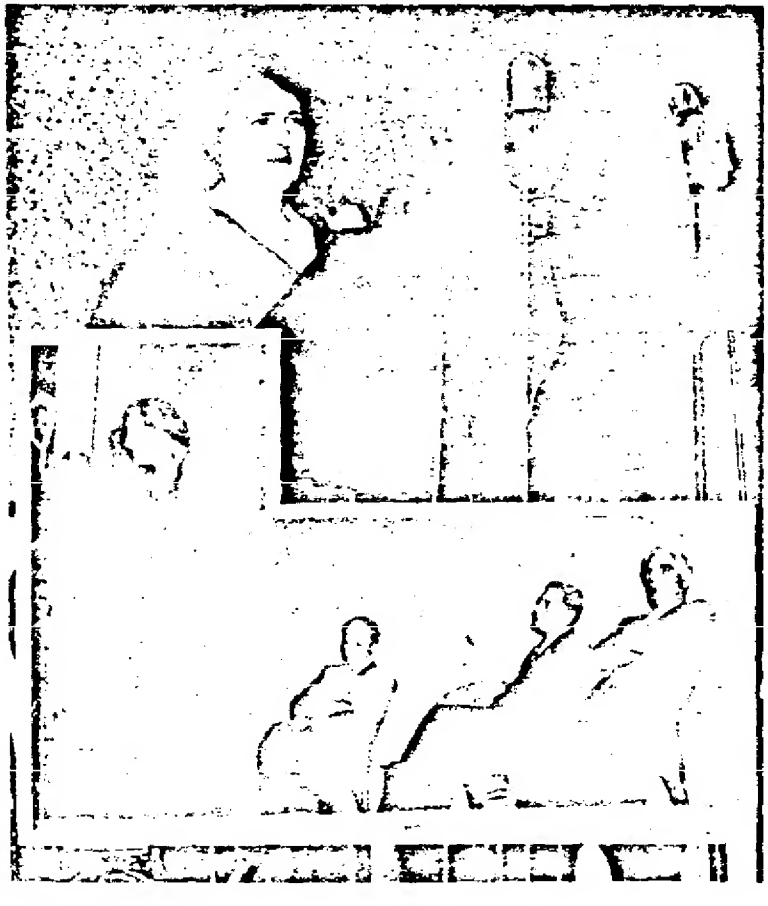
Published by News Research Service, Inc.
127 W. Seventh Street, Los Angeles, California

Vol. 5. No. 139 April 9, 1

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-6-86 BY SP-6 bja

"NO WAR" MOTHERS LURED INTO ANTI-DEMOCRATS' CAMP

Notorious Nazis of Southern California mingled with sincere isolationist and professional obstructionists last week at the Los Angeles Philharmonic A itorium. The occasion was a demonstration against the Lend-Lease Bill, pain takingly prepared in spite of the fact that it had meanwhile become a law of the land. Featured speakers at the rally were United States Senator Gerald Nye of North Dakota, and Cathrine Curtis of New York City and Washington.



Cathrine Curtis, addressing last week's America First Committee rally at Los Angeles, had among her most attentive backers such intransigent anti-Lend Leasers as (inset, from left to right): John Wheeler, son of Senator Burton K. Wheeler; U. S. Senator Gerald P. Nye; Joseph Scott, prominent Los Angeles attorney and Catholic lay leader.

The meeting was sponsored jo ly by the Los Angeles branch of America First Committee (of which Senator Burton K. Wheeler's son John is chairman) and the Nation Legion of the Mothers of America The latter, holding its first an nual convention at the Hollywood Roosevelt Hotel, elected Cathrin Curtis national chairman.

NEWS LETTER of March 19th re- produced documents bearing eviden to the fact that the National Leg of the Mothers of America was clo ly cooperating with various obstr tionist cells sponsored by Nazi groups. Today, NEWS LETTER pre- sents from its files some pertin- ent facts about Miss Curtis, whos experience in rabble-rousing is s comprehensive that she might easi qualify as top-notcher of the Pet- ticoat Platoon. It was she who founded the "Women's National Com mittee for Hands Off the Supreme Court", and it was also this poli ical Amazon (illustration on this page) who marshalled her forces u der the banner of the "Women Inve ors IN (Miss Curtis' emphasis!) America, Inc." All these differen and assorted organizations make their headquarters at 535 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

According to its official slo- gan, Miss Curtis, in naming her

WOMEN INVESTORS IN AMERICA, INC.

A Non-Profit Membership, Educational Organization
535 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK, N. Y.

CATHRINE CURTIS
National Director

Plaza [illegible]

September 21, 1940.

Dear Friend:

Abraham Lincoln once said that if the people knew the TRUTH, the country was safe - that when they KNEW THE TRUTH, they would do what is right.

Congressional leaders and prominent citizens who have read the enclosed booklet state:

"Here is a GLEAM OF TRUTH penetrating the darkness and confusion engendered by years of false propaganda! 'The March of Democracy' plainly shows the results of the world promotion of that Great Misconception - Democracy - that now threatens the very life of our Republic. If several million copies of it can be distributed quickly, the Republic can be revived and the country saved from Dictatorship!"

This booklet is the result of exhaustive research and is authentic. Its complete text has been preserved in the Congressional Record!

We have already undertaken the job of distributing at least one million copies to teachers, professors, stockholders, jobholders, property owners and even libraries. To enable us to do this quickly, we are appealing to you to contribute - and also to obtain contributions to a special fund for this purpose, -

Or buy as many copies of the booklet as you can and ask your friends to do likewise.

Will you join in the Revival of the Republic and help halt the march of Democracy by sending us your contribution - or Order - NOW?

Sincerely yours,

Cathrine Curtis

NATIONAL DIRECTOR -

Facsimile of Miss Curtis' letter launching reprint of The March of Democracy. (Underscoring by NRS).

late brainchild, especially stressed the "IN" since

we are all investors IN America, whether we are stockholders, bond-holders, job-holders or husband-holders.

There are vast strata of the population of the United States who are just as much impressed with Miss Curtis as was Representative Clare E. Hoffman of Michigan who, when introducing her to the Speaker of the House, referred to her as a "national leader of independent women".

Specialist in "Agin" Propaganda

In the business of organizing "agin" groups, there are few tricks that Miss Curtis does not know. She is particularly adept at having her own statements inserted in the Congressional Record, analogous to the technique of America-Nazis, as exposed in NEWS LETTER of January 22, 1941, and October 16, 1940. Like the American swastikeers of the Bund et al type, Miss Curtis puts reprints from the Record to the widest possible use; in this way she profits by whatever dignity political balderdash achieves merely by appearing in the official annals of the United States Congress.

Among Miss Curtis' most recent raids on the columns of the Congressional Record is, for example, one effusion which she had inserted through the cooperation of Congressman George H. Tinkham of Massachusetts. In this statement, Miss Curtis, among other assertions, makes the following:

The United States Is Not a Democracy But a Republic

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE HOLDEN TINKHAM
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 13, 1941

ARTICLE BY CATHRINE CURTIS

Mr. TINKHAM. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following statement by Cathrine Curtis, national director, Women Investors in America, Inc.:

THE UNITED STATES IS NOT A DEMOCRACY BUT A REPUBLIC

(By Cathrine Curtis, national director, Women Investors in America, Inc.)

Today public officials and others in this country speak of our American democracy and state that—to protect it and our liberties—we must *join* in the defense of the democracies. The founding fathers evidently did not intend our Government to be a democracy, for that word is not found in either the Declaration of Independence or the Constitution. But they did specify a form of [illegible] party only.

THE UNITED STATES

The trend toward more and more centralization of power in Washington has steadily increased during recent years. This has resulted in continual encroachment, bit by bit, on individual freedom and basic property rights. We have been forced to accept centralized planned economy, currency revaluation, unbalanced budgets, and riotous government spending. Private enterprise is harassed and restricted by government.

Today, centralized government extends over our railroads, radio, utilities, banks, stock and commodity markets, agriculture, labor, and education. Under guise of "emergency" we are asked to accept more and more centralized control.

But we have not quite reached the final stage of "democracy" where "liberty" in the United States is for members of the ruling party only.

Rarely in the messages or statements of our former Presidents, do we find "democracy" mentioned, until popularized by President Wilson during the World War. Since then, our people have been insidiously propagandized to accept "democracy" and forget our guaranteed form of government.

Washington, Jefferson, Madison, John Quincy Adams, Jackson, Harrison, Lincoln, Garfield, [illegible]

On Septer 4th, 1 t, Miss Curtis prevailed pon Rep. Hoffman to secure space for he: the Congressional Record for an essay on The March of Democracy, in whi following statements occurred:

The United Sta

The tre ore and more centralization of power in Washin adily increased during recent years. This has in continual encroachment—bit by bit—on individua edom and basic property rights. We have been forced to accept centralized planned economy, currency revaluation, unbalanced budgets and riotous government spending. Private enterprise is harrassed and restricted by government!

Today, *centralized government control* extends over our railroads, radio, utilities, banks, stock and commodity markets, agriculture, labor and education. Under guise of "emergency" we are asked to accept more and more centralized control!

But we have not quite reached the final stage of "Democracy" where "Liberty" in the United States is for members [illegible] next will be drawn in blood!"

I am convinced that—unless our women revive the spiritual ideals and courage of our Revolutionary ancestors—organize as did the women of Hungary—*we may well witness the loss of our Liberty and Independence—and the Death of our Republic in the days that lie ahead!*

"That Great Misconception -- Democracy"!

In due course, this article -- now carrying the imprimature of the Congressional Record -- was reprinted in pamphlet form (illustration on page 9). In launching it, Miss Curtis, over her own signature, mailed out sheaves of letters (illustration on page 2). She stressed the point that

> ...."*The March of Democracy" plainly shows the result of the world promotion of that Great Misconception -- Democracy -- that now threatens the very life of our republic....This booklet is the result of exhaustive research and is authentic. Its complete text has been preserved in the Congressional Record! We have already undertaken the job of distributing at least one million copies to teachers, professors, stock-holders, job-holders, property owners and even libraries....Will you join in the Revival of the Republic and help halt the march of Democracy....(Emphasis by NRS)*

Miss Curtis' remarks, introducing the reprint of The March of Democracy, concluded as follows:

> *The material contained in this bulletin is of vital interest at this particular time when we hear so much on all sides about Democracy. It correctly points out that our country never was intended to be a Democracy; that its true, Constitutional form of Government is a Republic. (Emphasis by Miss Curtis)*

Miss Curtis' brochure immediately received the whole-hearted endorsement of James True, publisher (until recently) of the notorious weekly, "Industrial Control Reports". Boosting The March of Democracy (illustration on page 9), True stressed the fact that it "has been published in the Congressional Record";

Our "Must" Reading List

How and why "Democracy" has been used as the propaganda key-note of the promotion of communistic dictatorships throughout the world is briefly told by "The March of Democracy", a 12-page pamphlet by Cathrine Curtis. It corrects many fallacies due to false propaganda, has been published in the Congressional Record, and is having a wide circulation. Send 15 cents for your copy (quantity prices on request) to Women Investors IN America, 535 Fifth Avenue, New York.

SUBSCRIPTION RATE $12.00 PER YEAR
NO PART OF THIS REPORT SHALL BE REPUBLISHED WITHOUT PERMISSION

The James True Associates,
By James True

Small wonder tha. Miss Curtis earned True's endorsement. There is, and been for many years, a very strong link between her and the erstwhile publi of "Industrial Control Reports". This link is missing no longer! -- and is revealed as one Michael Ahearn. He was in Miss Curtis' entourage when she rived for the Convention in Los Angeles. Indeed, Ahearn was introduced to Convention as Research Director of Miss Curtis' "Women Investors IN America Inc."

According to Ahearn's dossier in the files of NRS, it was he who, in 19 associated himself with True when the latter, extending the scope of his ha baiter activities, inaugurated "America First! Inc.", an organization

for the protection of the Constitution, American industry and individual enterprise, through the dissemination of TRUTH.

Under their new front, True and Ahearn sent out a "confidential stateme in which the following facts were revealed:

Directors of America First! Inc., Activities

James True, president, has been a writer and analyst in the business field for more than twenty years. Since July 10th, 1933, he has edited and published Industrial Control Reports. He was the first Washington correspondent to brand the new deal communistic.

Michael Ahearne, secretary and treasurer, has been a soldier, newspaper man, author, lecturer and organizer. He is co-author of "Handout," published by Putnam's, the first book exposing the propaganda system operated in Washington to prevent the public from learning the truth regarding the new deal. Since the World War, he has investigated subversive activities throughout the world.

Eventually, the True-Ahearn combination was dissolved. However, Ahearn still carried on his subversive activities under the camouflage of "investi ing subversive activities throughout the world". He still employs typical arguments and dangerous catch phrases which sound like quotations from the lective speeches of *Herren* Goebbels, Streicher and Rosenberg. In view of t activities, it is by no means strange that, in the course of the Dies Inves ation, it became a matter of record (Vol. 5, pages 3465 and 3479) that he w in close contact with such notorious Nazi agitators as George Deatherage an James E. Campbell.

Erasing the Blue Pencil

Another enlightening bit of propaganda literature from the pen of Miss tis is a pamphlet entitled: "Military Capitalism vs. Industrial Capitalism (illustration on page 9). This particular brochure is all the more interes in view of its genesis. According to a prefatory note, it was

originally prepared....at the request of a well-known feature syndicate... when printed, (it) had certain passages completely eliminated....It is, therefore, reproduced here as originally written, with the deleted passag printed in bold face type.

Why any responsible American editor would blue-pencil Miss Curtis' manu script becomes fully evident from such assertions as the following, typical the entire article:

over.

Let's determine why and how we originated Industrial Capitalism and what it has done for us. Let us also ascertain what Military Capitalism has done for those countries that have lived under it for centuries.

Military Capitalism is founded upon force and destruction

and can be maintained only under a regimented, militaris government. It is, therefore, masculine. Industrial Ca talism is based upon individual creativeness and productiv and prospers only under individualized government. It feminine.

The Soldier is the foundation of the European econom system.

The Woman is the foundation of our economic system.
The Soldier is the European symbol of collectivism.
The Woman is the symbol of our individualism.
The Soldier is honored in Europe.
The Woman is revered in these United States!

Civilization developed in Europe mostly through force. As the ages progressed, these people employed in the arts and crafts were forced to seek protection within walled cities from [illegible] tinual wars.

When told this is our war—she must remember they told us that in 191[illegible]; when they say they only want the use of our industrial resources—they told us that in 1915; when they ask for "temporary loans"—they asked for the same thing in 1916—and called us "Uncle Shylock" a few years later.

Our women must use every moment of their new-won leisure time working for just one thing—to protect our Republic—minding our own business and helping ourselves first. Do that—and we will keep our Industrial Capitalistic system, continue to grow and prosper and—by our prosperity and security—prove that ours is the only sound Christian way of life and that we refuse to return to the Military Capitalistic System of Europe from whence our forefathers fled.

Strictly adhering to her technique of grabbing as much Congressional limelight as possible, Miss Curtis had herself invited before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, conducting hearings on H.R.1776. Appearing before this body on February 10th, last, she immediately proceeded to reprint her statements. The tenor of her testimony is sufficiently indicated by the title she chose for her pamphlet (illustration on page 9): "A.D.1776 for Liberty -- H.R.1776 for Dictatorship".

In the course of her statements before the Senate Committee, Miss Curtis made such assertions as the following:

[illegible] one.

For many years my work and my activities have been in connection with the defense and preservation of our American traditions—of our Representative Constitutional Government—and of our Free Enterprise system in which our women have such a tremendous stake.

Never before has any issue stirred me as has this outrageous—unAmerican—deceitful bill—H.R. 1776. This is probably because in my [illegible] we avoid war?

We are told by proponents of this 1776 measure that the only real problem facing this country today is one of aiding England—because she is our first line of defense and fighting our battle. They maintain that speedy adoption of this measure is necessary in order that we may buy time to adequately arm and protect ourselves. And in the same breath they [illegible]

They speak of mandates given by the people in the last election. Will they please explain where, and when, and in just what language either candidate in the last election specifically proposed any such measures as are in this Bill? Both candidates continually declared that, if elected, they would continue aid to Britain under existing law, namely, cash and carry, and would seek no measures that would tend to create the need for another American Expeditionary Force.

The people have been given no opportunity to vote on the issues incorporated in this measure. If they are given that opportunity, they will answer in a clear and ringing "NO!"

Why all this rush, rush, rush to force this bill through without time for ample discussion of the real issues involved? I believe that question is answered in a conversation I recently had with a highly intelligent individual just [illegible]

To reinforce her own testimony before the Senate Committee, Miss Curtis, under the imprint of the "Women Investors IN America, Inc." put into circulation yet another pamphlet entitled: "H.R.1776: The Nation's Bankrupting Act of 1941" (illustration on page 9). Its contents comprises a complete reprint of testimony given by George H. Cless, Jr., before the House Foreign Affairs Committee on January 24th, last. Miss Curtis' eagerness to spread his testimony before the American public is quite understandable, inasmuch as he declared:

[illegible]

There are sinister features in this bill that have to do with what is going to happen to these United States. I am not charging conspiracy—or evil or malicious intent. I am only asking that these suspicions be dispelled.

[illegible]

In 1917—the vitality of our nation was not strained almost to the breaking point as it is today by long, protracted internal stresses, economic and social maladajust-

ments and depression—no[illegible]th a debt burden against the nation[illegible] productive plant exceeding the tota[illegible]il exchange value of that plant.

At that time—and u[illegible] more favorable conditions—we tu[illegible]d this country into an "arsenal for de[illegible]cracy"—and also established frontiers [illegible] foreign lands to achieve the same e[illegible] that some people would make our ob[illegible]ctive today—that is—to save democracy and freedom.

But we failed. Oh yes—we were successful in our [illegible]

What guarantee can you gentlemen give that—in our present weakened economic condition—we can now enthrone liberty and freedom everywhere for all time? *What guarantee can you give that our new "arsenal for democracy" will not help produce something even more dreadful and hateful than our previous "arsenal for democracy" helped produce?*

That is exactly what this "NATION'S BANKRUPTING ACT OF 1941" is likely to do—if you pass it!

There is no "defense" of these United States in this bill!

There is only the surety of world-wide war—disastrous public spending—and a crushing debt burden creating a dread situation that history proves is met by Inflation—Repudiation—or—God forbid—REVOLUTION!

Regarding Cless, NEWS LETTER of December 18, 1940, revealed that

....especially his (Cless') opinions in reference to William Allen White have been emphatically endorsed by William J. Baxter, author of "Japan and America MUST Work Together".

Cless' article, as originally released in "Scribner's Commentator", was reprinted and circularized by John B. Snow's "League for Constitutional Government", exposed in NEWS LETTER of March 5, 1941. In his vituperations, he said:

38

SCRIBNER'S COMMENTATOR

THE WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE REIGN OF TERROR

By GEORGE H. CLESS, JR.

A determined group is using familiar methods for driving us into the war. These worked in 1917, but not in the early nineteenth century, when our capitol was burned, not by our "enemy," France, but by our "friend" Britain

✦

THE "INTELLIGENTSIA," supported by a special few with personal axes to grind, is hell bent for war. A small but brilliant galaxy of political, academic, elite and socialite stars is driving 130 million Americans against their wishes and judgment into war: not just [illegible]

The American people, I believe, do want to stand on their own feet and preserve their own free institutions; they will, if necessary, defend their own America.

While William Allen White professes to have that general goal in mind, he is following weird trails toward that alleged end. Furthermore, he is displaying much mental confusion over the real issues at stake in this war, which [illegible]

Can America put its trust in the judgment of this type of confused leadership?

After he has given much of America to Russia, Mr. White wants to give what is left of it to England. So he takes [illegible]

Many of us who grew up in 1916-17-18, and had our eyes opened in a world over there as well as a world here, look with wholly justified bitterness upon the leadership and ideology which turned America into a warring nation.

Today that same type of leadership—with its same idiotic ideology that America can be saved and the problems of the world solved only by a fanatic willingness on the part of Americans to die for one group of foreigners and kill another group of foreigners—that leadership is for the second time in one generation laying its hands on another crop of young American men and women who, thus far, have inherited from their elders only a broken, bankrupt and blood-soaked world.

[illegible]

Reproduction of reprint from "Scribner's Commentator" with which John B. Snow blanketed the entire country in an effort to vilify William Allen White.

WOMEN'S NATIONAL COMMITTEE
TO
KEEP U. S. OUT OF WAR!
535 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, NEW YORK
MUrray Hill 2-5990-1
CATHERINE CURTIS, National Chairman

WOMEN'S NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR HANDS OFF THE SUPREME COURT

SPECIAL WASHINGTON LETTER

Washington, D. C.
February 18th, 1941

To All Citizens Of The United States:

It is now unmistakably evident to those of us on the scene here in Washington that the real purpose of bill H. R. 1776 is NOT so much to aid Britain or provide for the defense of our Republic - as to destroy our form of government - deprive Congress of its Constitutional powers - place us at the mercy of foreign nations - create a Dictatorship here with control over the lives and property of one and all of our people - and for the additional purpose of legalizing already committed illegal acts!

The ancestors of many of us gave their lives to establish this country. We must honor their courage and loyalty by giving OUR ALL to defend and protect our heritage from alien plotters and alien-minded sympathizers. Our people are being deliberately confused to keep from them the real issues at stake.

For many years, American women found our information and factual data sent them from Washington completely reliable and have acted upon it because of their confidence in the soundness and saneness of our work and programs. I have been on the scene here for many weeks - but never before have I found myself in a position where I could not give you important information and facts without jeopardizing the safety and careers of those who supplied it.

I can only say to you American women who love your country - your homes - your freedom - for the sake of everything you revere - WAKE UP AND FIGHT! For - if this H. R. 1776 bill passes - you will not only live under a Dictatorship - under a regimented economy - but you may also find your liberties - your properties - and even your CITIZENSHIP placed at the disposal of a foreign power and you will be without any method or means to object!

Remember - this bill is an Abdication Bill - an abdication of your Congress - and this is your last chance to address them if you fail to act.

What This Bill Permits

H. R. 1776 allows the President to suspend any existing law when it interferes with HIS plans for "defense of liberty everywhere." While the German Dictator-creating Law of 1933 gave those powers to a National Cabinet - this bill - here in these United States - gives them to ONE man! All talk of limiting such powers is deceitful - because the same bill gives him power to suspend the limiting sections of the law!

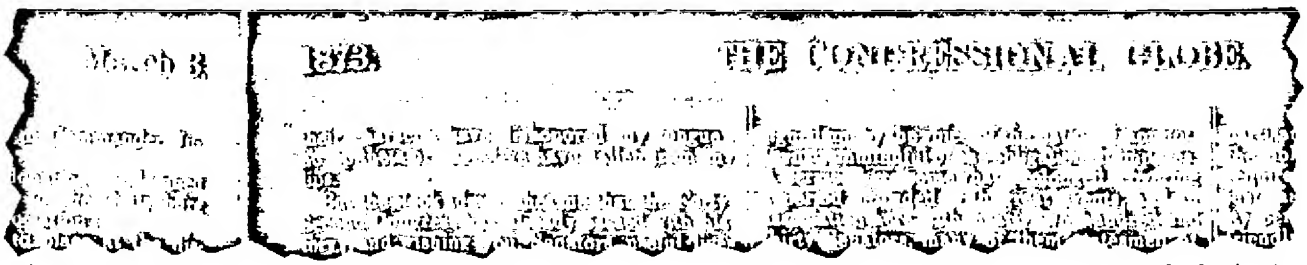
Facsimile of Miss Curtis' pep letter, circularized from Washington, D.C., where she had joined the anti-Lend-Leasers.

Setting the Alarm Clock

While still at the capital, fighting the Lend-Lease Bill, Miss Curtis did not fail to exploit the Washington date line by circularizing her clique with a typical "agin it" pep letter (illustration on this page).

Miss Curtis strains every effort to exploit such dignity as reprint in the Congressional Record lends to a statement. At the same time, she tries by inference to indicate that, as a barometer of American political life, the Congressional Record now points toward stormy changes.

For reasons best known to herself, Miss Curtis made the most preposterous use of a recent typographical change to which, for purely technical reasons, the "masthead" of the Congressional Record was subjected. Indeed, Miss Curtis went so far as to blanket the United States with a hand bill intended to arouse the general public to the unheard-of dangers which this change -- to Miss Curtis' mind! -- indicated. She immediately experienced the great satisfaction of having her


March 3 1873 THE CONGRESSIONAL GLOBE

Masthead of Congressional Globe, which eventually evolved into the Congressional Record, after having undergone two previous changes.

dire warning taken up by, and reproduced in, the February 20th issue of that staunch "American" weekly (illustration on page 9) called "The Free American", better and more correctly known as the Bund's *Deutscher Weckruf und Beobachter*.

Still more back-patting was enjoyed by Curtis when Charles B. Hudson, of "America In Danger!" ill-fame, rushed to her side, staggering the imagination of his readers by warning them:

> While MARCHERS ON WASHINGTON are there they can find out why the CONGRESSIONAL RECORDS of 77th Congress do not carry "UNITED STATES (seal) OF AMERICA" imprinted as always until now, above the words "CONGRESSIONAL RECORD". WOMEN INVESTORS IN AMERICA, Inc., 535 Fifth Ave., NewYorkCity (who put out that splendid pamphlet "ARE YOU AN AMERICAN?" enclosed with B#251, and just released another "H.R.1776: THE NATION'S BANKRUPTING ACT OF 1941!") ask: with the Great Seal reduced in size, with the Great Circle of United Strength removed, with that unprotected seal moved to the LEFT, and with words "UNITED STATES OF AMERICA" entirely dropped, just what Nation is it whose Congressional proceedings and debates are so published? Is this the first step toward making the CR the record of proceedings of a Congress of some NEW NATION - a "WORLD DEMOCRACY", or - perhaps - "UNION NOW"???

What makes the Curtis-Hudson hue and cry appear absurdly far-fetched is the historical fact that, in the century-and-a-half of its existence, the official transcript of Congressional proceedings has changed repeatedly not only its type and format, but also its very name. Apparently Miss Curtis is unaware that, up to 1873, what is today the Congressional Record was called the "Congressional Globe" (illustration on page 7). Prior to that, beginning with 1824, it was known as the "Register of Debate", while still earlier, from 1789 to 1824, proceedings of House and Senate were published as "Annals of Congress". And during all these changes in type, format and even name, these United States of America survived!

Following recognized tricks of the subversivist trade step by step, Miss Curtis seizes upon trivia and magnifies them out of all proportion to serve her own ends. By this procedure, she acknowledges, unwittingly though it may be, her political affinity with hater-baiters like Charles B. Hudson and the Bund, both of whom rushed to her side in spreading her phony alarm over a preposterously insignificant change in the typographical makeup of the Congressional Record. Miss Curtis is also a link in the Coughlin chain, the Detroit rabble-rouser having repeatedly boosted the National Women's Committee to Keep U. S. Out of War. James True, by his own words, has revealed himself as one of her staunchest supporters; and as far as George H. Cless is concerned, Miss Curtis' eagerness to reprint and circularize his testimony before the House Committee is sufficient proof of close political cooperation. Through Cless again, Miss Curtis is proved to be in contact with Snow.

With Cathrine Curtis elected national chairman of the National Legion of the Mothers of America, that organization has now been sequestered as part and parcel of a combination of obstructionist cliques. Well-nigh indefatigable in their subversive activities, the leaders of these anti-democratic cells have succeeded in inveigling sincere isolationists to join the "cause". Unknown to themselves, these political innocents now serve as "front". To make this camouflage completely opaque, all scruples have been thrown to the wind, with even American motherhood being debased to serve anti-Democracy.

****

Index to additional information on names and facts mentioned in NEWS LETTER will be furnished quarterly.

A. D. 1776
for
LIBERTY

H. R. 1776
for
DICTATORSHIP

H. R. 1776:

THE NATION'S BANKRUPTING ACT OF 1941!

... were told ... in a dispatch from Funchal, Madeira, that ...

(Continued on Page 7)

??? Do Coming Events Forecast their Shadows ???

The first reproduction below is that of the official heading of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD as it has appeared until the opening of the present Congress.

NOTE the Great Seal of the United States is in the CENTER, carefully protected by the Great Circle of United Strength and flanked on either side by the words UNITED STATES OF AMERICA—making it the record of the proceedings of OUR Congress:

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 76th CONGRESS, THIRD SESSION

Note the next reproduction. It is the NEW official heading of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which made its first appearance with the opening of the present session of this—the 77th—Congress.

NOTE: The Great Seal has been reduced in size—the Great Circle of United Strength has been removed—the unprotected seal has been moved to the LEFT—and the words UNITED STATES OF AMERICA entirely dropped!

THIS IS THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD OF WHAT NATION?

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 77th CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

The Congressional Joint Committee on Printing says it was done to "modernize" the Congressional Record!

Must we remove the words UNITED STATES OF AMERICA in order to "modernize" the record of the proceedings of OUR Congress?

Or is this "modernizing" the first step toward making it the record of the proceedings of a Congress of some NEW NATION—a "WORLD DEMOCRACY" or—perhaps—"UNION NOW"? ? ?

Don't you think it is your duty to find out at once why the words UNITED STATES OF AMERICA have been removed from the record of the proceedings of YOUR Congress? ?

Additional copies of this startling revelation may be obtained from: WOMEN INVESTORS IN AMERICA, Inc.,

CATHRINE CURTIS, National Director
535 Fifth Avenue, New York City

(First distribution of this flyer was made on January 24, 1941).

The words, "United States of America", were replaced on the front page of the Congressional Record starting with the issue of February 4—apparently as a result of the wide-spread distribution given this flyer.

BUT—the words now appear under the GREAT SEAL in such small letters they can hardly be read.

WOMEN INVESTORS IN AMERICA, Inc.)

MILITARY CAPITALISM VS INDUSTRIAL CAPITALISM

THE MARCH OF DEMOCRACY

AT LEFT AND RIGHT: Reproductions of front covers of pamphlets published and distributed by Cathrine Curtis. CENTER: Reproduction of leaflet printed first by Cathrine Curtis then republished in "The Free American", (official organ of the German-American Bund) of Feb. 20th, 1941.

[redacted]

LOS ANGELES
APR 9
3:30 PM
1941
CALIF.

1941

67C

[redacted]

Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

1941

TEL. READING 3-4241

Postal Hotel
733-35 PENN ST.
READING, PENNA.

12142

b7c [redacted]

Altoona, Pa. 5/11/41.

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover,
Federal Bureau,
Washington, D.C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/6/86 BY SP6bjaltcy

Dear Mr. Hoover:

Thanks, I shall forward some interesting facts to Mr. Thornton, Pittsburgh, Pa, in about one week.

Tell me, does fear, truth & the "Bill of Rights" entitle anyone to [illegible] damaging attacks, maliciously with the intent to demoralize a Government's [illegible] policy? If not then I say this man C. A. Lindley and all of the American Int-(fair) Committee [illegible] questioning. If I can give you I'd free it. (over) Yours,

[redacted]

b7c

RECORDED & INDEXED
100-4712-39

P.S. All are welcome, as a Stone Fence and Dr would have an Initiation Camp Fire of "pro-Negro and Fifth Column" elements, Berkshire Heights" and Them all in Berks County. I wonder if you have any agents in this area ——....

(Yours sincerely,)

[redacted]

b7c

MAY 22 5 18 PM '41
INTERNAL SECURITY DIVISION
U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

b7c [redacted]

100-4712-39

RECORDED

1214

May 27, 1941

b
7
c

[redacted]
Altoona, Pennsylvania

Dear [redacted]

I wish to acknowledge receipt of your letter dated May 11, 1941.

Your courtesy and interest in bringing this information to my attention are indeed appreciated, and you may be assured your letter will receive appropriate consideration.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/6/86 BY SP6 bja/ta

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED
MAY 27 1941
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

4th, 1941

Mr. Walter Winchell,
Daily Mirror,
New York City

Dear Mr. Winchell:

There were a few things that the newspapers didn't print about the Appeaseme First Rally at the Garden that I feel you should know. I was in the Garden from 6:30 P.M. on, so that I was able to garner a few facts that are of interest to you.

When John T. Flynn announced that a person alien to America First's ideals was in the audience, some jerks in the balcony thought it was you and shouted: "CHOO WINCHELL! CHOO WINCHELL!" But when Jerk McNazi was introduced their shouts of disapproval against you were immediately dropped and they began to applaud Joe McWilliams. Right behind McWilliams was Lawrence Dennis, the recognize leader of the American fascists. 95% of the persons present did not know that McWilliams was there until John T. Flynn pulled the boner of announcing his presence. Therefore if Flynn objects to the presence of Nazi leaders its his own fault for announcing them.

RECORDED
INDEXED
100-4712-39X
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
8 JUN 20 1941
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

I bought a four-sheeted paper inside, in the lobby, called THE AMERICAN WAY. It's front page agks that we keep America Out of War, for Christ and Country. It is put out by a guy named John J. Geis of R. 2 Hempstead, L.I. This is an example of some stuff in it:

"ADVICE TO THE LOVELORN
by
Alice in Wonderland
Love the Lord thy God and thy neighbor as thyself

Dear Editor:

My daughter who has been attending tolerance meetings, has

received a proposal from the son of a Rabbi. She has turned him down because she is a Christian girl. Now he is accusing her of being anti-Semitic. What shall I do about this?

14490

A. CHRISTIAN MOTHER

We congratulate your daughter on her Christian courage in these trying days of persecution. Surely she can find good Christian boys in her Church circles. The Church has always been opposed to mixed marriages. If this be anti-semitic, let them make the most of it."

In the same issue there is a take-off on your column as follows:

" ON THE BROADWAY OF LIFE

by WALTER WILDFLOWER

Walter is given the widest latitude for expression, his opinions do not reflect the policy of the AMERICAN WAY.

66666

When the Col. came out against war, we found who the nuts are...It looks like Pepper wants our kxks boys to go to salty graves...Mothers, if you're wondering where your drafted boy is tonight you may find him dancing with refugees in New York...

In the United States of America the only obstacle to education is death.....At the foreign meeting held in Mad. S. Gar. Lagars face was red...A short, stumpy, squat, broad shouldered, big head, square shouldered, and tough looking Mayor was chairman...The hyprocites and vultures who prey on the weak and the so-called respectable--who prey on the unsuspecting and gullible public were all there...

Our guessing contest is still on...He could be on the radio twice a week, but his wife says NO....And you thought he was a man...Ha, ha, ha...We received a report that hideous forms float before him. But the most frightful of all the forms which is disease takes is a propensity to see Hitler

wherever he looks. Night and day off and on Broadway he imagines Hitler is close to his ear and telling him, 'I'll get you yet.' 'I'll get you yet.'... At night he looks under his bed, not finding Hitler, like a disappointed old maid he cries himself to sleep....Oh! how he wants that man...In dream he strikes out at the little brownies, thinking that they are the Storm Troopers and his misery becomes more fearful than ever...Like Esau, he has sold his birthright for a stinkpot and there is no longer any hope...We send him lotions of stink....Keep guessing. Who is it?....Indeed, it may be remarked that he, like many of his type have seen the writing on the Wailing Wall."

This was sold to me, as I have stated, inside the Garden. But it was not on the official table of the America First Committee which featured copies of SCRIBNER'S COMMENTATOR. A fellow with a number of them in his hand approached people individually and sold them that way.

Norman Thomas' son, William, told me, that he was working very hard in the Chicago offices of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE, to put the meeting across in New York.

Jean Boyon (BOIAN), head of the Romanian Iron Guardists in New York was at the press table. The Iron Guardists were Hitler's advance-men prior to his invasion of Romania. What are they doing here? Captain Donnelley o N.Y. City Alien Criminal Squad knows about it. I told him.

Outside the Garden, people wearing AMERICA FIRST pins wer talking in groups that the "Jews are war-mongering us in."

On the platform was a Reverend Hunt, who opened the rec Manhatta Center meetings of the Appeasement First group. Hunt had been lauded by Elizabeth Dilling (your pal!), several times in her Round-Table Letter for his fine work in behalf of the "cause".

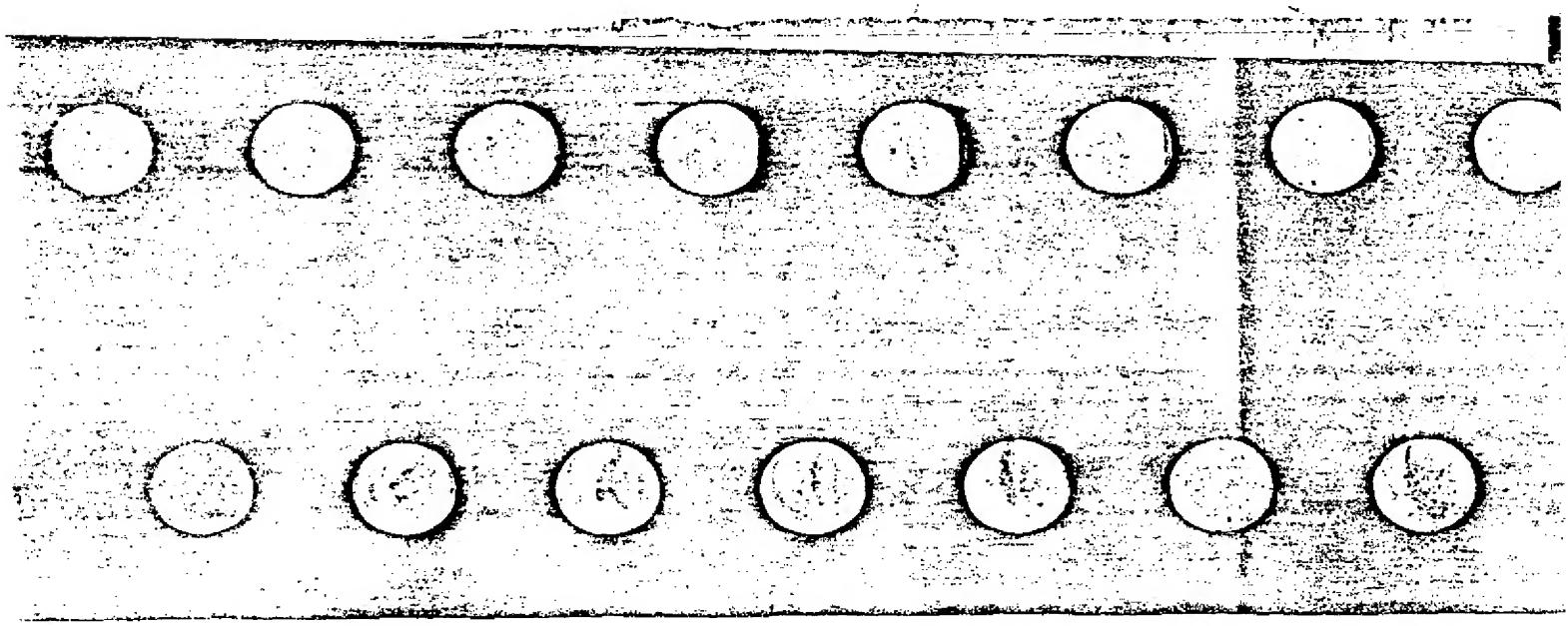
Also on the platform were, Michael Strange, and Prof. Gregrory Mason, of the down-town section of New York University, who teaches Journalism—a study of impartiality!

Also present was Louis Helmond, the guy that prints the Boycott Jews by Buying Christian booklets and guides for Joe McWilliams. 14102

One of Father Curran's followers, a tall, lanky fellow, stood up and pointed to a Jewish fellow in the audience and accused him of being a Jew-warmonger, The police took him ou immediately. When he was being ~~xxxxx~~ removed he shouted in nobody's general diection: "LONG LIVE THE CHRISTIAN FRONT! LONG LIVE FATHER CURRAN!"

With the development of certain pictures that I took inside I may be able to recognize persons in the heart of the Bund. I did the same ~~xxxx~~ thing at the Manhattan Center andas able to identity persons prominent in Bund and Front circles I hadn't count on getting.

Hope the stuffs usuable, and as always, with my compliments,



N EDGAR HOOVER
DIRECTOR

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

May 3, 1941

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Gandy

EAT:DMP

Time 12:00 Noon

MEMORANDUM FOR THE DIRECTOR

Mr. Marvin H. McIntyre, Secretary to the President called. He stated he has received a letter from General Robert W. Wood of the America First Committee. General Wood is a very good friend of his and Mr. McIntyre stated he has written the General letters telling him that he thought he was not thinking clearly, et cetera, and he, Mr. McIntyre, believes the General is beginning to be ashamed of the company he is keeping. The General enclosed with his letter to Mr. McIntyre a copy of a letter he is directing to the various chapters of the America First Committee about a very scurrilous article which is being mailed out from Chicago to each of the Chapters of the America First Committee. In his letter General Wood called attention to the fact that two of the articles had been sent in to him from his chapters and he is sending a letter to all chapters telling them to destroy the letters upon receipt. Mr. McIntyre stated however that the General failed to enclose a copy of the article in question and he desired to obtain our views on whether he should write the General for a copy or see if we could secure a copy through our contacts. I told Mr. McIntyre in view of his friendship with the General I thought it would be better for him to ask the General for a copy. He agreed but stated he wanted to check with us before going ahead.

Respectfully,

E. A. TAMM

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/16/86 BY SP6 bga/kg

RECORDED & INDEXED

100 47-2-

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
4 MAY 12 1941
U S DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FOXWORTH

Columbus, Ohio,
May 10th, 1941.

Federal Bureau of Investigation,
Washington D.C.

I am an American born Citizen, my Mother was a member of the D.A.R., I am not in favor of Colonel Lindberg's interference with our Federal Government.

I seem to be on the permanent mailing list of "American First Committee" and as you will note I have underscored on the green sheet that those following out these instructions, their petition will be reproduced 600 times.

As a loyal American Citizen I feel it my duty to bring this to your attention and am enclosing the last literature mailed me.

[redacted]
Columbus, Ohio.

b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 5/6/86 BY SP-6 by Attey

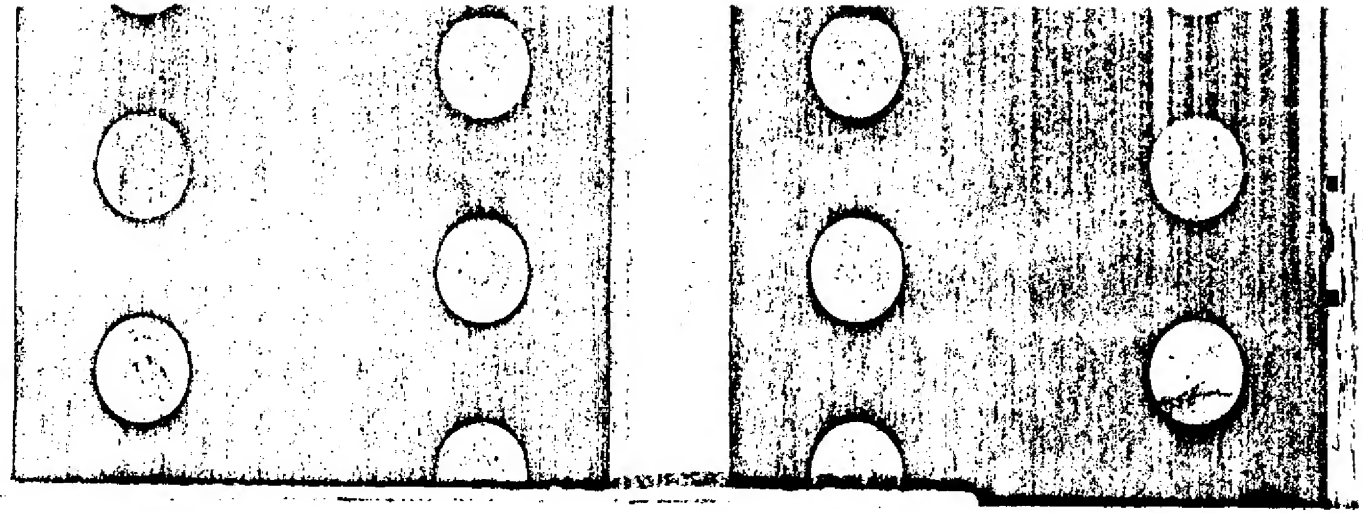
[redacted]

b7C

RECORDED
&
INDEXED

100-4712-41
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
5 MAY 14 1941
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
[redacted]

b7C



After....5...days, return to

[redacted] b7C

COLUMBUS, OHIO.

Federal Bureau of Investigation,
Washington, D.C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/16/96 BY SP2 Quigley

on this envelope

b7C [redacted]
RECORDED 100-4712-41

May 29, 1941

b [redacted]
7 Columbus, Ohio
C

Dear [redacted]

I wish to acknowledge receipt of your communication dated May 10, 1941, with enclosure, and to express my appreciation for your courtesy and interest in corresponding with me.

You may be assured that the content of your letter and of the enclosures has been carefully noted and included in the official files of the FBI,

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/6/86 BY SP6 bja/tcy

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAY 23 1941
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
. Carson
Quinn Tamm
Hendon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

[redacted] b7C

[redacted]

b7c

May 10, 1941

The Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Gentlemen:

I received a letter this morning from the president of the Continental Machines, Inc., Minneapolis, Minnesota; president Leighton Wilkie; telling me of the necessity for joining the America First Committee.

Though there might be some honest people who are misguided in their honesty, and who are members of this committee, I don't think that the following paragraph purports the honesty of those "in the know" on this committee.

"Business rejects-utterly and entirely-such a cold, ruthless, perverted reasoning. Americans are not afraid that Berlin will be the "capital of the world of tomorrow," and they don't want Washington to be the "captial" either. Business men know that the three units of civilization can each have prosperity and live on this earth in peace."

Of course, I don't expect that your department can do anything about any such organization now, but it might be good for you to know some of these who are actively engaged in disrupting our unity.

It may even be that you already know who these people are. Anyway, I feel it my duty to inform you.

Cordially yours,

[redacted]

b2c

P. S. A photostatic copy of the above mentioned letter will be cheerfully sent upon request.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 2-6-86 BY SP6 bja/tcg

100-4712-4

5 MAY 1941

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

COPIES DESTROYED

3-27-58 269

[redacted] June 4, 1941

RECORDED

100-4712-42

[redacted]

Dear [redacted]

This will acknowledge receipt of your communication dated May 10, 1941, and I want to express my sincere appreciation for your courtesy and interest in communicating with me. You may be assured that the content of your letter has been carefully noted and included in the official files of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

In the event that you obtain any further data which you deem of value concerning the internal security of our country, please feel free to communicate with Mr. E. E. Sackett, Special Agent in Charge, Federal Bureau of Investigation, United States Department of Justice, 607 United States Court House, Foley Square, New York, New York.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

cc-Mr. Connelley
copies of incoming attached

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED
★ JUN 4 1941 ★
P. M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

[redacted]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 2/16/76 BY Rabaley

[redacted]

b7c

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

[redacted]

b7c

May 14, 1941

Honorable Franklin Delano Roosevelt
President of the United States
Washington, D. C.

Excellency:

I desire to be one of, I hope, hundreds of thousands who will protest against the propaganda of the so-called America First Committee.

This group is endeavoring to destroy your work and to disrupt our unity. They are trying to get citizens to write to you to uphold their nefarious propaganda.

I trust you will receive many communications criticizing their unholy efforts.

Permit me to express my admiration for you and for your viewpoints.

Respectfully yours,

b7c [redacted]

[redacted]

RECORDED & INDEXED

100-4712-43

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
6 MAY 23 1941
U. S. DEPARTMENT [redacted]

b7c

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/6/86 BY SP-6 bja/tcg

United States Senate
Washington, D.C.

May 13, 1941.

Federal Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D. C.

Sir:

I have the honor to submit the following communication for your consideration, and to ask that the request made therein be complied with if possible.

When the matter is disposed of, will you kindly have the letter returned to my office, and oblige.

Yours truly,

Claude Pepper

ENCL 1

RECORDED & INDEXED
100-4712-44
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
8 MAY 16 1941
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

[redacted]

U.S.S. 57

GPO 16—8818

C

P

Y

b7C [redacted]

[redacted]
Citizens Building
West Palm Beach
Florida

May 12, 1941

Senator Claude F. Pepper
United States Senate
Washington, D. C.

Dear Senator Pepper:

I am enclosing a copy of an air mail registered letter that I have just sent to the Governor of our state and I would like to have you wire My. Wylie of the F. B. I. in Miami to proceed immediately to investigate these three men and if he finds that the information contained herein is correct instruct him to arrest these men and hold them for further investigation.

I want to take this opportunity to congratulate you on your excellent speeches calling on the American people for action. You are winning the support of thousands of people in this state and I think if you can, at this time, smash this America First Committee by proving that they are actually a Germany First and America Last Committee, that you will go down in history not only as a great senator, but as the man who saved this country from following in the footsteps of France.

Yours very truly,

[redacted]

b7C

[redacted]
enc.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/6/86 BY SP-6 by attcy

100-4712-4

Ack 5/24/41 [redacted] b7C

COPY

dfs

May 12, 1941

AIR MAIL - REGISTERED

Honorable Spessard L. Holland
Governor of The State of Florida
Tallahassee, Florida

My dear Governor Holland:

A group of citizens in this community met with me at my home in Palm Beach last evening and asked that I write you on behalf of the Americans in our state, calling to your attention that the American First Committee is to hold a meeting in Miami on May 17th in a public park and that, although this meeting is held supposedly under the auspices of the American First Committee, we know that the representatives from this section are pro German and one in particular is working for the German government. If the representative groups from the rest of this section are composed of the same type of men, we feel that this is a meeting of the bund and that every effort should be made on the part of the authorities in this state to call for an investi ation of several of the leaders beforethis meeting is allowed to proceed.

[redacted] b7c.

[redacted] b7c.

[redacted] b7c.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/16/86 BY SP6 bjg/kcy

[redacted] b7C

I think this information should allow the authorities of this state to use a search warrant, ifnecessary and investigate these three men before May 17th and if the data that I have given to you is found to be correct, I trust that you will stop a gathering of men who are attempting to paralyze our country by making treasonable utterances against our government and thereby causing much unrest in our country that could be avoided. There is a lot of difference between free speech and treasonable utterances by men who are supporting another nation and who are using the Constitution of the United States to hide behind and stab the real American citizens in the back.

Knowing that you were in France with the A. E. F. I feel that you will do everything within your power to make an immediate and thorough investigation of this America First Committee's operations in this state.

To identify myself, [redacted] b7C

I hope that you agree with me that it is high time that we put pressure on these un-American organizations and whether it is the bund or the America First Committee, or whatever they call themselves, if they are talking against our government and its attempt to stop Hitler before he gets to this country, then such organi ations are talking against the future of America and I think we all know it.

I am sending a copy of this letter to Senator Pepper and I hope that you two gentlemen will bring pressure to bear and have an investigation made immediately.

#3

I want to take this opportunity to wish you all success as Governor of the State of Florida and, as faras I can see, you already have shown that you are the man for the job.

With kindest regards, I beg to remain,

Yours very truly,

[redacted]

[redacted] b7c

c
o
p
y

[redacted]

b7C

[redacted] June 9, 1941

RECORDED 100-4712-44

Special Agent in Charge
Miami, Florida

RE: [redacted]
INTERNAL SECURITY - G

Dear Sir:

I am transmitting herewith for your information only copies of a communication dated May 12, 1941, addressed to Honorable Spessard L. Holland, Governor of the State of Florida, by [redacted] Citizens Building, West Palm Beach, Florida.

You are advised that a copy of this communication was furnished to the Honorable Claude Pepper, United States Senator, who referred it to me.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Enclosure

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/7/86 BY S.6 bjatley

May 31, 1941

[redacted]

RECORDED 100-4712-44
~~65-2607-897~~

Honorable Claude Pepper
United States Senate
Washington, D. C.

My dear Senator:

I have for acknowledgment your communication dated May 13, 1941, with which were enclosed a letter dated May 12, 1941, addressed to you by [redacted] Citizens Building, West Palm Beach, Florida, and a copy of a letter dated May 12, 1941, addressed to Honorable Spessard L. Holland, The Governor of the State of Florida, by the same individual.

At this time I also wish to acknowledge receipt of your communication of May 9, 1941, with which you transmitted a letter addressed to you by [redacted] Tampa, Florida, enclosing the cover torn from the April 28, 1941, issue of the magazine "Facts in Review."

I want to express my deep appreciation for your cooperation in bringing these data to my attention and to assure you that they will be afforded due consideration.

For your information I have acknowledged [redacted] letter and advised him that the German Library of Information, which publishes the magazine "Facts in Review," is registered with the State Department at Washington, D. C., as an agent of a foreign principal in compliance with the Federal statutes regulating such activities.

In accordance with your request the communications from your constituents, together with the enclosure of [redacted] letter, are being returned herewith.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Enclosure

[redacted]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 7-18-86 BY Lobjoy

CH-23

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXX

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

1 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

☑ Deleted under exemption(s) b7C b7D with no segregable material available for release to you.

☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.

☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.

☐ Documents originated with another Government agency(ies). These documents were referred to that agency(ies) for review and direct response to you.

_____ Pages contain information furnished by another Government agency(ies). You will be advised by the FBI as to the releasability of this information following our consultation with the other agency(ies).

_____ Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):

_____

_____

☐ For your information: _____

_____

☑ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

167-4712-45

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
X DELETED PAGE(S) X
X NO DUPLICATION FEE X
X FOR THIS PAGE X
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXX

49040

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice

Cincinnati, Ohio
May 24, 1941

b7c
[redacted]
100-0

Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

ATTENTION: TECHNICAL LABORATORY

Dear Sir:

Enclosed herewith is a letter, envelope, and photograph that were received by [redacted] Cincinnati, Ohio who has referred instant letter to this office for investigation.

Inasmuch as there is no violation involved, no investigation is being made. Instant letter is being forwarded for inclusion in the Anonymous Letter file, since the city directory of Cincinnati does not reflect a [redacted] and no search of the file or examination is being requested.

Very truly yours
R. C. SURAN
Special Agent in Charge

ENCL.

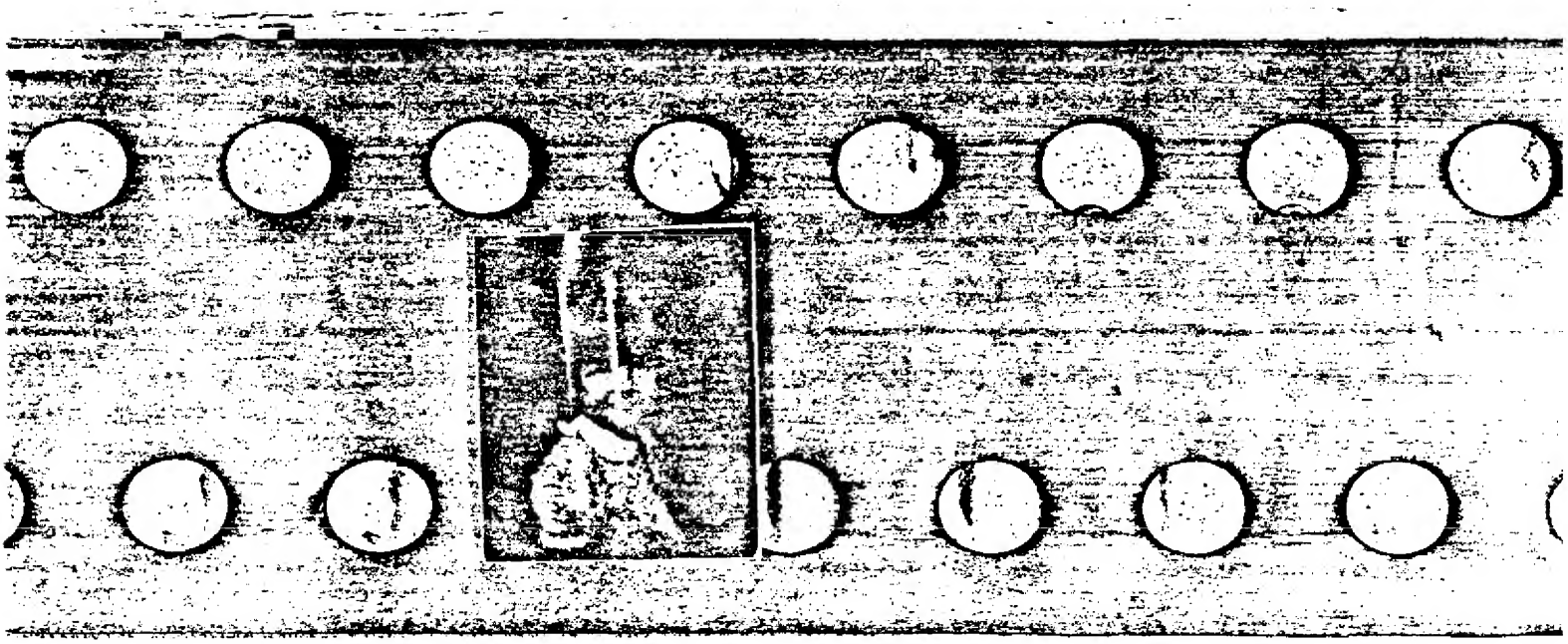
UNRECORDED COPY TO INVEST. UNIT
ORIGINAL TO LABORATORY

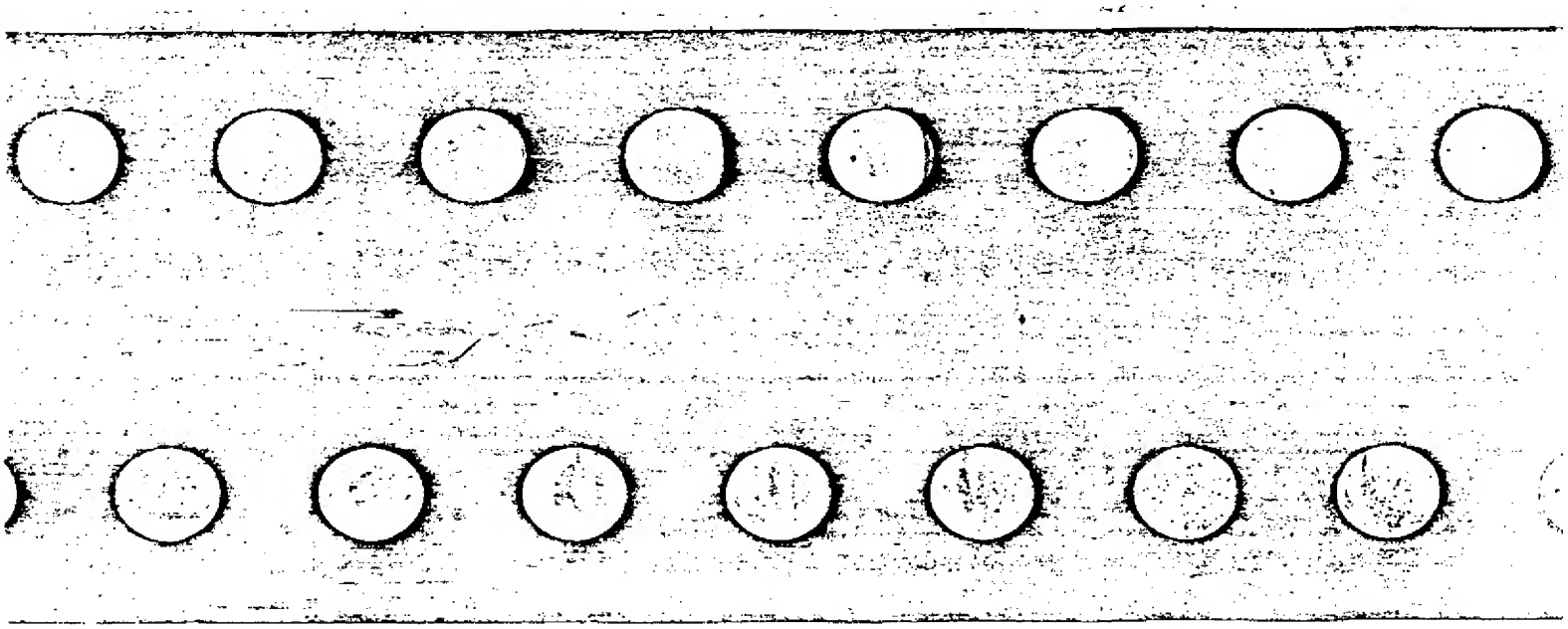
COPIES DESTROYED
3-27-58

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 5/6/86 BY SP6 bja/tc

ENCLOSURE FILED IN

100-49712-4
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
8 MAY 28 1941
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
[redacted]





One must be perfectly clear that the Recovery of Lost Provinces is not achieved by solemn invocations of the Beloved Lord, nor through pious hopes in a League of Nations, but only through armed violence.

Join The America Frist Committee
The FatherLand Commands You

Long Live Germany
Long [redacted] Live The
Reichswehr

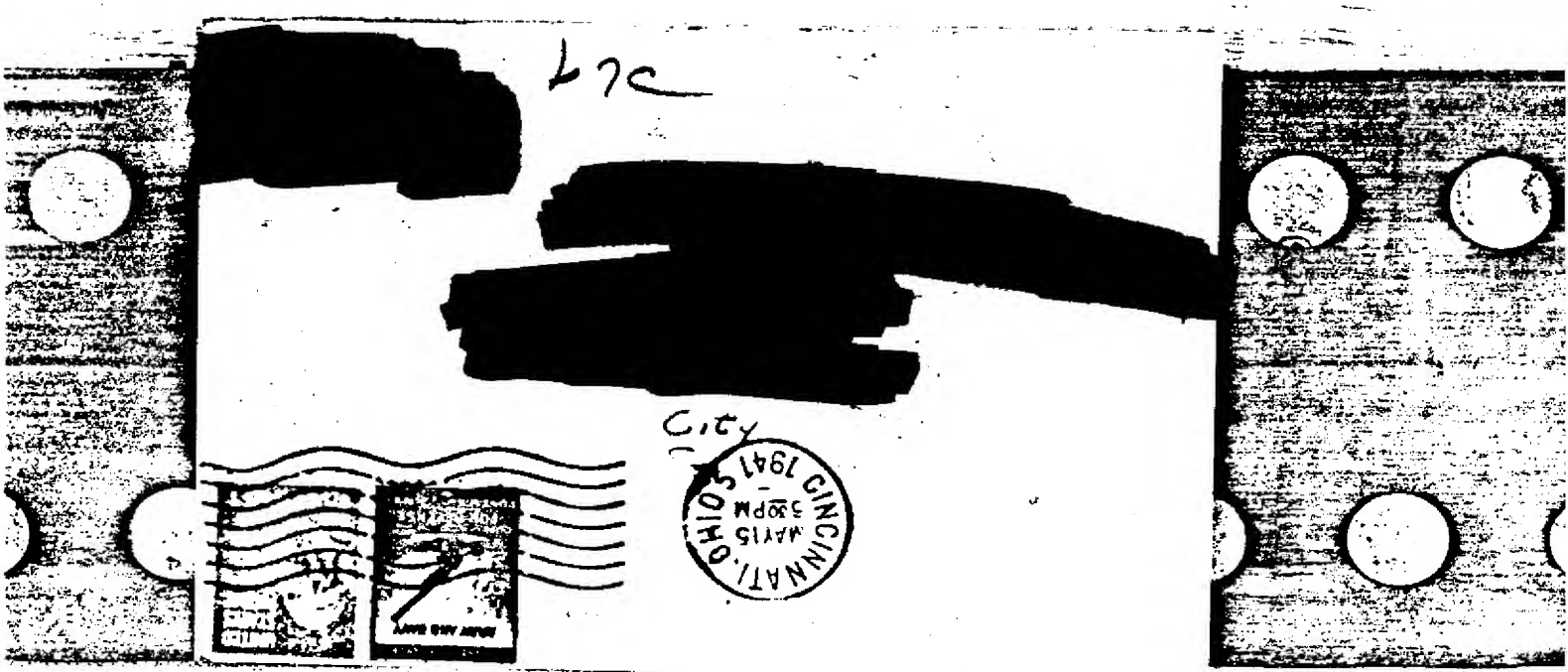
55

Pass the word along to the comrades 1. Zeisler
2. Bouard
3. Patzhold
4. Kopff Sr.

I enclose this picture as proof of my Authority.

Heil Hitler!

[redacted] b7C


47c
City
CINCINNATI, OHIO
1941
MAY 15
5:30PM

b7c

[redacted]

June 23, 1941

100-4712-46

RECORDED

Special Agent in Charge
Cincinnati, Ohio

Re: Unknown Subject;
b7c [redacted] - Victim;
Anonymous Communication.

Dear Sir:

There is transmitted herewith the laboratory report covering the examination of specimens submitted by your office in connection with the above-entitled matter and transmitted by your communication dated May 24, 1941.

Very truly yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover
Director

1 enc
Cy

Enclosure

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/6/86 BY SP6 bja/tcg

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED
★ JUN 24 1941 ★
P. M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

b7c [redacted]

Laboratory Report

June 21, 1941

File #100-4712-46

Lab #49040

Re: Unknown Subject;
b7c [redacted] - Victim;
Anonymous Communication.

Examination requested by: Cincinnati

Reference: Letter 5-24-41

Examination requested: Document

Specimens: b7c [redacted]

100-4712-46 Q1 Envelope postmarked "Cincinnati, Ohio, 5, May 15, 1941, 5:30 PM".
Q2 Accompanying letter, message beginning "One must be perfectly clear that the .....".

Also submitted was a photograph of a child.

Result of examination:

The handprinting on specimens Q1 and Q2 was searched through the Laboratory's Anonymous Letter File but nothing of particular interest or significance was noted as would suggest investigation. Appropriate photographic copies will be added to this file and in the event an identification is effected in the future your office will be so advised.

The evidence submitted for examination is being retained in the Laboratory.

Photographic copies of specimens Q1 and Q2 are being transmitted to your office herewith.

1 - Bureau
2 - Cincinnati
1 - Laboratory

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/6/86 BY S.6by

100-4712-46

NORTHERN UTAH'S AND SOUTHERN IDAHO'S ONLY DAILY NEWSPAPER

HERALD JOURNAL

Published By Cache Valley Newspaper Co.

LOGAN, UTAH

14397

May 13, 1941

J. Edgar Hoover, Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

I would appreciate very much any information your department can give me on the "America First Committee". A chapter has been organized here recently, and through studying its literature I am convinced it is not as pure as it would seem on the surface.

Also, I would like to know if you have any information on a Miss Afton Lowder. Miss Lowder, a stranger in town until the said committee became active, is one of the chief aides of the Logan chapter. Although she claims her work is gratis, I can't help but feel she is a paid organizer. I have never been able to find any one in this locality who knows a thing about her or her background.

Although I am a newspaper worker, I am seeking this information for my personal satisfaction. Nothing will be printed unless full permission is granted by you.

Thank you very much for any information you are willing to give me on these matters.

RECORDED & INDEXED

Yours very truly,

[redacted]

Herald-Journal
Logan, Utah.

100-4712-4

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

5 MAY 19 1941

U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

[redacted]

b7c

Ack 6/20/41

[redacted]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

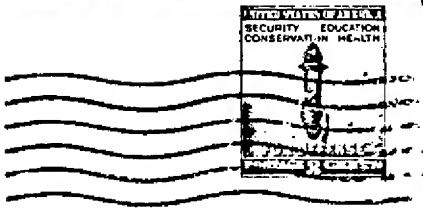
DATE 5/6/86 BY [redacted]

[redacted] b7c

HERALD-JOURNAL

BOX 510
LOGAN, UTAH

LOGAN
MAY 13
5 PM
1941
UTAH



J. Edgar Hoover, Director

Federal Bureau of Investigation

Washington, D. C.

1398

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/6/86 BY SP2 bjalty

[redacted]

June 20, 1941

RECORDED

100-4712-47

[redacted]

Herald-Journal
Logan, Utah

14396

Dear [redacted]

I was glad to receive your communication dated May 13, 1941, wherein you request certain information.

I regret that I must advise that all data contained in the files of the Federal Bureau of Investigation are strictly confidential and can be released only upon the express order of the Attorney General. Consequently I am unable to be of any assistance to you at this time.

I trust that should you obtain any information which you deem of value concerning the internal security of our country you will not hesitate to refer it to me.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED
★ JUN 20 1941 ★
P. M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

[redacted]

NOTICE

PLEASE DO NOT REMOVE THIS SLIP FROM THE ATTACHED CORRESPONDENCE SINCE IT IS A PERMANENT PART OF THE RECORD.

DIVISION OF RECORDS

...D. BU. OF INV.
...DEPARTMENT
MAY 16 1941 P.M.
...RECORDS
...D. BU. OF INV.

b7C

[redacted]

Wash. D.C.

Dear [redacted]

Justice (FBI) 5/14/41

Enclose find 2 leaflets that were given out on American Fair Minded which was defated by a "Sky Pilot" a minister of the Church at 344 & 7th Ave. N.Y. City. I believe this Organization is an Un American & its leaders should be dealt with according to our laws.

Sincerely yours.

[redacted]

ENCL'D 2

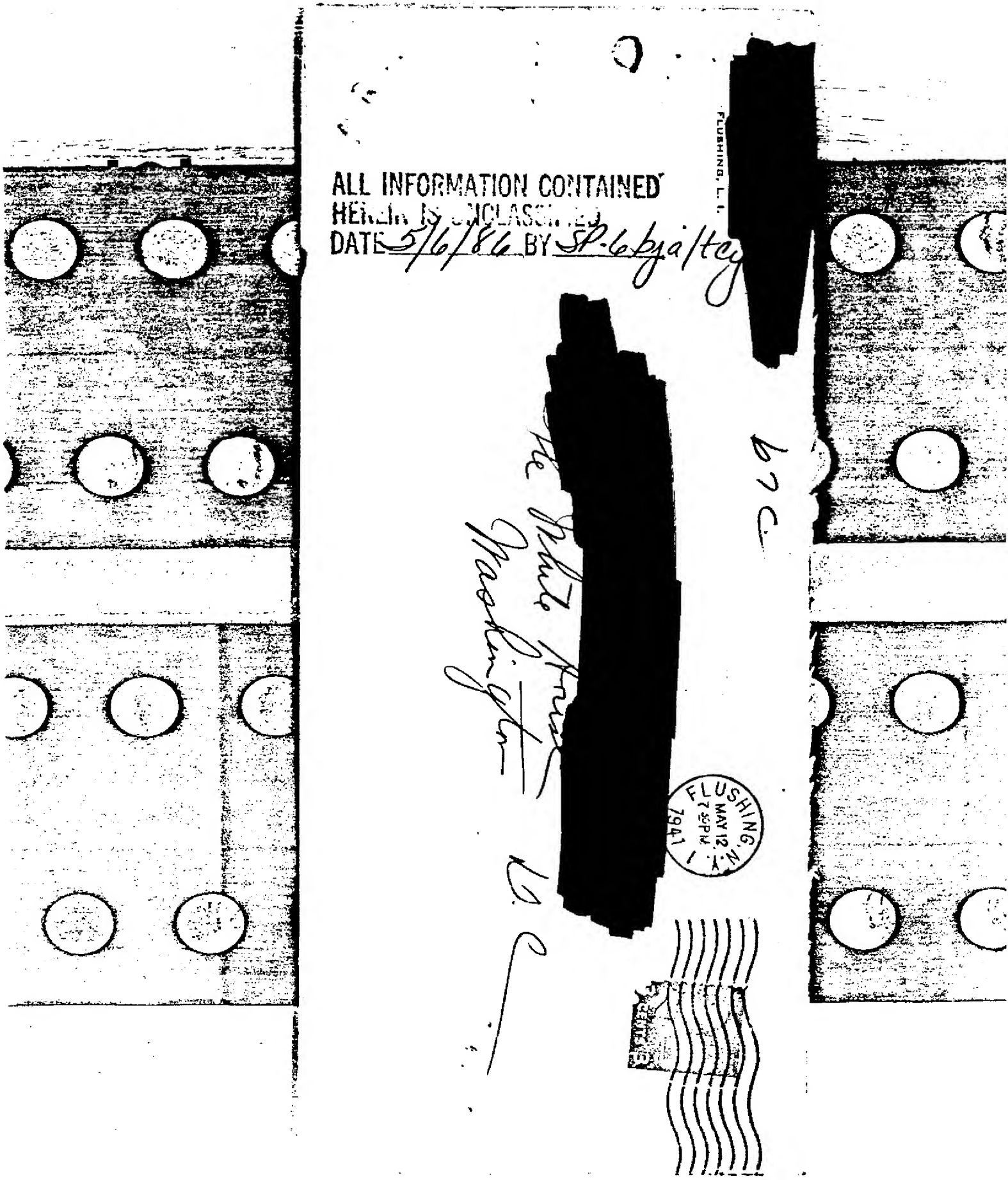
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 5/6/86 BY SP-6 bja/tcy

RECORDED & INDEXED

100 - 4712-48

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
3 MAY 19 1941
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

[redacted] b7C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DATE 5/16/86 BY SP-6 by alt cg

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
WASHINGTON, D. C.

OFFICIAL BUSINESS

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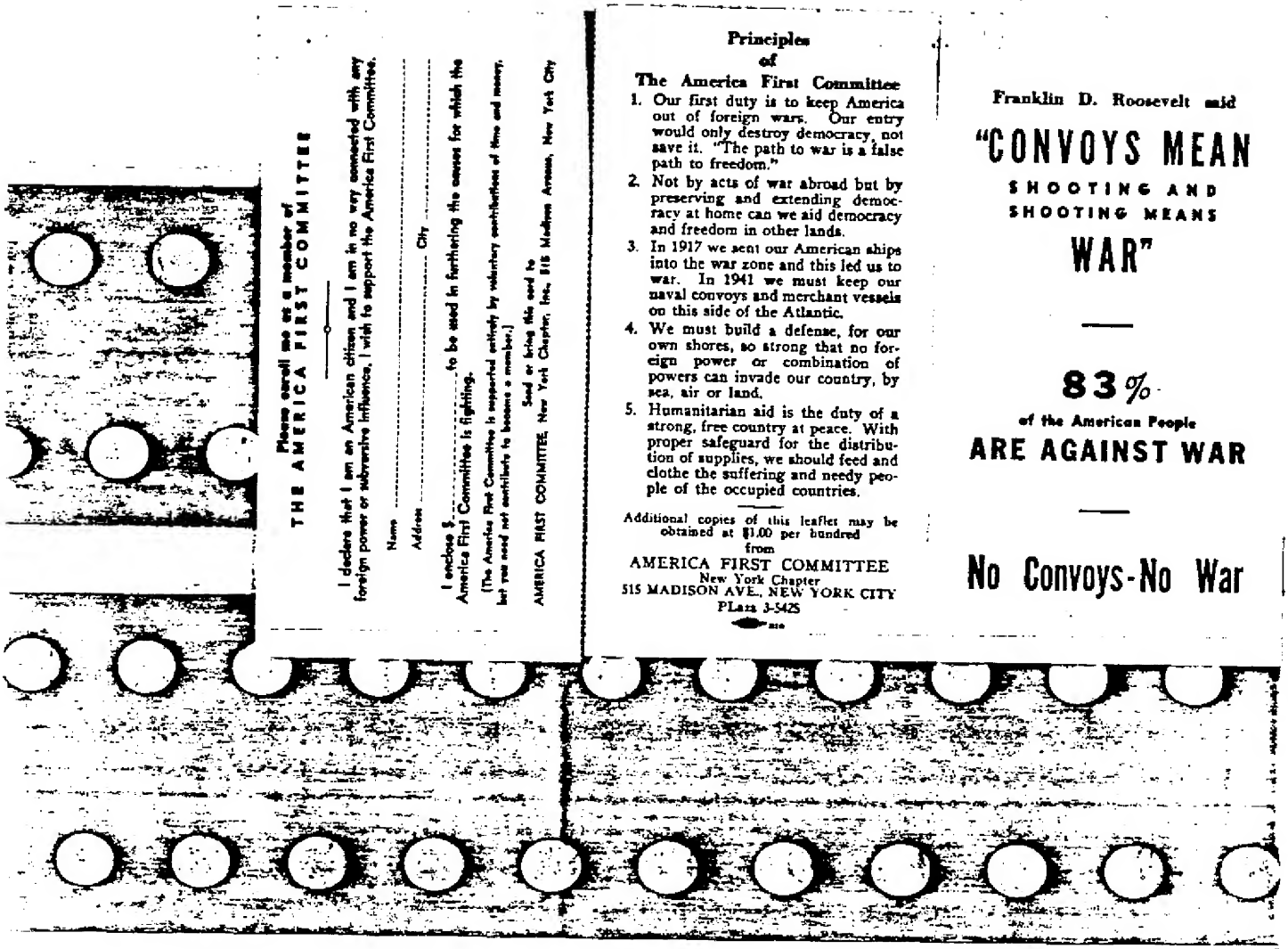
DATE 5/16/12 BY SP2 alba/ltg

PENALTY FOR PRIVATE USE TO AVOID
PAYMENT OF POSTAGE, $300

100-4171-11



Please enroll me as a member of
THE AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

I declare that I am an American citizen and I am in no way connected with any foreign power or subversive influence. I wish to support the America First Committee.

Name _____

Address _____ City _____

I enclose $_____ to be used in furthering the causes for which the America First Committee is fighting.

(The America First Committee is supported entirely by voluntary contributions of time and money, but you need not contribute to become a member.)

Send or bring this card to
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE, New York Chapter, Inc., 515 Madison Avenue, New York City

Principles
of
The America First Committee

1. Our first duty is to keep America out of foreign wars. Our entry would only destroy democracy, not save it. "The path to war is a false path to freedom."
2. Not by acts of war abroad but by preserving and extending democracy at home can we aid democracy and freedom in other lands.
3. In 1917 we sent our American ships into the war zone and this led us to war. In 1941 we must keep our naval convoys and merchant vessels on this side of the Atlantic.
4. We must build a defense, for our own shores, so strong that no foreign power or combination of powers can invade our country, by sea, air or land.
5. Humanitarian aid is the duty of a strong, free country at peace. With proper safeguard for the distribution of supplies, we should feed and clothe the suffering and needy people of the occupied countries.

Additional copies of this leaflet may be obtained at $1.00 per hundred
from
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
New York Chapter
515 MADISON AVE., NEW YORK CITY
PLaza 3-5425

Franklin D. Roosevelt said

"CONVOYS MEAN SHOOTING AND SHOOTING MEANS WAR"

83%
of the American People
ARE AGAINST WAR

No Convoys-No War

THESE SOLEMN AND SACRED PLEDGES

Were Made by

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT DURING THE 1940 ELECTION CAMPAIGN

We Will Not Participate Nor Intervene In Foreign Wars

"We are arming ourselves not for any purpose of conflict or intervention in foreign disputes. I repeat again that I stand on the platform of our party; we will not participate in foreign wars and will not send our Army, Naval or Air Forces to fight in foreign lands outside of the Americas except in case of attack."

"It is for peace that I have labored; and it is for peace that I shall labor all the days of my life."

Philadelphia, Oct. 23, 1940

The First Purpose of Our Foreign Policy Is to Keep Out of War

"We look at the old world of Europe today. It is an ugly world, poisoned by hatred, and greed and fear. We can see what has been the inevitable consequence of that poison—it has been war.

"And we look at this country, built by generations of peaceable, friendly men and women who had in their hearts faith—faith that the good life can be obtained by those who work for it.

"We know that we are determined to defend our country and with our neighbors to defend this hemisphere. We are strong in our defense.

"The first purpose of our foreign policy is to keep our country out of war."

Your Boys Are Not Going to Be Sent Into Any Foreign Wars

"And while I am talking to you, fathers and mothers, I give you one more assurance. I have said this before, but I shall say it again and again, and again, your boys are not going to be sent into any foreign wars.

"They are going into training to form a force so strong that, by its very existence, it will keep the threat of war far away from our shores. Yes, the purpose of our defense is defense."

Boston, Oct. 30, 1940

Ships Flying the American Flag Must Stay Out of the War Zones

"In 1935 in the face of growing dangers throughout the world, your government undertook to eliminate the hazards which in the past had led to war. We made it clear that ships flying the American flag could not carry munitions to a belligerent; and that they must stay out of war zones."

New York City, Oct. 28, 1940

I Am Fighting to Keep Out of Foreign Wars

"I am fighting to keep this nation prosperous and at peace. I am fighting to keep our people out of foreign wars and to keep foreign conceptions of government out of our own United States."

Brooklyn, Nov. 1, 1940

WHAT YOU CAN DO

1. Join the America First Committee which is leading this fight to keep America out of war. Enroll your neighbors. Form an America First Committee chapter in your community.

2. Write, Write, WRITE.
   Key men are:

   President Roosevelt

   Senator Walter F. George
   Chairman, Senate Foreign Relations Committee

   Also write to your Senators and Representatives.

3. Write your newspaper and radio commentator.

4. Volunteer for office work and street speaking

at the

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
NEW YORK CHAPTER, INC.
515 Madison Avenue
New York City
PLaza 3-5425

DEMAND FAITHFUL FULFILLMENT
Of President Roosevelt's
SOLEMN and SACRED PROMISES

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
BUFFALO, NEW YORK

May 17, 1941

Director,
Federal Bureau of Investigation,
Washington, D. C.

~~PERSONAL AND~~
~~CONFIDENTIAL.~~

Re: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE.

Dear Sir:

This is to advise that Senator BURTON K. WHEELER came to Buffalo, N.Y., on Saturday, May 3, 1941, to address an assemblage called together by the America First Committee, Buffalo Chapter. The meeting was held in the evening at the Kleinhans Music Hall, Buffalo, N.Y., and was attended by 5,000 persons. For your information, the meeting was quiet and orderly.

The Senator made reference to the F.B.I. on two occasions. Near the beginning of his speech he expressed an opinion that many U. S. citizens might hesitate to express their anti-war attitude because they are "afraid of the F.B.I." The second reference to this Bureau was simply a recollection on the Senator's part in connection with his duties as U. S. Attorney during the last World War. He mentioned that he had sent an F.B.I. Agent to investigate a complaint that German airplanes were seen flying over the mountains in Western United States. The Senator cited this as an example of what the people will imagine during the stress of war days.

Very truly yours,

J. T. MADIGAN,
Special Agent in Charge.

JTM:RP

RECORDED
INDEXED

100-4712-48

JUN 3 1941

56-86 SP6 by/tcy 26259
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9-30-85 BY SP7 mac
#241183

CH-14

Federal Bureau of Investigation

United States Department of Justice

New York, New York

[redacted] b7c

May 22nd, 1941

Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

RE: [redacted] b7c b7D

Dear Sir:

This morning [redacted] called at the New York Division to furnish information concerning the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE which he characterized as a very dangerous situation. b7c b7D

It seems that he attended a meeting held at Jamaica, Long Island, last night which was advertised as a meeting of AMERICANS UNITED , the Chairman of which is one THOMAS A. SULLY. Speakers at the meeting were Senators NYE and WALSH. It appears that during the evening [redacted] contacted both senators and in substance stated to them that he admired their work but felt that they should investigate the auspices under which they spoke.

[redacted] was greatly perturbed about the fact that at the meeting a circular which is entitled "I SOLEMNLY VOW", which appears to be issued by the "COMMITTEE TO DEFEND AMERICA BY DEFENDING AMERICA", 7501 Ridge Boulevard, Brooklyn, N. Y., was passed out at the meeting and that advertisements appeared on the walls of the meeting hall in connection with the meeting of the AMERICA FIRST group tomorrow night at Madison Square Garden, and that several of the executives of the AMERICA FIRST group were present on the speakers platform.

[redacted] stated that THOMAS A. SULLY, who appears to be connected with AMERICANS UNITED, is the same individual who is connected with the circulars issued some two years ago;

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1 ENCL. W

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RECORDED & INDEXED

1 4712-49

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
5 MAY 24 1941
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

eighteen copies of which he left with Agent [redacted] on his recent visit to Washington, D. C. b7C

At the time he appeared at the New York Division, which was 9:00 A. M., [redacted] stated that he had not had any sleep. b7C b7D

During the interview he exhibited copies of Western Union messages which he had filed during the early morning hours addressed to the President of the United States, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Senators Nye, Walsh, Wagner and Meade, Governor Lehman of New York, and several Congressmen. All of these messages were verbose in character, somewhat unintelligible and attempted to convey the impression that he was disturbed because of the fact that the meeting, although ostensibly held under the auspices of AMERICANS UNITED, had resulted in literature being passed out by the COMMITTEE TO DEFEND AMERICA BY DEFENDING AMERICA.

[redacted]

For the Bureau's information, there is being attached to this letter a copy of the AMERICANS UNITED membership card which was received fro[redacted] and a copy of the circular "I SOLEMNLY VOW".

Very truly yours,

T. J. Donegan

T. J. DONEGAN, Acting for
E. J. CONNELLEY,
Assistant Director

Encls.-2
AIR MAIL SPECIAL DELIVERY

AMERICANS UNITED · MEMBERSHIP APPLICATION

118-14 Queens Boulevard, near Union Turnpike - Forest Hills, L. I.

Phone BOulevard 8-2750 Chairman Thomas A. Sully

PRINCIPLES OF AMERICANS UNITED:

1. The United States must build an impregnable national defense.
2. Our American democratic liberties can only be preserved by keeping out of foreign wars — in Europe or in Asia.

I am an American citizen and agree with the principles of the AMERICANS UNITED — Please enroll me as a member.

Enclosed herewith are my annual dues $1.00 in advance.

SIGNED .....

NAME

.....

Address City and State

Please mail dues and voluntary contributions in addressed envelope to Thomas A. Sully, Chairman — above address.

I herewith contribute $..... in support of the aims of Americans United.

"I SOLEMNLY VOW"

Fellow Americans: Enlist in our campaign to keep America out of war. Only Congress has the power to declare war. Therefore it is most important to make Congress responsive to the wishes of the American people.

A majority of our Senators and Representatives have long been pawns of a President ambitious for dictatorial power, who is apparently leading us down the road to war, despite his solemn pledges in the last presidential campaign.

If you solemnly vow never to vote as long as you live for any member of Congress whose supine weakness rubberstamps another war for his fellow Americans to fight, then there will be no war. Your Congressman knows that your pledge will be kept, that his failure to carry out your wishes will constitute his automatic retirement from public life. He will prefer to heed the people and be no man's slave.

The pledge cards should be sent by each member of the family over eighteen years of age who is opposed to War, to the following individuals, listed in the order of their importance in the Campaign to save Our Great America:

1. Hon. Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Washington, D. C.
2. Congressman William B. Barry, Washington, D. C.
3. Congressman Leonard W. Hall, Washington, D. C.
4. Congressman Matthew J. Merritt, Washington, D. C.
5. Congresswoman Caroline O'Day, Washington, D. C.
6. U. S. Senator James M. Mead, Washington, D. C.
7. U. S. Senator Robert F. Wagner, Washington, D. C.
8. Hon. James V. Roe, 135-19 35th Avenue, Flushing, New York.

Buy additional pledge cards at cost: $12.50 a thousand post paid in U. S. A. for civic groups; $1.00 for 80 cards for your family circle; 25¢ for 20 cards for your individual supply.

Shoot your Black Arrows and stop the War Mongers in their tracks!

COMMITTEE TO DEFEND AMERICA BY DEFENDING AMERICA
7501 Ridge Boulevard - Shore Road 5-1456 - Brooklyn, N. Y.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-6-86 BY Pleb/pa/tkg

May 19th, 1941

Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sirs,

I would appreciate any information you could give me as to the beginnings of the America First Committee. I have become a member but felt I would like to know more about the inner workings of this organization.

I am enclosing a stamped, self-addressed envelope for your reply, and thank you in advance for the information.

Very truly yours,

[redacted]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 5-6-86 BY SP6bja/tcy

1 ENCL. W

b
7
C

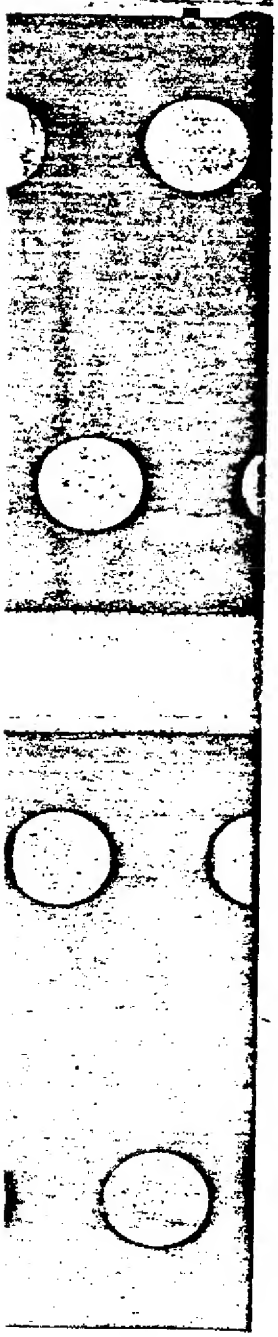
62-4712-50

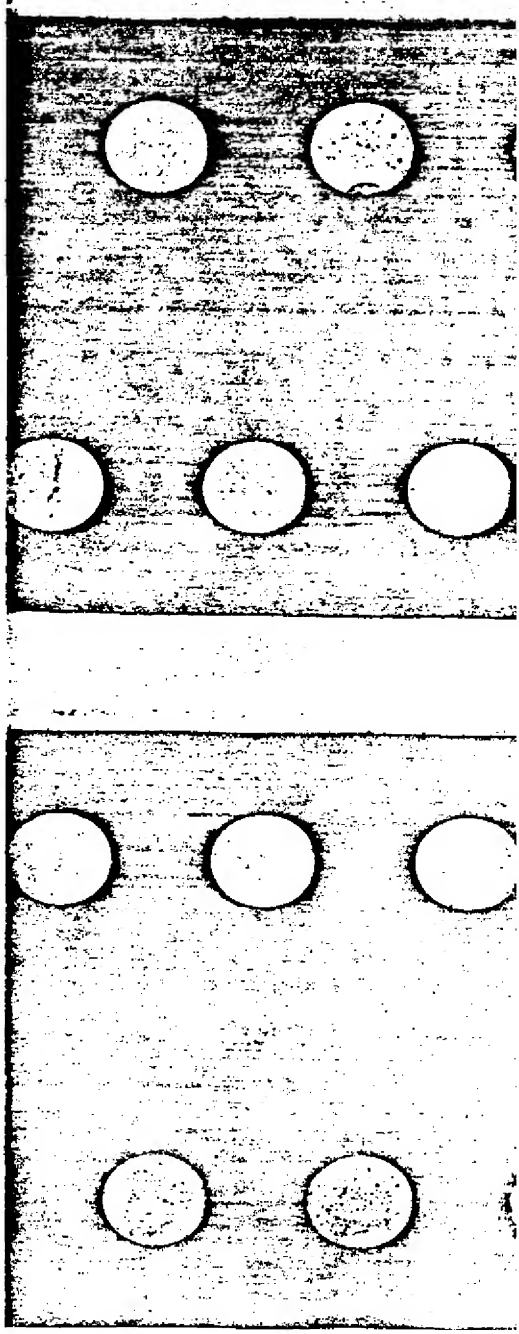
RECORDED & INDEXED

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
5 MAY 22 1941
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

EX-3

5/15/41





ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/6/86 BY SP-6 bjaltg

[redacted]

June 10, 1941

RECORDED 100-4712-50

b7C

[redacted]

Dear [redacted]

I wish to acknowledge receipt of your communication dated May 19, 1941. Please be advised that by a well-established policy of the Department of Justice all information contained in the files of the FBI is strictly confidential and can be released only on the express order of the Attorney General. I regret that I am therefore unable to be of any assistance to you.

I am returning herewith the self-addressed stamped envelope which you so thoughtfully enclosed with your communication.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Enclosure

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-6-86 BY SP-6 bjaltey

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Trudy
Miss Gandy

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
CH 18 M D
JUN 19 1941
P M
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

RH/RH

[redacted]

b7C

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice

Saint Louis, Missouri
June 4, 1941

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-6-86 BY SP6 byalty

Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

[redacted] Please be advised that the following information was regarding a speech made by Senator BENNETT C. CLARK, on May 3, 1941, at the Arena, in St. Louis, Missouri. CHARLES LINDBERGH was on the same program.

"Distortion in German Weekly of Senator Clark's reference to investigations by the FBI in his speech on the occasion of the America First Committee meeting on Saturday May 3, 1941, at the Arena, 5700 Oakland Avenue.

'(German Weekly) Deutsche Wochenschrift, May 8, 1941, page 6.

Translation - Editorial

CONGRESS WAITS FOR THE VOICE OF THE PEOPLE

Senator Bennett Champ Clark of Missouri, who, together with Charles Lindbergh on Saturday at the America First mass meeting expressed himself against the participation of America in the war, appealed to the citizenry to write or wire now to their representatives in Congress that they should take a stand against the war, against convoys and against all measures that lead to war. 'The great majority of the people is against war and Congress has to follow this sentiment' quoting Clark.

According to his experiences on his speaking trip the great majority of the people, who are against the war policies, would write to their Congressmen, if they were not in fear that the FBI in consequence would investigate them. Senator Clark called that a false opinion and told those people as well as the audience that in such cases they should address themselves to him, and he would then investigate the FBI. '

RECORDED & INDEXED
100-4712-51
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
3 JUN 6 1941
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3-27-59

"Senator Clark was quoted incorrectly in the above article of the German Weekly.

"What he said in the course of his address concerning investigations by the FBI is quoted verbatim in the Globe Democrat of May 4, 1941, page 8 A, under headline "Lindbergh Warns Against War" as follows:

'In urging his hearers to write the President and Congressmen not to be led into permitting convoying, this final step into war, he charged some persons had been led to believe if they write the President their opinion they will be investigated by the FBI. That's poppycock. If you hear of any such thing, let me know and I'll have the FBI investigated.' "

Very truly yours,

G. B. Norris

G. B. NORRIS
Special Agent in Charge

GBN:DB

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT PHILADELPHIA, PA.

FILE NO. 100-2651 AG

REPORT MADE AT	DATE WHEN MADE	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE	REPORT MADE BY
PHILADELPHIA, PA.	5-23-41	4-24-41	[redacted] b7C

TITLE
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

CHARACTER OF CASE
INTERNAL SECURITY(R)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 5/6/86 BY SP6 baf

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

A review of the files [redacted] indicate instant organization to be Pacifist in nature, organized for purpose of opposing convoying armaments to Britain. b7D

P.

DETAILS: Pursuant to instructions from Special Agent in Charge JOHN F. SEARS, Philadelphia, that a report of a review of the files [redacted] be made relative to public meetings held by the America First Committee and attended by [redacted] the following information was ascertained:

On March 21, 1941 [redacted] to attend a meeting of the America First Committee, at the Walton Hotel, Broad and Locust Sts., Philadelphia. [redacted] ascertained that the national headquarters of the America First Committee was located at 1322 Board of Trade Building, Chicago, Illinois, and that the local Philadelphia headquarters of this committee was located at 34 S. 17th Street, Philadelphia. b7C b7D

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3-27-58
269

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: J F Sears SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES
100-42712-1 52
JUN 9 194

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5-BUREAU
2-PHILADELPHIA
CH-20

MAY 26 1941

FBI

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE 7—2034

b7C
b7D

Phila.File #100-2651

[redacted] reported that the above mentioned meeting at the Walton Hotel was not a public meeting but that admission to the meeting was for members upon presentation of a card which had been previously mailed to them. There were approximately 300 persons present at this meeting.

Mr. ISAAC A. PENNYPACKER, who is a member of the law firm of GEORGE H. WHARTON PEPPER, Philadelphia, acted as chairman of the meeting. Besides Mr. PENNYPACKER the following two individuals addressed the audience: CHARLES COLLINS WHITE, New York City, and JOHN EDWIN ALISTER, Philadelphia. [redacted] stated that he ascertained that the purpose of the America First Committee was to oppose the United States convoying armaments to Britain. He said further that the announced purpose of the instant meeting was to make arrangements for obtaining more members and for educating the general public to the aims of their organization.

[redacted] stated further that the general theme of all speakers was to the effect that the American public was not being given the benefit of all the news concerning the present war and the speakers were further demanding the press print all the news concerning the present war. [redacted] did not give any further information relative to this meeting and the files of [redacted] revealed no additional information.

PENDING.

UNDEVELOPED LEADS

PHILADELPHIA FIELD DIVISION- at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, will ascertain the names of the present officers of the Philadelphia America First Committee, their backgrounds and present activities.

NONYMOUS COMMUNICATION
KEEP ENVELOPE ATTACHED

May 24, 1941

To the Chief
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

14394

To Whon It May Concern,

It was the first time I had ever listened to at least a part of an address delivered by Leader Linbergh at Madison Square Garden Friday night, May 23. And, judging from the wild applause given by the audience, I have reason to believe that it's the kind of audience that one could find in some of the European countries when the Leader is to speak. Would it be possible under our existing laws to trap an audience of that sort and force every attendant before leaving to be fingerprinted and names secured. Such action might result in rounding up more undesirables than a dozen private raids.

Trusting that this may be of some service to your department and mainly to our country

Sincerely yours
An American

P.S. Let us do a little intelligent work without always looking up the statute-books as to whether it is Constitutional or not.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 5/16/86 SLP/bga/tcg

RECORDED & INDEXED

100 - 47121 - 53
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
2 MAY 27 1941
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
67C

91
CH-16

b7c [redacted]
Pittsburgh, Penna
May 19, 1941

Honorable Mr. President
Franklin D. Roosevelt
White House
Washington, D. C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/6/86 BY SP6JAK/KG

My dear Honorable Mr. President:

I just wish to inform you that many good people and I pray constantly for your good health and your well being.

In spite of "America First Committee" slander on our good President and the Administration, real Americans await your speech and will back your judgment. However, I would like to know why various committees who are quick to probe into labor at every instance, are not even interested in the dangerous propaganda spread by the "America First Committee a Ford subsidiary.

Right must triumph.
Democracy can't lose.
Progress never goes backward.
May God bless you and give you strength!

Sincerely yours

[redacted]
b7c

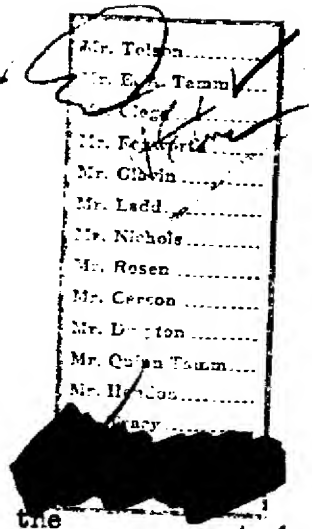
America First Committee

RECORDED & INDEXED
100-4712-5
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
6 MAY 27 1941
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

EX-16

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 23, 1941.



b7C

Respectfully referred to the
Honorable J. Edgar Hoover, Director,
the Federal Bureau of Investigation,
for attention.

EDWIN M. WATSON
Secretary to the President

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/6/86 BY SP6Bja/tcg

100-471?-54

4038 United States Court House
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

14392

June 10, 1941.

Director,
Federal Bureau of Investigation,
Washington, D. C.

RE: CHARLES A. LINDBERGH
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Dear Sir:

On the evening of May 29, 1941, Colonel CHARLES A. LINDBERGH, United States Senator DAVID I. WALSH and novelist KATHLEEN NORRIS were the principal speakers at a meeting of the America First Committee at the Arena in Philadelphia, Pa.

Transmitted herewith is a clipping from the Evening Bulletin, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, dated May 30, 1941, concerning this meeting and a leaflet which was passed out at the meeting.

The meeting was attended by Special Agents [redacted] b7c of this office. Although the meeting was scheduled to begin at 8:00 p.m., the Arena was filled to capacity at 7:00 p.m., and by 8:30 p.m., there were about five thousand people listening to a loud speaker in an adjoining lot and in the streets.

The speakers made quite a point of the fact that the national radio companies had refused the facilities of their broadcasting systems for a nation-wide broadcast of the meeting and stated that everything possible was being done to prevent the America First Committee from presenting their views to the American people.

The Agents observed no disorders or fights, and the meeting was orderly, though enthusiastic.

The crowd cheered the talks given by LINDBERGH, Senator WALSH and KATHLEEN NORRIS, and each time the President's name was mentioned a loud boo went up from the crowd.

RECORDED & INDEXED 100-4712-55

The Agents who attended the meeting were not able to

91

CH-18 [redacted] 5/7/86 Scheduling RMR

14393

enter the Arena proper, but circulated in the crowd without revealing their identities to anyone.

There appeared to be just as many people outside of the Arena as there were inside, and it was the general opinion that the America First Committee was gaining in strength and that undoubtedly there were more people present for the America First Meeting than there were for the LaGuardia protest meeting the night before.

Very truly yours,

J. F. SEARS,
Special Agent in Charge.

Enclosures
100-2361
[redacted] b7c

N Y C.
May 29/41

F B I
Washington DC

ANONYMOUS COMMUNICATION
KEEP ENVELOPE ATTACHED

Dear Sir The enclosed pamphlet was thrust into my hands on 42nd street - here last night - while a man was harangueing the passers by. The whole thing is lies but it sometimes gets into the hands of people who might believe it

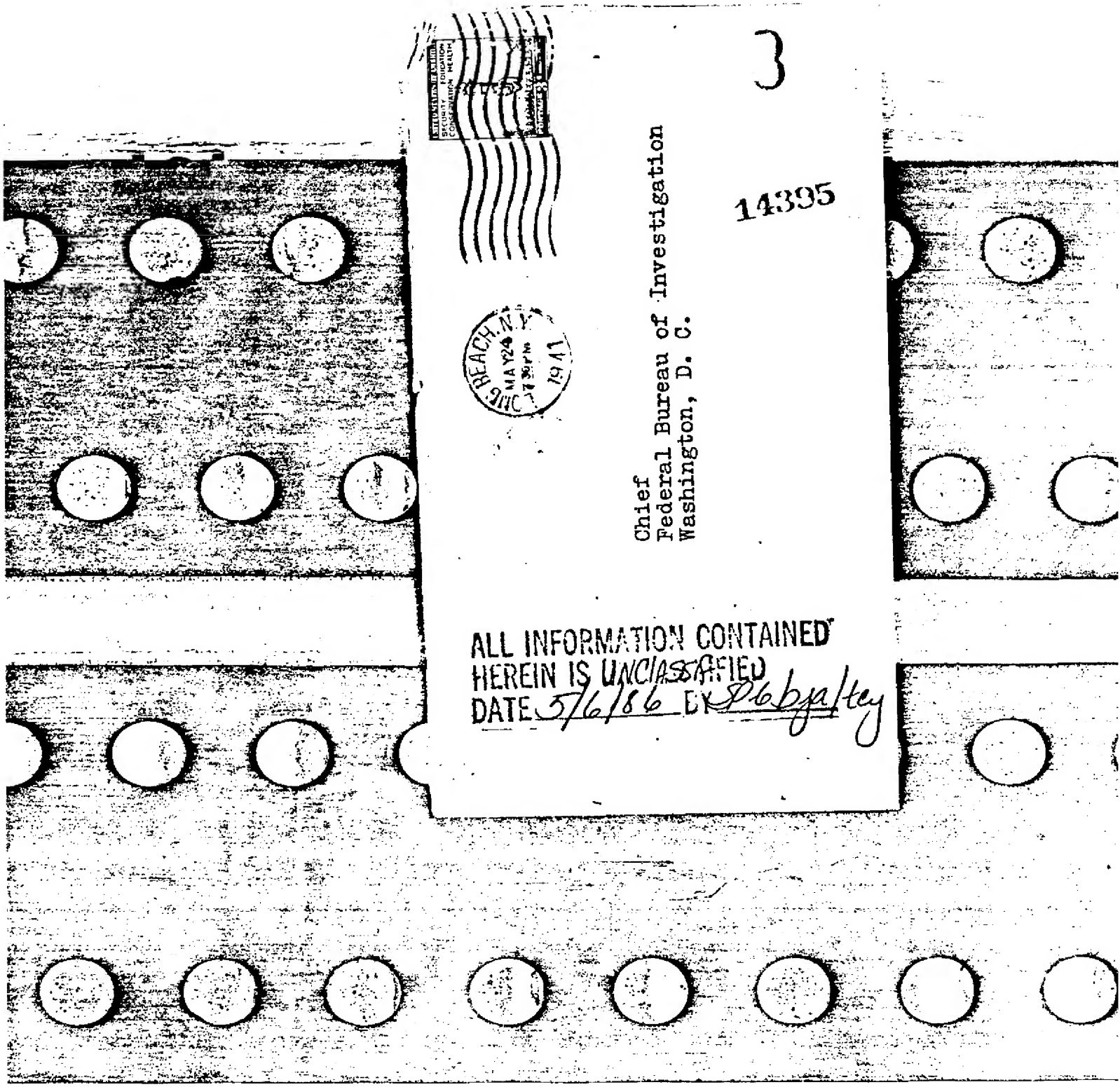
ENCL D

RECORDED & INDEXED 100 - 4712 - 56

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
MAY 31 1941
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

CH-13

EX - 3



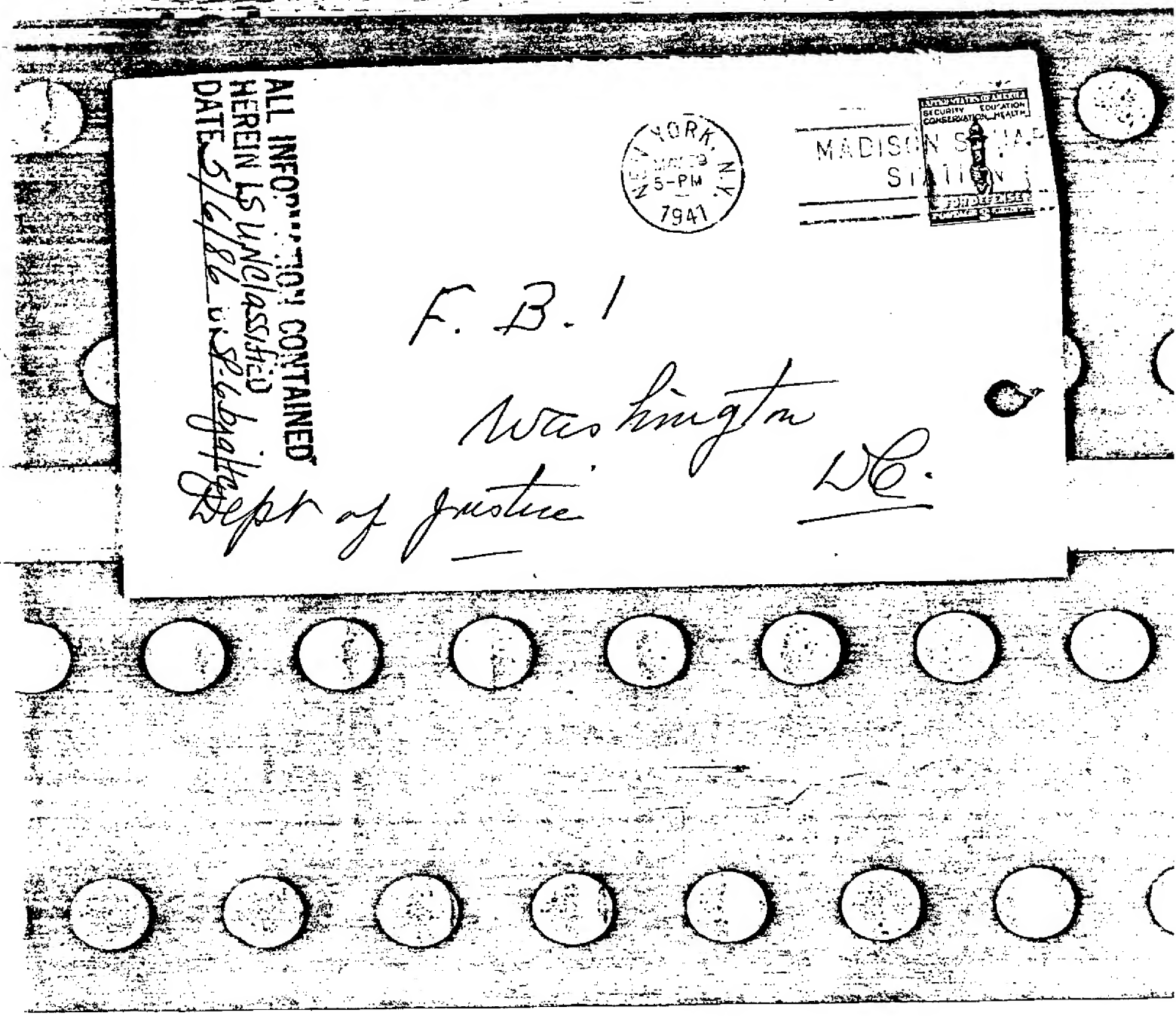
3

14395

Chief
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

BEACH, N.J. MAY 24 1941

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/6/86 BY SP6 bjaltey


ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/6/82 BY Sp4 alw
NEW YORK, N.Y.
MAR 3
5-PM
1941
MADISON SQUARE
STATION
F. B. I
Washington
D.C.
Dept of Justice

THESE SOLEMN AND SACRED PLEDGES
Were Made by
President Roosevelt During the 1940 Election Campaign

We Will Not Participate Nor Intervene In Foreign Wars

"We are arming ourselves not for any purpose of conflict or *intervention in foreign disputes*. I repeat again that I stand on the platform of our party; we will not participate in foreign wars and will not send our *Army, Naval or Aid Forces* to fight in foreign lands outside of the Americas except in case of attack."

"It is for peace that I have labored; and it is for peace that I shall labor all the days of my life."

Philadelphia, Oct. 23, 1940

The First Purpose of Our Foreign Policy Is to Keep Out of War

"We look at the old world of Europe today. It is an ugly world, poisoned by hatred, and greed and fear. We can see what has been the inevitable consequence of that poison — it has been war.

"And we look at this country, built by generations of peaceable, friendly men and women who had in their hearts faith —faith that the good life can be obtained by those who work for it.

"We know that we are determined to defend our country and with our neighbors to defend this hemisphere. We are strong in our defense."

"*The first purpose of our foreign policy is to keep our country out of war.*"

Cleveland, Nov. 2, 1940

Your Boys Are Not Going to Be Sent Into Any Foreign Wars

"And while I am talking to you, *fathers* and *mothers*, I give you one more assurance. *I have said this before*, but I shall say it *again* and *again*, and *again*, *your boys are not going to be sent into any foreign wars.*"

They are going into training to form a force so strong that, by its very existence, it will keep the threat of war far away from our shores. Yes, the purpose of our defense is defense."

Boston, Oct. 30, 1940

Ships Flying the American Flag Must Stay Out of the War Zones.

"In 1935 in the face of growing dangers throughout the world, your government undertook to eliminate the hazards which in the past had led to war. *We made it clear that ships flying the American flag could not carry munitions to a belligerent, and that they must stay out of war zones.*"

New York City, Oct. 28, 1940

I Am Fighting to Keep Out of Foreign Wars

"I am fighting to keep this nation prosperous and at peace. I am fighting to keep our people out of foreign wars and to keep foreign conceptions of government out of our own United States."

Brooklyn, Nov. 1, 1940

HELP SAVE THE NATION
from
THE HORRORS OF WAR

•

Demand Faithful Fulfillment of President Roosevelt's Solemn & Sacred Promises

•

Write — Wire — Telephone
President Roosevelt
Your Senators
Your Congressmen

•

JOIN WITH US NOW
and
ENROLL YOUR NEIGHBORS
in the
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
New York Chapter, Inc.
515 Madison Avenue, New York City

"I Hate War"

said

Franklin Delano Roosevelt

and

83%

of the American People

ARE AGAINST WAR

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
2 EAST 47TH ST.

Principles
of the
America First Committee

1. Our first duty is to keep America out of foreign wars. Our entry would only destroy democracy, not save it. "The path to war is a false path to freedom."
2. Not by acts of war abroad but by preserving and extending democracy at home can we aid democracy and freedom in other lands.
3. In 1917 we sent our American ships into the war zone and this led us to war In 1941 we must keep our naval convoys and merchant vessels on this side of the Atlantic.
4. We must build a defense, for our own shores, so strong that no foreign power or combination of powers can invade our country, by sea, air or land.
5. Humanitarian aid is the duty of a strong, free country at peace. With proper safeguard for the distribution of supplies, we should feed and clothe the suffering and needy people of the occupied countries.

Additional copies of this leaflet may be obtained at $1.00 per hundred
from
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
New York Chapter, Inc.
515 Madison Ave. and 3 E. 47th St., N. Y. C.
PLaza 3-5425

Please enroll me as a member of

THE AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

I declare that I am an American citizen and I am in no way connected with any foreign power or subversive influence. I wish to support the America First Committee.

Name .....

Address ..... City .....

I enclose $..... to be used in furthering the cause for which the America First Committee is fighting.

(The America First Committee is supported entirely by voluntary contributions of time and money, but you need not contribute to become a member.)

Send or bring this card to
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE, New York Chapter, Inc., 515 Madison Ave., New York City

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/6/86 BY SP-6 by atty

100-4112-57

CANCELLED

May 31, 1941.

[redacted]
b7C Camden, N.J.

J. Edgar Hoover,
F. B. I.
Washington D.C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

100-4712-58
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
JUN 1941
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

RECORDED & INDEXED

I am enclosing some newspaper items relative to the "America First" rally held ~~Wednesday~~ Thursday night last. Isn't there something that can be done to ~~shut~~ shut up Lindbergh and his hordes? It seems to me we are permitting too much "freedom of speech", especially in times like these.

Very truly yours

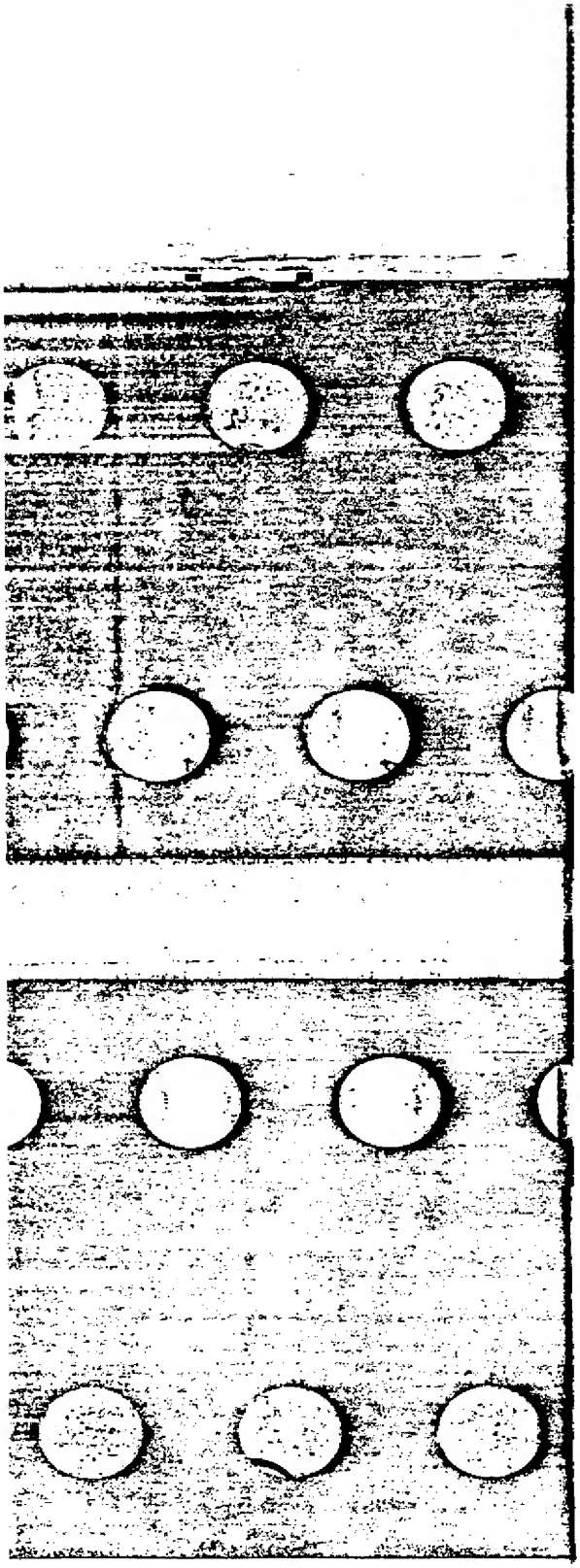
[redacted]

Could

b7C

1 ENCL. C

EX-16



P.S. Incidentally, I believe there is a "Bund" down in Lake Mathilde, about three miles below Gruenville, N.J. off the Black Horse Pike. It is a small lake with several German families living there and I know that one family left a good home in Ocala to go down to that out-of-the-way place to live in a small, ~~wretched~~ shack-like house.

b7c [redacted]

OPINIONS & REVIEWS

PAGE:

Pro-Nazi Cheers Must Show Lindbergh he is being Used as 5th Column Spearhead

THE Lindbergh meeting in the Arena Thursday was a studied attempt to picture a world situation composed in effect of the following items:

1. A hated and despicable predatory power called England, led by an individual abhorrent to mankind, called Churchill, started an unprovoked attack against a friendly people who had been goaded to distraction by a wicked imposition placed on them by this England and America under the guise of a treaty (Versailles).

2. This hated foreign power has been soundly thrashed to date, as it deserved to be, to the complete satisfaction and joy of all good Americans.

3. The Nazis, victims of this war, have no hostile intentions of any sort against this hemisphere, or any interest of this hemisphere, and have never done anything ("overt act") to support the hysterical animosity drummed up against them by American warmongers.

4. In fact, far from having any intention of trying to conquer the earth or interfere with our ideals or system of government, the exact contrary is the case. It is the administrators of the United States who are planning to be the aggressors with the purpose and intention of conquering the world and forcing our dominion over all creation, including the friendly and peaceful Nazis.

5. A wicked man has managed to get himself elected President by fraud and lies. This wicked man proposes to kill untold millions of American youth in overweening attempts to subdue the world to his way of thinking. In this he is supported by men too old to fight, who have no sons to be endangered, or else by those who have financial interests in England or an unreasoning and unjustifiable hatred of Germay.

6. The time has come to repudiate and change both this policy and the leaders of America, and to substitute Charles Lindbergh as the leader. Means not specified.

7. To be sure, American shores and cities should be defended if attacked, but there is no prospect of any attack. And the time and place to start defense is when and if an enemy appears off our shores in battle array.

8. To prevent the Nazis seizing the Azores or the Canaries or ourselves establishing ourselves there is to advocate a breach of the Seventh Commandment, against stealing. These islands belong to Europe and Europe belongs to the Nazis. Consequently the Nazis would be just as justified in taking American islands to protect themselves from Roosevelt's manifest aggressions as he would be in taking the Azores on the flimsy pretense of defense.

THE sympathies and emotional motives behind this view of the situation were demonstrated and emphasized beyond any possibility of misunderstanding.

The President was mentioned twice. Each time the hall rocked with a deafening torrent of boos, catcalls and groans.

Every mention of England, or Churchill was the signal for an even greater demonstration of unrestrained fury and hatred.

England's defeats were enumerated with gusto and the recital of the subjugation of each successive nation the Nazis have invaded was greeted with cheers, laughter and applause.

Perhaps even more significant was the derision of the speakers and the laughter of the audience directed toward our ridiculous idea that Nazi military efficiency could be met by any moral opposition.

It must be observed also that no mention was made of Hitler —not one. The reason was obvious. Parts of the audience would have broken out into hysterical cheering. And this is not part of the strategy. No word was said about seapower or American interest in, or rights upon, any ocean. Any aspect of the President's speech which might lead to doubts of the validity of the picture presented were completely ignored.

The whole thing was not a discussion. It was the presentation of the world situation as drawn for American consumption by the Nazi Office of Propaganda and Enlightenment, with no deviation or modification.

Great emphasis was laid upon the inalienable right of everyone in America to express his opinion (including alien enemies.)

There can then be no objection to this opinion:

It is impossible for Lindbergh to dispense this studied and false story in an atmosphere of pro-Nazi enthusiasm night after night and not be perfectly aware of the fact that he is the spearhead of the professional German fifth column and selected as the future leader of any success it can attain.

RALPH W. PAGE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/16/86 BY SP2 alg/kkg

An Alien Technique?

ADDRESSING the Arena meeting Thursday night, CHARLES A. LINDBERGH said:

"The America First Committee *stands for leadership of a different type* . . . . With your help, *we will create a leadership* for our nation that places America first. I am glad to be able to tell you that our strength is rising."

It is time for the American people to ask themselves what these words, echoed from LINDBERGH'S New York speech, mean.

Leadership in this country is provided by vote of the people, under our Constitution and laws.

The people chose this leadership at the polls last year.

The contender who won with 27,000,000 votes and the contender who lost with 22,000,000 votes are agreed as to the policy their country should pursue in this national emergency.

How does the America First Committee propose to "create a leadership" other than that created by the Constitution of the United States and established by the vote of the people?

How does it propose to undermine the authority of the Chief Executive of the United States, deprive him of his Constitutional right to shape the foreign policy of this country, and substitute its own judgment for his judgment of the action now required for national defense?

The America First Committee and those who for any reason agree with its beliefs have every right, in this democratic land, to question the policy of their Government, and to shout objections from the housetops. That's freedom of speech.

But when this committee's spokesman begins to talk about creating another leadership, at a time when a Presidential election is remote, a new technique is introduced.

New, that is, in a democracy under constitutional government. But the technique has been seen at work elsewhere.

A leadership not provided for in the Constitution? It behooves believers in the American way of life to sit up and take notice.

[redacted]

RECORDED 100-4712-58 June 23, 1941

[redacted]

Camden, New Jersey

Dear [redacted]

This will acknowledge receipt of your communication dated May 31, 1941, with enclosure, and I want to express my deep appreciation for the interest which you have displayed in making this material available to me.

Please be advised that the content of your letter as well as the enclosed material has been carefully noted and included in the official files of the FBI.

Should you obtain any further data which you deem of value concerning the internal security of our country, please do not hesitate to communicate with Mr. E. E. Conroy, Special Agent in Charge, Federal Bureau of Investigation, U. S. Department of Justice, 1836 Raymond-Commerce Building, Newark, New Jersey.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 5/6/86 BY SP6bja/Hq

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Toson
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Dalton
Mr. Tamm

cc Newark, Enclosure

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED
JUL 24 1941
P. M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

21 JUL 20

41

[redacted]

57c

b7c

[redacted] SARASOTA, FLORIDA

May 22 '41.

Edgar Hoover.
Federal Bureau of
Investigation.

b7c

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/6/86 BY SP6 Jaffey

Dear Sir,-

It is presuming of me perhaps to write to you, but how else can one get information except from the Best Source.

Enclosed is a clipping of an Ad in the Sarasota-Herald Tribune of seven weeks ago. There have been many - their friends seem extremely plentiful, much more than we of the local Defense Committee can afford for publicity.

Is this America First Committee

RECORDED & INDEXED

100-4717-5

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FILE NO. 341
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
[redacted]
b7c

subversive organization?
What can we do to discourage
them? They did have an
office but now I understand
that some pressure a considerable
talk has caused them to close the
office & now all meetings are
private taking place in
the homes of the members.

We want to learn about
the organization and what
we can do about it. They are
influential with the young:
"Save our Boys" etc and much
weight on Mothers to keep
their sons out of service -

Thank you for your attention

Very truly yours,

[redacted] 6c

CONVOY
A FUNERAL TRAIN

Convoys mean war—a shooting, bloody war.

Senator Walter F. George, during the debate on H. R. 1776, admitted as much. William Allen White, as Chairman of the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies, wrote on December 23, 1940:

"The story is floating around that I and our committee are in favor of sending convoys with British ships or our own ships, a silly thing, for convoys, unless you shoot, are confetti and it's not time to shoot now or ever."

Just what is a convoy? A convoy is a protecting force, an armed escort, accompanying ships transporting munitions, merchandise and money to a nation at war. And what is a convoy for? It is supposed to fight off ships, submarines and airplanes that attack the supply vessels. And how does a convoy do that? By using its heavy guns, its torpedoes its anti-aircraft fire and by sinking the attacking ships and their crews.

In any man's language this means war, and an offensive war at that.

The Neutrality act of 1939 was passed during comparatively calm days when we knew we would need a wise policy for excited, emotional times such as we are now experiencing. This law prohibits our merchant vessels from entering zones defined by the President as combat areas.

This prohibition was written into the law at the insistence of the President himself. The President regarded this prohibition as the first objective of his policy. In the course of his message on September 21, 1939, to the special session of Congress which enacted the Neutrality law of 1939, President Roosevelt said:

"With the repeal of the embargo this Government clearly and definitely will insist that American citizens and American ships keep away from the immediate perils of the actual zones of conflict."

Both the opponents and proponents of the bill recognized that incidents which would certainly involve us in war could not occur if American vessels were kept out of danger zones. There is good, American common sense in such a policy.

The Neutrality act does not apply to the Navy. But if it is sound to keep our merchant ships out of dangerous waters it is twice as sound to keep our fighting ships out of these zones. When our vessels, both merchant and naval, do not sail into war zones, the possibility of embroilment in war abroad is radically lessened. The fact that not a single incident involving American ships has occurred on the high seas in this war shows the wisdom of this policy.

Almost every public man in the country, including Franklin D. Roosevelt and Wendell Willkie has pledged his opposition to "sending our boys abroad." This is also a pledge against naval convoys. Our warships are manned by American boys. American planes, piloted by American boys, will be needed to make the convoys effective. With our Navy and Air Force in the war, our Army will not be far behind.

The dictionary gives as one definition for convoy, "a funeral train." That is just what it will be for the United States if we permit our Navy to convoy supply ships to Britain. It will be a funeral train for millions of our boys killed in an unnecessary war and a funeral train for the remains of a democracy murdered in a foolhardy venture.

Americans, after all the hysterical propaganda, are still 83 per cent opposed to entry into war. By the same percentage, Americans must be opposed to convoys.

Write — Wire — Telephone

YOUR PRESIDENT

YOUR SENATORS

YOUR CONGRESSMEN

NOW!

NATIONAL COMMITTEE

GENERAL ROBERT E. WOOD, Acting Chairman
Merchant; Acting Quartermaster General
U. S. A., 1918-19

JANET AYER FAIRBANK
Vice-Chairman
Author; civic leader

R. DOUGLAS STUART, JR.
Director

CHESTER BOWLES
Advertising executive, N. Y.

DR. ANTON J. CARLSON
Head of Dept. of Physiology, Univ. of Chicago; Lieut. Col. Sanitary Corps U. S. A., 1917.

WILLIAM R. CASTLE
Former Undersecretary of State; former U. S. Ambassador to Japan.

MRS. BENNETT C. CLARK
of Missouri and Washington, D. C.

IRVIN S. COBB
Author; Chevalier of the French Legion of Honor

JOHN T. FLYNN
Author; economist

LILLIAN GISH
Actress

BISHOP W. E. HAMMAKER
Methodist of Denver, Colo.

GEN. T. S. HAMMOND
Manufacturer

JAY C. HORMEL
Meat packer

GEN. HUGH S. JOHNSON
Columnist; former N. R. A. Administrator.

CLAY JUDSON
Lawyer

FLORENCE P. KAHN
Ex-Congresswoman from California

HANFORD MacNIDER
Vice-Chairman
Former National Commander of the American Legion; former Assistant Secretary of War; former U. S. Minister to Canada

J. SANFORD OTIS
Treasurer. Banker

KATHRYN LEWIS
Labor union executive

ALICE R. LONGWORTH
Civic leader

FRANK O. LOWDEN
Former Governor of Illinois

MRS. J. P. MARQUAND
of New York

THOMAS N. McCARTER
Industrialist, New Jersey

RAY McKAIG
Farm leader, Idaho

STERLING MORTON
Industrialist

KATHLEEN NORRIS
Novelist

AMOS R. E. PINCHOT
Lawyer

WILLIAM H. REGNERY
Manufacturer; philanthropist

E. L. RYERSON, JR.
Industrialist; civic leader

LOUIS J. TABER
Master of National Grange

MRS. B. K. WHEELER
of Montana and Washington, D. C.

DR. GEORGE H. WHIPPLE
Noble prize winner in medicine, 1934

MAJOR A. J. WILLIAMS
Aviation expert

For Further Information and Literature, Inquire Local Headquarters

America First Committee

"THE PATH TO WAR IS A FALSE PATH TO FREEDOM"

[redacted] SARASOTA, FLORIDA

b7c

May 22 41 [redacted] b7c

Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of
Investigation

Dear Sir,

It is presuming of me perhaps to write to you, but how else can one get information except from the Best Source.

Enclosed is a clipping of an ad in the Sarasota Herald Tribune of several weeks ago. There have been many - their funds seem extremely plentiful; much more than we of the local Defense Committee can afford for publicity.

Is this America First Committee a subversive organization? What can we do to discourage them? They did have an office but now I understand that some pressure and considerable talk has caused them to close the office and now all meetings are private taking place in the homes of the members.

We want to know about the organization and what we can do about it. They are influential with the young: "Save our Boys" etc and much weight on Mothers to keep their sons out of service. Thank you for your attention.

Very truly yours,

[redacted]

b
7
c

COPY
DLM

(Enclosed with [redacted] communication was an advertisement entitled "Convoy A Funeral Train," of America First Committee published in an unidenfified newspaper.)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/6/86 BY SP-6 bja Hey

[redacted]

June 28, 1941

RECORDED 100-4712-59

[redacted]
Sarasota, Florida

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/6/86 BY SP-6 bja/tc

Dear [redacted]

I wish to acknowledge receipt of your communication dated May 22, 1941, with enclosure, and to express my appreciation for the interest which prompted you to bring these data to my attention.

With respect to your inquiries, please be advised that a well established policy of the Department of Justice precludes me from commenting upon such matters.

I trust that you will not hesitate to refer to me any data which you deem of interest to the internal security of our country.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

cc: Miami - copies of incoming attached.

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED
JUN 30 1941
P. M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

[redacted]
57C

[redacted]

Fresno, Calif., b7C

May 28, 1941.

The Federal Bureau of Investigation,
Washington, D. C.

Sirs:

Can you give me any information which will aid me in determining the status of a group called "The America First Committee"? acc'd let 7-2-41 [redacted] b7C

Having attended a few meetings here it seems there is a strong undercurrent of Anti-United States despite all their verbal protestations of Americanism.

I am a respected, hard working, native born American and I paid my dollar membership dues so I may attend all meetings if possible what they represent.

Yours truly,

[redacted]

RECORDED 100-11712 6
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATIO
5 JUN 3 1941
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

INDEXED

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/6/86 BY [redacted]

[redacted] b7C

[redacted] July 2, 1941

100-4712-60

RECORDED

[redacted]

Fresno, California

Dear [redacted]

This will acknowledge receipt of your communication dated May 28, 1941.

Please be advised that all information contained in the files of the Federal Bureau of Investigation is strictly confidential and can be released only upon express authority of the Attorney General. Consequently I am unable to be of any assistance to you in this matter.

Should you obtain any information which you believe of value concerning the internal security of our country, please feel free to communicate with me.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED
★ JUL 2 1941 ★
P.M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/6/82 BY SP6 Bgalley

[redacted]

[redacted]

CHICAGO

b7c

May 24, 1941

Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt,
White House,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

Based upon a statement by Mrs. Janet Ayer Fairbank, of the America First Committee, and an advertisement published in yesterday's Chicago Tribune, it is inferable that you may receive numerous communications from persons describing themselves as "of the 79% opposed to foreign war."

The percentage distorts the Gallup poll, which shows a majority in favor of whatever is requisite to avoid a Hitler victory. Furthermore the war is not a "foreign war".

The America First Committee sponsors speakers indifferent as to whether Germany or Britain wins and who have favored shortening the war by curtailing supplies to Britain and thus assuring its defeat by Hitler.

This is the committee which the German press urge readers to support. It is the committee at whose meetings your name and Great Britain are booed, and the statement that Britain cannot win is applauded. It is the committee which provides a front for all Nazi sympathizers.

Mrs. Fairbank has been publicly quoted as author of a reprehensible reference to the able and courageous Secretary of War - an utterance difficult to credit to anyone of understanding and politeness.

Very respectfully,

[redacted]

b7c

cc Hon. Henry L. Stimson.
cc Hon. Frank Knox.
cc Mrs. Janet Ayer Fairbank.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/16/86 BY 8164 Hay

[redacted]-4717-6

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
8 JUN 4 1941
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

[redacted]

21

12398

[redacted]

Venice, California

May 25, 1941

Honorable F. D. Roosevelt

White House

Washington, D. C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 3/16/86 BY SP6 bja/tag

Dear Mr. President:

I beg to inform you that during the present and future crisis we have a very dangerous element right in the United States which will undermine gradually, the unity of the American people, unless immediate action will be taken against these elements.

Not long ago the organization which is called, America First, began on a small scale and today they are functioning to such a large extent that they have nation wide campaigns to poison the minds of the American people. They are also on the radio to be sure that the people who are not able to attend those meetings that they could hear the broadcast and the re-broadcasts.

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100-4712-62
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
5 JUN 5 1941
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

I'm not sure if Mr. Charles Lindbergh and Senator Wheeler are aware of what they are doing against not only the United States but against our government also. What really upsets me is that our government hasn't put up a single speaker who would comment against the America First broadcasts. For that reason I'm going to organize an organization under the

7/3/41 ok [redacted]

title, "Stop, Look and Listen America," and if I will receive enough financial backing each time Senator Wheeler or Lindbergh will speak we will make arrangements that the next day we will comment correctly on the radio at our meetings on whatever speeches they may use to spread their propaganda. Mr. Hitler with his highest paid agents could never have achieved in our country any better paid propaganda to mislead our people than Senator Wheeler and Charles Lindbergh who are suppose to be two of our leading citizens.

I'm not positive if Senator Wheeler or Lindbergh do this consciously or unconsciously? But no matter how they are doing it they surely will have quite a few supporters because it is human nature that all parents would sooner like to see their sons near them than see them in uniforms to be taught for national defense. These parents who are so narrow minded that they cannot think it over that our country must be prepared for any emergency in the future, especially when the crisis is shifting so suddenly from one end of the world to the other.

Somebody must speak against this propaganda in our country which becomes worse as the days go by. Senator Wheeler and Lindbergh spoke of everything openly with the exception that they did not say, let's overthrow our government and put up a government which is willing to play ball with us. This is what we call taking advantage of the rights of free speech in using it to help other powers who are our greatest enemies. Since this freedom was laid down by our forefathers in our democratic

way of life it is hard to change the Constitution to stop this kind of propaganda which is worse than fifth column activities or sabatage, but we could do so much to explain to the American people what we could expect from a person like Hitler if we isolate ourselves.

All the other countries the past two years which are at present under Hitler's rule by aggression isolated themselves by remaining neutral. They did the same which Senator Wheeler and Lindbergh are advocating to our people right now. What has happened to those countries?

I am enclosing a hand bill which was delivered to every home in our city by the Communist Party. I cannot see any reason why these Red Organizations should not spread their propaganda even stronger when our Senator Wheeler and Lindbergh give them all the encouragement.

We know well the seriousness of this situation, but the question is what are we going to do about it? I'm sure about one thing that we must do something about it. And as long as free speech will exist we must answer these people with comments which will show to our people why our administration is aiding England, why we are preparing ourselves, and how the future will look and reflect upon our own country with a Hitler victory. We also must explain to the people why peace at this time is impossible.

Mr. President it is high time to put a check against these people who are receiving more and more support each day. It is just like a home which has caught fire and if we extinguish it

at once it cannot spread any further.

My Mother always said, "My son try to learn in your life if possible, by studying other people's troubles and experiences in making up your mind which road to follow to avade all obsticles.

It is true Mr. President that you made promises to the people during your presidential campaign that you will follow the road to peace and we are sure that you will if you possibly could? But since last October the swift events which are occuring around us may force you to change your mind if you find out that we cannot avade a fight. In case you would have to do this the American people's unity is more essential today than ever before in our existence. We surely, could not have two blind persons like Senator Wheeler and Lindbergh stir up misunderstanding among our people.

Hitler's own words were, "When I want to go against the Americas I will not use force, but my agents will spread enough propaganda which will start a civil war among them and then I will walk in and put them under my protectorate."

Let's hope that this will not happen here. Please permit me to wish you the best of health and strength and you may with the help of our Lord lead our country to become a symbol and an example to the world that there is no better way than the democratic way of life. I remain,

[redacted]spectfully your[redacted]

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7
c

DAILY NEWS

16,000 hoot F.D.R., cheer Fuehrer at Lindbergh tirade

By ROBERT B. VALE

More than 16,000 men and women inside and outside the Arena last night booed and hissed and hooted President Roosevelt. Col. Charles A. Lindbergh called for the overthrow of the policies of administration—for "a new leadership."

Adolf Hitler was cheered by this same vast throng that fanatically declared against any aid to Great Britain; any preparations that will lead us into war—even defensive war.

And there was not a single demonstration of approval for a policy of fortifying ourselves with guns, ships, airplanes and beast.

WALSH GRINS AT BOOS

Most amazing of all was the smile that spread over the face of United States Sen. David I. Walsh of Massachusetts when the Arena rang and re-echoed with the booing of President Roosevelt.

Instead of protesting, instead of *resenting the disgraceful exhibition*, Sen. Walsh sat in his seat beaming on the half-frenzied crowd.

Lindbergh went further in his attacks on the Roosevelt administration last night than in any of his previous talks.

He denounced the policy of the President in throwing up a defense line in the Atlantic as far eastward as Greenland, the Cape Verde Islands and Dakar, and it was right there that the audience cheered Hitler.

"Our own President says that the safety of America lies in controlling the Cape Verde Islands off the coast of Africa," he sneered.

Instantly there were hoots and boos for Roosevelt.

HITLER'S NAME CHEERED

Then Lindbergh added:

"Even Hitler never made a statement like that."

The response was instantaneous. Cheers swept through the Arena.

There were more hoots for the President when Lindbergh asserted:

"It is Roosevelt himself who advocates world domination when he says that it is our business to control the wars of Europe and Asia and that we in America must dominate the islands lying off the African coast."

The Lindbergh call for a new leadership and for renunciation of the Roosevelt policies was a careful buildup to a climax that threw the Arena into a tremendous demonstration.

"LACK OF PREPARATION"

"They now say that the only way for us to defend America is to cross the Atlantic ocean and fight Europe; to cross the Pacific ocean and fight Japan; to fight possibly Russia, Italy, France, and Spain as well. They say that the only way we can defend democracy is by adopting the policies of a totalitarian state ourselves.

"They tell us it is undemocratic for us to question the type of *leadership that has taken to defeat* every nation in the world that followed it. They shout to us, as they shouted at England and France: they say: 'Never mind realities, the moral effect will make up for our lack of preparation.'

"Their prophecies have been false, their policies have failed, and their promises have been worthless. They have a record of utter failure behind them—Poland, Finland, Norway, Holland, Belgium, France, Jugoslavia, Greece. Yet now they demand that we, too, enter the greatest conflict in history, unprepared.

"NEW LEADERSHIP"

"I ask you, is our nation to follow them further?

"Is it not time for us to turn to new policies and to a new leadership?"

The America First rally was a big show—make no mistake about that.

LED ANTI-ROOSEVELT RALLY HERE

APPEARANCE of this trio on speakers' dais at the Arena last night was signal for race-splitting outburst. Left to right, they are Lindbergh, Kathleen Norris, the novelist, and Sen. David I. Walsh, one of leading congressional isolationists.—(Daily News Photo)

Goosestep bevy leads loud yahs for Lone Eagle

By JULIA SHAWELL

The Lone Eagle shared his aerie with a strange assortment of nest fellows as the America First committee jammed the Arena to capacity last night for the Lindbergh rally that at times touched the tempo of high hysteria.

Men who have sung the Horst Wessel song at [illegible] meetings here and were well up front last night had plenty of enthusiastic company for the "yahooing" when Hitler's name was mentioned.

Dr. Bessie Burchett, who recently resigned as a public high school teacher when official action was taken by the authorities after she posted a vitriolic anti-Roosevelt bulletin in a schoolroom, was surrounded by a tuneless chorus of thousands for the hearse Roosevelt piece.

"FRONTISTS" UP FRONT

Christian Frontists had box seats and *near them as preferably* ensconced were men whose pro-Nazi utterances have evoked FBI investigations within the past six months.

The Mothers and Daughters of Pennsylvania were there occupying block seats. So were the Crusading Mothers, a newly-formed organization, offshoot of resignations from the Pennsylvania Mothers. There were members of the National League of Mothers and a dozen newly-formed organizations with high-sounding patriotic names.

Mrs. Kathleen Norris, author of a hundred best-known best sellers, formed her phrase-making on the British, the war mongers—in fact, on all those who don't agree with ex-Col. Lindbergh and her.

Mrs. Anne Morrow Lindbergh, dressed in dark blue, took her wide-brimmed black hat off, and stepped to the front for the lead

...party ...ange were were ...Wheeler and Mrs. Bennet Champ Clark.

THEY CHEERED L

WAVING flags and sporting hat partisans as Lindbergh voiced a the nation seek out a new leaders Hitler of seeking world dominati

This was ived by me on Saturday, May 24, 1941.

STOP CONVOYS

12402

HALT THE TRIGGER-PULL INTO WAR!

On May 27 President Roosevelt is to speak to the nation on his war policy. D to unexpected developments in Europe, he did not make this speech on May But we know already what the content of the speech is intended to be.

The unofficial Propaganda Ministers for the Roosevelt administration, umnists Pearson and Allen, writing in the Washington Merry-Go-Round of M 13 said:

"He had two alternatives. One was to throw the question of convoys int lap of Congress. The other was to decide the question himself.

"To throw the issue into Congress, his congressional leaders told him, ma weeks and weeks of debate. . . .

"On the other hand, a decision by Roosevelt, personally, under his power commander-in-chief, meant the obvious and definite risk of throwing the na into war.

"However, the die is now cast. The President has made up his mind to convoys and all that goes with them. . . ."

WHAT ABOUT ELECTION CAMPAIGN PROMISES?

On October 23 last year, President Roosevelt said, ". . . We will not partic in foreign wars and will not send our Army, Navy, or air forces to fight in for lands outside of the Americas, except in case of attack."

On October 28, President Roosevelt said:

". . . made it clear that shine [illegible] merican flag could not carry n

And then later in that same speech he said, "In all these ways we made it clear to every American and to every foreign nation that we would avoid becoming entangled through some episode beyond our borders."

And then later, in arguing for the Lend-Lease Bill, the President said, "Convoy means shooting; and shooting means war."

But now the President is preparing to tell us in his own language that this country is going into the shooting stage of the war!

The whole "Defense" program—Conscription, the Destroyer Deal, the Armaments Program, and the Lend-Lease Bill—was sold to the people as a peace program, to keep us out of war. The Communist Party alone warned that it was a program to get us into war.

Every citizen can see now with what cynicism the President is repudiating the "campaign oratory" of his pre-election promises and proving the Communists to be correct.

THERE IS YET TIME

But all is not yet lost. There is still time to stay the trigger-pull that would shoot us into war. The fact is, the President postponed his May 16 address until May 27, not alone because of European developments, but also because of the temper of the American people.

No less a Tory than Ex-President Hoover said on May 11: ". . . There is an obvious large majority of people who oppose the sending of our boys either on our ships or on convoys or airplanes or expeditionary forces where they may have to shoot or be shot at. These oppositions are strongest in our youth, and it is youth who must die. . . ."

This large anti-war majority has the war-mongers worried. Mass protest can yet stay the trigger-finger of the President!

Make President Roosevelt keep his peace promises! Let him know before May 27 that we want no convoys! Let him know that we want no A. E. F. (American Expeditionary Force.) Let him know that we want no incident to plunge us into war!

No Convoys! No A. E. F.! No war incident!

Issued by the Los Angeles County Committee, Communist Party, U. S. A.
[illegible] Party Chairman Jack Moore, Secretary
[illegible] 121 W. 4th St. VA [illegible]

12397

[redacted] 100-4712-62 July 3, 1941

RECORDED

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[redacted]
Venice, California

Dear [redacted]

[redacted]
5/16/86 [illegible] Subpoena

The letter which you addressed to the President under date of May 25, 1941, with enclosure, has been referred to the Federal Bureau of Investigation by the White House. I want to thank you for your courtesy and interest in communicating with the Federal Government.

You may be assured that the content of your letter and enclosure has been carefully noted and included in the official files of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Should you obtain any additional information which you believe of value concerning the internal security of our country, please feel free to refer it to me.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Kendon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

MAILED
JUL 5 1941
P.M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

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May 23rd, 1941

President Roosevelt,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir;

Last year, when I reached my twenty first birthday, I cast the first ballot I have ever casted. I casted that ballot for you. Now I am beginning to regret that I did.

Up until the latter part of last year, I was entirely in accord with every thing you had accomplished. But what I can't understand now is your hesitency in restricting the harmful propoganda that is now inundating our country.

Last week, when I was coming home from work, some little street urchin stuck a handbill into my hand and ran like the devil. You can't imagine my feelings when I read that handbill. Here is what it said; ' Is the America First Committe ready to cope with the Jewish problem after Germany wins the war?' 'Come to our rally at the Astoria Hall, at Steinway Street and twenty first road, Astoria, For the rally tonight'.

I myself am of the Jewish faith, but I went to that rally, and you can't imagine the hate that the America First committee spreads. They claim, and Mr. McWilliams was the speaker, that we are being forced into this war by the Jewish bankers and lawyers and politicians, and he asked this question, quote,'Why should we fight the battles of Isreals'.

As an American citizen, I ask you to do something about the preachings of these yellow jackedted appeasers, who are little less then Hitler's henchemen in disguise.

Thanking you in adva
I am

[redacted]
Astoria, L.

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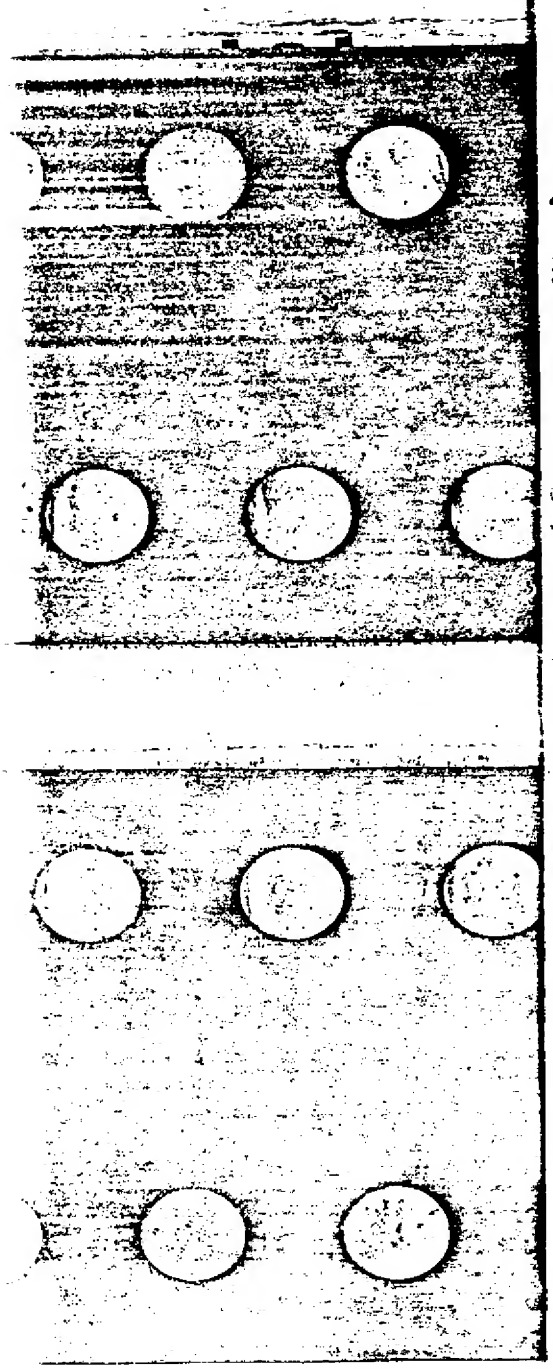

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover

Dear Sir: In this excerpt from the L.A. Examiner, by Lindbergh he advocates the overthrow of "Our leaders" meaning Our President consequently the overthrow of our Government of which President Roosevelt is the head.! Do the Communists are guilty of and for which we are endeavoring to defend Bridges? Then why is it allowed Lindbergh is actively and openly dividing our people, claiming Our President is trying to dominate rather than Hitler [redacted] him to that most [redacted] There is a limit [redacted] to which this [redacted] should be allowed to go in "free speech" and we think it is about time

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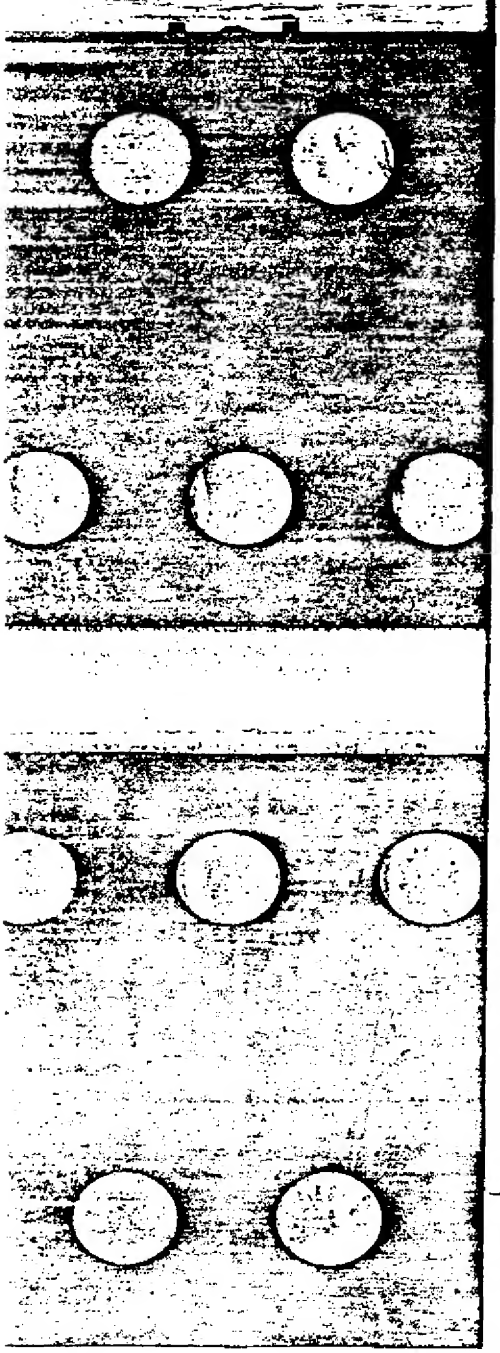

was either tax. 5+ "American"
is debarred from this country
He has already debarred himself
from France + England and
allied himself with Hitler, by
accepting a medal from Germany
when our Constitution expressly
forbids just that thing. What
do you expect to do about it and
in this crucial time? - Is
not an "unlimited emergency"
a time to squelch opposition to
the laws and the Presidents
decrees, which we understand to
be the same as law, under an
"unlimited emergency"? Then
why not make an example of this
despicable personality who
in his ignorance + deceney
and right and common sense
openly defies the President + the
U. S.!

Respectfully Yours

[redacted]

June 4-41

Hollywood Calif

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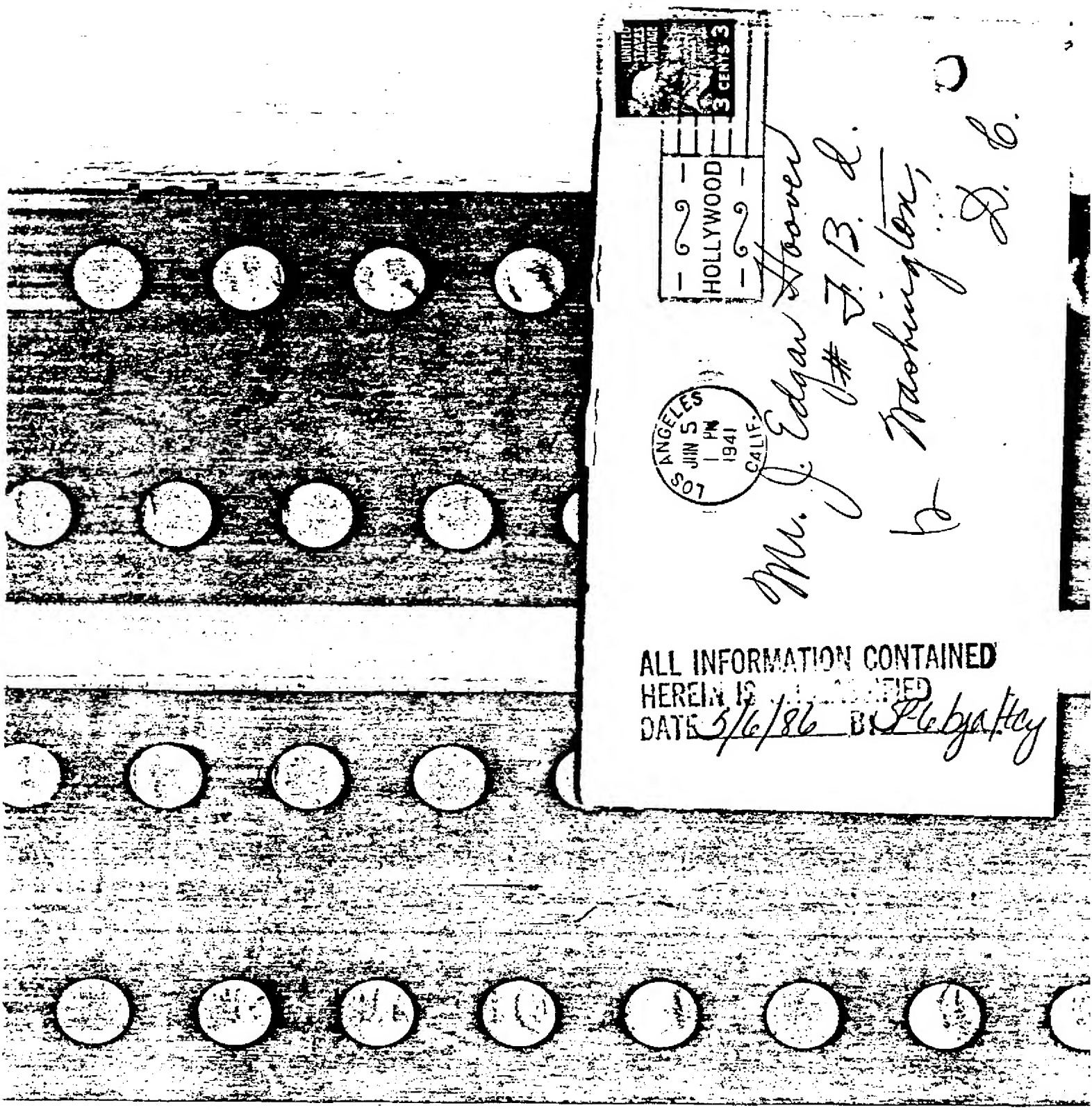
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Washington, D. C.
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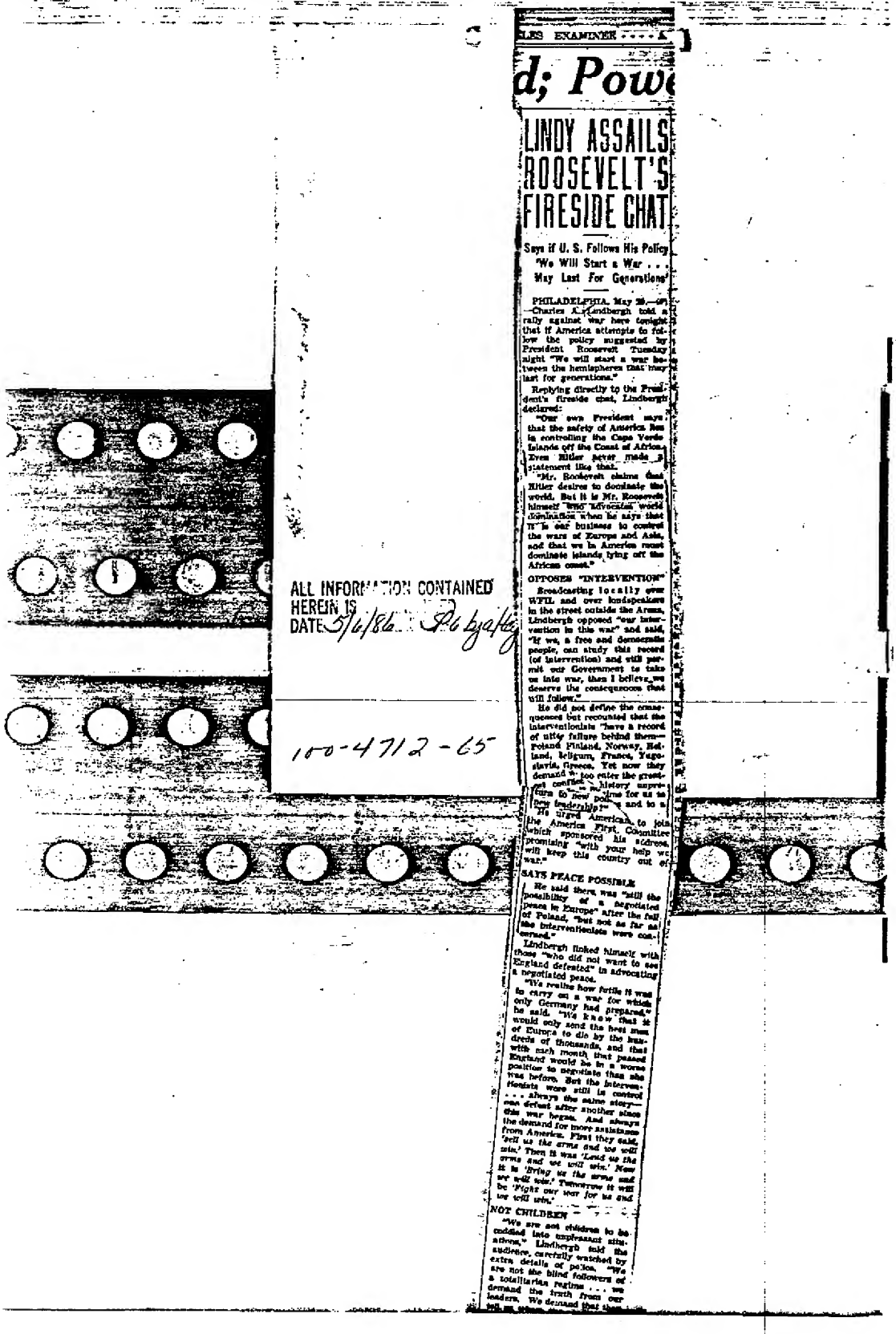

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LES EXAMINER . . . .

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LINDY ASSAILS ROOSEVELT'S FIRESIDE CHAT

Says if U. S. Follows His Policy "We Will Start a War . . . May Last For Generations"

PHILADELPHIA, May 20.—(AP)—Charles A. Lindbergh told a rally against war here tonight that if America attempts to follow the policy suggested by President Roosevelt Tuesday night "We will start a war between the hemispheres that may last for generations."

Replying directly to the President's fireside chat, Lindbergh declared:

"Our own President says that the safety of America lies in controlling the Cape Verde Islands off the Coast of Africa. Even Hitler never made a statement like that.

"Mr. Roosevelt claims that Hitler desires to dominate the world. But it is Mr. Roosevelt himself who advocates world domination when he says that it is our business to control the wars of Europe and Asia, and that we in America must dominate islands lying off the African coast."

OPPOSES "INTERVENTION"

Broadcasting locally over WFIL and over loudspeakers in the street outside the Arena, Lindbergh opposed "our intervention in this war" and said, "If we, a free and democratic people, can study this record (of intervention) and still permit our Government to take us into war, then I believe we deserve the consequences that will follow."

He did not define the consequences but recounted that the interventionists "have a record of utter failure behind them—Poland Finland, Norway, Holland, Belgium, France, Yugoslavia, Greece. Yet now they demand we too enter the greatest conflict . . . history unprecedented . . . time for us to [illegible] new policies and to a new leadership."

He urged Americans to join the America First Committee which sponsored his address, promising "with your help we will keep this country out of war."

SAYS PEACE POSSIBLE

He said there was "still the possibility of a negotiated peace in Europe" after the fall of Poland, "but not as far as the interventionists were concerned."

Lindbergh linked himself with those "who did not want to see England defeated" in advocating a negotiated peace.

"We realize how futile it was to carry on a war for which only Germany had prepared," he said. "We know that it would only send the best men of Europe to die by the hundreds of thousands, and that with each month that passed England would be in a worse position to negotiate than she was before. But the interventionists were still in control . . . always the same story—one defeat after another since this war began. And always the demand for more assistance from America. First they said, 'Sell us the arms and we will win.' Then it was 'Lend us the arms and we will win.' Now it is 'Bring us the arms and we will win.' Tomorrow it will be 'Fight our war for us and we will win.'

NOT CHILDREN

"We are not children to be coddled into unpleasant situations," Lindbergh told the audience, carefully watched by extra details of police. "We are not the blind followers of a totalitarian regime . . . we demand the truth from our leaders. We demand that they

[redacted] 100-4712-65

RECORDED

July 7, 1941

[redacted]
Hollywood, California

Dear [redacted]

Acknowledgement is hereby made of the letter dated June 4, 1941, with enclosure, signed by you and [redacted]

I want to express to you my sincere appreciation for your courtesy and interest in communicating as you did.

You may be assured that the content of your letter has been carefully noted and included in the official files of the Federal Bureau of Investigation for such future reference as may be deemed appropriate.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

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Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED
★ JUL 7 1941 ★
P. M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

[redacted]

June 7, 1941

12396

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ASSISTANT TO THE ATTORNEY GENERAL
MR. MATTHEW F. McGUIRE

There is attached hereto a copy of a memorandum which was forwarded to the Attorney General today, regarding the interest taken by various Axis consular officials in the rally held at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, on May 29, 1941, before which Charles A. Lindbergh was one of the principal speakers.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Enclosure.

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Crayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

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COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED
JUN 13 1941
P.M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

100-4712-65X
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
3 JUN

President Roosevelt,
Washington D.C.

May 30, 1941
Belleville Ill

Dear Mr. President:

May I call your attention to to recent speech of Lindbergh in Philadelphia in which he said, "Is it not time for us to turn to new policy and leadership," and accepted the applause of the audience when someone shouted "Lindy for president." I ask you Mr. President is this freedom of speech or is not plain revolution. You were election by a vote of the people, Mr. Willkie whose view were almost identically with your on foreign policies during the campaign the received practically all the votes that remained of the American people. Now one year after election when the nation is face with a war of life or death, we find a man [redacted] in the name of freedom of speech advocating the throw of our

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versy next. How can anything
else be construed from such
remarks.

Again may I point out that
consistently he has taken Hitler's
side against you. Yet at least
85 percent of the people have sig-
nified their abhorrence of them.
Lindbergh
He constantly ridicules England
and for humanity and self pro-
tection 85 percent of our people
our determined England should
win, let us that she must win
I know you feel the best way
is to let them talk themselves
out, but may I point out that
a sore on one's body may be a
small thing, but let that sore
go with the proper nourishment
that sore can become a cancer,
which permeates the whole body,
and instead of the body destroying,
it destroy the body.

I have found out that after each
of your speeches our country is
electrified, but it is not long

all the Lindberghs, the wheelers and the Chicago Tribune has rocked the people into a hypnotic sleep. These men have no real arguement, but they play on the emotion, on hate and fear, not fear of our common enemy, but fear and hate of you.

This issue should be fought out on the grounds of war or slavery there is no other choice, and on such a issue I know the people will stand behind there government. No one can understand why Lindbergh and others should be permitted to continue their slanderous campaign if the situation is as bad as you say it is, they are only spreading confusion, and confusion always brings on draw backers. I hate war as much as you, but if we are to survive it is all that will saves.

yours till Victory,

[redacted]

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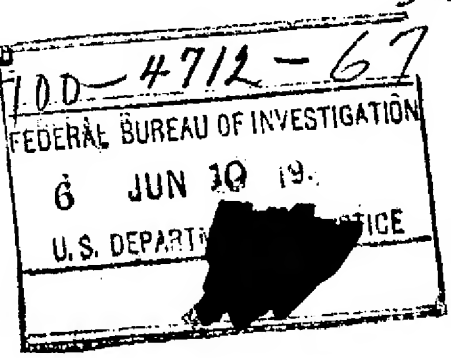

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AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

44 COURT STREET, BROOKLYN, N. Y. ★ BROOKLYN CHAPTER ★ TRiangle 5-56

Gen. Robert E. Wood
National Chairman

NATIONAL COMMITTEE

Dr. A. J. Carlson
William R. Castle
Mrs. Bennett Champ Clark
Irvin S. Cobb
Janet Ayer Fairbank
John T. Flynn
Bishop Wilbur E. Hammaker
Gen. Thomas Hammond
Jay C. Hormel
Gen. Hugh S. Johnson
Clay Judson
Florence P. Kahn
Kathryn Lewis
Alice Roosevelt Longworth
Frank O. Lowden
Hanford MacNider
Thomas N. McCarter
Ray McKaig
Sterling Morton
Kathleen Norris
Amos R. E. Pinchot
William H. Regnery
Edward L. Ryerson, Jr.
Louis J. Taber
Mrs. Burton K. Wheeler
Dr. George H. Whipple
Major Alford J. Williams

John T. Flynn
Executive Chairm
New York Chap

SAVE OUR SONS

KEEP UP THE

Fight Against War

Hear the Following Speakers:

HON. HAMILTON FISH
Congressman of New York

HON. DEWEY SHORT
Congressman of Missouri

HON. JAMES FRANCIS O'CONNOR
Congressman of Montana

JOHN T. FLYNN
Chairman, N. Y. Chapter, America First Committee
Famous Columnist

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DATE 5/16/86 BY SP6 bja/tcy

Monster Anti-War Rally

AT THE

BAY RIDGE HIGH SCHOOL
Fourth Avenue and Senator Street
Brooklyn, N. Y.

Tuesday, June 3rd, 1941 - 8:00 P. M.

Auspices of

BAY RIDGE UNIT — BROOKLYN CHAPTER
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

Make this a Successful Meeting

We can still save our Boys from Death on Foreign Battlefields

B.M.T. Fourth Avenue Ft. Hamilton Subway to Bay Ridge Avenue

(Reprinted from Daily News ... Bride's Battle Page," Monday, May 12
... America First Committee, New York Chapter, Inc.,
515 Madison Ave., New York City)

Wars to End Wars

The Congressional Record lists the following "high-minded, idealistic" wars that have been fought abroad since only the beginning of the last century—

1801 The old German Empire breaks up, and all territory on the left bank of the Rhine is ceded to France.
1802 French aggressions in Holland, Italy and Switzerland.
1805 England declares war on Spain. France fights Austria.
1806 Napoleon enters Berlin.
1807 Napoleon defeats Russia.
1808 Napoleon invades Spain.
1810 France annexes Holland. Turks driven out of Balkans.
1812 War starts between United States and England.
1812 Napoleon declares war on Russia.
1814 France invaded from all sides. Napoleon to Elba. British seize and burn Washington.
1815 Napoleon leaves Elba, is defeated by British and Germans at Waterloo, then sent to St. Helena for life.
1816 Holland annexes Belgium.
1817 British wars in India.
1822 Greeks and Turks at war. Civil war in Spain.
1823 French Army enters Spain.
1824 British battle for Burma.
1825 Russia wars on Turkey.
1826 Russia invades Persia.
1827 Turks driven from Greece.
1828 Russia overruns Romania.
1829 England and Austria intervene against Russia.
1830 Revolution in Poland and France. Belgium revolts from Holland.
1831 Prussia and Austria aid Russia against Poland.
1832 Egypt revolts against Turkey.
1838 French bombard Mexican ports. Debt collection, old style.
1839 Britain wars on China.
1848 Schleswig-Holstein fights Danish annexation.
1849 Danish-Russian War.
1850 Britain blockades Greece. Prussia and Austria war.
1854 France and England war against Russia.
1856 British war on China and Persia.
1864 Germans defeat Danes.
1865 War between several German states. Austria wars on Italy.
1868 Britain invades Abyssinia. Spanish revolution.
1870 Franco-German War.
1871 Alsace-Lorraine goes to Germany. Back to France in 1918, and back to Germany in 1940.
1874 Spanish Civil War.
1876 Balkan wars.
1877 Civil war in Japan. Russia wars on Turks.
1879 British war on Zulus.
1880 Boers and British battle.
1881 France wars on Tunis.
1882 Britain wars on Egypt.
1884 Japan wars on Korea.
1885 Russia wars on Afghanistan.
1887 Balkan wars. Italy wars on Abyssinia.
1894 Japan wars on China.
1895 Belgium seizes Congo State.
1899 Britain wars on Boers.
1900 Boxer wars in China.
1904 Russo-Japanese War.
1910 Japan takes Korea.
1912 Balkan wars.
1914-18 Russia, France, Britain, Italy, United States, Japan, Romania, Serbia, Belgium, Greece, Portugal and Montenegro battle Germany, Austria-Hungary, Turkey and Bulgaria.
1931 Japan seizes Manchukuo.
1934 Italy takes Abyssinia.
1937 Japan develops an "incident" in China. Sino-Japanese war.
1938 Germany takes Austria and Czecho-Slovakia.
1939 Present war starts.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-6-86 BY SP6bjaHay

—and the interventionists now tell us, if we fight just one more war, it will end all their wars!

Do you want to entangle America in another of these wars? The interventionists promised us in 1917 that we were fighting "to end war."

If we fight to "end war" in 1941, in ten or twenty years we may have to fight to "end war" again.

You Can Stop the War-Makers!

Write or wire the President and your Senators and Congressman today: DEMAND THAT THEY KEEP THE PRESIDENT'S SACRED PLEDGES TO KEEP THIS COUNTRY OUT OF WAR.

Get others—your friends, relatives, associates in business—to write or wire now. YOUR LETTERS AND TELEGRAMS WILL BE HEEDED.

You must act now . . . before it is too late. Your own and your children's heritage—your American way of life—may be at stake.

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dfs

[redacted]

b7c

[redacted]

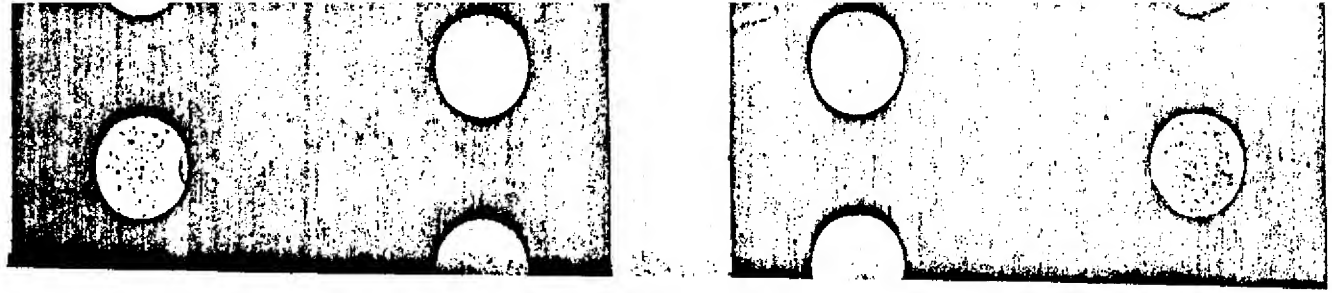
[redacted] b7c

Pittsburgh, Pa.,
[redacted] b7c
June 2, 1941

Hon. John E. Hoover,
Bureau of Investigation
Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

* * * \

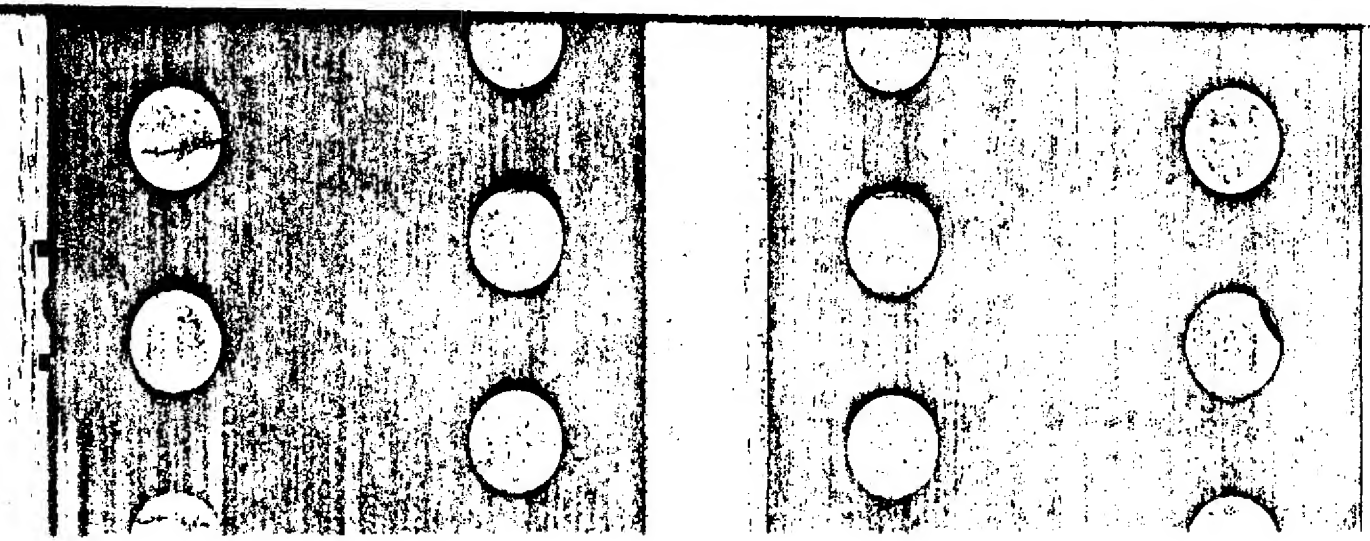


AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
44 COURT STREET
BROOKLYN, N. Y.
152

The President,
Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt,
White House, D. C.

BROOKLYN, N.Y.
MAY 20
12-PM
1941

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-24-78 BY SP2 ALM/MLR



SPEAKERS
Hon. HAMILTON FISH
Congressman of New York
Hon. DEWEY SHORT
Congressman of Missouri
Hon. JAMES F. O'CONNOR
Congressman of Montana
JOHN T. FLYNN
Chairman, N. Y. Chapter
America First Committee
Famous Columnist

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
— BAY RIDGE UNIT —

MONSTER RALLY
TO
Keep the U. S. Out of War

AT BAY RIDGE HIGH SCHOOL
Fourth Ave. and Senator St., Brooklyn, N. Y.
TUESDAY, JUNE 3rd, 1941, AT 8:00 P. M.
• GENERAL ADMISSION •
152
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE, 44 Court Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.

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Hon. HAMILTON FISH
Congressman of New York
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• GENERAL ADMISSION •
152
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE, 44 Court Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.

c
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dfs

[redacted]

excer[illegible]

June 17, 1941

RECORDED 100-4712-67X

[redacted]

Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

Dear [redacted]

Your recent communication has been received and Special Agent [redacted] has advised me of his telephonic conversation with you while in Washington. Although I appreciate your writing as you did and would like to be of assistance in connection with the matter you mention, I do not have any suggestions to offer at this time. As you indicate, it would not be possible for me to come to Pittsburgh for this occasion.

* * * *

DO-6

OFFICE OF DIRECTOR
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Mr. Tolson ✓
Mr. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Harbo
Mge. Room
Tour Room
Mr. Nease
Mr. Tracy
Miss Beahm
Miss Gandy

Record of Telephone Call or Visitor

June 3, 1941

Time 4:55 PM

Name [redacted] of Pittsburgh, Pa., tele from Union Station (ready to leave for Pittsburgh)

Referred to [redacted]

Details: Page

When advised that the Director was not in his office, stated that he would like to get the Director or someone that the Director might suggest to speak at a meeting to be held in the near future in Pittsburgh.

He was transferred to [redacted] who was on Mr. Hendon's desk.

wm

RECORDED
INDEXED

62-4712-67X1
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
8 JUN 7 1941
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

5:12 PM - [redacted] will submit a memorandum of his conversation with [redacted]

TOLSON
BENSON

5:16 PM check of files reveals that [redacted]

The Director declined these invitations.

wm CH-5

b7C

Senate Committee

b7C

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER
DIRECTOR

[redacted]

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

June 4, 1941

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Harbo
Tele. Room
Tour Room
Mr. Nease
Mr. Tracy
Miss Beahm
Miss Gandy

b7c

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. NICHOLS

[redacted] During my absence from the office late yesterday afternoon [redacted] called this Section telephonically by reference from the Director's Office, and talked with Supervisor [redacted]. [redacted] stated that he was at Union Station waiting to take a train to his home in Pittsburgh. He mentioned that he wrote the Director from Pittsburgh on June 2nd requesting a speaker for a mass meeting in Pittsburgh during the latter part of June. It appeared from [redacted] conversation that the meeting in Pittsburgh is a rally in opposition to the America First Committee. He stated that "Wild Bill" Donovan was to be one of the speakers. [redacted] simply furnished the above information and made no request of Supervisor [redacted] The latter informed him that his letter would be called to the Director's attention as soon as it arrived in the Bureau.

The files indicate that a [redacted] an Attorney in Pittsburgh, wrote to the Bureau [redacted] b7c [redacted] appears that this individual is identical with the one who called yesterday.

[redacted] An attempt is being made to locate the letter which wrote to the Bureau on June 2, 1941.

Respectfully,

R. C. Hendon

Routed ... Mail
Searched ... Recorded
Numbered ... Index-ed
Serialized ... Filed

RECORDED

INDEXED

100-4712-67X2
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
1 JUN 7 1941
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

3-28-58
X69

CH-54

Philadelphia, Pa.
June 23, 1941

Honorable Franklin D. Roosevelt,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

I unfortunately was forced to hear Senator Wheeler's PURPORT speech last night, addressed beforethe America First Committee at Hyland Park, and Lindbergh's speech at Philadelphia - both over the radio. Senator Wheeler and Lindbergh both commanded very strongly that the American mothers and fathers should write to you, the Senators, Congressmen, etc. and if necessary to go down to Washington and "storm" the White House with their protests against your taking us into war.

I am therefore writing this note to you begging you or the State Department or the Attorney General of the United States to please find some legal ground to break up this horrible disintegrating movement of this rotten American Frist Committee. It was developed I am sure only with the idea of trying to frustrate you and the Government in every move, but it is not fair to those who are working hard to have such men try to break up the unity of this United States. It shocks an American to hear those rasping voices of Wheeler and Lindbergh say words that are planned to wreck and split this country and that only traitors to their country would dare stand up and make such speeches. According to the papers, these people are growing stronger in numbers, and I therefore implore you, or have someone in Washington, try to break this rotten movement legally - certainly, a Democracy should not permit traitors to go on and on and on causing more disunion, more unrest, and if these men are not traitors, it certainly would seem to a true American that they could choose a different line of attack and work hard for the unity of the country.

Yours respectfully,

[redacted]

b7c

5/6/86 SP6ba/ltg comp# 242359
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DATE 9-30-85 BY SP2 ltg
#241183

P.S.: Please do or have someone do everything that can be done to break this America First Committee for the Safety of this United Sta

RECORDED
INDEXED
100-4712-68
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
7 JUN 20 1941
[redacted] DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
b7c

CONFIDENTIAL

G-2/2801-516 CONFIDENTIAL G-2 JTB

WAR DEPARTMENT
WAR DEPARTMENT GENERAL STAFF
MILITARY INTELLIGENCE DIVISION, G-2
WASHINGTON, D. C.

June 9, 1941

Subject: Letter of transmittal.

To: Lt. Col. J. Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Department of Justice

The attached communications are forwarded for your information and such action as you consider advisable.

SHERMAN MILES,
Brigadier General, U. S. Army,
Acting Assistant Chief of Staff, G-2

6 Enclosures:

G2/245-149 - Copy of Report re Communist Controlled Organizations: dtd 5/9/41

G2/245-149 - Copy of Report re Chrysler Tank Plant: dtd 5/3/41

G2/10104-1382 - Copy of Report re [redacted]

G2/2801-1915 - Copy of MID Summary of Information re [redacted] dtd 6/7/41

G2/2724-549/1 Copy of MID Summary of Info. re [redacted] Diesel Dynamics Corp., 233 Broadway, New York, N. Y.: dtd 5/19/41

G2/ Misc. 742/7 - Copy of Letter to War Dept. from [redacted] re Jehovah Witnesses: dtd 5/20/41

RECORDED
INDEXED

100-4712-69
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
5 JUN 1941
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

fm

Declassified per Army letter dtd 5/24/91 8/23 mch/ltr 8/9/91

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From S to

May 9, 1941

G-245-149

In reference to the leaflet I mailed you from Chicago, which is a second leaflet in the series of which the "Crucifixion of Uncle Sam" is the first: This, too, has been printed by the MARKET PRINTING COMPANY at the request of [redacted] of Chicago. b7c

The Nazis are now attempting a new approach. They have decided to abandon the anti-Semitic angle as being unmarketable here and indigestible on the part of the American people. The naturalized elements of the German American population are being instructed to join the America First Committee, and use that committee as an avenue for anti-British and anti-war propaganda. The so-called "activists", the desperate part of the American Nazis are being ordered to join the Communist organizations, and use this outlet for sabotage and general wrecking activities in the American armament industries. This information substantiates data that I have been getting through Communist contacts, by this I mean that in the new enrollments into the "Workers" schools and other Communist and Communist controlled organizations, there now appears to be an unusually large percentage of individuals with Teutonic names. This was not true until now, as the German elements within the Communist Party were a very small percentage.

[redacted], one of the partners in the Market Printing Company, the company which does all the printing for the German American Bund and the German American National Alliance, etc., stated that various German organizations, which have been doing business with this printing company, have suggested that large paper reserves be set aside, as they anticipate substantially increasing their printing orders. He mentioned particularly one organization that had been lax in meeting its bills. Up until a few days ago this organization had an unpaid balance of $400., which was due a long time ago. Representatives of this association appeared last week, without any solicitation on the part of the Market Printing Co., paid $100. on the balance, and stated that they would meet the rest of it in a few days, and that they expect shortly to place some substantial printing orders. b7c

This situation will be worth while watching, as it will undoubtedly uncover some very interesting situations.

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tribution:
nd C.A.
.D.
.B.I.

Copies:
F.B.I.
Ord.
6th C. A.
O.N.I.
O.U.S.W. (2)

WAT/mt

CONFIDENTIAL

Evaluation	
-of source	-of information
..... Reliable	.....
..... Usually reliable	.....
..... Questionable	.....
..... Unknown	.....
.....	.....

Declassified per Army Letter dtd 5/29/91 8123 Mech Hdqrs 8/9/91

[redacted]

NEW YORK

June 10, 1941

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir:

Why is America confused today? For one thing the United States mail is spreading this confusion throughout the length and breadth of the country.

I am inclosing a sample of this poisonous propaganda and particularly call your attention to the anonymous notations written in lead pencil. This data all arrived in the one envelope just as I am sending it on to you.

It may be find that the F. B. I., as we are told, knows exactly where the subversive individuals are and can at a moment's notice round them all up, however, in the meantime one hundred thirty million people are being slowly poisoned and the F. B. I. may find itself in the position ultimately of locking the barn door after the horse is out.

When are we going to do something about it?

Yours very truly,

[redacted]

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/6/86 BY SP6 bjaftcg

[redacted]

enc.

INDEXED

100-4712-79

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
1 JUN 27 1941
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

ENCL BEHIND FILE
1 ENCL

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED

130

After 5 days, return to

[redacted]

NEW YORK, N. Y.

b7c

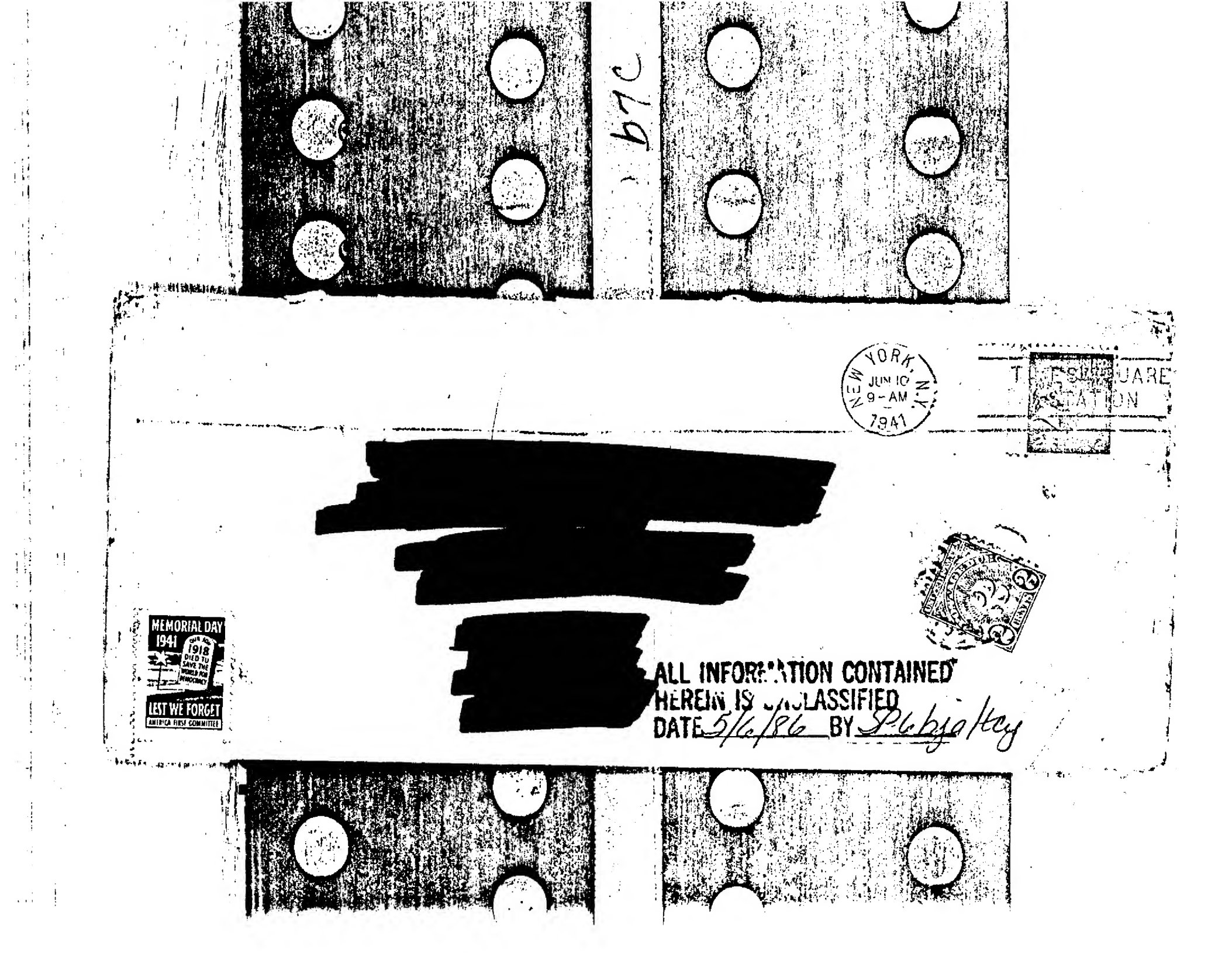
Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Director

Federal Bureau of Investigation

Washington

D. C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCL
DATE 3/16/88 BY SP2 [illegible]


NEW YORK, N.Y.
JUN 10
9 - AM
1941
MEMORIAL DAY
1941
1918
DIED TO SAVE THE WORLD FOR DEMOCRACY
LEST WE FORGET
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/6/86 BY

TO MY HARASSED COUNTRYMEN!

What is your answer to the prominent banker who states we should go to war "if for no other reason than that of good business"?

What is your information of war-aid promises made in your name by your Statesmen? Aid which may transfer the vitally necessary resources of our own country to another.

KEEP U. S. A. OUT OF WAR

IT IS ONLY THE WILL OF PEOPLE FOR PEACE THAT HAS KEPT THE SONS OF OUR BELOVED COUNTRY FROM SHEDDING THEIR BLOOD ON ALL CORNERS OF THE EARTH OR FROM A FATHOMLESS GRAVE IN THE DEEP.

YOUR OPPORTUNITY IN FREEING THE WORLD OF WAR IS UNPRECEDENTED IN HISTORY — IT MAY NEVER BE REPEATED— SEIZE IT BEFORE IT IS TOO LATE!

WRITE TO YOUR CONGRESSMAN AND SENATORS TODAY. (New York Senators are Robert F. Wagner and James M. Mead. Address them at the Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.) ASK THEM TO BAN THE USE OF AMERICAN NAVAL VESSELS FOR CONVOYING SHIPMENTS INTO WAR ZONES. ALSO TELEGRAPH THE PRESIDENT AND SECRETARIES HULL AND KNOX PROTESTING AGAINST THEIR USE AND REMINDING THEM OF CAMPAIGN PLEDGES.

The spread of the war to Africa has no conceivable attribute of democracy—but rather for the spread of Empire. Ask the President and your Congressman to keep the U. S. Fleet in home waters to protect our citizens engaged in peaceful pursuits. But above all write now, today, and every day.

ASK! BEG! COMMAND! your Senators and Congressmen TO KEEP THE U.S.A. OUT OF WAR.

A Million Letters Now May Save Millions of Lives

Peace House, working with religious and peace organizations of long standing, appeals to all young men who are opposed to war from either religious or humanitarian convictions to register as "CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTOR" on their draft questionnaire. After years of ardent work for peace, our Government recognizes this right. It is a matter of interest to observe that after England's many months of war Canada does not have compulsory military service for overseas and has no Lease-Lend Bill but is SELLING armaments in large quantities to her mother country. In England over 50,000 Conscientious Objectors are helping their government in peaceful employment.

IT IS NOT NECESSARY TO BELONG TO A RELIGIOUS SECT OR SOCIETY TO BE A CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTOR ALTHOUGH SOME DRAFT BOARD OFFICIALS ARE STILL APPARENTLY IGNORANT OF THIS PHASE OF THE LAW.

If you are convinced that killing your fellowmen is contrary to the law of GOD and MAN and wish advice and suggestions for filling your draft questionnaire as "Conscientious Objector," write, sending a carefully self-addressed stamped envelope.

Ask your clergy to remember to preach the Ten Commandments of Moses for physical as well as spiritual salvation.

One more word to your representatives—To add Nearby Territory to U. S. A. by peaceful purchase and not imitate the violent methods of the dictators we all decry.

WM. T. SERGEANT CRAM

PEACE HOUSE

Established 1918

110th St. and Fifth Ave., N. Y. City

Open Sunday 2 to 6 P. M.

Inquire About Peace Prizes

Do This Immediately!

If your Congressman is a Democrat, and voted for the "Lend - Lease" Bill (H R 1776) despite the opposition of his constituents, he very likely was prompted by *fear* rather than *choice*.

It was understood that any Democrat *not* voting for this Bill in its entirety was a *marked man!*

Under the present administration Democratic representatives have very little choice in the matter of voting. They are paid by their tax-paying constituents, but are ruled by political bosses.

If we expect the representation for which we pay, we will have to wage war on the political leaders.

Millions of telegrams, letters and cards opposing H R 1776 were received by the representatives, but the House nevertheless passed the Bill because the majority (the Democrats) followed party instructions.

Washington which gives out the jobs and other patronage, tells the lesser leaders how to vote; the State leaders tell the Senators; and the city and district leaders tell the Congressmen. Morgenthau, Sec. of Treasury, is the chief author of this Bill, though he claims it originated in the minds of F. D. R. and Sam Rayburn, speaker of the House. While the Bill was being debated in the House, Rayburn backed recalcitrant Democrats into corners and bullied and browbeat and threatened them to such extent that many of them took refuge in the cloakroom and declined to vote on some of the Republican amendments. *This is the depth to which lawmaking has sunk in the United States!!*

131 million people are *without* representation, and are to have the wills of Roosevelt, Rayburn, and Morgenthau *forced* upon them by gangster tactics!

The American taxpayers pay $10,000 per year to each representative, but if Democratic representatives refuse to do the bidding of Sam Rayburn *who pays no taxes*, they will be denied renomination in favor of those willing to follow party lines.

Write to Sam Rayburn, House Office Bldg., Washington, D. C.

Tell him you know of the tactics he used in getting H R 1776 through the House. Tell him your Congressman is in Washington to represent those who pay his salary, and that you *will not tolerate his being intimidated or coerced!*

Tell Rayburn that *he* represents *only* the 4th Texas Cong. Dist., and to keep his hands off your Congressman's district.

Then call on or write to the leaders of your political party, local, state, and national.

(Their identity may be ascertained at your local or district political headquarters).

Tell them your representatives, — national, state, and municipal, — must at all times vote according to the dictates of the majority of their constituents. Tell each one what you have told the other and tell them you expect results in the form of representation for which you are now paying but are *not* getting. Tell them if your representatives' votes do not reflect the views expressed by their constituents, you will on every possible occasion, vote *against* that party's candidates.

If you are or your Congressman is a Democrat, write to Ed. J. Flynn, Dem. Nat. Headqtrs., Washington, D. C. He is chairman of the National Democrats. To him complain about Sam Rayburn. Tell him he must take Rayburn to task for his gangster methods toward Democratic representatives having decency enough to give heed to their constituents. Tell him as well as Rayburn that you *will not tolerate* any intimidation or coercion of your representatives.

Then write to your two U. S. Senators, your Congressman, and your representatives — at large (if any) in Washington; to your State Senators and Assemblyman in your State Capitol; and your city representatives (City-councilmen or Alderman). Tell them what you told your party-leaders and Sam Rayburn. Tell them they must at all times represent their constituents and that you will keep tabs on happenings in Washington and your State Capitol; and will go after anyone who tries to influence them to betray their constituents.

And then keep your word to ALL of them. ~~Make every effort to defeat H R 1776 in the Senate; but if it is passed there (God forbid)~~ storm the Lower House (Congress) with telegrams, letters, cards and visits ~~when it goes back there for revision.~~

If you take Sam Rayburn and the bosses off the necks of your Democratic congressmen, we have a good chance there of defeating those who would force dictatorship on unwilling Americans.

As long as there is breath left in our bodies, we *must continue this fight!!!*

Did you read of a Mrs. Fischer being forcibly ejected recently from the Senate Building because she disturbed the members? The lying controlled newspapers stated that she was ejected for shouting "Kill the bill and not our sons."

Mrs. Fischer who resides in Milwaukee, Wis. and is a member of the Mothers of America, with which organization she went to Washington to protest against the "Lend-Lease" Gift Bill, was actually *knocked down* and ~~painfully~~ hurt, and then ejected when she shouted "Down with the British flag; up with the Stars and Stripes."

She was not molested until she said that!

•

Jeannette Rankin was the first woman elected to the U. S. Congress. We were fortunate enough to have her returned to Congress in last November's election. In her speech against H R 1776, Mrs. Rankin told the House that only two hours before voting for war in 1917 the Congress was told that if it declared war, none of our boys would be sent over.

Mrs. Rankin recently told a constituent that she asked Roosevelt point blank if the "Lend-Lease" Bill meant war; to which he replied "Well, we've ordered 1,500,000 coffins."

A special income tax of 10 per cent was recently proposed in Washington by the National Economy League, to finance the multi-billion-dollar defense (British) program; the proposed levy to be *collected at the source of income* — which means that before you even get your salary each week this tax will be *taken out of it!*

Who are the members of the National Economy League? Write to your representatives and insist on being told their names.

If this imposition be tolerated, it will mean that 10 *cents of every dollar you earn each week* will be taken from your salary to pay for European and Asiatic wars.

You will have absolutely nothing to say about it unless you speak out *now* and nip this dastardly plot in the bud.

Since the Social Security was so successful in taking tax from our salaries while meeting no resistence or protest from us, the government will now try imposing all sorts of taxes to be collected *at the source of income*, until finally there will be *no* income.

We must all keep both our eyes and ears open in order to prevent such plots from being put over on us.

Stop this one right where it is now!

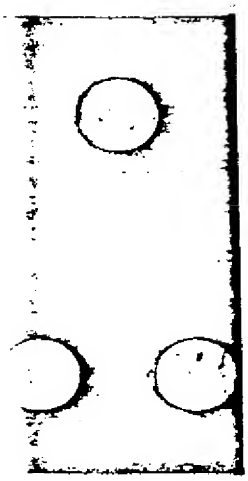
"Forewarned is fore armed."

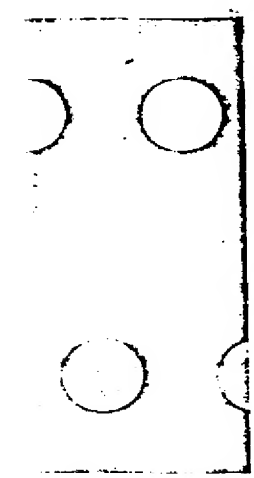
A LETTER TO AMERICANS

by

CHARLES A. LINDBERGH

This powerful article by Col. Charles A. Lindbergh was published recently in a national magazine. It is a stirring appeal to the American people to stop, look and listen as they stand on the threshold of one of the greatest decisions in one of the greatest crises in American history.





I ADDRESS this letter to every man and woman in America who is opposed to our country's entry into the European war. I write because we are being led toward that war with ever-increasing rapidity, and by every conceivable subterfuge. While our leaders have shouted for peace, they have constantly directed us toward war, until even now we are seriously involved.

I write to ask your immediate aid in maintaining the independent American destiny our forefathers established. I write to warn you that the men who entice us on to war have no more idea of how that war can be won than the governments of France and England had when they declared war on Germany. The interventionists call on us to fight, and then their responsibility ends. They offer no feasible plan for victory.

The situation in America today is alarmingly similar to that of France and England in the years prior to this war. There, as here, people let their emotions get the better of their judgment; and they had the same unwillingness to face realities. Both countries had refused to take part in a European readjustment while there was still time to make it peacefully. Both had refused to make the sacrifice that was essential for adequate rearmament. They, too, had cultivated the philosophy that it was necessary to defend someone else in order to defend themselves. How they could defend anyone else if they were unable to defend themselves, they apparently did not consider any more than we are considering today.

Their failure is now obvious, and stands out clearly before us. The imposition of "sanctions" did not save Abyssinia; but it threw Italy *into* the arms of Germany and sowed the seeds for the Axis. The threat of war by England and France did not save Poland; but it forced Germany and Russia into an alliance and precipitated a disastrous war. Adjustments that should have been made in peace and moderation were finally brought by war and resulted in immoderation. The failure to face realities in peace brought the curse of war on Europe. The failure to face the realities of war brought defeat to France and devastation to England.

When the last war ended, the victorious Allies had two courses open to them. They could either have assisted Germany back onto her feet as a self-respecting nation, or they could have kept her in a weakened condition by the use of military *force*. But they followed neither of these policies. England and France wavered back and forth between the two, while the United States withdrew her armies and her politics to the Western Hemisphere -avowedly forever.

During the years immediately succeeding the last war, Germany was held down with an iron heel. The terms of Versailles were the terms of a military victory, and when Germany defaulted on her payment of reparations, French troops occupied the Ruhr. But during the following two decades, England decided to disarm, while France allowed the equipment of her army to become obsolete for modern warfare. Then Germany broke the terms of Versailles, rearmed and marched her troops back into the Rhineland. When this happened, a few men in France and England, with greater vision than the rest, cried out that Germany must be stopped then, or that it would be forever too late. Their statements were met with popular indifference.

During the most active years of German rearmament, France and England exerted relatively little effort to compete. It seemed impossible for them to realize what was taking place in Central Europe. But later, after Germany had trained her armies, built her air force and constructed the Siegfried Line, the demand grew in France and England for military action -- a demand which culminated in the declaration of war of 1939, and which has already caused the defeat of France and the devastation of England. While there was still time to fight, populace and politician refused to let the armies move. When the time to fight had passed, the armies were forced into a hopeless battle.

I sat in England, one afternoon in 1938, listening to the man who had charge of co-ordinating defense for the British government. I had pleaded with him to take additional steps to safeguard the British position in aviation. I had told him that if this were not done Germany would soon become as supreme in the air as England was at sea. He listened courteously, and then replied that if the wars in Spain and China had demonstrated one thing, it was that the danger of air bombardment, and the damage which could be inflicted by bombing planes, had been grossly exaggerated. He said that the British aviation program was being "adequately expanded."

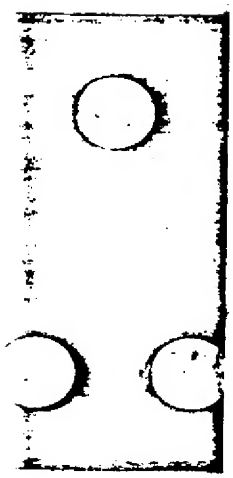
A few months later, at the time of the Munich crisis, I went to see one of the foremost leaders of England. I went at the request of other English leaders, to tell him my belief that the strength of German aviation was under-estimated in England, and that the strength of Russian aviation was almost as much overestimated. He did not agree with me, although he admitted that the situation was serious. While I was there, however, he showed me an official report concerning British antiaircraft units. The report stated that not enough antiaircraft guns existed in all England to form an adequate defense for the city of London alone. Yet that man at that moment, was advocating war.

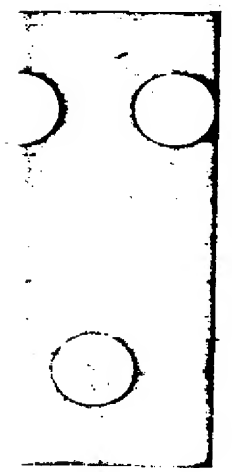
At the time of Munich, the Royal Air Force had only a few squadrons of modern fighters and bombers. The majority of their planes were obsolete. And all of them put together totaled a fraction of the German air force. The condition of French aviation was even more deplorable. There was not a single squadron in France equipped with modern pursuit planes, and the French government was *looking forward* to the time when its aircraft production would reach a total of 200 fighting planes per month.

When I returned to Paris after a flight to Russia, in the fall of 1938, I met, at his request, one of the members of the French cabinet. I gave him my estimate of the Russian and German air forces, telling him of the tremendous expansion of military aviation that had taken place in Germany and that Russian aviation had been unable to keep pace. He replied that my estimates confirmed the worst fears of the French and corresponded to the reports of an air mission they had recently sent to Germany. I found that aviation circles in France, at that time, freely admitted that Germany would take supremacy of the air almost as soon as a war started.

From the standpoint of logic, the aviation situation in Europe was in itself sufficient reason to prevent a declaration of war by France and England in 1939. But when one looked farther, he found that the same conditions existed in relation to the ground armies of Europe. Even the civilian population of Germany had been trained and prepared for war, while the people in France and England were not.

One of the striking differences between France and England, during the month immediately preceding this war, lay in the fact that France was alert to her danger but disorganized; while England was organized but only half awake. In France, internal conditions were so bad that I often wondered whether war or revolution would break upon the country first. In England there was no danger of revolution, but the people of that nation had never adjusted themselves to the tempo of this modern era. Their minds were still attuned to the speed of sail rather than to that of aircraft. The way of life in England was ideal for time of peace, but fatal for a modern war. Germany, on the other hand, one found a nation that had risen from the prostration of a previous defeat--a nation less tolerant





less satisfied than its neighbors; a nation fully trained for war, and nurtured on the philosophy that right is inseparable from might.

The true facts of the European situation had been hidden from the people of England and France. They were not adequately informed either of Germany's strength or of their own weakness. Politicians and idealists harangued them about stopping aggression, about defending freedom and democracy, about maintaining their way of life, but the realities of modern warfare — the elements that spell failure or success — were seldom discussed. The orators shouted: "We must stop Hitler." The newspapers echoed: "Down with the Nazi regime." The people of France and England resigned themselves to the inevitability of war. But not a single man told how to break the Siegfried Line.

I can best illustrate the attitude in the democracies of Europe by telling you of a conversation I had one evening with a French businessman on the outskirts of Paris. He had been talking for nearly an hour about the inevitability of war, and why German aggression must be stopped. He advocated a declaration of war by France.

"What would your first move be?" I asked him.

"We must fight the Germans," he replied.

"But how?" I asked him. "Do you think the French army can break the Siegfried Line?"

He looked startled, then sank back into his chair. "Oh, I don't know about that," he answered. "That's up to the military men."

A week or two later, I was having lunch with one of those military men—a general in the French army. I asked him if he felt that the Siegfried Line could be broken.

"No," he replied, "I don't think so." And then added: "But if it could, the cost would be too high."

"What's the answer then?" I asked, for the war drums were beating loudly.

He shrugged his shoulders. "If only they had let us attack when we wanted to," he said. "When we could have won, the people would not fight. And now, when we cannot win, they want war."

France waited until it was too late. England waited until it was too late. We in America have waited until it is too late; and yet we step closer and closer to the war, as though hypnotized by its bombing and its fury. Like France and England in 1939, we are unprepared today. We have not as many thoroughly modern fighting planes in our Army and Navy combined as Germany produces in a single week; and our Army is deplorably lacking in such essential items as tanks and antitank cannon. We have not made the sacrifice necessary for adequate rearmament. We, too, have cultivated the philosophy that it is essential to defend someone else in order to defend ourselves. *Our* politicians and idealists harangue *us* about defending freedom and democracy, and our way of life. *They* are now shouting, "We must stop Hitler." *Our* newspapers echo "Down with the Nazi regime." But not one feasible plan has been offered us for an invasion of the continent of Europe. With the disaster of France and England fresh before us, we are following the selfsame path.

We, in America, are being led to war by a group of interventionists, and foreign interests, against the will of a majority of our people. Every poll of public opinion has shown that from 80 per cent to 95 per cent of Americans are opposed to entering this war. Both the Republican and Democratic parties were forced to incorporate antiwar planks in their platforms. Both presidential candidates were compelled to take a stand against our intervention. Yet today, although no one has made an attempt to attack us, we already have one foot in the war. We have even now entangled "our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalship, interest, humor and caprice."

What has happened to us? How was this condition brought about? The procedure has not been dissimilar to that which took us into the last war. When hostilities in Europe began, it was fully realized by the foreign interests and interventionists in this country that the great majority of Americans stood firmly opposed to entering the conflict. These interventionists knew that it was useless for them to advocate openly a declaration of war by America. They therefore adopted a more subtle plan. They believed that while the people of the United States would not agree to a declaration of war, we could be beguiled into supporting steps that would inevitably lead to war. Consequently, instead of advocating war, they advocated steps which they called "short of war"—steps which have already entangled us, and which will leave us no alternative to war if we continue to take them. The policy of the interventionists has been, from the beginning, to support every movement that would lead us in the direction of war, and to oppose every movement that would not—always under their mask of "aid short of war." I have listened more than once to interventionists in America discuss the question of what steps "short of war" would take us into war most quickly.

To be specific, soon after war was declared in Europe, the interventionists advocated, and obtained, the revision of our Neutrality Act. They persuaded us that we could sell arms on a "cash and carry" basis without becoming involved in the war ourselves. They were emphatic in saying that no one asked us to lend money, or to send troops abroad. Their next step "short of war" was the demand that aircraft, cannon, destroyers and other munitions be taken from the American Army, Navy and Air Corps, and transferred to the French and British forces in Europe. In this, too, we acquiesced. Then we began to hear it whispered that we were already too far in the war to back out -whispered by the very people who had advocated the steps "short of war" which involved us. Now we are told that we have not done enough; that there must be no limit to our assistance; that we must be the "arsenal of democracy" for the entire world, lending, leasing or giving all the resources of our nation, if necessary, to the cause of the British empire. (And here it is interesting to note that the cause of the British empire does not prevent us, as the "arsenal of democracy," from supplying arms to Russia, though she be both an aggressor nation and a totalitarian state.) The advocates of intervention are beginning to forget the qualifying phrase "short of war." The more daring among them are openly discussing an American Expeditionary Force for Europe.

Along with steps "short of war" has gone a supporting campaign of propaganda. Our country has been full of it for many months—a propaganda as subtle, insidious and effective to date as that which led us into the last war. Before we entered war in 1917 we were told, as we are being told today, that American troops would not be needed. Then, after we declared war, we were asked for a "token" division to fight in Europe. But we ended up with more than 2,000,000 soldiers overseas, and a war debt that has not yet been paid.

British propaganda in the United States attempts to persuade us that Great Britain will win the war, provided she receives somewhat more help than we have up to this moment, given her. Coupled with this has been a campaign to convince us that a British victory is essential to American security. It is taken for granted that we would not be willing to take part in a war which we felt would be unsuccessful. Consequently, news releases from London minimize all German successes and exaggerate all British successes. They avoid any discussion of war aims, peace terms or how England can win now that Germany has defeated France and controls the continent of Europe. This is simply the ABC of wartime propaganda. It is carried on by both sides in a war. I am discussing British propaganda because it is that to which we have been subjected and therein lies the danger of our involvement. There is certainly no danger of our fighting on Germany's side, and her propaganda in America has been relatively ineffective.

To be specific again, you will remember that even before hostilities commenced, factual statements concerning the growing military strength of Germany were bitterly attacked by the pro-British press. Those of us who saw the growth of the German air force were severely assailed because of the reports we made describing it, although these reports now turn out to have been almost unforgivably conservative. Then, you recall that when the Germans invaded Austria, it was claimed by the propagandists that their mechanized divisions broke down; that the workmanship on their tanks, trucks, engines, etc., was too inferior to operate successfully in a major war. German aircraft were said to be weakly constructed; there was a shortage of pilots, raw materials and fuel. We were told that Germany did not have sufficient food to wage a war. And in addition to all this, internal conditions were said to be so bad that the German people would start a revolution rather than fight again.

If you question the accuracy of my statement that we have been misinformed through propaganda, I ask you to glance through our daily newspapers since the war began. If you are pressed for time, take any one of the major campaigns—Poland, Finland, Norway, Holland, Belgium and France. You will find that we, in America, were misinformed about these campaigns until the actual military position made it impossible to hide the facts any longer. Do you remember when we were informed over the radio that the French army had penetrated the Siegfried Line in five different places? Do you recall the headlines of battles raging on the western front during the winter of 1939-40 — battles we now know were never fought? Were we told how desperate the Finnish position was before the final break-through of the Russian army? Do you remember how, after reading day after day of Allied successes in Norway, and how Germany had put her neck in a noose, we were startled by the announcement that the Allies were evacuating all of their forces? Who was it said the Maginot Line was impregnable; that bombing planes were no match for the British navy; that England had the submarine menace well in hand, and had already "won the battle of the air?"

The propagandists who made these claims do not bother to explain them. They know that people forget quickly, and they are too busy leading us along with new fallacies. They must confuse America's desire to aid England with our desire to stay out of the war. They must convince our people that England is winning the war in Europe, even though she has lost every major engagement in which she participated — that all she needs is more help than we have, up to that moment, given her; and that if we *should* get into the war, it would not be necessary to send troops. They must build up the element of fear in America. They must persuade us that if England

AMERICAN WOMEN AGAINST COMMUNISM, Inc.
52 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York, N. Y.

~~WOMEN'S NEUTRALITY LEAGUE~~
~~Meets Sunday afternoons at 232 East 42nd Street,~~
New York, N. Y.

~~By~~ joining one of these groups you will learn much of ~~a startling nature.~~

Join or form a group in your congressional district to canvass the voters and prospective voters for their views of the "Lend-Lease" Bill. Try to persuade them to sign a list stating whether they disapprove of the Bill; — approve of it; — or decline to say.

If a majority disapprove of it, those of your group who can, should take the three lists to Washington, D. C., *insist* (and *firmly* insist) on an audience with your Congressmen and your two U. S. Senators, and your Representatives-at-large (if any). Submit to them a duplicate list (retain the original in case of dispute) and tell them they are expected to vote on the "Lend-Lease" Bill according to the views expressed by the Majority of their constituents and *not* to suit the party.

American voters must take definite, determined, and *SWIFT* action if they expect to retain their liberties.

The "Lend-Lease" dictatorship Bill ~~is now being de-~~ ~~ciled~~. It must be defeated in its entirety!

Under date of February 6, 1941, the N. Y. "Journal and American" published a statement by England's former Financial Secretary of Treasury, Pethwick Lawrence (Laborite) that the cash and carry principal had been a drain on Britain's resources (it's *their War*, isn't it?) and eppressed the hope that the "Lend-Lease" Bill ~~now under debate in Washington~~ would be enacted into law.

Chancellor of the Exchequor Sir Kingsley Wood disclosed that Britain's war effort now is costing 10,500,000 pounds (forty-two million dollars) *per day!*

"If the measure they are now debating in the United States is carried into law as we have every reason to believe it will, it will for a time, *relieve us of our immediate concern in paying for the supplies*" Lawrence said.

(Who gave them reason to believe the law will pass Harry Hopkins? Wendell Willkie?)

He said that the expenditures for the current fisca year were likely to reach 3,300,000,000 pounds (thirtee billion, two hundred million dollars).

This is what Roosevelt is asking Congress to take ou of the salaries of the American wage-earners!

The property (residence) on the N. W. corner of 5t Avenue and 51st Street occupied by Mrs. Cornelius Van derbilt, is owned by the English Astors.

The property on the N. E. corner of Broadway an 43rd Street is owned by the Duke of Roxbourgh.

61 per cent of the stock of the American Telephon and Telegraph Co. is owned by Britons.

These are just a *very few* of the New York holding of Britons and there are *many* such holdings throughou America.

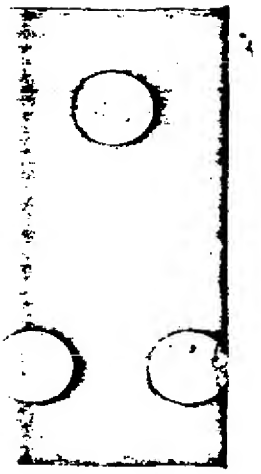
Let the English sell these holdings and pay for anothe day's war as long as they like it, instead of asking that i be paid by $15.00 per week toiling Americans, who don' own a shack in a back alley let alone a 5th Ave. Mansion

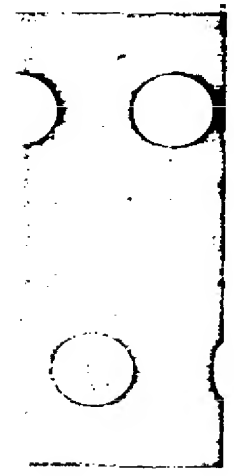
Fred McKee, who is treasurer of the pro-war Willian Allen White (Defend America By Helping The Allies Committee, is also treasurer of the National Casket Co with offices at 2216 Oliver Bldg., Pittsburgh, Pa.

On page 20,716 of the Congressional Record date October 24, 1940, it is revealed that the *U. S. Army* recently made a survey of all casket Manufacturing Companies.

Help the National Casket Company by helping the Allies.

Write to Women Investors *in* America, Inc., 535 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y. for a reproduction of the new and *mutilated* official heading of the Congressional Record. The cost, including mailing, is about five cents.





If this bill is passed, it will mean the end of liberty in America.

Morgenthau, Secretary of the Treasury (who in reality is also Secretary of War and Secretary of the Navy) has a bill to be introduced whereby we will be forced to buy bonds to finance the present European war — a war to end all laws and to end America as a republic. The money to pay for these bonds will be taken from our salaries each week, as unemployment insurance is now taken; his bill will also force us to "save" by putting into a bank for the government's use, that part of our salaries *not* absolutely necessary for payment of the current week's expenses. *We* will *not* be permitted to judge the necessary amount. The government will *tell* us what is necessary.

As Roosevelt has said that he intends to make America "democracy's" arsenal, there will be no chance of our ever getting this money back; it will be burned up in powder and bullets just as fast as we earn it.

England and France declared war on Germany, they having had a treaty pledging defense of Poland in event of her being attacked. And because *they — two foreign nations* — made this treaty, we American wage-earners are to have our hard-earned dollars forced from us to underwrite the wars of *any country* dictator Roosevelt decides we must pay for.

And why do you suppose the idle rich favor this Bill? (aside from the fact of their investments in war-materials). It is because the money to finance "democracy's" arsenal will *not* be taken out of their salaries, inasmuch as they do *not* have to work for salary. In other words, they know that it will be we who must work for our daily bread who will pay for Europe's wars, while they ~~who~~ do-no work but reap the harvest.

And all who are working for this disgraceful sovietizing of the American Republic are not *admitted* New Dealers. Senate Republican leader McNary, (ex-Vice-Presidential candidate); Sen. Robert Taft, and Congr. Joe Martin, all three popularly supposed to be Republicans, are working hand-in-glove with the New Dealers to have the Bill *amended* rather than opposed.

If you are a Republican get after these three, hammer and tongs. Demand that they get out of the Republican party and join up with Earl Browder, where they belong.

Reprinted from Brooklyn, N. Y. "Tablet" Feb 2, 1941

SHORT OF THE GRAVE

During the last political campaign General Johnson in speaking of the war-mindedness of the Administration asserted a large order had already been placed for coffins. Major Ginsberg in reply stated coffins had been ordered but they were for men who died in peaceful pursuits, like falling under trucks.

The "World Telegram" of Wednesday on page one carried a prominent article headed "Army Orders 4,500,000 Special Tags for Identifying War Dead and Wounded." The article then detailed how the William C. Ballantyne Co., of Washington, secured the huge contract, which represents a figure larger than every person now in the service.

We do not know whether the tags are being ordered for fellows who fall off trucks and cannot be identified but we do know that this contract makes the "short of war" statements look pretty sad. If the ordering of 4,500,000 tags comes under the heading of preparedness or defense, we are certainly going at it in a large way.

Are you of the belief that because you are a conscientious objector, or have dependants, or consider yourself exempt from military duty for any other reason, this will not affect you? If so, you had better arouse yourself from that sweet dream and face the ugly facts.

The passage of the dictatorship "Lend-Lease" Bill will abrogate *all the laws ever made* in the United States of America!! Which, of course, will include the clause in Julius Ochs Adler's "Burke-Wadsworth" Bill providing for exemptions from military service.

Our country will then be ruled by *one person*, t person being F. D. Roosevelt, and only they who find fa in the eyes of the great dictator shall be exempt from being ploughed under. So, if you don't relish having one of the waiting coffins and already—printed identification—tags reserved for you or one of your loved ones, start immediate action to defeat this vicious un-American, unconstitutional Bill.

Jos. Kennedy, former Ambassador to England, states that the English people are asking "What are we fighting for?" The *people* of England don't know what the war is for, but the British *Government* insists on the war's continuation.

Senators Wheeler and Nye have a resolution asking the war aims of the belligerents. *Insist* to your Representatives that this resolution be passed before any further assistance be given anyone.

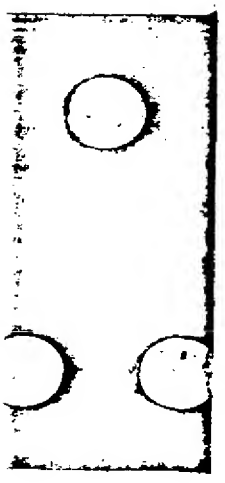
These are a few of the patriotic groups fighting to preserve our traditional American form of government. ~~They deserve your support and co-operation.~~

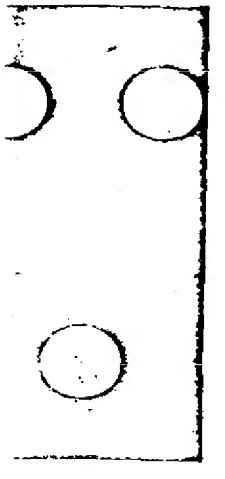
NO FOREIGN WAR'S COMMITTEE
100 East 42nd Str[illegible], New York, N. Y.

ANTI-WAR CRUSADE
Directed by Dr. Lodge Curran,
Pres. Cath. Educational League,
407 Bergen Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.

~~PAUL REVERE SENTINELS, Inc.~~
~~232 East 42nd Street, New York, N. Y.~~

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
49 E. 53rd Street, New York, N. Y.





loses, we are not strong enough to defend ourselves; that we may be invaded by aircraft from the Greenland ice cap, or even by transatlantic parachute troops descending on our city streets. They have already led us far along the road to war—the same road that we traveled in 1917; then too at their behest.

But there is one all-important difference between the European war when we entered it in 1917, and the European war today. It is this difference which must be brought to the attention of every American, for the entire future of our nation hangs upon it. It is, that when we entered the last war we could see how victory could be won, but today we cannot. In 1917, the Central Powers were fighting France and Great Britain *in the west, Russia in the east, and* Italy in the south. The German armies had already suffered severe reverses. Even Japan had entered the war on the Allied side.

In 1941, however, we face an entirely different situation. Germany has conquered France. She has an alliance with Italy, Rusia and Japan — three hundred million people. Her armies control the coast of Europe from Spain to the Arctic Ocean. British shipping losses are already of the utmost seriousness, and the major ports and industrial centers of England have been heavily bombed.

The fact is that *America is not in a position* to wage a successful war in Europe under present conditions. We, ourselves, are not prepared, and even if we were, where would we send our soldiers to fight? How are we to force a landing on the European continent against the prepared positions of the strongest military power in the world? If the British, French and Belgian armies combined could not hold the fortifications they had spent years in building along the German border, how can we be expected to cross the Atlantic Ocean and invade the continent of Europe against the opposition *of the same army, navy and air force* that thrust the British fleet from the coast of Norway, and broke the Maginot Line?

The people who shouted for England and France to declare war in 1939 called for suicide and defeat. Because of their hysteria and blindness, the bravest men of France and England marched to disaster and to death. While the intellectuals of Europe preached of Christianity, democracy and idealism, they threw a wave of human flesh against a fortified concrete line — without adequate guns, or tanks, or aircraft even for defense, to say nothing of attack.

Has this attitude of life succeeded? Has it gained freedom for France or security for England? Has it stamped out aggression or heightened civilization? Has democracy gained or has it lost through such leadership? These are questions that we in America must answer. With failure in Europe before our eyes, shall we follow this same course? Shall we throw ourselves into war in a fervor of idealism, shouting about how we think the world *should* be run? Or shall we discuss calmly how our objectives can be accomplished, and *adequately* prepare ourselves to reach them?

Personally, I believe that by *our* withdrawal from Europe after the last war, and our failure to prepare for this one many years ago, we are already committed to a policy of military "isolation." I believe that if we abandon this policy at the present time, we are courting national disaster, just as France and England courted disaster when they, unprepared, declared war over the German invasion of Poland. A nation cannot change overnight from an attitude of peace to an attitude of war. It takes many years of planning and preparation before great military strength can be attained. I believe it is not any longer a question of what we *wish* to do in this war, but rather one of what we *can* do. I believe that for us to enter the conflict in Europe at this time would result in defeat and humiliation. If we are to enter such a conflict successfully, then we must prepare for it not for one year or for two, but for ten years or for twenty as Germany has done.

On the other hand, I believe that we can build a military and commercial position on this continent that is impregnable to attack, and which will force other nations to trade with us, if through expediency alone. Even if America intended eventually to dominate the entire world, as some people now seem to want us to do, I would say that our first step should be to consolidate our defenses at home, so that we could prepare ourselves in safety for our adventures beyond the seas.

Every difficulty we would have in invading Europe would be an advantage for us in defending America. Our armies would be fighting on home soil, our Navy would be close to its bases, our air force could strike with its utmost effect. It would be the enemy's problem, not ours, to cross the ocean with millions of troops and their supplies, to pass by our submarines, our battleships, and our bombing planes, and to force a landing on American shores against the guns of our coast artillery and our Army.

When England could not hold the coast of Norway against the German air force; when the British navy dared not remain in the Skagerrak, or even permanently in the North Sea; when the German military machine, after crashing through the Maginot Line and routing the French army and the British expeditionary force, has been held up for nine months by twenty-five miles of English Channel—how is any navy to approach the shores of America and land an invading army against the combined resistance of our military forces?

There has been much discussion of an air *invasion of America. This is partially due* to propaganda, partially to hysteria and partially, I believe, to a misconception of the so-called "air invasions" of Norway and Holland by the German air force. Personally, although I think the effectiveness of military aviation is still underestimated, I do not believe there is the slightest danger of a purely air invasion of America now, or at any time we can now foresee. To begin with, the distance across the oceans is far too great to permit the air transport of armies large enough to invade us successfully, even if one assumes that they had *a place to land unopposed* by our own military forces. But, aside from the question of distance, we should be reassured by the fact that there has never been a successful invasion by air alone. The outstanding examples of the use of aviation for invasion of enemy territory occurred during the German occupations of Norway and Holland. But in each of these instances, the landing of troops by air was carried on simultaneously with the movement of ground and naval forces on a major scale. The maximum number of troops that could have been transported and supplied by air would have been ineffective without the immediate support of a ground army. If air invasion alone could be successful, it would have been used by the Germans against England many months ago.

But what about the northern routes, cry the alarmists; won't we be invaded by way of Greenland and Alaska, where the distances between land are short? Possibly the best answer to this question is in the form of another: Why, if these northern routes are so advantageous, do you suppose the commercial airlines to Europe and Asia prefer the great overwater distances farther south? The answer is that ice and fog and bitter cold still force men southward in their quests of commerce and of war. Except in adventure and exploration, men follow the routes which offer the greatest safety and require the least effort — and these are not in the north.

Of all the transatlantic air routes, the simplest to fly is the one that lies between Africa and South America. This fact is being used today in much of the war propaganda we hear. German airplanes, we are told, will fly to Africa by the thousands, hop across the ocean to South America, refuel and fly up and invade the United States.

Leaving aside the problems that would have to be solved in Europe and Africa before thousands of German airplanes could take off on such a venture, let us consider what preparations would have to be made for their arrival in South America—in Brazil, to be specific. There would have to be dozens of previously prepared airdromes, equipped with tanks and fuel and crews of skilled mechanics. All of the men and supplies required would have to be transported by sea. In fact many ocean transports and tens of thousands of workmen would have to be busy for months before the necessary landing facilities could be arranged. So that when anyone speaks of an air invasion via Africa and South America, he presupposes that Germany has won the war in Europe; that the countries she has conquered are either so well satisfied or so completely subdued that she is able to devote her attention to an interhemispherical struggle (with Asia always at her back door); that she has Africa also well in hand; and finally that she has, in opposition to the armed forces of Brazil backed by our own Army, Navy and Air Corps, been able to construct and supply the necessary airdromes in eastern South America.

After that, of course, it is still farther from eastern Brazil to the continent of North America than it was from Germany originally, so other groups of air bases would have to be established, farther north, before enemy planes based in South America would have any advantage over enemy planes based on their home airports in Europe. And since there are no railroads through that portion of South America, these bases too would have to be established by sea.

No, the more one studies the problem, the more obvious it becomes that an air invasion of America is entirely out of the question. Invading forces would have to come by sea, and if they made such an attempt, it would be our American aviation that flew out to meet them and did the raiding.

Of all the nations in the world, we hold the most impregnable position of defense. We have highly developed industries, great national resources and a population of one hundred and thirty million people upon which to draw. There is not a nation in this hemisphere strong enough even to consider attacking us. We are flanked by the Atlantic Ocean on the east, and the Pacific on the west. In the north, we are protected by the wastelands of the Arctic. Where in all history, has a nation been similarly blessed? Then why *in our maturity any* more than in our youth, "Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalship, interest, humor or caprice?"

It is often asked today why our rearmament program moves so slowly, why our people are so divided and confused. Why, indeed! The answer is clear. It is because we have neglected the wisdom and experience of our forefathers, we have not followed Washington's advice. We have let the destiny of America become confused and *entangled with that of foreign lands. Our* leaders have attempted to transfer loyalty for our own country to loyalty for a "part of Europe." One portion of our people has

attempted to force its ideas about Europe upon another portion of our people—to inject into our midst today the very quarrels of the Old World that our forefathers left behind.

We, in America, should not be discussing whether we will enter the war that England declared in Europe. We should not be wasting our time arguing about whether it is cheaper to defend someone else than to defend ourselves. We should not be conscripting our youth for a foreign war they do not wish to fight. We should all be marching together toward one clear and commonly accepted goal—the independent destiny of America. If we desire unity and strength among our people, we must turn our eyes back from these everlasting wars of Europe—back to our own country, to the clear horizons of a great American future. Let us learn from the errors made by the democracies abroad, and not repeat them. Let us give thanks to the generations of Americans before us who won and maintained the independence of our nation against far greater dangers than we face today. Let us dedicate ourselves to guarding this [illegible] that we may pass it on to the future in even greater security than we received it from the past. It is by building our own strength and character at home — not by crusading abroad — that we can contribute most to civilization throughout the world.

If you believe that we should not enter this war, your help is needed vitally by those of us who stand against our intervention. The policy of our nation is still influenced by the desires of its people. You can help us by organizing mass meetings against our entry into the war. You can help by attending such mass meetings. You can help by writing to your congressmen, to your senator and to your local newspaper, telling them of your views. Such letters have more influence than most people realize. But if you stand with us against war, you must act now or it will be forever too late. It is not enough to write once. Write every time an issue arises—several letters each week until this crisis has passed. Demand of your representatives that they oppose our entry into the war and be on guard against these steps that will inevitably lead us to it. It is worth all the effort we can give. Our future, our children's future, our country's future, all that we hold worth while is in the balance.

I have one last request, and then this letter is ended. Before you make your final decision, reason through for yourself what war would mean to this country. Demand a practical plan from those who preach of defending democracy throughout the world. Ask them to explain how we are to invade successfully the continent of Europe—how we are to impose our ideology on the peoples of Germany, Russia, Italy and Japan combined against us. Insist on an answer that is clear — couched in terms of soldiers killed and years of war. Stop them from telling you what *should be done*, and make them demonstrate to you what we have the *ability to do*. Ask them to define our war aims: our plan of defense and of attack. And if someone says that such questions must be left to "experts," ask them: To what experts? To the same experts who, for the last twenty years, led France to defeat and England to ruin? To the same experts who have created the greatest national debt in American history, and still left us a nation unprepared in the midst of a world at war? To the same experts who failed either to maintain peace or to prepare for war? No, such leadership will never make us a strong and victorious nation. It will not carry us successfully through these periods of war and crises. If our American ideals are to survive, it will not be through the narcotic of a foreign war, but through a reawakening of the spirit that brought this nation into existence. It will be only if you, and I, and people like us, take the reins in hand once more, as our forefathers have done in times of crisis.

The future of America, of our way of life and of western civilization itself lies not so much in the outcome of these wars abroad as in the action that *we* take *now* here in our own country. In this action, your help is urgently and immediately needed.

If every man and woman in America would read this article by Col. Charles A. Lindbergh, there would be no further effort to put the United States into the European War.

READ IT YOURSELF —
GIVE IT TO A FRIEND TO READ —
GET MORE COPIES AND DISTRIBUTE THEM AMONG FRIENDS AND ACQUAINTANCES.

Additional copies may be procured from the
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
at cost of printing and handling:

5	copies for	10¢	
30	" "	50¢	
75	" "	$1.00	
400	" "	$5.00	
1,000	copies for	$ 10.00	
5,000	" "	$ 35.00	
10,000	" "	$ 60.00	
20,000	" "	$110.00	

We urge you to order as many copies as you can afford and to distribute them to your friends, neighbors, clubs, organizations, fellow workers, etc. Send stamps, cash or check to America First Committee, 515 Madison Avenue, New York City.

[redacted]

b7C

June 18, 1941

RECORDED 100-4712-70

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 5/16/82 BY SP6 bjg/kg

[redacted]

New York, New York

Dear [redacted]

I wish to acknowledge receipt of your communication dated June 10, 1941, with enclosures, and to express my sincere appreciation for your courtesy and interest in making this material available to me.

You may be assured that the content of the enclosure has been carefully noted and that it will be afforded appropriate consideration.

I want you to know that the FBI is exerting every effort under the espionage, sabotage and related statutes to protect the internal security of our country.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

. Tolson
. C. A. Tamm
. Glavin
. Foxworth
. Ladd
. Nichols
. Rosen
. Carson
. Quinn Tamm
. Mendon
. Tracy
. Gandy

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED
★ JUN 18 1941 ★
P. M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

CH-20

ENCL

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[redacted]

b7C

BROOKLYN, N.Y. STA. D JUN 16 5-PM 1947

BUY U.S. SAVINGS BONDS ASK YOUR POSTMASTER

Federal Bureau of Investigation

Washington, D. C.

5/6/86 SP-6 by atty Compt 262359
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#24183

1 ENCL. W

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DATE 9/30/85 BY SP7 mgc
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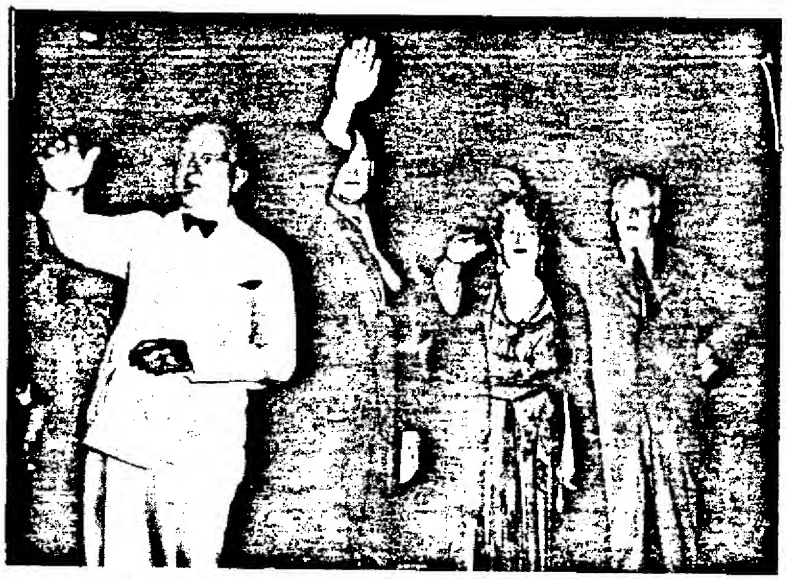
100-4712-71
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
8 JUN 18 941
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
[redacted]

67C

CH-20 [illegible] COMMUNICATION



Four Horsemen of Isolationism—Senator Burton K. Wheeler, Charles A. Lindbergh, Kathleen Norris and Norman Thomas—gave their version of a salute to the flag at an America First Committee rally in New York on May 23. Over 20,000 people in the audience booed Roosevelt, Willkie, Viscount Halifax. No one booed Adolf Hitler.

5-6-86 SP6 by alcy
Comp # 2622359
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DATE 9-30-85 BY SP2 mac
#241183

100-4712-71

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CONFIDENTIAL

[redacted]

June 11, 1941

12394

b7c

[redacted]
BY SPECIAL MESSENGER

SANITIZED COPY CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

Honorable Adolf A. Berle, Jr.
Assistant Secretary of State
Department of State
Washington, D. C.

5/6/86 Classified by 2Cbja/tcg
Declassify on: OADR

Dear Mr. Berle:

As of possible interest to you, the following information has been received regarding the rally held in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, on May 20, 1941, before which Charles A. Lindbergh appeared as one of the principal speakers:

An anonymous communication was received by the Philadelphia Field Office of this Bureau which indicated that "contrary to the policy that no block of seats was to be sold" for the Lindbergh rally, [redacted] was in possession of a plentiful supply of these tickets.

b7c

[redacted]

b1

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Lejd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Gordon
Mr. Traut
Miss Gandy

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED
RECORDED INDEXED
JUN 13 1941
P. M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

JUN 13

100-4112-72

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
JUN 10 1941

CONFIDENTIAL

[redacted]
b7c

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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100-4712-72 p. 2

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CONFIDENTIAL

b2 [redacted]

June 11, 1941

12393

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

5/7/86 Sec 6 by 62

As of possible interest to you, the following information has been received regarding the rally held in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, on May 20, 1941, before which Charles A. Lindbergh appeared as one of the principal speakers:

An anonymous communication was received by the Philadelphia Field Office of this Bureau, which indicated that "contrary to the policy that no block of seats was to be sold" for the Lindbergh rally, [redacted] b2 was in possession of a plentiful supply of these tickets.

[redacted] b1

(C)

[redacted] b1

RECORDED INDEXED (C) 100-4712-7

[redacted] (C) b1

Respectfully,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

CONFIDENTIAL

b7C

Federal Bureau of Investigation

United States Department of Justice

Sioux Falls, South Dakota
June 20, 1941

Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Re: PROPAGANDA
Belvidere, South Dakota

Dear Sir:

The enclosed sheet of propaganda entitled "CONVOY - A FUNERAL TRAIN" is being transmitted for the interest of the Bureau in view of the fact that this may be propaganda which has not previously been brought to the Bureau's attention.

This propaganda was furnished to the Sioux Falls Office by [redacted] Belvidere, South Dakota, by letter dated June 16, 1941, along with other propaganda which is being forwarded to the Bureau under separate cover. b7C

No explanation was given as to the source of the enclosed pamphlet, or to whom it was distributed.

Very truly yours,

WERNER HANNI
Special Agent in Charge

b7C [redacted]

1 ENCL. FM

CH-120-26

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RECORDED 100-11712
INDEXED
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
4 JUN 23 1941
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
[redacted]
b7C

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

GENERAL ROBERT E. WOOD, Acting Chairman
JANET AYER FAIRBANK, Vice Chairman
HANFORD MacNIDER, Vice Chairman
R. DOUGLAS STUART, JR., Director
J. SANFORD OTIS, Treasurer

★

PRINCIPLES

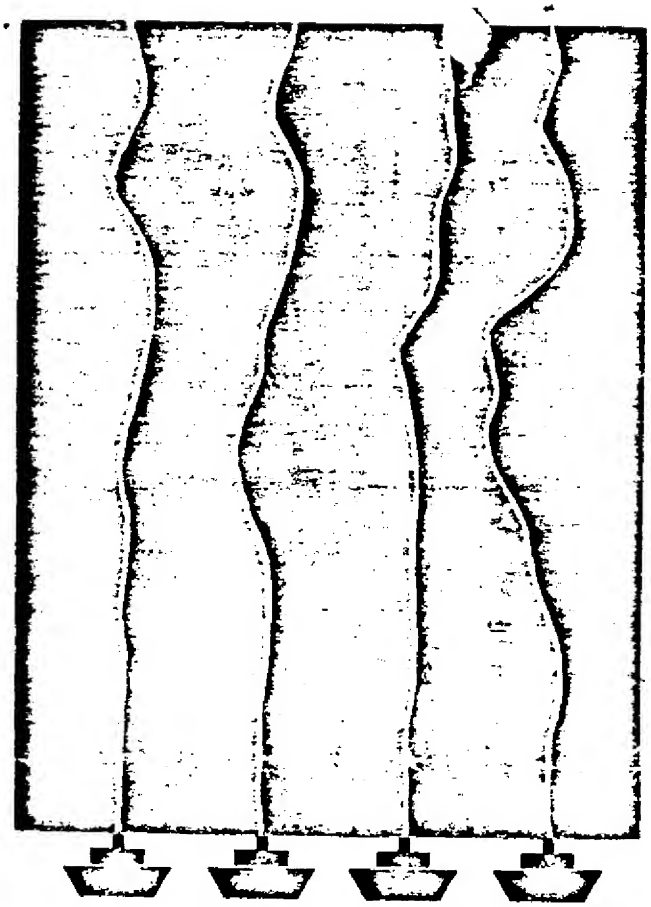
1. Our first duty is to keep America out of foreign wars. Our entry would only destroy democracy, not save it. "The path to war is a false path to freedom."
2. Not by acts of war abroad but by preserving and extending democracy at home can we aid democracy and freedom in other lands.
3. In 1917 we sent our American ships into the war zone and this led us to war. In 1941 we must keep our naval convoys and merchant vessels on this side of the Atlantic.
4. We must build a defense, for our own shores, so strong that no foreign power or combination of powers can invade our country, by sea, air or land.
5. Humanitarian aid is the duty of a strong, free country at peace. With proper safeguard for the distribution of supplies, we should feed and clothe the suffering and needy people of the democracies of Europe.

MEMBERSHIP

Membership in the America First Committee is open to all American citizens. We exclude from our rolls Fascists, Nazis, Communists, and their sympathizers.

Send me more information about the America First Committee, 141 West Jackson Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois.

Name ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
Address HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/7/86 BY SP6 bjs/kcg



CONVOY

A FUNERAL TRAIN

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
General Robert E. Wood, Acting Chairman
National Headquarters
141 West Jackson Boulevard
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

CONVOYS mean war — shooting, bloody war.

Senator Walter F. George during the debate on H. R. 1776, admitted much. William Allen White, as chairman of the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies, wrote on December 23, 1940:

"The story is floating around that I and our committee are in favor of sending convoys with British ships or our own ships, a silly thing, for convoys, unless you shoot, are confetti and it's not time to shoot now or ever."

Just what is a convoy? A convoy is a protecting force, an armed escort, accompanying ships transporting munitions, merchandise and money to a nation at war. And what is a convoy for? It is supposed to fight off ships, submarines and airplanes that attack the supply vessels. And how does a convoy do that? By using its heavy guns, its torpedoes its anti-aircraft fire and by sinking the attacking ships and their crews.

In any man's language this means war, and an offensive war at that.

The Neutrality act of 1939 was passed during comparatively calm days when we knew we would need a wise policy for excited, emotional times such as we are now experiencing. This law prohibits our merchant vessels from entering zones defined by the President as combat areas.

This prohibition was written into the law at the insistence of the President himself. The President regarded this prohibition as the first objective of his policy. In the course of his message on September 21, 1939, to the special session of Congress which enacted the Neutrality law of 1939, President Roosevelt said:

"With the repeal of the embargo this Government clearly and definitely will insist that American citizens and American ships keep away from the immediate perils of the actual zones of conflict."

Both the opponents and proponents of the bill recognized that incidents which would certainly involve us in war could not occur if American vessels were kept out of danger zones. There is good, American common sense in such a policy.

The Neutrality act does not apply to the Navy. But if it is sound to keep our merchant ships out of dangerous waters it is twice as sound to keep our fighting ships out of these zones. When our vessels, both merchant and naval, do not sail into war zones, the possibility of embroilment in war abroad is radically lessened. The fact that not a single incident involving American ships has occurred on the high seas in this war shows the wisdom of this policy.

Almost every public man in the country, including Franklin D. Roosevelt and Wendell Willkie has pledged his opposition to "sending our boys abroad." This is also a pledge against naval convoys. Our warships are manned by American boys. American planes, piloted by American boys, will be needed to make the convoys effective. With our Navy and Air Force in the war, our Army will not be far behind.

The dictionary gives as one definition for convoy, "a funeral train." That is just what it will be for the United States if we permit our Navy to convoy supply ships to Britain. It will be a funeral train for millions of our boys killed in an unnecessary war and a funeral train for the remains of a democracy murdered in a foolhardy venture.

Americans, after all the hysterical propaganda, are still 83 per cent opposed to entry into war. By the same percentage, Americans must be opposed to convoys.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT KANSAS CITY

K.C. FILE NO. 100-1077

REPORT MADE AT	DATE WHEN MADE	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE	REPORT MADE BY
KANSAS CITY	6-18-41	6-5-41	[redacted] b7C

TITLE	CHARACTER OF CASE
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE	INTERNAL SECURITY

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

Activities of the America First Committee obtained from the files of the Kansas City Star. Further information obtained from [redacted] No active activity by the America First Committee recently. Mrs. E. H. VINCENT, secretary of the America First Committee, [redacted] b7D

[redacted]

- P -

REFERENCE: Report of Special Agent [redacted] Kansas City, February 20, 1941. b7C

DETAILS: The writer contacted Mr. ROBERT REED, editor of The Kansas City Star, and obtained permission to search The Star files for any information they had on the America First Committee. The Kansas City Star is located at Eighteenth and Grand Avenue, Kansas City, Missouri. The files of The Kansas City Star reflected the following information:

A clipping from The Kansas City Star dated February 20, 1941, entitled "Call for Free Speech", reflected General ROBERT E. WOOD of Sears, Roebuck & Company, Chicago, Illinois, spoke at a dinner at the Hotel Muehlbach, Kansas City, Missouri, and stated among other things that "Democracy is not going to work unless men stand up for their convictions."

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: Dwight Brantley SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES

100-4712-75

JUL 15 1941

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3 - Kansas City

JUN 21 1941

FIVE

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CH-18

COPIES DESTROYED 3-28-58 269

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE : 1941 — O - 281888

It should be noted that WOOD is regarded as one of the leaders of the America First Committee in the United States, and has been very active in supporting its activities. The hose of the dinner was Mr. HAL W. LUHNOW, Chairman of the Kansas City Chapter of the America First Committee. [redacted] b7C

In a clipping from The Kansas City Star dated January 12, 1941, entitled "To Discuss War Plot", JOHN T. FLYNN bitterly opposed the Administrative policy. JOHN FLYNN propounds the theory that "The United States is being plodded into war." His speech, which was held at the Music Hall, Kansas City, Missouri, was sponsored by the Kansas City group of the America First Committee.

A clipping from The Kansas City Star dated January 14, 1941, reflected that the members of the Executive Committee of the America First Committee were:

CLIFF C. JONES
DAVID B. CHILDS
ROY K. DIETRICH
RAY F. MOSELEY
HAL W. LUHNOW
MRS. E. H. VINCENT
MRS. E. C. RESERVEY, JR.

In a clipping from The Kansas City Times, which is the morning edition of The Kansas City Star, dated January 9, 1941, entitled "No Moral Side in War", Dr. TRIMBLE of the Kansas City University denies such an issue; "Nazism and Democracy could live side by side" he tells the America First Committee group. Dr. TRIMBLE said that "England had failed to fight for Czechoslovakia, the only real Democracy in Europe, and than had gone to war for Poland, a ruthless dictatorship, which England had helped to finance in the days when Germany was still a democracy. Dr. TRIMBLE further stated "Some people say one side is good and the other bad; I deny that. Some people say that Nazism and Democracy cannot live side by side in this world; I deny that." Dr. TRIMBLE decried the practice of calling refugees "spies", and terming Nazis and Communists those who still believe in freedom of speech. After Dr. TRIMBLE'S speech, the clipping reflected there was a question period presided over by RAY F. MOSELEY. The question, "Who financed the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies?" was asked. MOSELEY replied that it

was the munition makers. MOSELEY further added that the America First Committee was financed by General ROBERT E. WOOD of Chicago, and HENRY FORD. Mrs. E. H. VINCENT also spoke, and about one hundred persons attended this meeting, which was held at the Ambassador Hotel, Kansas City, Missouri.

b2 b7D [redacted] whose identity has been sent to the Bureau, advised the writer that the America First Committee about three weeks before had had a rally at the Scottish Rite Temple, Kansas City, Missouri, which was attended by about thirteen hundred people. The speakers were ALF LANDON and BENNETT CHAMP CLARK. At that meeting nothing was said except in criticism of President ROOSEVELT'S foreign policy.

b7C
b7D

[redacted]

- PENDING -

UNDEVELOPED LEAD:

KANSAS CITY FIELD DIVISION

At KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI, will after a reasonable length of time recontact [redacted] for the purpose of obtaining developments in regard to progress of the America First Committee.

b2
b7D

12391

Pasadena, Calif. June 17th 1941.

My dear Mr. President:

The enclosed clipping, will inform you, of what kind of American citizens, we have here in Pasadena. I think that those kind of Hitlerites ought to be looked after, especially that Cobb and Dill before they will do still more damage.

What American citizens!

Trap them like dirty rats, and send them to their beloved Hitlerland or rather to h..., where they really belong, and, don't forget those other two rats, the "Lindburger cheese" and son "Whale-r", and all others like them.

Sincerely yours.
100% American.
A Friend of AMERICA

5/7/86 DeGaetty

ANONYMOUS COMMUNICATION
KEEP ENVELOPE ATTACHED

CH-4

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100-4712-76

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
4 JUN 26 1941
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

5¢

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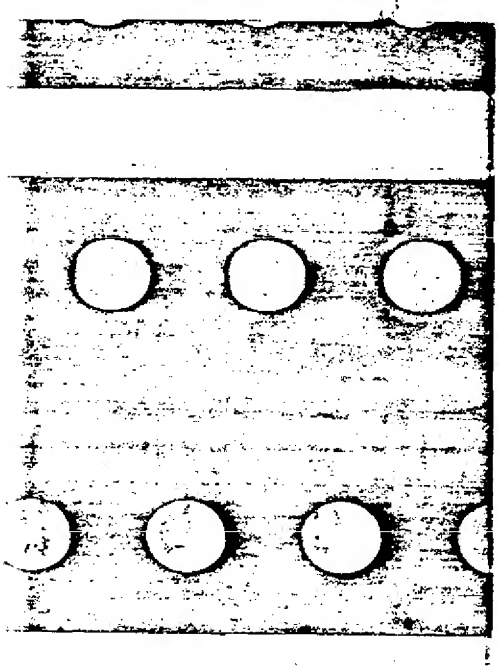
Dedicated to Truth, Fair Play and Community Betterment

3¢ Per Copy

VOL. 9—NO. 72 — PASADENA, CALIFORNIA, MONDAY, JUNE 16, 1941 — *An Interpretive Newspaper*

MASS MEETING BOOS PRESIDENT



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100-4712-76

PASADENA MEMBERS OF 'AMERICA FIRST' CHEER AXIS IDEAS

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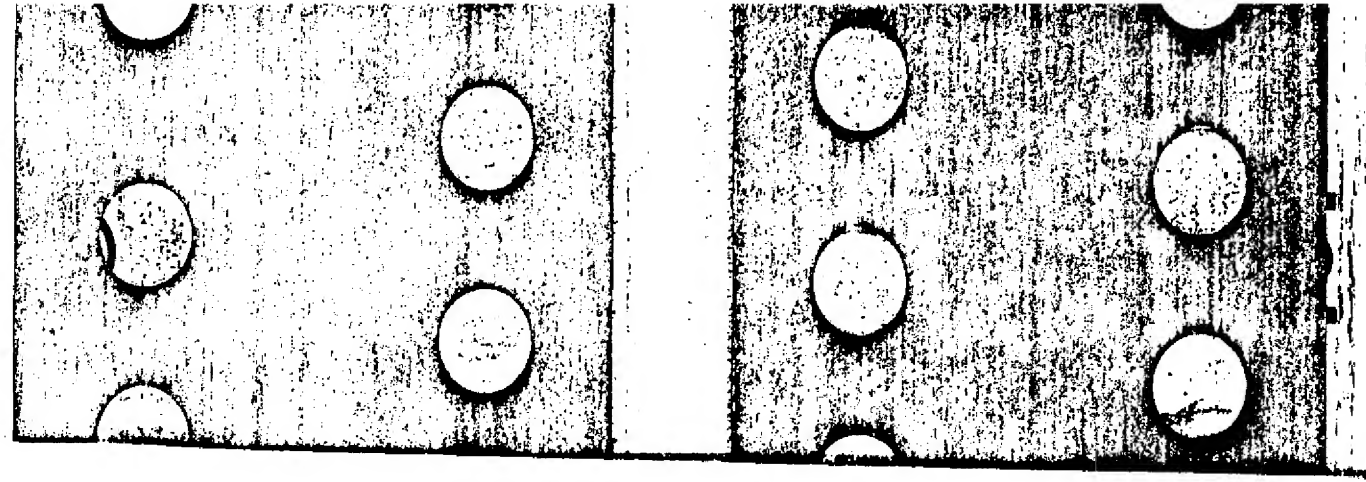

AFTER FIVE DAYS RETURN TO

PASADENA, CALIFORNIA

PASADENA
JUN 18
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1941
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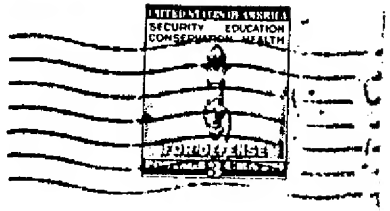

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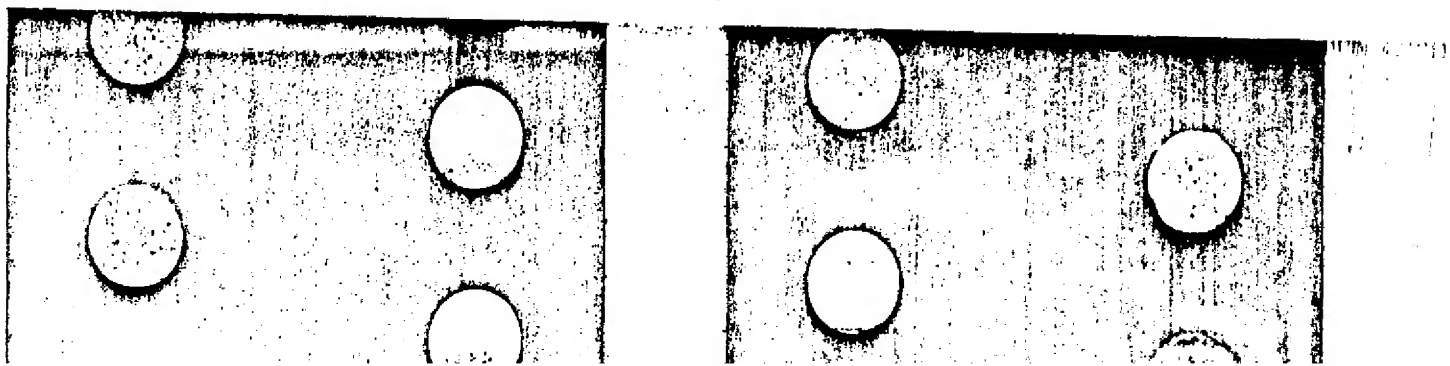
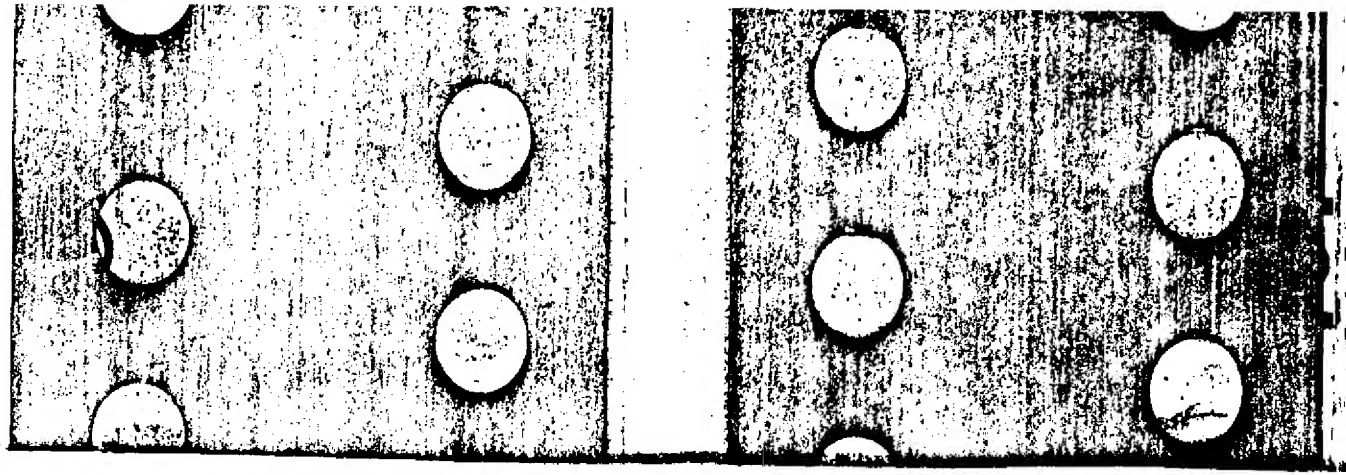
Hon. Franklin Delano Roosevelt,
President U. S. A.
Washington,
D. C.





AFTER FIVE DAYS RETURN TO

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PASADENA, CALIFORNIA

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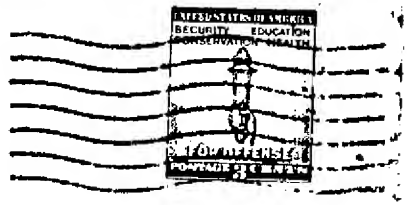

Hon. Franklin Delano Roosevelt,
President U. S. A.
Washington,
D. C.

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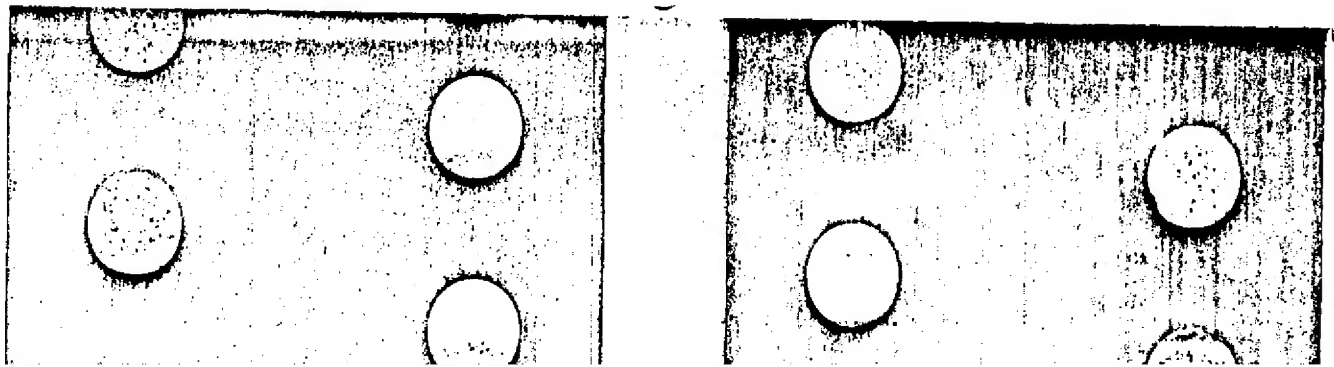

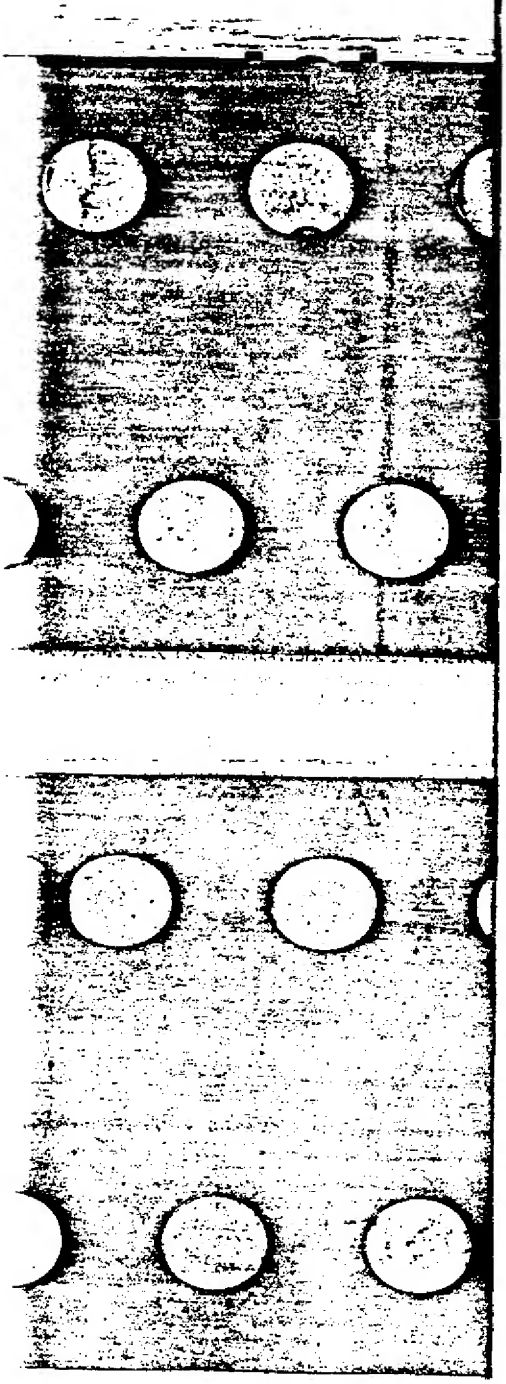

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Hotel Bentmere

Telephone Diversey 2810
601 DIVERSEY PARKWAY
NEAR LINCOLN PARK
Chicago

6/10/41

President Franklin D. Roosevelt
White House
Washington, D. C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 5/7/86 BY SP6 by4

Dear Sir

Nazism is Socialism
and Socialism is ruling the
American First Committee,
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
Charles A. Lindbergh is one
CHARLES A. LINDBERGH
of the most [illegible] men
that Communism
INDEXED
Mr. Lindbergh visited Germany and
private talk with Mr. Hitler
Before that Charles A. Lindbergh
visited Germany by Mr. Hauptmann
a German. This Mr. Hauptmann

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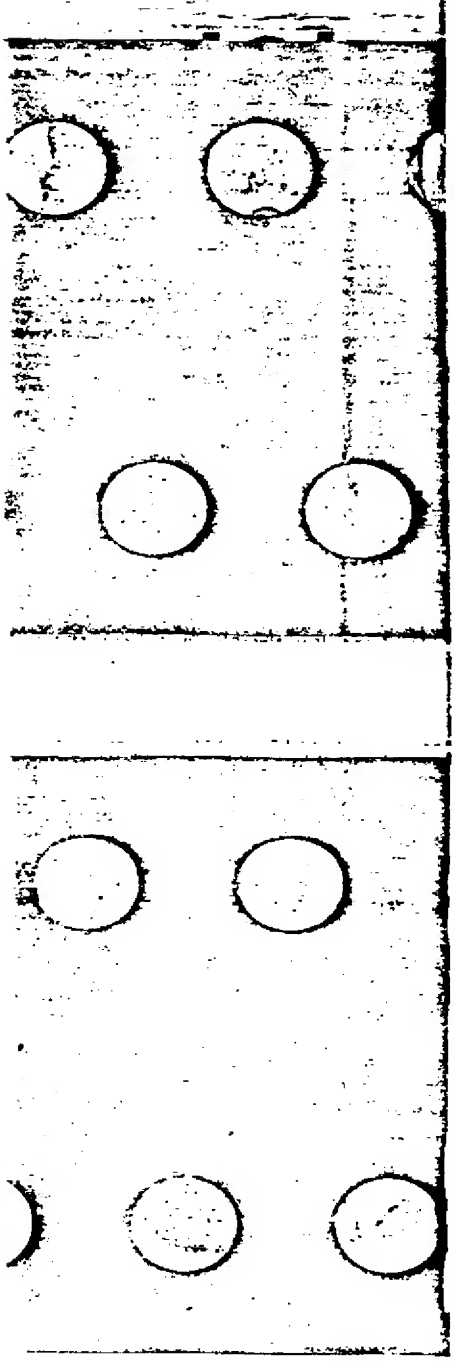
RECORDED
100-4712-17
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
JUN 17 1941
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE



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Hotel Bentmere

Telephone Diversey 2810

601 DIVERSEY PARKWAY

NEAR LINCOLN PARK

Chicago

was ~~sept~~ working for an official of the Germanpaety. The man he was working for would ~~thak~~ take Mr. Charles A. Lindbergh's place, if anything happened to him.

His American First Committee believes in isolation, protect not the Western Hemisphere but only the United States. If we only have to to protect the U.S. why National Emergency.

Charles A. Lindbergh is one of the most powerful men behind Unions and the strikes that hold up ville National Defence Projects and also sabotage.

OVER

The fall of France was caused by Unions and the socialist party.

The Bunds in Chicago are stronger as usual. Why?

I would like the American First Committee looked into and investigated thoroughly.

If there is anything I can do to help in the investigation of sabotage or otherwise, I am at your service.

Honorably and Respectfully Yours,

[redacted]

b7c

P.S. Enclosed find picture notice naze salute. [redacted]

Hail flag— Socialist leader Norman Thomas (left) strikes this oratorical pose as he shares speaker's platform at New York America First rally with (above l. to r.), Sen. Burton K. Wheeler, "Citizen" Charles A. Lindbergh, and novelist Kathleen Norris. They're saluting flag. An estimated 20,000 attended meeting. (AP Wirephotos)

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JUL 31 1941

100-4712-28

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Pursuant to chgd.
Case File

b7c [redacted]
Staten Island, N.Y.
June 26, 1941

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
Director of F.B.I.
Washington, D.C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 5/7/86 BY SP6 Jaffey

Dear Sir,

As a word of introduction [redacted]

[redacted]

RECORDED
INDEXED

100-4712-19

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
JUN 30 1941
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Thursday evening they had a meeting of the America First Society here at the [redacted] in the front Dining Room. I understood that it was a surplus left over from another large meeting. Still one individual who spoke so broken and such poor English that I

b7c

b7c

America First Committee

I couldn't make out his Nationality ~~was~~ read of a resolution that no help be given Russia by this County and it was adopted. The Resolution to be forwarded to Congress.

Another member, a woman with a decided German accent went so far as to say that the President was all wrong in his actions and that if he didn't take orders from the America First Society that he should be impeached. So you see if they are pleading this here it is probably going on all over.

There was not over 150 at this meeting and they all agreed to what went on and then took up a collection to further the cause.

II 5

I wanted to stand up and defend the President but dared not speak. Because I was sitting in the rear of the hall all alone and I must have been spotted because soon 3 tough looking men came and sat right around me to my rear and tried to pick an argument although I hadn't opened my mouth.

I am a Veteran of the World War and if I can help out in anyway please let me know.

Yours Very Truly

b
7
c [redacted]
Staten Island, N.Y.
[redacted]

b7c [redacted]
Staten Island, N. Y.
June 28, 1941

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
Director of F. B. I.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir,

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Thursday evening they had a meeting of The America First Society here at the Hotel in the front Dining Room. I understood that it was a surplus left over from another large meeting. Well one individual who spoke so broken and such poor English that I I couldn't make out his Nationality read off a resolution that no help be given Russia by this Country and it was adopted. The Resolution to be forwarded to Congress.

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[redacted]
Staten Island, N.Y.

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TRUE COPY
(elc)

RECOP 100-4712-79 [redacted]

July 28, 1941

[redacted]

Staten Island, New York

Dear [redacted]

I wish to acknowledge receipt of your letter dated June 28, 1941.

It was indeed kind of you to bring this information to my attention, and your courtesy and interest in so doing are sincerely appreciated. Should you obtain any further information which you believe to be of interest to this Bureau, please feel free to communicate directly with Mr. B. E. Sackett, Special Agent in Charge, Federal Bureau of Investigation, United States Department of Justice, 607 United States Court House, Foley Square, New York, New York.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

cc Assistant Director E. J. Connelley, with copies of incoming letter

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED
JUL 23 1941
P. M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

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[redacted] b7C

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[redacted]

Altadena
California

Dear Mr. [redacted]

In light of present nationa
crisis I feel impelled to enclo
a clipping which appeared
in a Pasadena paper this
morning - Why permit the
type of meeting & entertainme
to take place to remain
your record during certain

RECORDED 100-4712-80
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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
7 JUN 24 1941
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

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CONCERT
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FOR

OS PRESIDEN

PASADENA MEMBERS OF 'AMERICA FIRST' CHEER AXIS IDEAS

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"Any possible establishment of the President's 'Four Freedoms' cannot ignore the national needs of a majority of the populations of the worlds," he said. "A British victory would confine the explosive power of the Axis."

There are new world forces at work, Cobb declared, which will result in the establishment of three great centers of power: Europe, Asia, and the Americas.

Money Down Rat Hole

"Why should the taxpayers throw $7,000,000,000 down the rat hole of Britain's waning ambitions?" he asked. "We should campaign to repeal the lend lease bill."

He read at length from an interview in Life magazine given to former Ambassador Cudahy by Hitler, in which the Fuehrer said that at no time had his intentions toward this country been inimical. Cobb then quoted portions of a New York Times editorial answering Hitler, in which it was pointed out that declarations of friendship preceded most of Hitler's invasions.

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"American Gestapo"

He referred to the Federal Bureau of Investigation as an "American Gestapo," persecuting political minorities, and called the Dies committee on un-American activities a "tool of the F. B. I."

"Roosevelt knows that he cannot defeat Fascism by the sword," Dillon said. The audience cheered wildly.

In closing the meeting, Cobb said that if the President got the country into war, "I for one will not follow him. If this be treason, make the most of it."

Copies of Social Justice, Father Coughlin's Jew-baiting weekly magazine, were sold to the members as they left the auditorium.

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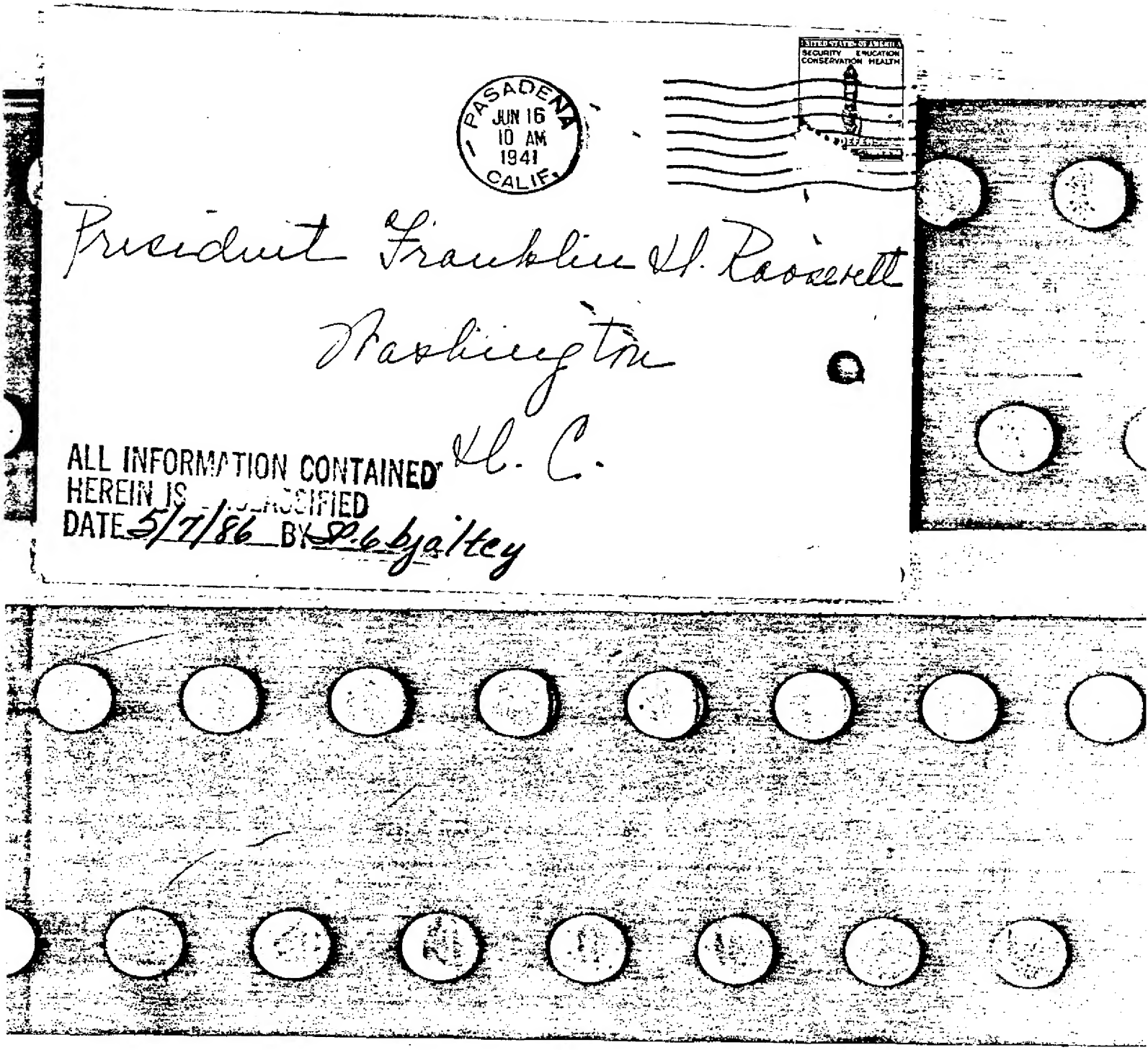
PASADENA
JUN 16
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1941
CALIF.
SECURITY EDUCATION
CONSERVATION HEALTH
President Franklin D. Roosevelt
Washington
D. C.
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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
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XXXXXX

JULY 4 1941

DEAR MR HOOVER:

BURTON K. PRETTY CLEVER BOYS
WHEELER & LINDBERG —
MAKING WAR BY TALKING
AGAINST.

THEY ARE SLICK,
MURDEROUS TRAITORS — NAZI
AGENTS MAYBE — OR SHOULD BE.

RECEIVED 7 PM

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ANONYMOUS COMMUNICATION
KEEP ENVELOPE ATTACHED

RECORDED 100-4712-82

4 JUL 8 1941

U.S. Dept. [redacted]

67C

VERITAS VINCIT

[redacted]

b7c

July 3rd 41

Hon. Chief Edgar Hoover,
Criminal Department,
Washingtin,
D, C.

Hon.& Dear Sir,

I am enclosing herewith an article on a speach made in San Francisco by that henigradue Lindbergh I think such speaches are worse than the Germ spires. Consult Sec. of the Ite ritory Icheks and President Roosevelt.

In my opinion this Hirtler friend is doing much harm to unthinking Amrticals.

I admire the work you are doing as a true American

Sincerely yours,

[redacted]

b7c

Excuse errors just getting over a terible accident to my spine

ENCLD one

[redacted]

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JUL 10 1941

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 5/7/86 BY SP6 byaltey

Lindbergh Bitterly Attacks U. S. Alliance With Russia

SAN FRANCISCO, July 2 (AP)—Charles A. Lindbergh bitterly denounced Russia at an anti-war mass meeting Tuesday night and declared "I would a hundred times rather see my country ally herself with England, or even with Germany with all her faults, than with the cruelty, the godlessness, and the barbarism that exist in soviet Russia."

"An alliance between the United States and Russia should be opposed by every American, by every Christian, and by every humanitarian in this country," Lindbergh said in an address prepared for delivery at a civic auditorium meeting sponsored by the America First committee.

Issue Becomes Confusing

Lindbergh's talk was broadcast over the National and Mutual networks.

The longer this war in Europe continues, the more confused its issues become," Lindbergh said. "When it started, Germany and Russia were lined up against England and France. Now, less than two years later, we find Russia and England fighting France and Germany.

"Winter before last, when Russia was fighting Finland, the interventionists demanded that we send all possible aid to Finland. Now, when Russia is fighting Finland again, they demand that we send all possible aid to Russia.

Ex-Enemies Now Allies

"The murderers and plunderers of yesterday are accepted as the valiant defenders of civilization today; and the valiant defenders of yesterday have become the wicked aggressors of today. Finland and France are now our enemies; Russia our friend. We have been asked to defend the English way of life, and the Chinese way of life. We are now asked to defend the Russian way of life.

"Judging from Europe's record, if we enter this war, we can't be sure whether we will have Russia or Germany for a partner by the time we finish it. We don't even know whether we will end up with France or England on our side. It is quite possible that we would find ourselves alone fighting the entire world before it was over.

"The only sensible thing for us to do is to build an impregnable defense for America and keep this hemisphere at peace."

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 5/7/86 BY SP6 byalley

ln 4712 -83

RECORDED 100-4712-83

[redacted]

July 22, 1941

[redacted]

Dear [redacted]

I wish to acknowledge receipt of your letter dated July 3, 1941, together with its enclosure.

Your courtesy and interest in writing as you did are indeed appreciated, and you may be assured your letter will receive appropriate consideration.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

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DATE 5/7/86 BY SP6 bjs/tcy

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nordon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

26

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED
★ JUL 28 1941
P M
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

[redacted]
57C

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI

FILE NO. 100-1077

REPORT MADE AT	DATE WHEN MADE	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE	REPORT MADE BY
KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI	7-9-41	7-3-41	[redacted] b7C [redacted]

TITLE	CHARACTER OF CASE
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE	INTERNAL SECURITY

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

Report received [redacted] b7D [redacted] reflects meeting of America First Committee occurred on June 19, 1941, attended by 250 people. Senator GERALD P. NYE, was principal speaker. His remarks in general consisted in verbal attacks on Great Britain, the Administration and the Administration's foreign policy. [redacted] received postcard b7C b7D dated June 17, 1941, advising that if he allowed the America First Committee meeting to be held, that the undersigned would stop it, signed "The Kansas City Jewish Youth Association". RAY E. MOSELEY, Chairman of Kansas City Chapter of America First Committee received card instructing him to call off the meeting. Two individuals questioned in regard to selling literature published by Workers Party in front of Scottish Rite Temple on the night of June 19, 1941, the night of the meeting. [redacted] b7C screamed loudly of violation of civil rights at the time the two individuals were arrested selling literature without a license or permit. THOMAS V. CONRAD and Mr. STAMAN reported to be organizers of the America First Committee.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 5-7-86 BY R6bjalte

- P -

REFERENCE: Report of Special Agent [redacted] Kansas City, Missouri, dated June 18, 1941. b7C

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: Dwight D Bantley Special Agent in Charge

DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES

100-4712-84

COPIES OF THIS REPORT

5 - Bureau
2 - Kansas City

COPIES DESTROYED JUL 11 1941
5-27-58 R67

JUL 21 1941

FBI [redacted]

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE : 1941 — O - 281888

b7D

DETAILS: The following is a report received from [redacted] with meeting held by the America First Committee, Scottish Rite Temple, Linwood and Paseo Boulevards, Kansas City, Missouri, on June 17, 1941:

b7C
b7D

"On 6-17-41, [redacted] received the following card: "Dear Sir: If you allow the America First meeting to be held Thursday evening at the Temple, Paseo and Linwood, we will stop it ourselves. The Kansas City Jewish Youth Association." Inquiry was made at the YMHA as to the officials of this organization and they stated that while there was no Kansas City Jewish Youth Association, there was a Kansas City Jewish Youth Federation, headed by HANS LAMM, which has practically been disbanded.

[redacted]

On the night of 6-19-41, RAY F. MOSELEY, chairman of the Kansas City chapter of the America First Committee, said he received the following card on 6-18-41: "Call off the meeting Thursday night of the America First at Linwood and Paseo, or we will stop it. A member of the Young Men's Hebrew Association." He was unable to account for the sender. However, it is noticed that the handwriting on this card is the same as that received by [redacted]

The meeting of the America First Committee at the Scottish Rite Temple, Linwood and Paseo, on 6-19-41, was attended by approximately 250 people. Senator Gerald P. Nye was the principle speaker and his remarks, in the main, consisted in verbal attacks on Great Britain, President Roosevelt and the President's Foreign Policy. He criticized the closing of the German Consulates, seizure of foreign ships in American ports and the assistance Great Britain is receiving from the United States. He condemned the ideals and courage of the Allies, but remained strangely silent about the Axis-Partners, saying nothing either for or against them. On the stage the same time with Senator Nye were Ray F. Moseley, Hal Luhnow, David B. Childs, Dr.

Bruce R. Trimble and the Reverend Joseph Cleveland. A group picture of these men was taken, with the exception of the Reverend Joseph Cleveland on the grounds of "People might misunderstand my connection with the America First Committee." It was an orderly meeting with the exception of a few "Boos". Observed attending this meeting were Louis P. MacAdams (newscaster KCMO) who signed a petition protesting the enactment of Missouri House Bill 312, outlawing the Communist Party in Missouri, and Evan Hammett (See FBI letter of 12-31-40).

Before the meeting began police officers observed two people in front of the Scottish Rite Temple selling literature. Inquiry was made if a license or permit had been obtained from City Hall officials to sell the literature. None had been procured. Thereupon, the officer noted that the literature being sold was published by the Worker's Party and was entitled "Plain Talk on War". When these officers told these two people they were under arrest for selling literature without a permit, a lady approached the scene screaming loudly "civil rights" were being violated. She refused to give her name.

b7C
b7D

[redacted]

b7C
b7D

[redacted]

b7C

[redacted]

b7C
b7D

[redacted] came to the Kansas City office and advised that Mr. THOMAS V. CONRAD, Room 209, Keith and Perry Building, Kansas City, Missouri, residence 1029 East 12th Street, Kansas City, Missouri, and Mr. STAMAN, first name unknown, also in Room 209, Keith and Perry Building, Kansas City, Missouri, were organizers of the America First Committee. [redacted] saw Mr. CONRAD with cards soliciting membership into the America First Committee. According to [redacted] Mr. CONRAD claims to be Irish, but is actually Pennsylvania Dutch and Mr. STAMAN was interned during World War I for making seditious remarks. [redacted] further stated that Mr. STAMAN has

made the remark that "he hoped that Germany would bust England and every ---------- that was for England."

[redacted]

67c

- PENDING -

UNDEVELOPED LEADS

KANSAS CITY FIELD DIVISION

* At Springfield, Missouri

b7C
b7D

After July 15, 1941, will contact [redacted] for subsequent developments in this matter.

Will contact [redacted] and will ascertain if [redacted]

b7C

Will establish whether [redacted] and [redacted] a well known Communist, are identical persons.

* At Kansas City, Missouri

b7C
b7D

Will after a reasonable length of time recontact [redacted] for the purpose of obtaining developments in regard to progress of the America First Committee.

From
THE ASSISTANT TO THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

The Attorney General
The Solicitor General
Assistant Attorney General Arnold, Anti-Trust
Assistant Attorney General Berge, Criminal
Assistant Attorney General Shea, Claims
Assistant Attorney General Clark, Tax
Assistant Attorney General Littell, Lands
Assistant Solicitor General
Mr. Hoover, Director, Bureau of Investigation
Mr. Bennett, Director, Bureau of Prisons
Mr. Schofield, Immigration & Naturalization
Mr. Martin, Director, Bureau of War Risk
Mr. Smith, Special Defense Unit
Mr. Lawrence, Director, Bond and Spirits
Mr. Lyons, Pardon Attorney
Parole Board
Mr. Quinn, Administrative Assistant
Mr. Carusi, Executive Assistant
Mr. Allen
Mr. Holtzoff
Mr. Collins
Mr. Vanech
Mr. Blackwelder
Miss Berard
Mrs. Foster
Miss Perry
Division of Records
Mr.
Miss

Please: Note and return
Prepare reply for my signature
For appropriate action
Phone me
See me
Attach file
For your information

MEMORANDUM

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Boardman
Mr. Carson
Mr. Edwards
Miss Gandy

Has this information been furnished to the State Dept? If not we shall be glad to do so.

RECORDED 100-471[illegible]

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
6 JUN 27 1941
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FOX WORTH

Mr. McGuire 6-18-41

Enclosed memo to Mr. McGuire dated 6/11/41 - Ret'd to Asst. Yellow copy in Bu file

[redacted] b7C

RECORDED
INDEXED

June 18, 1941

~~PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ASSISTANT TO THE ATTORNEY GENERAL
MR. MATTHEW F. McGUIRE

Reference is made to my memorandum dated June 11, 1941, enclosing a copy of a memorandum forwarded to the Attorney General on that date, regarding the interest taken by various Axis consular officials in the rally held at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, on May 29, 1941, by the America First Committee, and before which Charles A. Lindbergh was one of the principal speakers.

With reference to the inquiry by Mr. Alexander Holtzoff, Special Assistant to the Attorney General, as to whether this information had been furnished to the Department of State, Washington, D. C., please be advised that the identical information was furnished by letter dated June 11, 1941, to the Department of State.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED
★ JUN 19 1941 ★
P.M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/7/86 BY SP6 bjs/tcg

62-20

136

Department of Justice,
Washington, D.C.

Gentlemen:

[redacted] A woman by the name of [redacted] stopping at the Hotel Woodstock, on West 43rd Street, New York, strikes me as being a Nazi agent. She is connected with the organizations "Women United" and "America First Committee", taking an active part in both.

It is because [redacted] fear the threat [redacted] of Fifth Columnists in America that I pass this on to you.

Anonymous.

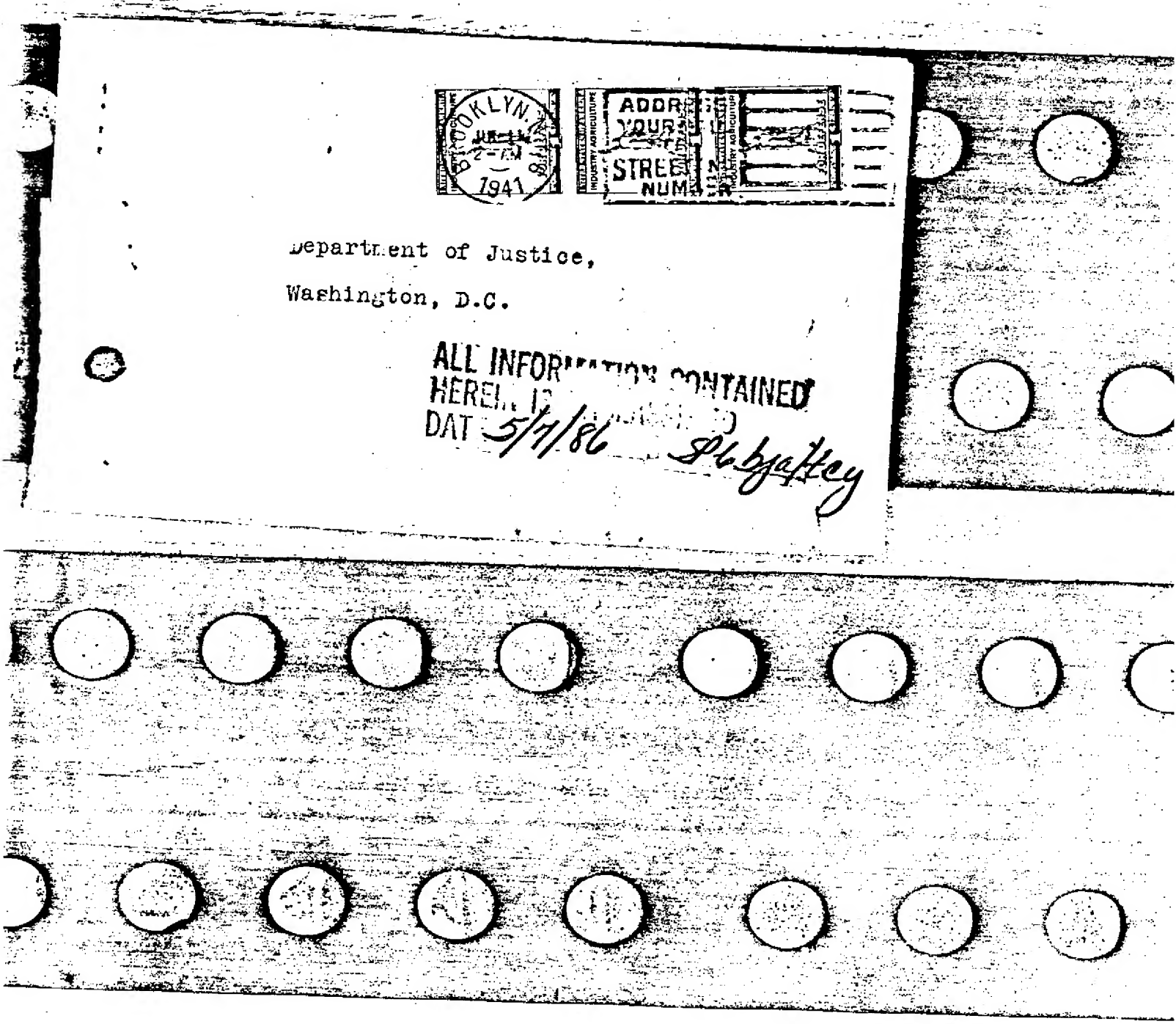
[redacted]

RECORDED
INDEXED

100-4712-86

FED. BU. OF INV.
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
JUL 12 1941 A.M.
DIVISION OF RECORDS

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/7/86 BY S.C. Whyatt


BROOKLYN, N.Y.
JUN 18
2-PM
1941
ADDR
YOUR
STREET
NUM
Department of Justice,
Washington, D.C.
ALL INFOR CONTAINED
HEREIN IS
DAT 5/1/86

ANONYMOUS

Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Gentlemen:

b7C

A woman by the name of [redacted] stopping at the Hotel Woodstock, on West 43rd Street, New York, strikes me as being a Nazi agent. She is connected with the organizati "Women United" and "America First Committee", taking an active part in both.

It is because I fear the threat of Fifth Columnists in America that I pass this on to you.

Anonymous

Postmarked at Brooklyn, N.Y.,
July 11, 1941

COPY

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS [illegible]
DATE 5/7/86 [illegible]

b7c

RECORDED [redacted] 100-4712 - 86 August 2, 1941

Assistant Director E. J. Connelley,
New York, New York

Re: [redacted] b7c
Internal Security

Dear Sir:

For your information, I am transmitting herewith copies of an undated anonymous communication received at the Bureau in an envelope postmarked at Brooklyn, New York, on July 11, 1941.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Inclosure

RECORDED DIVISION
DEC 13 9 2 PM '41

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED
AUG 4 1941

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS [illegible]
DATE 5/7/86 BY SP6 bja/tcg

Tolson
E. A. Tamm
Clegg
Foxworth
Glavin
Ladd
Nichols
Rosen
Carson
Drayton
Quinn Tamm
Headen
Tracy
[illegible]

b7c

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice

Birmingham, Alabama
July 11, 1941

EPG:RLG

Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

RE: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 5/7/86 BY SP6 by4

b7C
b7D

Dear Sir:

[redacted] informed me on June 25th that the America First Committee had opened an office in Birmingham at 2006½ Fifth Avenue North, Birmingham, under the directorship of C. C. CROWE, and who has associated with him DR. WILLIAM H. WELLS, said to be a Canadian citizen, chiropractor, and soldier of fortune. Wells is supposed to have served in the World War, the Spanish-American War, and the Boxer Rebellion.

I am enclosing a clipping which appeared in the Birmingham News of June 25th concerning this.

Very truly yours,

E. P. GUINANE,
Special Agent in Charge.

ENC.

1 ENCL. FM

CH-5

RECORDED

INDEXED

100-4712-8
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
4 JUL 15 1941
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

EX-10

Lindbergh And Others May Be Brought Here By Committee Branch

Headquarters Set Up In City For Campaign To Prevent Entry Into War

Col. Charles A. Lindbergh and other America First Committee speakers may be brought to Birmingham in a non-war "blitz" to be launched in Alabama by a branch of the committee just established here under the directorship of C. C. Crowe, attorney, who said he had been designated state chairman for the anti-war group.

Crowe, formerly of Birmingham, who said he had lived recently in Indiana and Maryland, established committee headquarters in offices at 2006½ Fourth Avenue, North.

Among those associated with Crowe is William H. Wells, said to be a Canadian citizen, chiropractor and soldier of fortune. Wells was said to have served in the World War, Spanish-American War, Boar War and Boxer Rebellion.

Crowe, who said he served in the U. S. Army Tank Corps during the World War, is mapping plans to conduct an Alabama drive against American intervention in the European conflict and said that various speakers would be heard in a series of radio talks aimed at preventing sending U. S. soldiers overseas again.

"There is no excuse for sending our boys to Europe or any foreign country again," said Crowe. "It must not be permitted again."

He said that the non-war drive, which would be directed at highly pro-British and Pro-Allies Alabama, would make a special appeal to mothers to help keep their sons at home and prevent them from being sent to foreign battlefields.

As for England, Crowe said he and his group favored aiding the British with war materials and supplies—"everything but men" and "giving till it hurts" to help Britain win the war. But, he added, mothers and fathers must be convinced American boys must never again be sent to battle and die on foreign soil.

The committee's anti-war chairman for Alabama said a number of citizens in Birmingham and Alabama had already aligned themselves with the movement and that the non-war "blitz," to be carried on principally by radio, soon would begin in earnest.

Crowe said he and his group planned an early meeting in the new committee headquarters to map plans for the campaign in this state.

THE BIRMINGHAM NEWS
BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA
June 25, 1941

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/7/86 BY SP6 JAH

100-427128-1

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

Brooklyn, N. Y., July 14 19

Federal Bureau of Investigation,
Washington. D. C.

Mr. Hoover.

Dear Sir, I am an American born citizen
have a son in the U.S. army at Hawaii.

I found the enclose pamphlet in my door
to-day, and from the wording at the top, I
wouldn't be surprised if there is German
propaganda behind this rally.

I live in Ridgewood which is densely
populated with Germans, I
thought it would be a good idea to
have some of your agents attend this
meeting, and see who is behind this rally.

Very truly yours.

[redacted]

1 ENCL.

Anti-Nazi League Committee

RECORDED
INDEXED

10-4712-88
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
8 JUL 15 1941
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
RECEIVED

ack 8-2-41

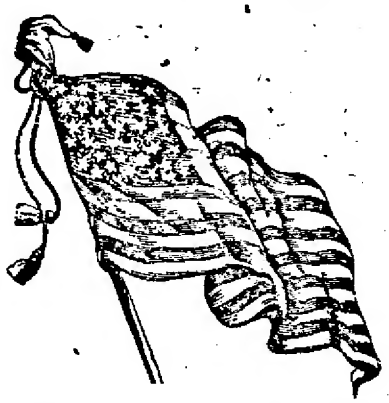
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/7/86 BY SP6 jaltcy

b7c

88-10

ARE YOU
AN AMERICAN CITIZEN?

Opposed to Communism, Nazism and Facism?
Opposed to Convoys?
Opposed to American Boys Going into Foreign Wars?



YOU ARE INVITED TO THE

RALLY

OF THE

GLENDALE UNIT
America First Committee

Thursday Evening July 17th, 1941

AT EIGHT-THIRTY O'CLOCK

At Queens Sport Center

(Formerly Moose Temple)

69-23 CYPRESS HILLS STREET

GLENDALE, N. Y.

THIS PRINTING DONATED BY THE FOX PRESS

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/1/86 BY SP2 [illegible]

100-4712-88

RECORDED

[redacted]

August 2, 1941

[redacted]

Brooklyn, New York

Dear [redacted]

I wish to acknowledge receipt of your letter dated July 14, 1941, together with its enclosure.

Your courtesy and interest in bringing this information to my attention are indeed appreciated, and you may be assured your letter will receive appropriate consideration.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 5/7/86 BY S.P.6 by atty

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Trotter
Miss Gandy

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED
★ AUG 2 1941 ★
P. M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

[redacted]

Oklahoma City Okla
July 14-44

X
Edgar J. Hoover, Director
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir:-

Enclosed find clipping of
importance to your Dept
Justice. Just a bunch of
muddle.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/7/86 BY SP6 bjalkey

1 ENCL. W mf

Yours Respectfully,

[redacted]

b7c

Okla City, Okla

100-[illegible]-712-

RECORDED
mf INDEXED

5 [illegible]
U.S. DEPART[illegible]

[redacted]

57c

'America First' Drive Starts Here

ORGANIZERS—The America First committee, engaged in a national campaign to keep the United States out of the war, opened headquarters here in the Perrine building Friday and started a drive to organize an Oklahoma City chapter. Herbert K. Hyde, attorney, will be temporary chairman of the local group. Pictured above are the organizers who came here from St. Louis. Left to right, *Edward G. Cobb, Mrs. Don Lohbeck* and *Don Lohbeck.*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/7/86 BY SP6 Bajalieu

100-4712-51

Anti-War Group Opens Office

Wheeler Organization To Be Tried Here

The America First Committee opened offices in the Perrine building Friday and set about organizing an Oklahoma City chapter in its fight to keep the United States out of the war.

Three young organizers from St. Louis set up the headquarters in room 408 and announced Herbert K. Hyde, former United States district attorney would be temporary chairman of the local chapter.

Don Lohbeck, one of the organizers, said a rally would be held here late this month and an effort is being made to bring Senator Burton K. Wheeler of Montana, one of the leaders of the non-interventionist group, as chief speaker.

Other Organizers Named

Lohbeck announced that other Oklahoma City residents who will take a part in the organization drive for the local chapter are Victor Mead, attorney; Rev. H. H. Lindeman, superintendent of the Oklahoma Congregational Conference, and Miss Mildred Simpson, 2642 Northwest Thirteenth street, office secretary of the conference.

Lohbeck, his wife and Edward G. Cobb, all of St. Louis, are the organizers sent here to set up chapters in Oklahoma City and Tulsa.

"We are not trying to sell anybody anything," Lohbeck said. "All we want to do is bring together the great majority of the people who already are against our entry into this war. We will provide the means for them to get together."

40 Members Claimed

Cobb said there are already about 40 members of the committee in Oklahoma City. The committee, he said, now is working to obtain members through lists of persons in the city and state who sent contributions to the committee in Chicago and through a list of others who wrote to the committee expressing views on the war.

Generally speaking, the committee contends that 80 percent of the people in the United States are against entry into the war but their voice has not been heard and they must be organized to avert the nation's "sneaking into the war," in the words of Lohbeck.

"Non-involvement in the war and building of an impregnable defense—a hemisphere defense over here," said Cobb, "is our prime platform. The committee also now is working for passage of a joint congressional resolution for a national referendum to let the people vote on whether they want to enter this war or not."

War to End Group

He cited the fact that General Robert E. Wood, Chicago, president of the organization, had asserted that if the nation goes to war the committee will be disbanded for its sole aim then would have been eliminated.

Lohbeck is 23 years old and is a concert pianist by profession, he said. He studied at the Eastman School of Music in Rochester, N. Y., the University of Chicago, in New York and the Ecole Normale, Paris. His wife, Virginia Lohbeck, also is from St. Louis. Cobb is 30 years old, attended Washington university in St. Louis and worked for an investment company and a railroad before joining the committee. Expenses of all three are paid by the committee.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/7/86 BY SP6 bjatley

Oklahoma City_Okla_

July - 12 - 41

Edgar J_Hoover, Director
Washington_ D.C.

Dear Sir:-

Enclosed find clipping of importantance to your Dept_of Justice. Just a bunch of meddlers.

Your Respectfully,

(signed) [redacted] b7c

Okla_City, Okla.

COPY:bhm

[redacted]

RECORDED 100-4712-89

August 9, 1941

[redacted]

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Dear [redacted]

This will acknowledge receipt of your communication dated July 12, 1941, with enclosures. I want to express my appreciation for your courtesy and interest in writing as you did.

You may be assured that the content of your letter, as well as the enclosures, has been carefully noted and included in the official files of the FBI.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/7/86 BY SP6 bjg/tcg

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED
★ AUG 9 1941 ★
P. M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

[redacted]

b7c

Hon. Edgar J. Hoover
F. B. I.
Washington D.C.

July 16. 1941.

Dear Sir.

Please read the enclosed printed matter I received from the president of the Elliott Bay Civic Organization of which I am a member.

I believe its outrageous and a disgrace that business of the American First Committee should be brought forth on the floor of a local civic organization. They are even trying to solicit membership from our [redacted] organization. Don't you think that our president of our organization needs to be investigated?

ack 8/8/41

RECORDED 100-4712-90

INDEXED

1 ENCL.

Yours truly

[redacted]

b7c

...IOT AVENUE CIVIC ASSOCIA ...ON

OF QUEENS, INC.

NOTICE OF SPECIAL MEETING

A special meeting of the Association will be held at the meeting hall, 84th Street and 60th Avenue, on Friday, July 18th, 1941, at 8:30 P.M. to take action on the following:

1. A resolution that this Association send to all the members of Congress a mimeographed letter urging them to vote in favor of the following:

(a) An amendment to the Lend-Lease Act providing that the President of the United States shall not extend any aid under the Act to Soviet Russia.

(b) An amendment to the Neutrality Act directing the President of the United States to apply the provisions of the Act to Soviet Russia.

(c) A proposed amendment to the Constitution of the United States providing that the armed forces of the United States shall not be sent to fight outside United States territory except upon an affirmative vote of a majority of the American people in a national popular referendum, such proposed amendment to be submitted to conventions in the several States.

2. A resolution that the Secretary of this Association write to President Roosevelt requesting him to re-

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/7/86 BY SP-6 bfg/tcy

100-17172-70

move Secretaries Stimson, Knox, Ickes, Morgenthau and Wickard from his Cabinet, replacing them with men who will concentrate on building up the defenses of the United States and who will not attempt to maneuver this country into the war; and authorizing the officers of this Association to circulate a petition to the same effect among the members of the Assocation for their signatures and to send the said petition to President Roosevelt.

3. A resolution that this Association donate to the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE a sum not exceeding one hundred dollars.

4. A resolution instructing the Board of Directors of this Association to rescind a resolution adopted at a special meeting held June 30, 1941, purporting to correct and interpret a resolution adopted by the members of this Association at a regular meeting held June 6, 1941, authorizing the President of this Association to appeal to the members for support for the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE, on the ground that the said purported action of the Board of Directors was beyond their jurisdiction and is therefore illegal, invalid, null and void, and further instructing the Board of Directors not to attempt to re-instate their said purported resolution, either in whole or in part, at any time in the future.

5. Any other business which may be brought before the meeting.

It is suggested that members take this notice to the meeting with them, so that they may readily follow the order of business and the consideration of the various items.

MURIEL BENLISA,
Secretary.

JAY F. TIFFANY
President.

JAY F. TIFFANY
60-35 83rd STREET
ELMHURST, NEW YORK

I M P O R T A N T M E S S A G E

MY FRIENDS AND NEIGHBORS:

I earnestly appeal to all of you to become supporters of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE. My reasons for making this appeal are the following:

All of us pay Federal taxes. Whether we pay an income tax or not, we pay hidden Federal taxes every day of our lives. Anyone who smokes a pack of cigarettes every day pays $17.72 in Federal taxes in the course of a year. When you women buy cosmetics, eleven per cent of the price consists of a hidden Federal excise tax. When we buy an automobile, a tire, an inner tube, a radio, a refrigerator, gasoline or lubricating oil, part of the purchase price consists of a Federal excise tax. If we go to the theater or the movies, we pay a Federal tax on the admission charge. We can't even drink a glass of beer without having part of our dime go to the brewer to reimburse him for the tax which he pays to the Federal Government on every gallon of beer which he brews.

Next year these taxes will all be increased because of the defense program.

Most of us pay a Federal income tax. This year some of you may have paid an income tax for the first time in your lives, because of the lowering of the personal exemptions.

Next year our income taxes will be drastically increased. They will be anywhere from three to six times as large as they were this year. For example, if you paid a tax of $11. this year on an income of $2,500., you will pay between $44. and $72. next year, according to the tax plans now pending in

Congress; and if you paid a tax of $31. on an income of $3,000., next year you will pay between $97. and $152.

BUT IF AMERICA ENTERS THE WAR, OUR TAXES WILL NOT BE INCREASED THREE, FOUR, FIVE OR SIX TIMES. THEY WILL BE INCREASED TEN, FIFTEEN OR EVEN TWENTY TIMES. THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND ARE PAYING ONE-THIRD OR ONE-HALF OF THEIR INCOMES TO THEIR GOVERNMENT IN TAXES, AND WE WILL BE DOING THE SAME THING IN THIS COUNTRY UNLESS WE KEEP AMERICA OUT OF THE WAR.

When we are threatened with a paving or sewer assessment of $50. or $75. two or three thousand of us go to Lost Battalion Hall and shout down the politicians who are trying to assess us. We should be much more aroused whena very small minority of people in this country, many of whom are not even American citiznes, are trying to push us into a war which will cost each one of us not $50. or $75. but hundreds of dollars per year for the rest of our lives.

I have said that a very small minority are trying to push us into war. Even the Gallup poll shows that only 20 per cent of the persons interviewed want war. Probably the actual number of people in this country who want war is as small as 5 or 10 per cent of the adult population. The following letter appeared recently in the New York World-Telegram:

> "I am an insurance man, who in the course of a year comes into personal contact with at least several thousand persons in all walks of life. During the last 12 months I have made it a point to ask all I have come in contact with this question:
>
> 'Do you favor our entry into war, even if Britian is defeated?'
>
> Invariably, the answer has been 'No'. Furthermore, and this is interesting, I have yet to meet a person who has been interviewed by the Gallup poll."

Senator Wagner said in a recent press interview that his mail is running 100 to 1 aganist convoys,which would lead usto war

If so few people want war, then why are we deluged with war propaganda? The answer is that the warmakers are organiz active, influential and well-financed. There are at least five of them in President Roosevelt's Cabinet; they determine the editori policy of many newspapers and magazines; and they control the production of motion pictures so completely that they have been able to pour down our throats a strong dose of war medicine with their anti-Nazi films (but they never produce an anti-Communist fil

There are two things which the 90 or 95 per cent of u who are opposed to war can do in order to offset the propaganda of the war-makers.

1. We can send a letter or a post-card to each of our Senators and Representatives telling them that we are opposed to American entry into the war, that we are opposed to convoys, that we are opposed to any amendment of the Neutrality Act, and that we favor legislation providing for a national popular referendum before any declaration of war shall be made by Congress. Such letters and post-cards should be sent to the following:

Hon. Robert F. Wagner,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

Hon. James M. Mead,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

Hon. Caroline O'Day,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

Hon. Matthew J. Merritt,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

Hon. William B. Barry,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

When you write take care to sign your name clearly and to put your address on your letter or post-card, so that the Senators and Representatives will know that you are among their constituents. When you write to Representative Barry, let him know that you appreciate the work which he has been doing to keep America at peace. As you can see from the enclosed copy of a letter which Representative Barry has sent to his constituents who have written him in opposition to convoys, he has taken his stand with those of us who do not want American boys to die for the defense of "democracy in China and India (and now Russia).

2. We can join the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE, which is daily growing in strength and which, if it grows strong enough, will be able to compel the Administration to keep this country at peace. A small contribution to the Committee now will enable it to carry on its work and will save each one of us hundreds of dollars in war taxes. If you will sign the enclosed card and return it to me, one of my volunteer helpers or I will call on you to enroll you in the America First Committee.

The same clique of Judas Iscariots who sold the lives of American soldiers to the Allies for thirty pieces of silver in 1917 are working night and day to put over the same deal again. They have the help of the anti-Christian Communist Party with all its powerful propaganda agencies and all its smirking, hypocritical admirers and fellow travellers, from Mrs. Roosevelt down to Mayor LaGuardia. Unless the rest of us start fighting for peace, American boys will be dying in England, Russia, China and Africa before the end of this year, and the common people of America will be picked clean by the tax-collectors.

Sincerely yours,

JAY F. TIFFANY.

C O P Y

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.
May 21, 1941

Dear Constituent:

This is to acknowledge receipt of your recent letter regarding convoys.

I am absolutely opposed to this Nation sending its fleet to convoy through any war zone; as the President said, "convoys mean shooting and shooting means war".

I earnestly request you to send a letter of protest to the President, and also write to at least three friends, requesting them to do likewise and have them in turn write to at least three friends more; in other words, start a chain letter system a gainst the drive for convoys and war.

In spite of propaganda and hysteria of a frightened minority, this Nation can successfully defend the Western Hemisphere from attack by any possible combination of enemies.

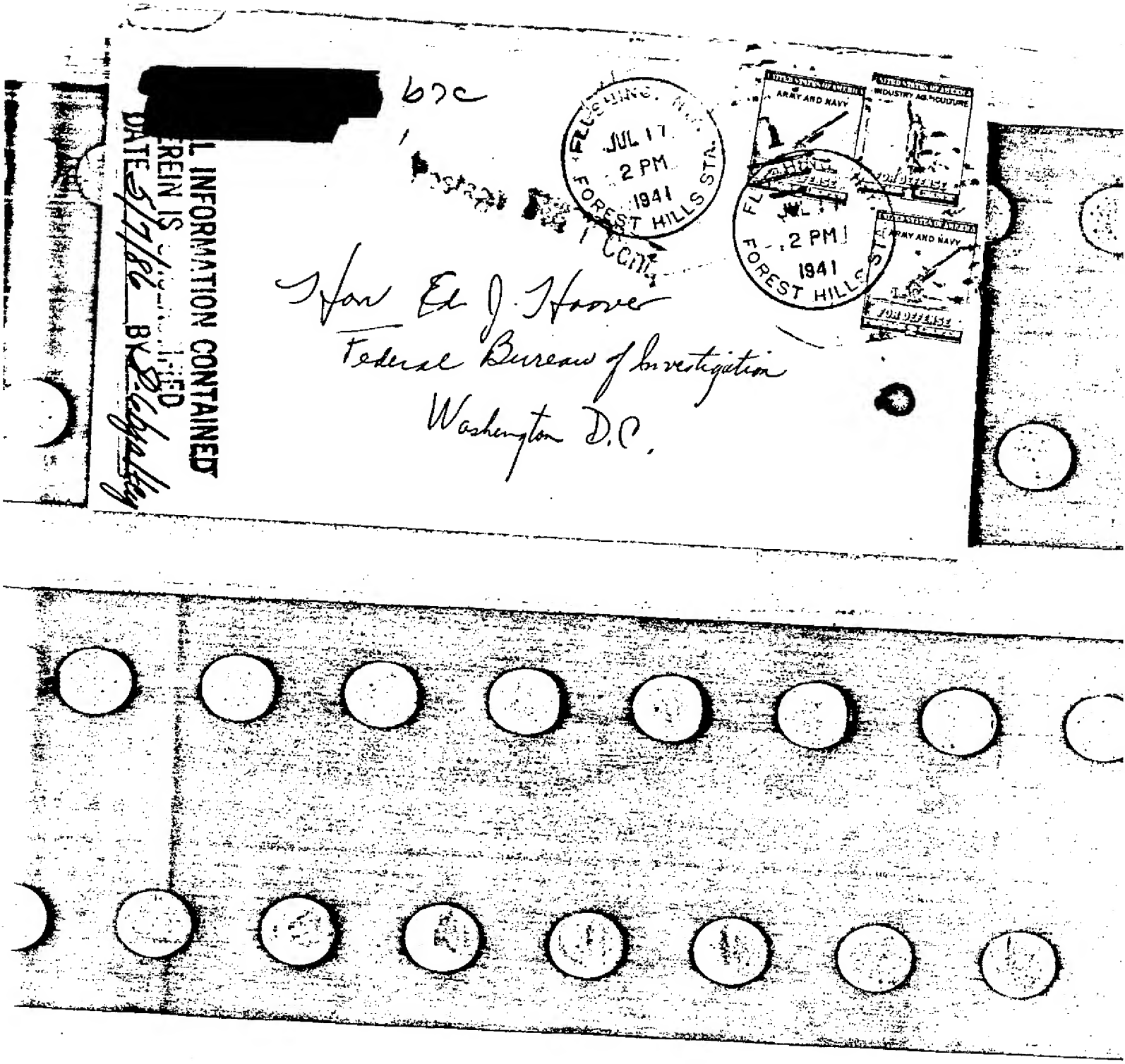
The argument that we will lose our foreign trade with Europe, Asia and Africa and strangle economically if England does not win is absurd. In the first place, our foreign trade with those continents amounts to only 3½% of our entire business. In the second place, we have been competing successfully for many years with dictatorship nations where the so-called slave labor exists. As a matter of fact, since 1930 up until the outbreak of the War, our foreign trade doubled, and during those years we competed with and traded with all of the totalitarian countries; and strange as it may seem the lowest wage scale in the world exists in "Democratic" China, and the next lowest wage scale is in British India, another alleged democracy where coal miners are paid 90¢ a week, jute workers $1.25 a week and industrial workers $1.35 a week. Child labor is prevalent, and the average wage for it is 70¢ a month.

The destiny of this Nation is not dependent upon any other nation outside of the Western Hemisphere, where we can be self-sufficient if necessary.

It is my conviction that if the men who suffered at Valley Forge, and founded this Nation, were alive today, they would gaze with amazement and shame at the small minority of Americans who are hysterically proclaiming that this great and powerful nation of 130 million people cannot defend itself without the aid of the British Navy.

Yours very truly,

W. B. Barry
Member of Congress.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2 PM
1941
FLUSHING, N.Y.
FOREST HILLS STA.
JUL
2 PM
1941
FOREST HILLS STA.
ARMY AND NAVY
INDUSTRY AGRICULTURE
Hon Ed J. Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington D.C.
L INFORMATION CONTAINED
REIN IS
DATE

RECORDED 100-4712-90

[redacted]

August 8, 1941

[redacted]

Dear [redacted]

I wish to acknowledge receipt of your letter dated July 16, 1941, with enclosure.

Your courtesy and interest in writing as you did are indeed appreciated, and you may be assured your letter will receive appropriate consideration.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 5/7/86 BY SP6 bjaikey

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carlson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Honden
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED
★ AUG 8 1941 ★
P. M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

[redacted]

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER
DIRECTOR

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justic
Washington, D. C.
July 12, 1941

DC:IS

RE: AMERICA FOR AMERICANS

New York, N. Y.
June 14, 1941

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. KRAMER

Information has been received from an unknown outside source dated June 14, 1941, at New York City, to the effect that the following is reported by "The Hour:"

"The America First Committee is adopting the fascist slogan of 'America for Americans'. This slogan has been appearing consistently in the press of the German-American Bund, the Silver Shirts, the Christian Front and other U. S. Fifth Column groups. At the most recent America First meeting in Bay Ridge, Brooklyn, 'America for Americans' was the theme of the evening. When Congressman Dewey Short declared, 'This country was founded by Americans and is for the benefit of 100% Americans -- not alien elements who are enemies of the Republic,' the Coughlinite audience rose to its feet, wildly applauding.

"Another orator received with great enthusiasm at the Bay Ridge meeting was Representative Hamilton Fish, who referred to the role of the 'international bankers' in dragging the United States into the Second World War; the reference was greeted by the audience with cries of 'The Jews! The Jews!' The Congressman smiled at this demonstration and continued, 'We don't want any alien philosophies in this country. This is a Christian American nation, and we want to keep it both Christian and American. America for the Americans -- that should be the cry of the America First Committee.'

"It is fitting that the America First Committee, which has become a rallying point for anti-democratic forces should adopt as its official slogan the battle cry of American Fascism."

Respectfully,

D. Currie

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy
Mr. Nease
Mr. Tracy
Miss Beahm
Miss Gandy

100-4712-91
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
1 JUL 24 1941
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

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CH-10

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/7/86 BY SP6bga/tcg

EX-10

Non-Sectarian

ANTI-NAZI LEAGUE
TO CHAMPION HUMAN RIGHTS

165 WEST 46th STREET · NEW YORK, N. Y.
Cable Address: NOSAN
Telephone: MEdallion 3-2720

FOUNDED IN 1933
BY SAMUEL UNTERMYER

Officers and Board of Directors

PROF. NELSON P. MEAD
Pres., Nat'l Advisory Council

PROF. JAMES H. SHELDON
Chairman, Board of Directors

DR. B. DUBOVSKY
Chairman, Executive Committee

MEYER W. WEISGAL
Executive Vice-Chairman

RABBI LEON FRAM
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HON. A. L. HARKAVY
ARTHUR J. HARVEY
SIDNEY HILLMAN
RABBI EDWARD L. ISRAEL
REV. STEPHEN M. JAMES
SAMUEL S. LEIBOWITZ
REV. DONALD G. LOTHROP
IRVING MANESS
ANTHONY MASSIMIANO
ARTHUR L. MALKINSON
PROF. ALONZO F. MYERS
MRS. LOUIS MYERS
NATHANIEL NATHAN
EZEKIEL RABINOWITZ
MRS. KATHERINE HAYDEN SALTER
PROF. WILLIAM P. SEARS, JR.
GERHART H. SEGER
MISS TONY SENDER
M. HERBERT SYME
DEAN WILLIAM E. TAYLOR
GEORGE TOMASICK
ANDREW VALUSEK
JOSEPH WHITE
PROF. MAX WINKLER
MAX ZARITSKY
DAVID ZIMET

July 12, 1941

Mr. Walter Winchell,
Daily Mirror,
235 E. 45 St.,
N.Y.C.

Dear Walter:

Despite protestations to the contrary by certain White Russians, the Non-Sectarian Anti-Nazi League has evidence that a group of them are working with pro-Nazi elements in this country and abroad. Their latest tack has been to join the America First Committee. One Czarist Captain has already become a key figure in the N.Y. chapter...

We're releasing this story in detail next week, but you're welcome to use it in any way Sunday night or Monday.

INDEXED — RECORDED 100-4712-9

I've been wanting to ask if I might submit a column for August, but missed you several times at the Stork. I'd like to send you one which could be used in any manner, omitting the name of the League, if you prefer.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

[redacted]

b7C

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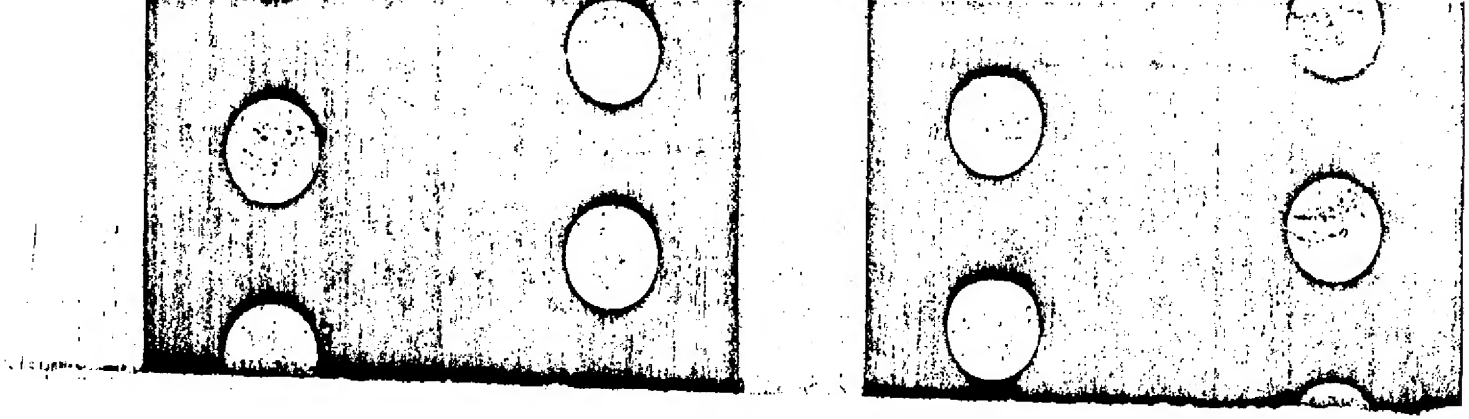


ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-17-76 BY SP2 Bashley

NEW YORK N.Y.
JUL 22
9-PM
1941

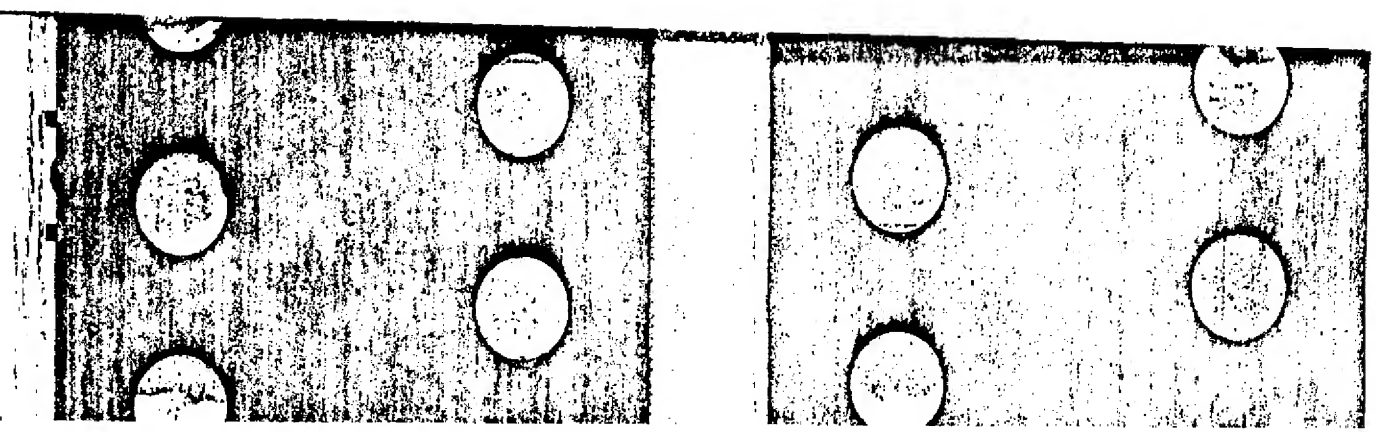
GRAND CENTRAL
ANNEX

Mr.J.Edgar Hoover,

Federal Bureau of Investigation

U.S.Department of Justice

Washington,D.C.



[redacted] b7c

RECORDED
INDEXED

100-4712-92

July 30, 1941

4

Assistant Director E. J. Connelley
New York, New York

Re: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
INTERNAL SECURITY

Dear Sir:

The following information was received at this Bureau from a confidential source:

"Despite protestations to the contrary by certain White Russians, the Non-Sectarian Anti-Nazi League has evidence that a group of them are working with pro-Nazi elements in this country and abroad. Their latest tack has been to join the America First Committee. One Czarist Baron has already become a key figure in the New York chapter."

These data are being furnished for your information only.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

66

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Trevor
Miss Gandy

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED
JUL 30 1941
P. M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/7/86 BY SP6 bja/tcy

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
607 U. S. Court House
Foley Square
New York, N. Y.

~~PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL~~

b7C [redacted]
100-9887

July 23, 1941

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9/30/85 BY SP4 mcs
#241183
3-9-86 sp6 by alley Comp Dt
262359

Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

RE: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
Internal Security

Dear Sir:

Enclosed herewith for the information and scrutiny of the Bureau are copies of the following papers and publications put out by the America First Committee in conjunction with that organization's rally which was held in Madison Square Garden, New York City on the night of May 23, 1941:

Undated form letter written by Henry E. Mooberry, director of publicity, America First Committee which transmitted press tickets for the rally.

List of sponsors of the rally.

List of patriotic songs which were sung at the rally.

Text of Charles A. Lingbergh's address.

List of telegrams sent to the rally.

Text of address of John T. Flynn.

Text of address of Norman Thomas.

Text of address of Senator Burton K. Wheeler.

All of the above was turned over to this office by [redacted] Copies of the same are not being retained in this office.

Very truly yours,

T. J. DONEGAN, Acting for
E. J. CONNELLEY,

Enclosures - 8
cc NY File 65-3137

RECORDED
INDEXED
100-4712-9
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
JUL 25 1941
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FIVE

Encl. det. 7-30-41 K.K.M.

1 ENCL. C

GH-18

[redacted] b7c

New York City
INDEXED July 25, 1941

RECORDED

100-4717-14

Federal Bureau of Investigation

Washington, D. C.

1 JUL 28 1941

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Gentlemen:

I am not complaining about graft in Government; that is, abuse of the franking privilege, but I am complaining about Senator Wheeler's misuse in this latest episode in an effort to cause dissension in our Army and other citizenry.

Why should $10,000 be grabbed out of the pocketbooks of American taxpayers by Senator Wheeler for the purpose of destroying the progress we have made in building up our national defense? To put it mildly, it is a polite and courteous program of hijacking. The saddest part is that his influence might be more costly than the money he spent.

Personally, I consider Senator Wheeler just as dangerous as Paul Kassey. If a senator can be impeached, I am in favor of

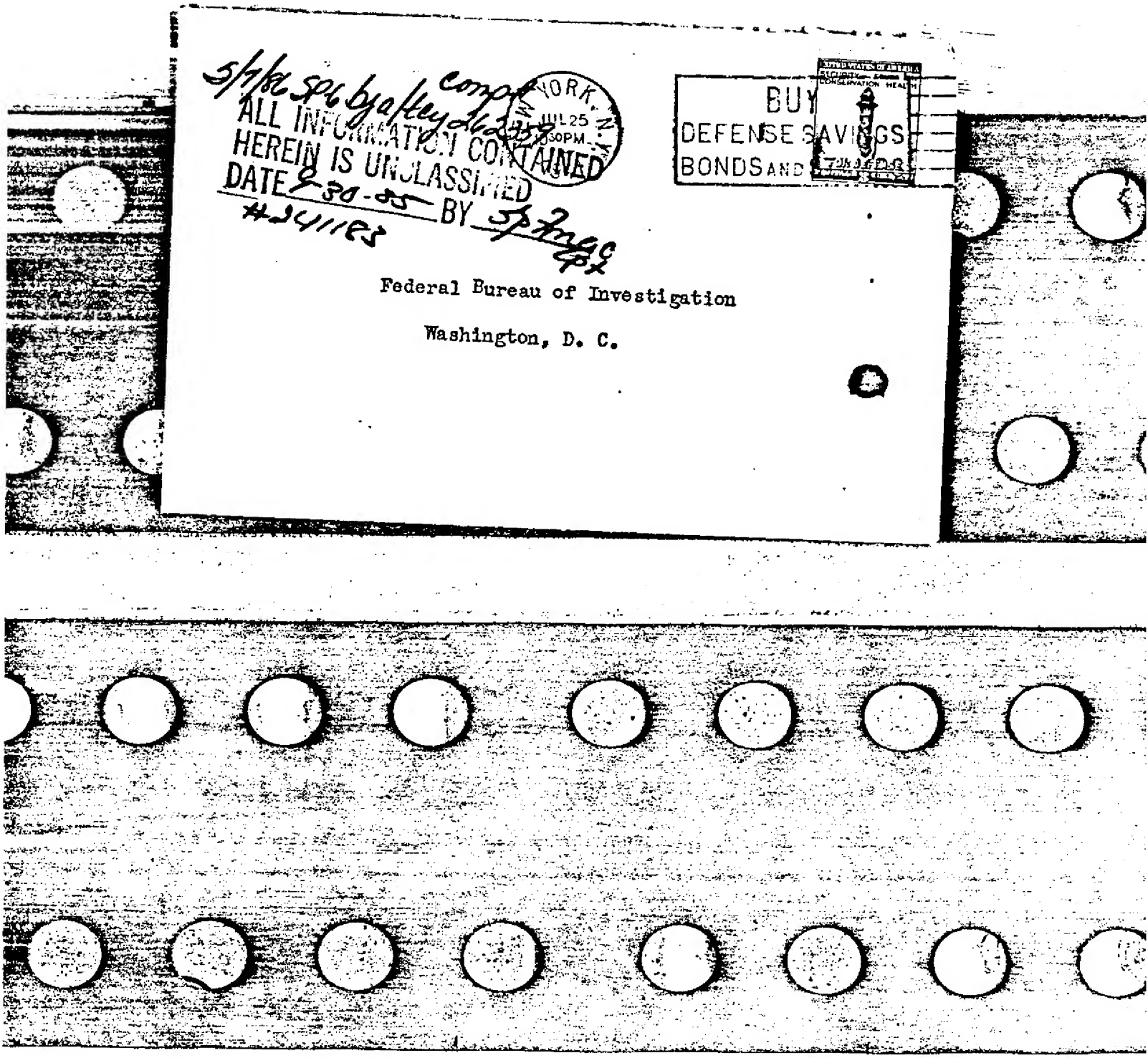
immediate proceedings.

As an American citizen, I should be greatly relieved to know that the F. B. I. was investigating this case carefully and thoroughly.

Very truly yours,

[redacted]

b7c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#341163
NEW YORK, N.Y.
JUL 25
BUY
DEFENSE SAVINGS
BONDS AND
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

100-4712-94

[redacted]

RECORDED

August 6, 1941

[redacted]

New York, New York

Dear [redacted]

I wish to acknowledge receipt of your letter dated July 25, 1941.

Please be advised that your communication has been made a matter of permanent record in the files of this Bureau.

Sincerely yours,

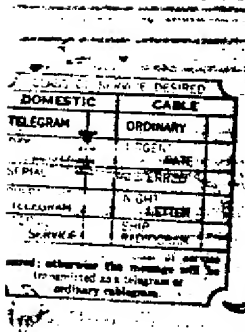
John Edgar Hoover
Director

#241183
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9-30-85 BY SP2aac
5/7/86 sp6 by alley corp# 262359

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Gleria
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Headon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED
AUG 8 1941
P. M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

[redacted]



COMMUNICATION
OPR ATTACHED

COPY OF WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

5/7/86 SC Bafley 62-117889

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 01301985 BY SP7mgc

#241763

RECORDED
INDEXED

100-4717-95

FEDERAL BUREAU

JUL 28 1941

U.S. DEPARTMENT

JUNE 28TH 1951

PRESIDENT (PRIVATE)
DEFENDER MAGAZINE
WASHINGTON D C

DEMAND YOU ADVISE PEOPLE IMMEDIATELY THRU PRESS AND YOUR [redacted] MAGAZINE WHY YOU GAVE SENATOR WHEELER LIST OF NAMES AND WHY YOU SEEK TO DEMORALIZE MORAL OF OF OUR COUNTRY AND DISRUPT OUR ARMY AND WHY YOU KNOWING THAT OUR PRESIDENT RICHELTY DECLARED A STAE OF EMERGENCY YOU ALLOW YOUR OFFICES TO BE USED AND NO DOUBT WITHYOUR CONSENT THY CAUSE DISUNITY IN THIS COUNTRY GRANTING THAT WHEELER YOU AND LINDBERG MAY HAVE SOME GOOD POINTS BOUT OUR DEMOCRACY IS THAT MAJORITY RULES AND SUGGEST THAT YOU ABIDE BY MAJORITY DECISION

Burton K

67

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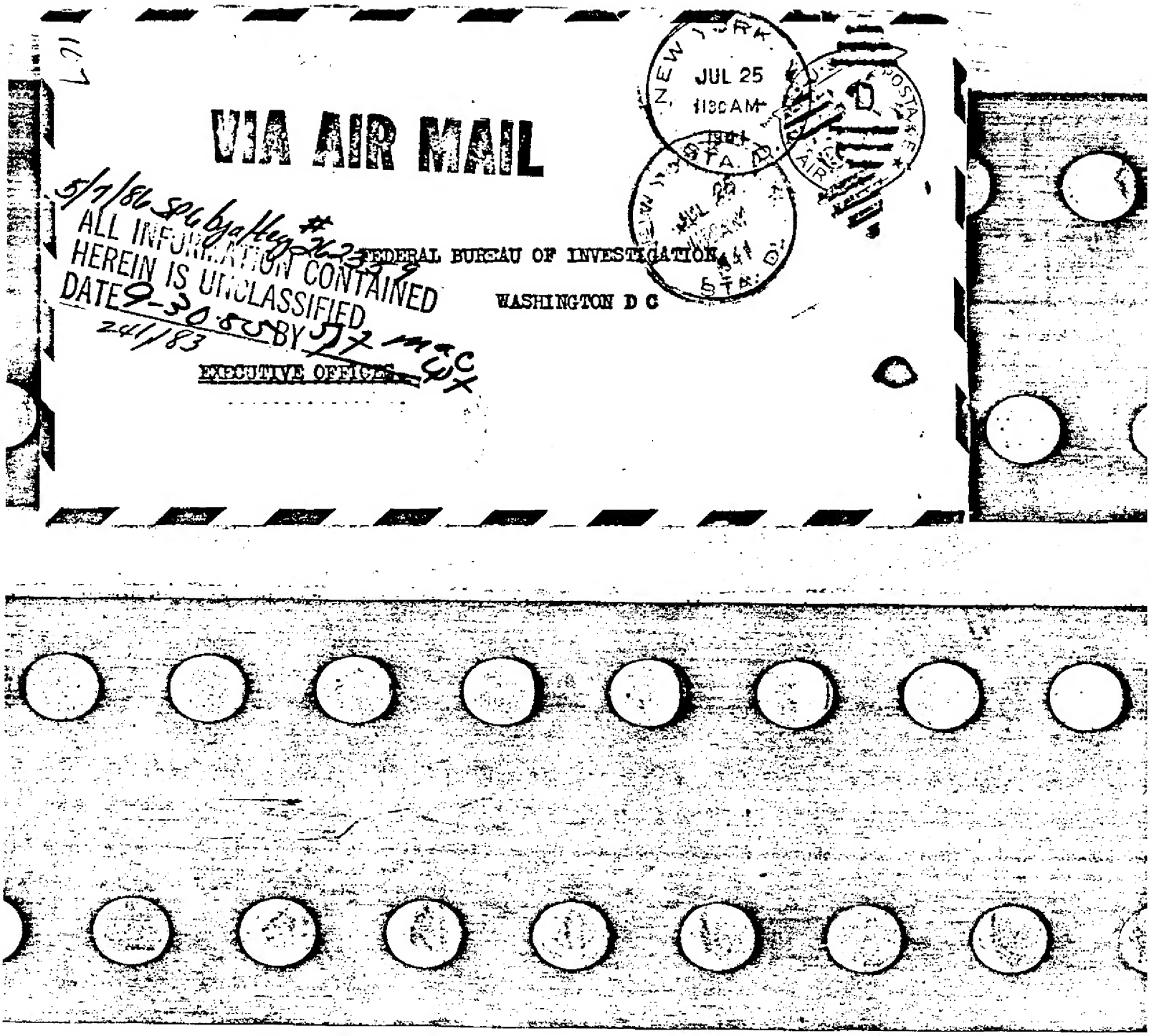
VIA AIR MAIL
JUL 25
1130AM
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
WASHINGTON D C
EXECUTIVE OFFICES
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9-30-85 BY

FREEDOM OF INFORMATION AND PRIVACY ACTS

SUBJECT: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

FILE NUMBER: 100-4712

PART: 3 OF 19

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

FILE DESCRIPTION

BUREAU FILE

SUBJECT America First Committee

FILE NO. 100-4712

SECTION NO. 3

SERIALS 96

thru

150

[redacted]

New York City,
New York.

12635

My Dear Mr. Hoover:

Preston and Allen news commentators stated Sunday night via Radio that an investigation was being made into the membership and funds of the America First Committee. Am sure that the America First Committee are not one bit scared of any investigation.

EX-14 RECORDED
INDEXES

100-4372-96

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
JUL 29 19[illegible]
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

As an American and a proud member of the America First Committee I demand that an investigation also be made of the membership and funds of the Defend America By aiding the Allies, Fight for Freedom, and the Union Now Committees.

A reply is respectfully requested.

Sincerely,

[redacted]

Aug 15 1941

b7C

RECORDED 100-4712-96 August 15, 1941 12634

[redacted] b7C

[redacted] b7C

New York, New York

Dear [redacted] b7C

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter postmarked July 28, 1941. I want to thank you for your courtesy in communicating with me.

Please be advised that the jurisdiction of this Bureau to conduct investigations is limited strictly by Federal statute to alleged violations of specified Federal laws.

You may be assured that the content of your letter has been carefully noted and made a matter of official record in the permanent files of this Bureau.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

[redacted] 5/7/86 [redacted]

Tolson
E. A. Tamm
Clegg
Foxworth
Glavin
Ladd
Nichols
Rosen
Carson
Drayton
Julian Tamm
Mohr
Parsons
Tracy
Gurnea
Harbo
Kramer

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED
AUG 15 1941
P. M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

15 AUG 15 1941

[redacted] b7C

[redacted] July 26, 1941.

b7C

Hon. John Edgar Hoover,
Chief F. B. I.,
Washington,
D. C.

Dear Sir:

I am attaching hereto a card sent out by Senator Burton K. Wheeler to my son, [redacted] who will probably be drafted within the next few days. b7C

This, in my opinion, is so nearly treasonable that I feel that it should be investigated by your organization.

My father served in the War between the States, I served in the Spanish American war and now I have nine sons and sons-in-law, one of whom is already in the army and the others ready to go when called, and not one of the whole crowd has ever complained that he wanted out or to be left out and every one of us who has served went in for the duration, and if and when I am needed in any capacity, I am ready to go and will proud of any service I gan be to my country, and certainly, I will never be heard advising the Government to turn its back on the liberty and freedon which our forefathers won for us at so great a sacrifice.

Yours very truly,

[redacted] b7C

5/7/86 SP6 by alty 232359
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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9-30-85 BY SP2 mac
#241183

ack 8/1/41 [redacted] b7C

EX-10 RECORDED
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100-4712-97
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
1 JUL 29 1941
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
[redacted] b

1 ENCL. 0

UNITED STATES SENATE—PART OF Cong. Record—FREE

Write today to President Roosevelt, at the White House, in Washington, that you are against our entry into the European war.

—*Senator Burton K. Wheeler*

[NOT PRINTED AT GOVERNMENT EXPENSE]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 9-30-85 BY SP2 [illegible]

[redacted] b7c

U.S.S.

11-2127-201

After 5 days, return to

[redacted]

b7c

ETOWAH TENN. JUL 28 5:30PM

UNITED STATES POSTAGE 3 CENTS

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 9-30-85 BY SP2 [illegible]

Hon. John Edgar Hoover,
Chief F. B. I.,
Washington,
D. C.

★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT SAID:

"And while I am talking to you, fathers and mothers, I give you one more assurance. I have said this before, but I shall say it again, and again, and again, your boys are not going to be sent into any foreign wars."—Speech at Boston, October 30, 1940.

FORMER PRESIDENT HERBERT HOOVER SAYS:

Right now we need calm thinking. We need reason. We need tolerance. We need deliberation. We must not be swept off our feet by the profound depth of our emotions.

★★★

SENATOR BURTON K. WHEELER SAYS:

The American people should tell President Roosevelt that they expect him to live up to his campaign pledges and keep this country out of the European war. They should write their Senators and Congressman regarding their views.

★★★

FORMER AMBASSADOR JOSEPH P. KENNEDY SAYS:

"The people who must suffer and give up their lives are entitled to know the facts before their judgment can be won to the interventionist cause. We must have the completest candor; we must have the fullest disclosure; we must have the freest debate. * * * A direct attack on us would require an armada mightier than the power of man could create."

★★★

COL. CHARLES LINDBERGH SAYS:

. . . the propaganda of war has spread through our country. Once we entered a war that was going to make the world safe for democracy and end all need for war in the future. We sent 2,000,000 troops overseas. After that we left the future of the world in the hands of our college presidents and our idealists. The greatest wars and the bloodiest revolutions of all history have taken place under their guidance.

. . . Now they want us to go to war again. Our Government asks us to preserve democracy abroad by creating a dictatorship in our own country. And all this in the name of idealism.

The future of democracy depends on our ability to govern our own country. It is far more essential for this country to have farms without mortgages, workmen with their own homes, and young people who can afford families than it is for us to crusade abroad for freedoms that are tottering in our own country.

Our principles are open and clear. We believe that the security of this country depends upon our own character and strength. We believe that the best way to defend our Nation is to keep our armies on our own soil. We stand for an independent American destiny.

If you stand with us, we ask you to help us by organizing meetings, by talking to your friends and by writing to your Representatives in Washington. The crisis is here. We need your assistance now. The entire future of America depends on the action we take at this time.

★★★

SENATOR GERALD P. NYE SAYS:

My fear is not as to any probable or likely outcome of Europe's war. What concerns me is the knowledge that, if we go into the war, whatever the outcome of that war will be, the United States will be the Nation most hated and most despised by all the warring nations and their peoples.

GPO

RECORDED [redacted] 100-4712-97

August 14, 1941

b7C

[redacted]

b7C

Dear [redacted]

b7C

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of July 26, 1941, with enclosures. I want to express my appreciation for your courtesy in communicating with me.

Please be advised that the content of your communication, as well as the enclosure, has been made a matter of permanent record in the official files of this Bureau.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

5/7/86 SL bja/tcy comp# 22359
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9/30/85 BY SP7mac tpt.
#241183

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Fenwerth
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Mendon
Mr. Trotter

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED
★ AUG 15 1941 ★
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

b7C

[redacted]

62-2 XV

LARGEST PAID AND [illegible] ITY NEWSPAPER CIRCULATION AS CERTIFIED B[illegible] POSTOFFICE STATEMENTS

Forty-Sixth Year

J. R. RISON, JR.,
PUBLISHER
119 E. WASHINGTON ST.

THE PARISIAN

CAPITAL
$100,000

CARRYING MORE ADVERTISING THAN ANY WEEKLY NEWSPAPER SOUTH OF THE OHIO RIVER

PARIS, TENNESSEE

July 26, 1941.

Federal Bureau of Investigations,
Washington, D.C.

Gentlemen:-

In connection with publicity this week concerning Senator Wheeler's mailed-out postal card, I am enclosing the one received by me:

Please note the stenciled name address. This was done in some magazine publication's mailing room. Note the expiration date is January 1941. I am unable to compare the stencil with magazines I was receiving, because the time is out, and I have no back numbers on hand. However, I am giving you a complete list of magazines that I received during the year 1940 that I am not getting now.

This mail label was on one of the following: Woman's World, Movie Mirror, Country Home, Southern Agriculturist, Better Homes & Gardens, True Story.

I am rather of the opinion it is the same type and stencil that was used on mailing Woman's World, which is a Capper publication mailed out of Kansas City, Mo.# This particular magazine has also a racket in connection with puzzles. When a subscriber answers a puzzle they write back that it is a fine answer and to send a certain amount of money and it will put you "in the running."

Because of this it is possible for you to work more easily, maybe, through the postoffice department--if you care to investigate the source of the mailing of the Wheeler postal card. And, this might eventually throw some light on where the financial clearing house is for the America First outfit, and may give you a clue to the source of the money that pays off their speaker expense accounts, etc.

Yours sincerely,

[redacted]

#or Topeka, Kans.

ENCL 1

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 9/30/83 BY SP7 mac
#241163

5/1/86 SP6 bja/tkg 26359 cons#

RECORDED
INDEXED

100-4712-98

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
7 JUL 29 1941
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

b7C

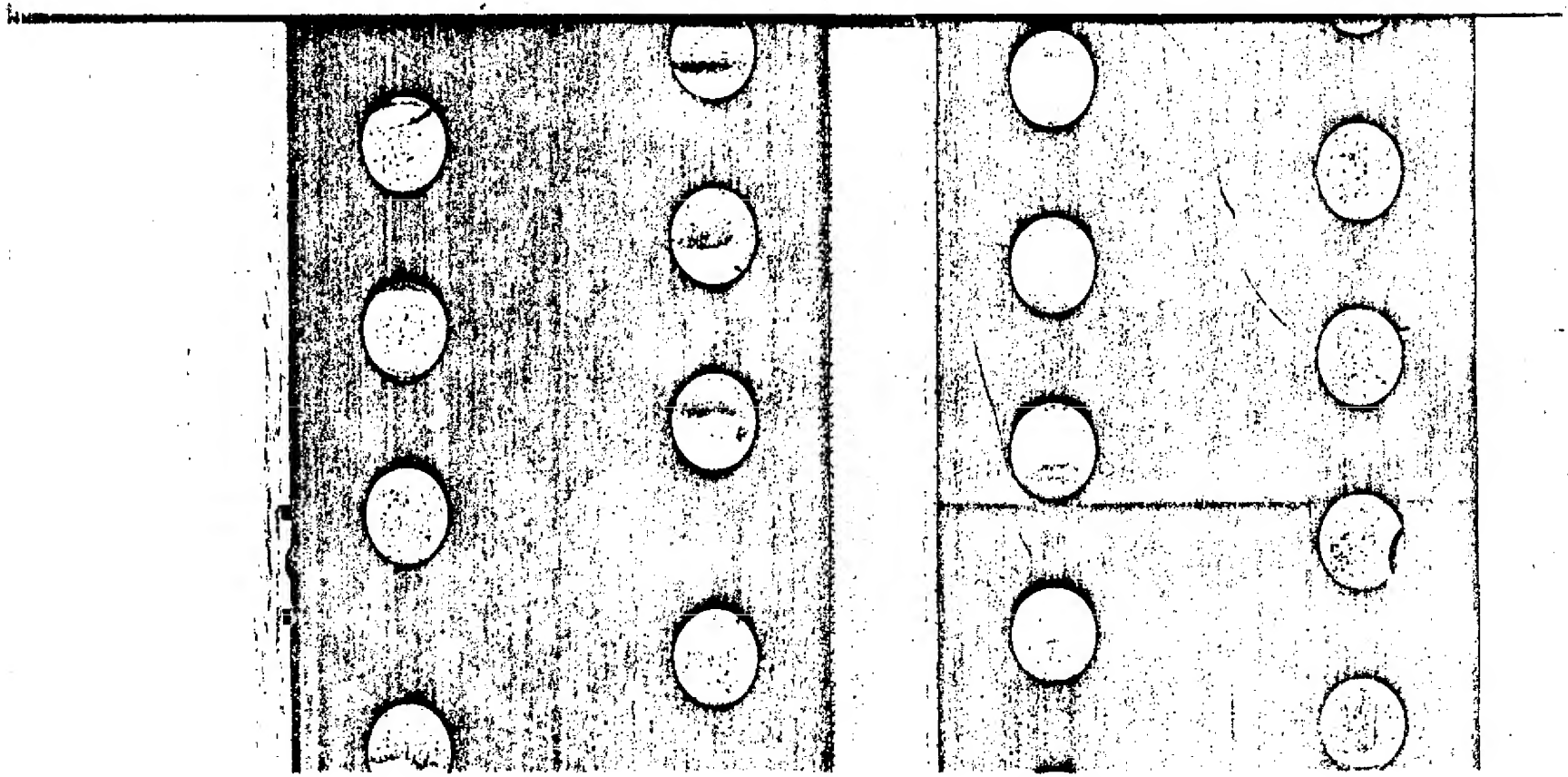
UNITED STATES SENATE—PART OF Cong. Record—FREE

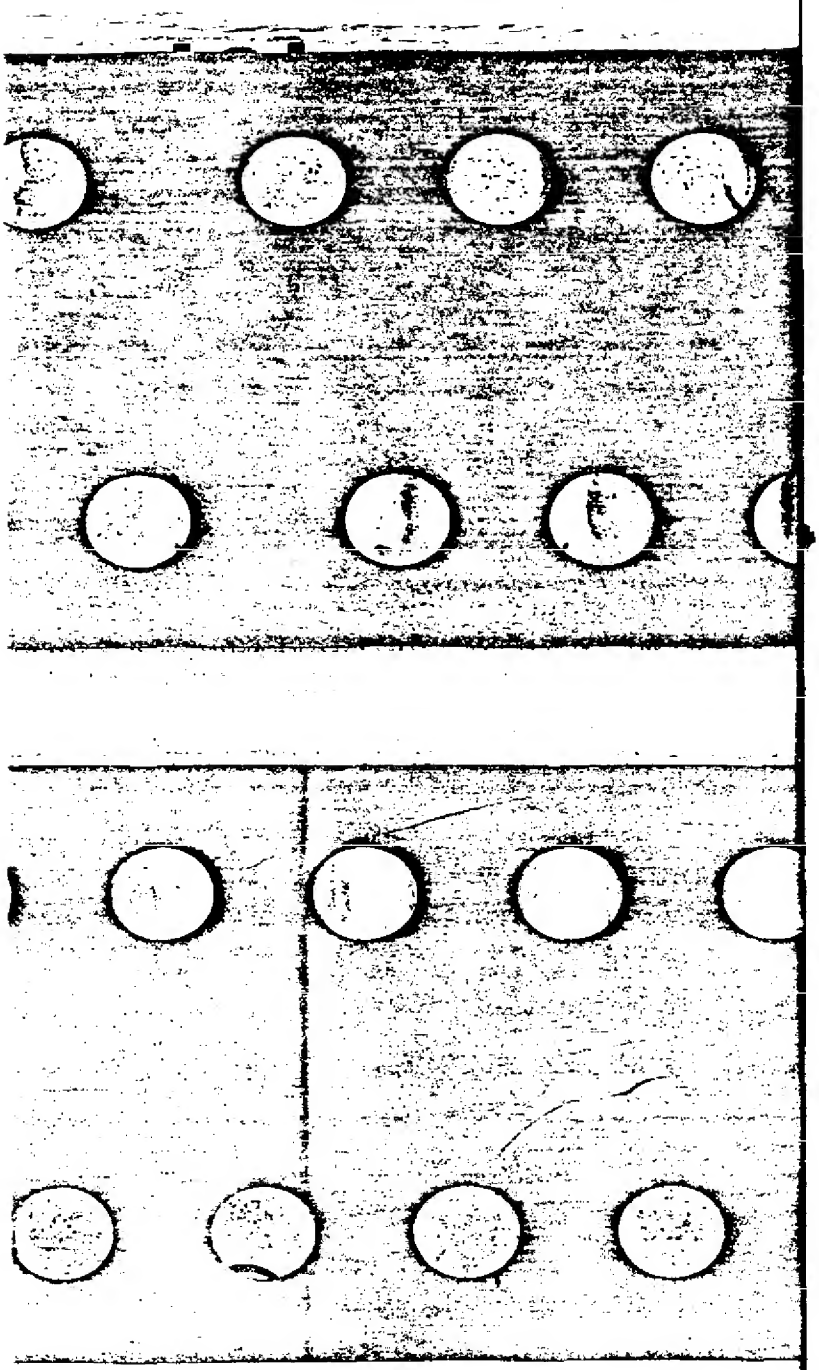
Write today to President Roosevelt, at the White House, in Washington, that you are against our entry into the European war.

—Senator Burton K. Wheeler

[NOT PRINTED AT GOVERNMENT EXPENSE]

B K Wheeler
U.S.S.





★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT SAID:

"And while I am talking to you, fathers and mothers, I give you one more assurance. I have said this before, but I shall say it again, and again, and again, your boys are not going to be sent into any foreign wars."— Speech at Boston, October 30, 1940.

FORMER PRESIDENT HERBERT HOOVER SAYS:

Right now we need calm thinking. We need reason. We need tolerance. We need deliberation. We must not be swept off our feet by the profound depth of our emotions.

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The American people should tell President Roosevelt that they expect him to live up to his campaign pledges and keep this country out of the European war. They should write their Senators and Congressman regarding their views.

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"The people who must suffer and give up their lives are entitled to know the facts before their judgment can be won to the interventionist cause. We must have the completest candor; we must have the fullest disclosure; we must have the freest debate. * * * A direct attack on us would require an armada mightier than the power of man could create."

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. . . the propaganda of war has spread through our country. Once we entered a war that was going to make the world safe for democracy and end all need for war in the future. We sent 2,000,000 troops overseas. After that we left the future of the world in the hands of our college presidents and our idealists. The greatest wars and the bloodiest revolutions of all history have taken place under their guidance.

. . . Now they want us to go to war again. Our Government asks us to preserve democracy abroad by creating a dictatorship in our own country. And all this in the name of idealism.

The future of democracy depends on our ability to govern our own country. It is far more essential for this country to have farms without mortgages, workmen with their own homes, and young people who can afford families than it is for us to crusade abroad for freedoms that are tottering in our own country.

Our principles are open and clear. We believe that the security of this country depends upon our own character and strength. We believe that the best way to defend our Nation is to keep our armies on our own soil. We stand for an independent American destiny.

If you stand with us, we ask you to help us by organizing meetings, by talking to your friends and by writing to your Representatives in Washington. The crisis is here. We need your assistance now. The entire future of America depends on the action we take at this time.

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My fear is not as to any probable or likely outcome of Europe's war. What concerns me is the knowledge that, if we go into the war, whatever the outcome of that war will be, the United States will be the Nation most hated and most despised by all the warring nations and their peoples.

320250 ard

RECORDED [redacted] b7c

100-4712-98 August 14, 1941

[redacted] b7c

Dear [redacted] b7c

This will acknowledge receipt of your communication dated July 26, 1941, with enclosure. Permit me to express my appreciation for your courtesy and interest in making these data available to me.

You may be assured that the content of your letter, as well as the enclosure, has been made a matter of official record in the files of this Bureau.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

5/7/86 BY 60324 uc/tlg Comp# 2-2259
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9-30-85 BY SP7 mcg
#241183

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Trotter
Miss Gandy

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED
AUG 14 1941
P.M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Peters

b7c

[redacted]

[redacted]

July 26, 1941

Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Gentlemen:

I am enclosing one of those cards Senator Burton K. Wheeler sent to my mother.

We are loyal American citizens, approve of our President, and have no respect for anyone who is trying to undermine our American Freedom, either intentionally or unintentionally.

Something needs to be done about the abuse of our Freedom of Speech, and Mr. Wheeler needs to be told that there are people in our U. S. who consider the receipt of such literature as I am sending you a gross insult to the recipient and a reflection on his intelligence.

Respectfully yours,

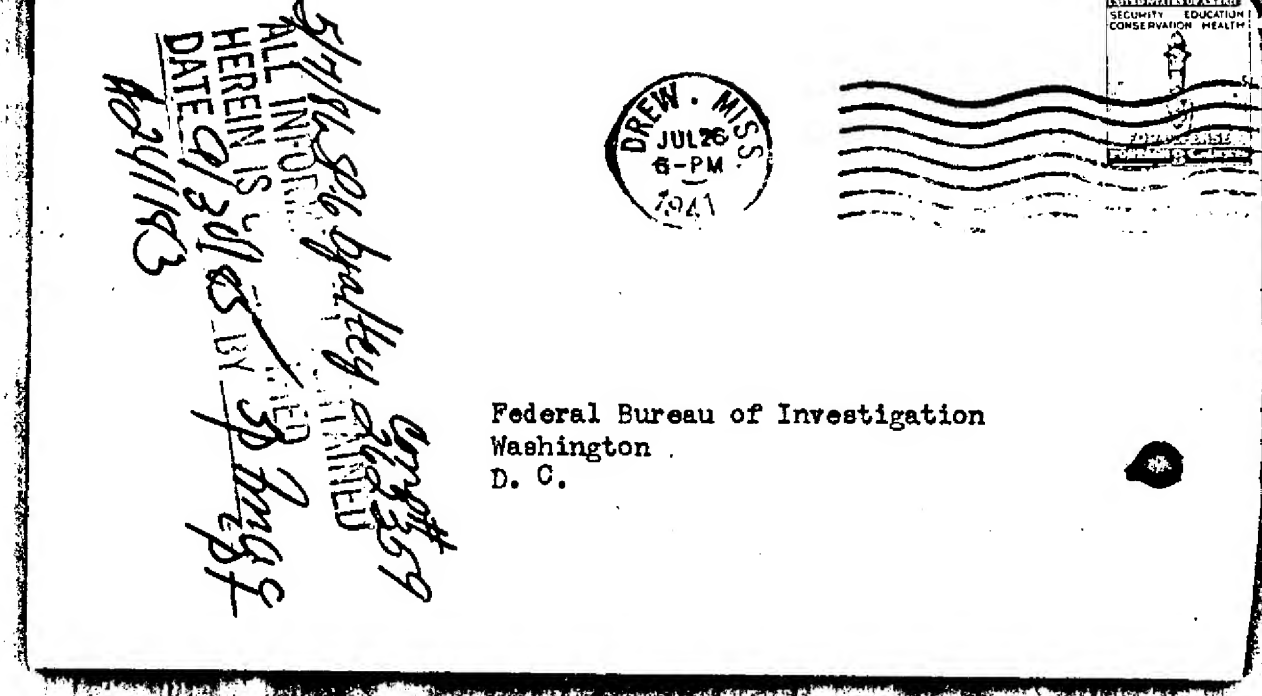
[redacted]

[redacted]

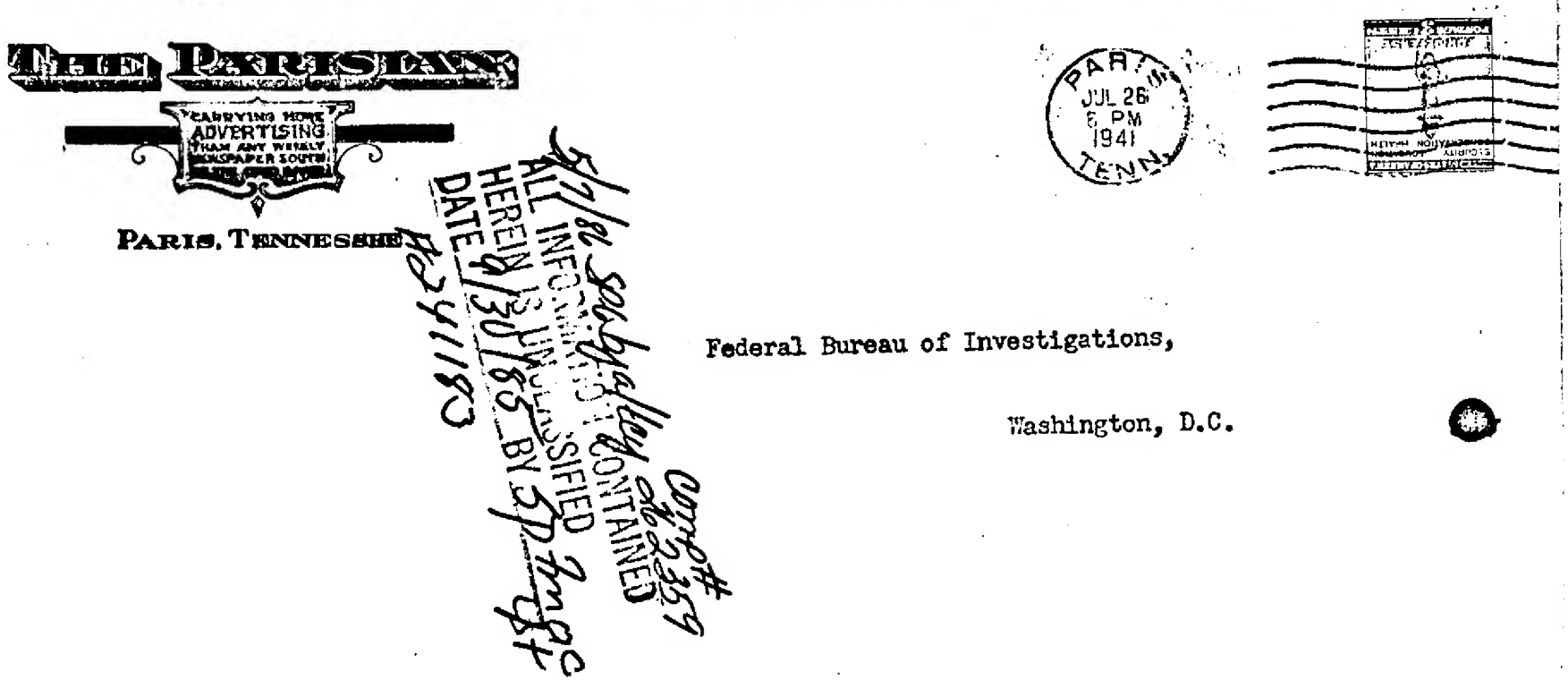
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9/30/85 BY SP7MG
B74/183

100-4712-99
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
2 JUL 29 1941
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

EX-14
RECORDED
EX-18 INDEXED
8/15/41

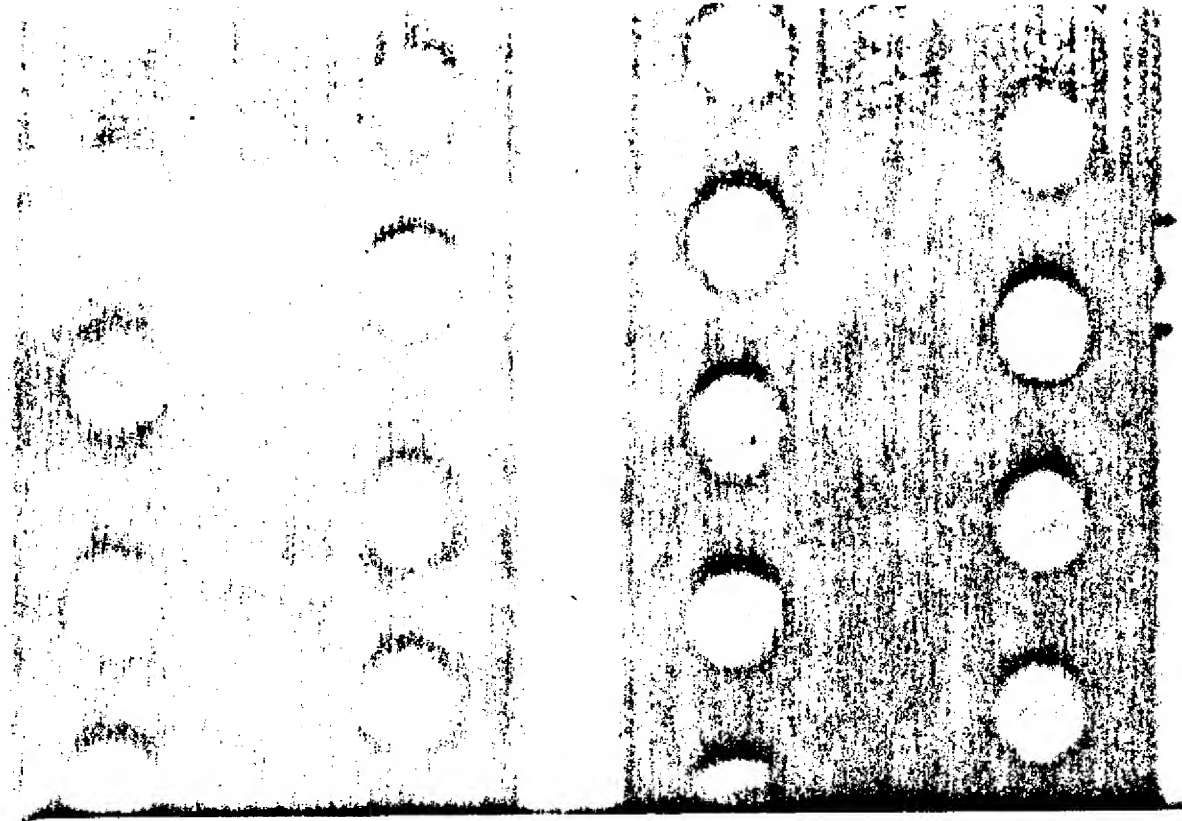


Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington
D. C.



Federal Bureau of Investigations,

Washington, D.C.



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[NOT PRINTED AT GOVERNMENT EXPENSE]

B K Wheeler
U.S.S.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/7/86 SP6bya/tkg

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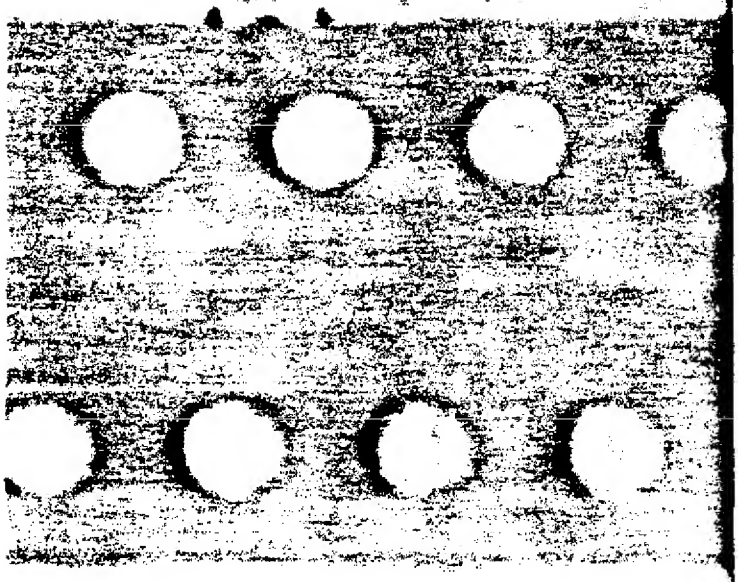

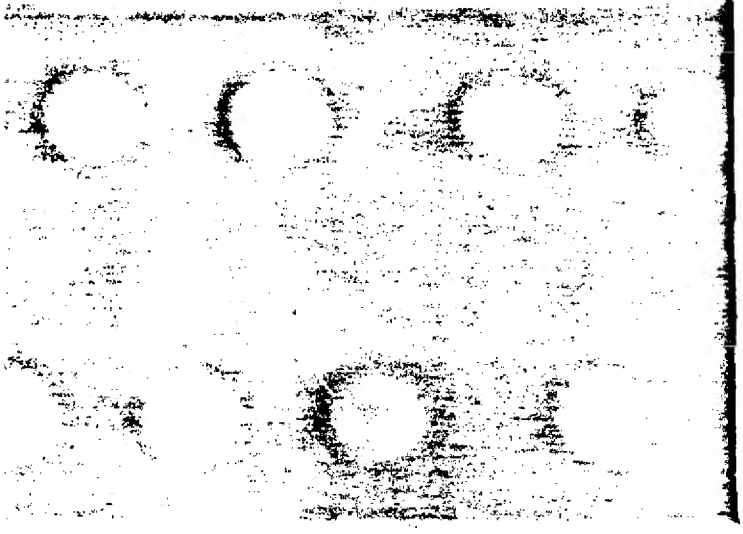

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MADE FOR CLASSIFICATION ACTION

★★★

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320260 GPO

1-3-4712-77

RECORDED [redacted] 100-4712-99

August 15, 1941

b7C

[redacted]

b7C

Dear [redacted]

b7C

I wish to acknowledge receipt of your letter of July 26, 1941, with enclosure, and to express my appreciation for your courtesy in communicating with me.

Please be advised that the content of your letter, as well as its enclosure, has been carefully noted and made a matter of official record in the files of the FBI.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

5/7/86 SP6 by ltg Compt 262357
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9/30/85 BY SP2 MAC
#241183

Tolson
E. A. Tamm
Clegg
Foxworth
Glavin
Ladd
Nichols
Rosen
Carson
Drayton
Quinn Tamm
Hendon
Sandy

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED
★ AUG 16 1941 ★
P. M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

136

[redacted]

b7C

July 10, 1941

[redacted]
61-7566-2558

b7c

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

For your information and as is of possible interest to you, I am transmitting herewith a summary memorandum of information furnished to this Bureau by a reliable confidential informant, which relates to the America First Committee.

I am also enclosing a photostatic copy of Bulletin No. 85, dated May 16, 1941, of the publication "Uncensored."

Respectfully,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Deleted Copy Sent R. W. Steele
3-8-76

1 Enclosures

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Kenden
Mr. Tracy
Gandy

CH-22

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 5/7/86 BY SP3 jtkey

RECORDED
INDEXED

100-4712-10

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
JUL 14 1941

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

1 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

☑ Deleted under exemption(s) b7C b7D with no segregable material available for release to you.

☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.

☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.

☐ Documents originated with another Government agency(ies). These documents were referred to that agency(ies) for review and direct response to you.

_____ Pages contain information furnished by another Government agency(ies). You will be advised by the FBI as to the releasability of this information following our consultation with the other agency(ies).

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117-4712-127 Sp. 1

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X NO DUPLICATION FEE X
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XXXXXX

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER
DIRECTOR

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

AMT:ESK

July 18, 1941

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Harbo
Tels. Room
Tour Room
Mr. Nease
Mr. Tracy
Miss Seahm
Miss Gandy

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. FOXWORTH

Attached hereto is a copy of a letter dated July 15, 1941, addressed to [redacted] by [redacted] concerning the activities of the America First Committee in Chicago.

You will recall that [redacted] handed me this letter and advised that it had been received from [redacted] stated that [redacted] had requested that the Bureau have an Agent interview [redacted] at Chicago. It is noted in the attached communication that he advises he will be [redacted]

[redacted] suggested that [redacted] be interviewed in detail for any additional information he might have concerning the activities of this organization.

Respectfully,

A. M. Thurston

RECORDED

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
1 JUL 31 1941
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/7/86 BY SP6 galley

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

2 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

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☐ For your information: _____

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☑ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:
170-4712-101 encl.

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X NO DUPLICATION FEE X
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JOHN EDGAR HOOVER
DIRECTOR

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

RPK:TD
3:30 P.M.

July 18, 1941

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. FOXWORTH

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Harbo
Tele. Room
Tour Room
Mr. Nease
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

I called Assistant SAC Johnson in Chicago and advised him that an individual named [redacted] had communicated with [redacted] indicating that he had information with respect to activities of the America First Committee in Chicago [redacted]

I told Mr. Johnson that the Bureau had been advised of [redacted] letter by reason of the fact that [redacted] had referred it to us with the request that [redacted] be interviewed.

I told Mr. Johnson that [redacted] and that accordingly immediate arrangements should be made to interview him.

5:50 P.M.

INDEXED RECORDED 100-4712-[illegible]

Mr. Johnson called back and advised that [redacted] There is, therefore, no further action which can be taken with respect to interviewing him until a more definite address can be obtained. I am instructing Mr. Thurston to refer [redacted] to determine whether any further information is available and what additional action they desire.

JUL 31 1941
DEPT OF JUSTICE

FOXWORTH FILE

Respectfully,

R. P. Kramer

R. P. Kramer

[redacted] stated that no further action on the part of the Bureau was desired in the matter and apologized for forgetting to advise the Bureau immediately when [redacted] contacted him.

A.M.T.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 5/16/80 BY SP4 Shirley

[redacted]

b7c

5/7/86 SP6 Bailey comptt 212359

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9/30/85 BY SP7 mac 4pt

#241183

b7c

ENCLD

RECORDED 100-4712-102

INDEXED

FBI

3 AUG 2 1941

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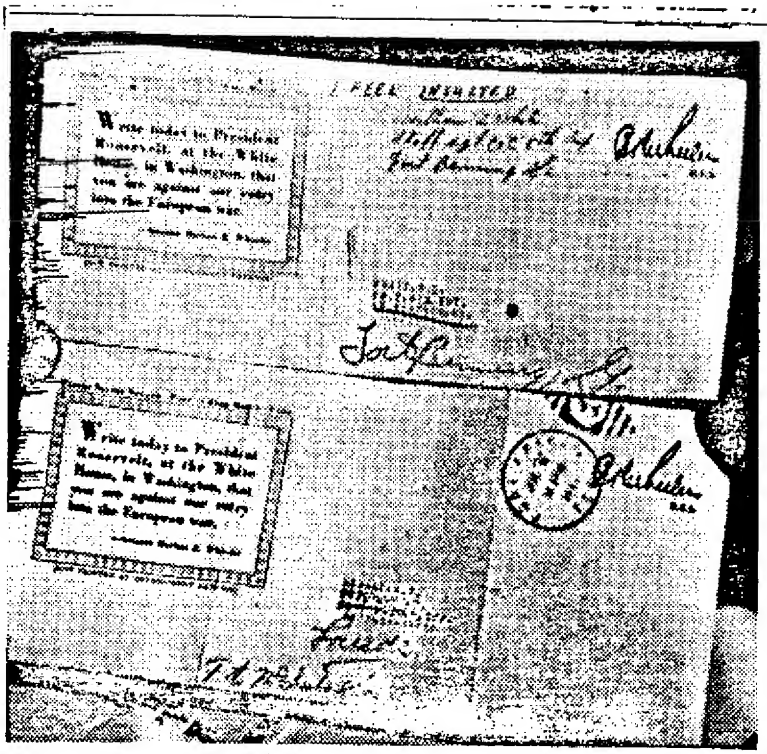


—Associated Press Wirephoto

WHEELER ACCUSED OF CARD CAMPAIGN—Washington, July 24—These two cards addressed to army officers and bearing the frank of Senator Wheeler were exhibited today by Secretary of War Stimson, who charged they came close to "subversive activities." Note the "I feel insulted" printed across the top card by recipient.

A 241183
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9/30/85 BY SP Smac
5/7/86 SP6 bya/tcg compt pt
262359

100-4712-102

[redacted] August 18, 1941

RECORDED 100-4712-102

[redacted]

Dear [redacted]

Acknowledgment is hereby made of your letter dated July 26, 1941, with enclosure.

Please be advised that the content thereof has been made a matter of permanent record in the official files of this Bureau.

Sincerely yours,

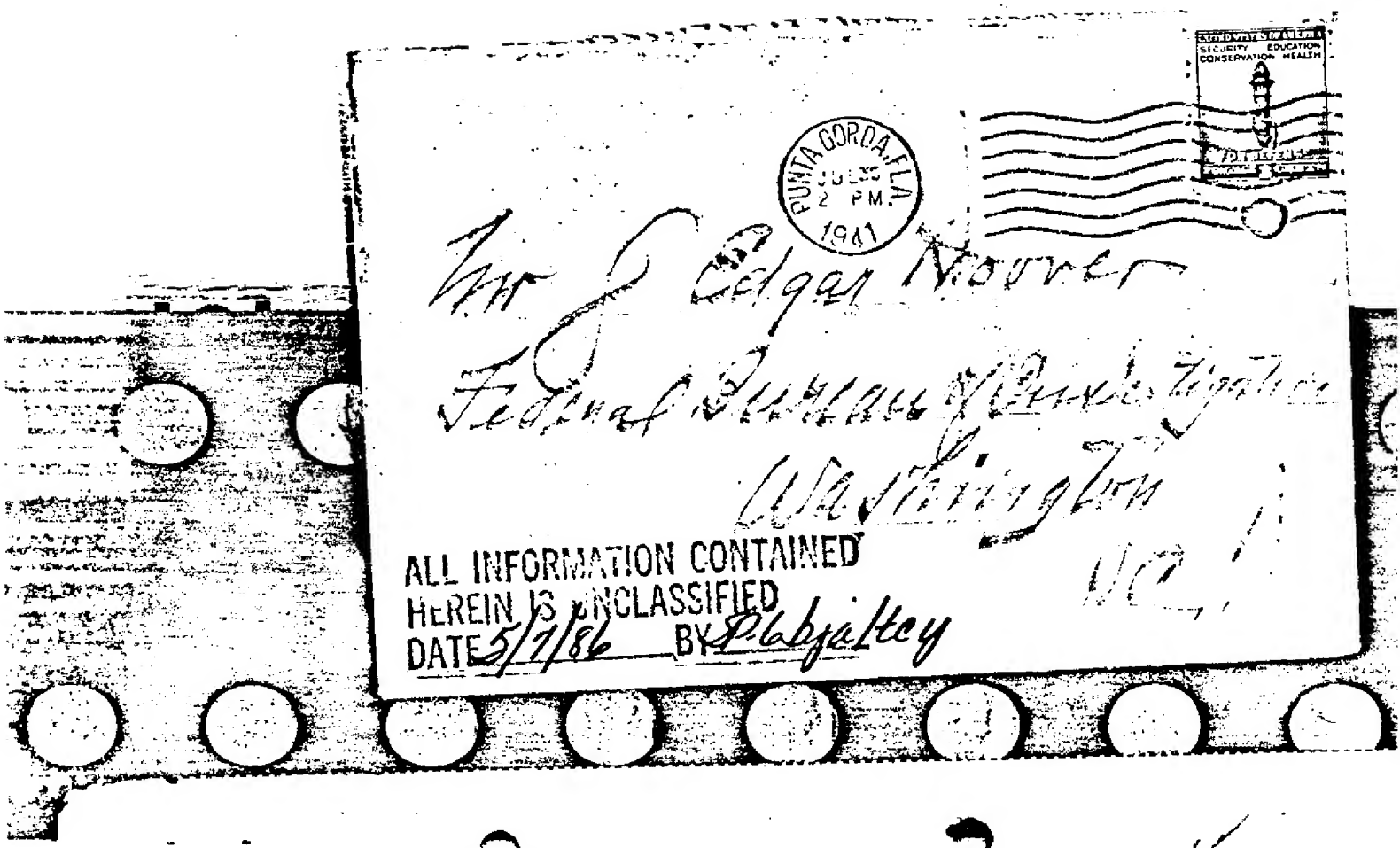
John Edgar Hoover
Director

5/7/86 SP6 by alt key Comp # 262359
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9/30/85 BY SP3 mac
4/24/1983

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED
AUG 18 1941
P. M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

[redacted]



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/7/86 BY SP6bjaltcy

TELEGRAM

The White House
Washington

71WUKI 37 N.L.4 Ex.

BOSTON, MASS., JULY 24, 1941

STEPHEN EARLY:

IF REPORT TRUE THAT GOVERNMENT PRINTING PRESS USED TO PRINT SUBVERSIVE DOCUMENTS WE TRUST STERN MEASURES WILL BE TAKEN AND BELIEVE EVERY AMERICAN CITIZEN WILL ENDORSE SUCH ACTION. A SUBSTANTIAL GROUP ENDORSE.

[redacted]

RECORDED 100-1712-10

INDEXED

5 4

b7c

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/7/86 BY SP6bjaltcy

UNITED STATES SENATE—PART OF CONG. RECORD—FREE

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—Senator Burton K. Wheeler

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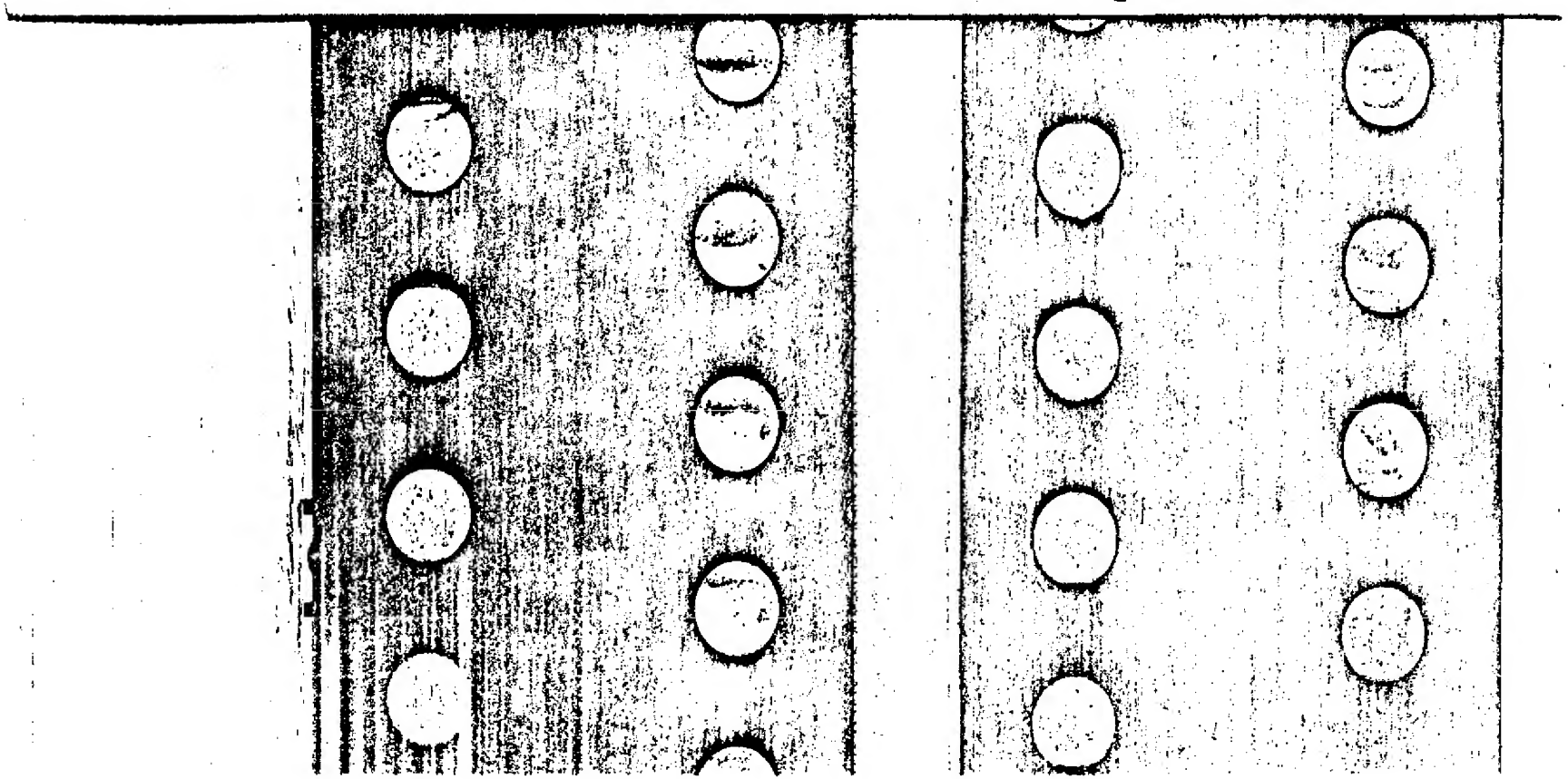

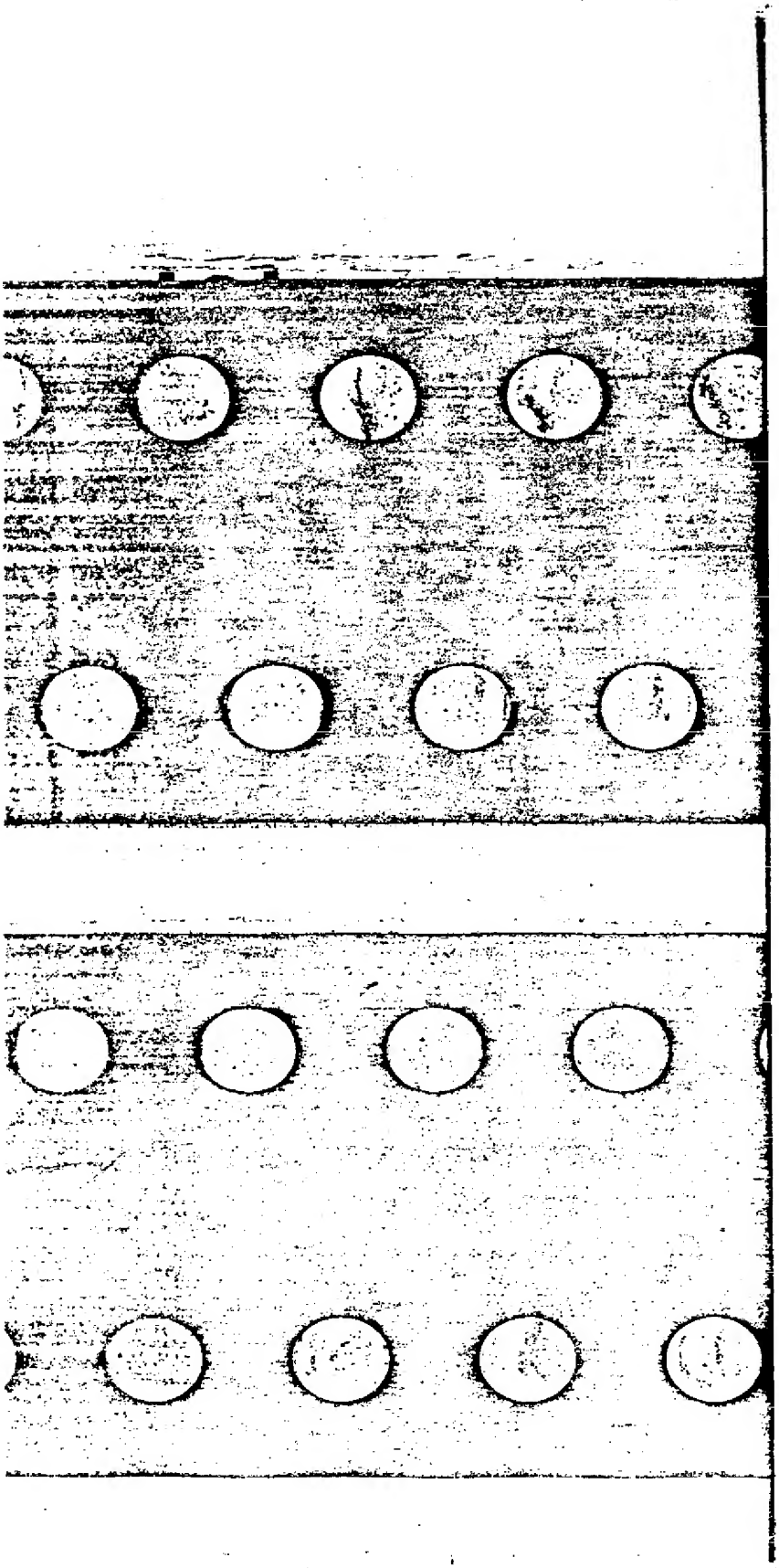

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. . . the propaganda of war has spread through our country. Once we entered a war that was going to make the world safe for democracy and end all need for war in the future. We sent 2,000,000 troops overseas. After that we left the future of the world in the hands of our college presidents and our idealists. The greatest wars and the bloodiest revolutions of all history have taken place under their guidance.

. . . Now they want us to go to war again. Our Government asks us to preserve democracy abroad by creating a dictatorship in our own country. And all this in the name of idealism.

The future of democracy depends on our ability to govern our own country. It is far more essential for this country to have farms without mortgages, workmen with their own homes, and young people who can afford families than it is for us to crusade abroad for freedoms that are tottering in our own country.

Our principles are open and clear. We believe that the security of this country depends upon our own character and strength. We believe that the best way to defend our Nation is to keep our armies on our own soil. We stand for an independent American destiny.

If you stand with us, we ask you to help us by organizing meetings, by talking to your friends, by writing to your Representatives in Washington. The crisis is here. We need your assistance now. The entire future of America depends on the action we take at this time.

★★★

SENATOR GERALD P. NYE SAYS:

My fear is not as to any probable or likely outcome of Europe's war. What concerns me is the knowledge that, if we go into the war, whatever the outcome of that war will be, the United States will be the Nation most hated and most despised by all the warring nations and their peoples.

GPO

[redacted]

D2C

REGISTERED
NO. 75

Deliver to Addressee Only

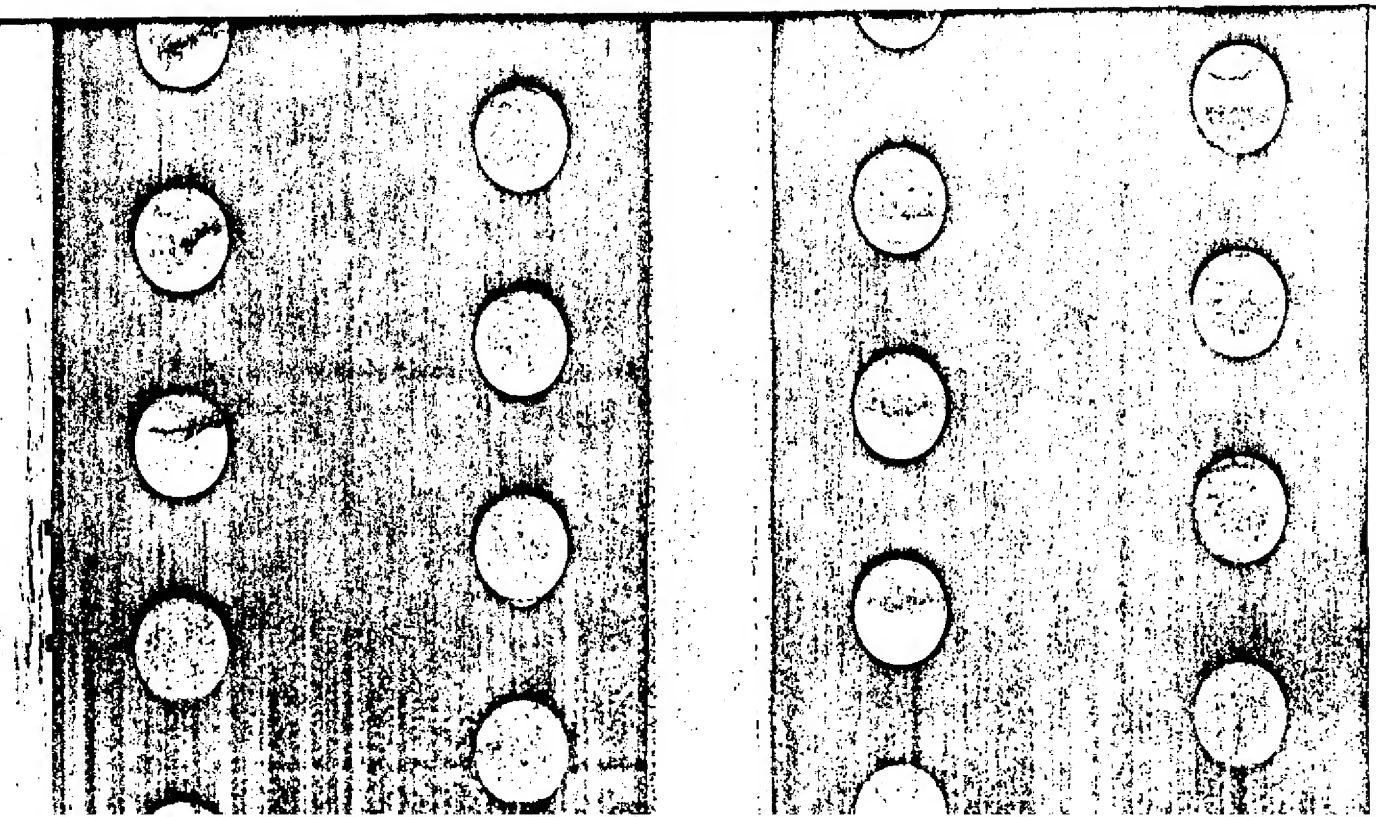
Mr Stephen Early.
White House.
Washington
D. C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/11/82 BY SP2 Gaffney

Personal

Secretary to the President of the United States.

Deliver to Addressee Only



[redacted] 100-4712-10 /13 August 18, 1941

b7c

[redacted]

b7c

Dear [redacted]

b7c

Your telegram dated July 24, 1941, addressed to Honorable Stephen Early, Secretary to the President, has been referred to the FBI from the White House. I want to express my appreciation for your courtesy and interest in communicating with the Federal Government.

Please be advised that the content of your communication has been carefully noted and included in the official files of this Bureau.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 5/7/86 BY SP6 bja/ltr

Deleted Copy Sent R. W. Steele
by letter 3-8-76
For FOIA Request

Tolson
E. A. Tamm
Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED
★ AUG 18 1941 ★
P. M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

100-4712-1

(14)

b7c

[redacted]

July 14, 1941
Valhalla. N.Y.

RECORDED
INDEXED

100-4712-101
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
AUG 6 1941
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Mr Stephen Early,
Secretary to the President of the United States.

Dear Sir,

I am writing this, due to the activities of Senator Burton K. Wheeler of Montana. Mr Wheeler it appears to me has a personal feeling against our Commander in Chief beyond that of patriotism. His influence must be far reaching in Europe, specially Germany, as I have information that he had a prisoner of war who was in a concentration camp, in occupied France, released and said person is in the United States now. He came here on a Visa and reads American farmer. Senator Wheeler has an associate in Washington who was formerly in the German Consulate in N.Y., and this party got into some trouble and lost his place in said Consulate. Later this man an American born German who is married to a German born woman, went to Maryland and was connected with the Bata Shoe Co. He left them suddenly under a cloud before the F.B.I. went in to investigate the plant. His next move was to Washington where he is close at hand working for Wheeler. The man who was released from the Concentration camp is closely related to a man, who talephoned to Washington and said this man (the refugee) must be released from the German prison camp. He also stated that the money must be brought here from Europe. This party who

Showed Washington has in his possession Franks envelopes that he uses to correspond with Schuchs office. Over the phone he was told they could not talks on the phone, he would have to come to Washington he made two trips. This man who is related to the refugee has a german infrared camera, and carries field glasses where ever he goes. He meets all ships. He also has a friend (a refugee) in Butte Montana who goes by the name of [redacted] a visit to the Du Pont b7
plant in Pennsylvania was denied him as he was a refugee also. The reason I am giving you this information. is I would suffer a monetary loss to give it out publicly. In speaking to a newspaper man he said the place to put it was in the hand of F. B. I. If this seem important to you I might clarify a few some things that are unpetical. I would like to have an acknowledgment on receipt of this letter.

Very Truly Yours

b7c

[redacted]

Valhalla

N. Y. b7

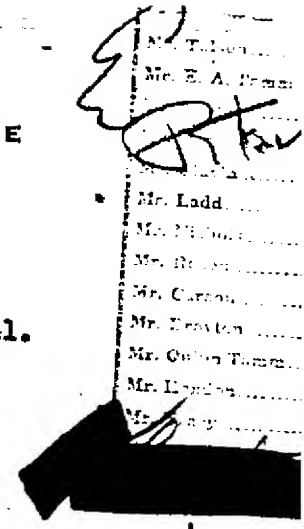
[redacted]

P. S. Would have had this typed but feared it might be talked about.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 25, 1941.



b7C

Respectfully referred to the Honorable J. Edgar Hoover, Director, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, for attention.

EDWIN M. WATSON
Secretary to the President

comp # 262359

5/7/86 sp6 by alley

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9/30/85 BY sp2mag

D24110

RECORDED [redacted] 100-4712-104 August 18, 1941

b7C

[redacted]
Valhalla, New York

b7C

Dear [redacted]

b7C

Your letter dated July 14, 1941, addressed to Mr. Stephen Early has been referred to the FBI by the White House.

Please be advised that the content of your letter has been carefully noted and has been made a matter of permanent record in the files of this Bureau.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

5/7/86 SP6 by alley comp# 2622
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9/30/85 BY SP2 mxk
#241183

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy

Deleted Copy Sent R. W. Steele
3-8-76

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED
★ AUG 18 1941 ★
P. M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

August 4, 1941

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
F.B.I.
Washington, D.C.

ANONYMOUS COMMUNICATION
KEEP ENVELOPE ATTACHED

Dear Mr. Hoover:

I wish to report the following:

[redacted] b7C

he talks thusly:

1. Give Germany a chance - England has ruled badly long enough.
2. When you agree with him he says - Europe would be a better nation under Hitler.
3. The British should be licked
4. The President of the United States and three others in our Government should not only be impeached but liquidated.
5. He would like to do the job himself.

Ack 8-21
Let to Connelley
cc of ltr to ONI

he is:

1. Says he is English but definitely looks Germany
2. Not working but says he hopes to make a connection with a Detroit ammunition firm - but I do think he is headed for Germany VERY VERY SOON.
3. Connected at night with the QUEENS CHAPTER OF AMERICA FIRST and goes out street speaking.

he has:

1. A short wave xx radio set for sending and receiving also head phones.

ENCLOSURE 100-4112-105

I would like to give you my name and address but how do I know that J.EDGAR HOOVER will receive this letter - I understand the spy system of the Germany Govt. is so good in this country that a letter like this might get you a bullet in your xxx back.

[redacted] b7C

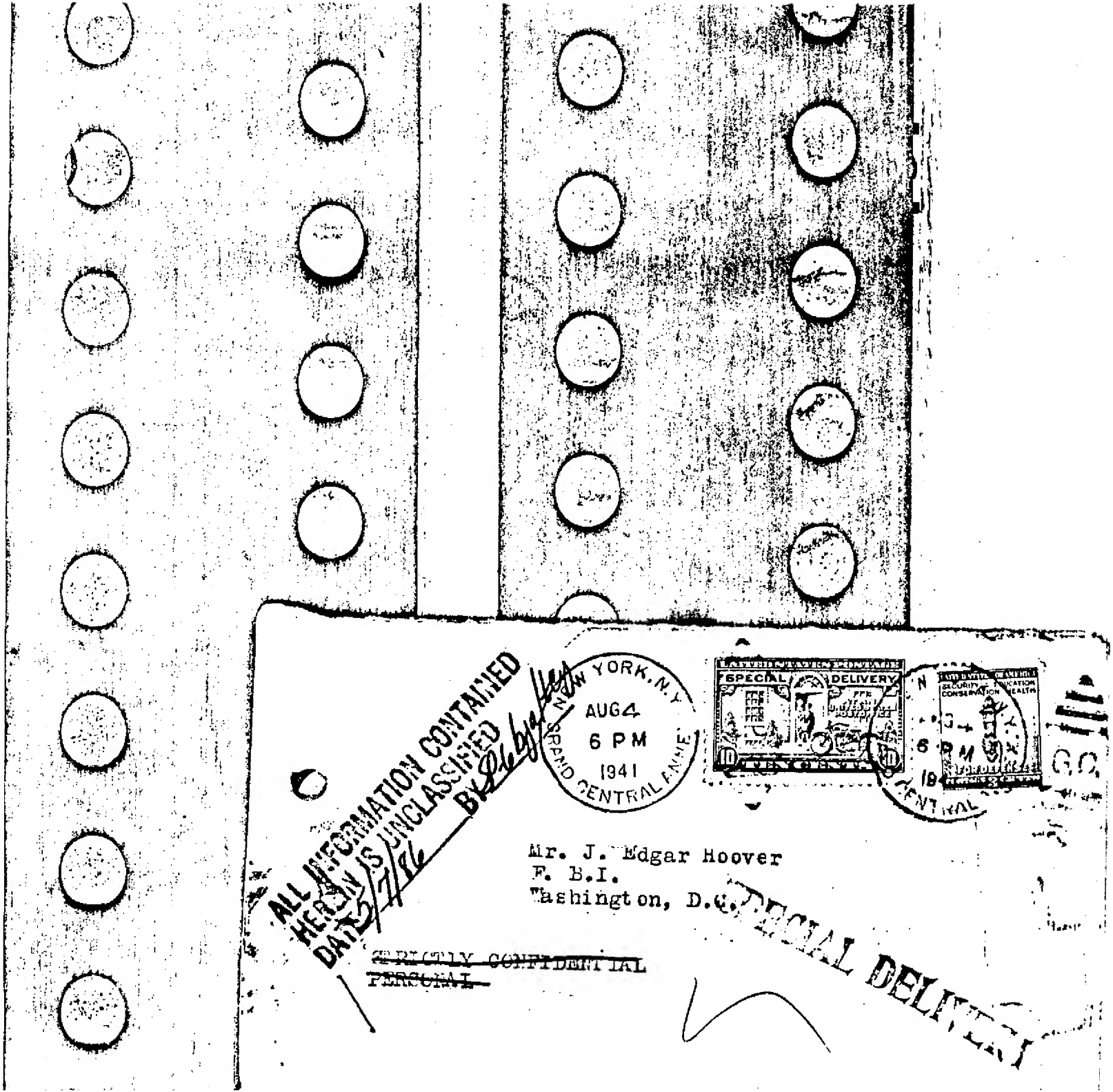
I will keep in touch with you and give you any subversive information I xx might pick up from time to time.

From a friend and defender
of the U.S. Constitution

EX-28

Dies Committee Trust Committee

ALL INFORMATION CONT
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/21/82 BY Sebgigley



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/7/86 BY

RECORDED [redacted] 100-4712 -105 August 21, 1941

b7c

Assistant Director E. J. Connelley
New York, New York

Re: [redacted] b7c
INTERNAL SECURITY - C.

Dear Sir:

I am transmitting herewith for your information only copies of an anonymous communication received at the Bureau in an envelope postmarked Grand Central Annex, New York, New York, August 4, 1941.

You are advised that copies of the letter have been furnished to the Secret Service at Washington, D. C., and to the Office of Naval Intelligence, and the Military Intelligence Division.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Enclosures
cc - Detroit

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/7/86 BY SP6bja/tcy

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED
AUG 22 1941
P. M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

136 CH-11

b7c
[redacted]

RECORDED [redacted] 100-4712-> 105 August 21, 1941 b7c

Mr. Frank J. Wilson
Chief
Secret Service Division
Treasury Department
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Wilson:

I am transmitting herewith, for whatever consideration deemed appropriate, copies of an anonymous communication received at this Bureau in an envelope postmarked Grand Central Annex, New York, New York, August 4, 1941. It is noted that the anonymous writer alleges that one [redacted] b7c has stated that the President should be "liquidated" and that he would "like to do the job himself."

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Enclosures

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 5/7/86 BY SP6 bjatty

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Nease
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Handon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED
AUG 22 1941
P. M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

[redacted] b7c

Minot, North Dakota
July 20, 1941

To The Editor:

WHY LINDBERGH ACTS THAT WAY

I have read with increasing interest the articles in Liberty, titled, "Why Lindbergh Acts That Way." The last of these articles ended with, "You are the jury, you bring in the verdict."

I was one of, perhaps, thousands who volunteered to pawn our lives, as hostages to the kidnapers, thus hoping to save the life of Mr. Lindbergh's sweet and wonderful child. Hence, as a self-appointed "foreman" of your jury, I submit this opinion as a "verdict."

Whereas Mr. Lindbergh is a skilled mechanic and airpilot, yet no evidence is found that he is even a mediocre in military strategy, nor in statesmanship.

There is evidence that he used to be of a gentle and friendly disposition towards all. Evidence, also, that he has reached the pinnacle's top of national and international fame. There's nothing more left for him to do to gain a greater fame than he has already attained. Evidence, also, that he need not seek further for wealth. There is, however, one other channel along which Mr. Lindbergh, yet, can navigate and explore for great popularity - politics.

Therefore, with all the evidence in, it seems that Mr. Lindbergh "acts that way" hoping thus to establish himself and to gain popularity in a newly chosen field of politics. He has chosen to oppose the President and his administration. But it appears that he chose a wrong course for the purpose of gaining further national fame, as has also his cohorts from the United States Senate, that is, if Public Opinion counts for much.

Recalling that a former President, when visiting Germany, (it is said,) "Slapped the Kaiser on the back and remarked, 'With your army I could lick the world'" (The Kaiser then tried that - to his sorrow); it is our opinion that a very much similar circumstance quite likely occurred when Hitler paraded his ultra-modern armies before Mr. Lindbergh during his recent visit to the same country. Such an occurrence to have happened, even an American's (Lindbergh's) friendly praise of such armies, in time of peace, would be only quite natural. If this did happen, and I have not the slightest doubt but that it did, then, at this time, Mr. Lindbergh, having already thus committed himself by expression of a favorable opinion of Hitler's militaristic strength, he has no other choice, (though a poor and unfortunate choice) than to continue to extol the strength of Hitler's armed forces. And to do this, also gives Mr. Lindbergh a subject of national interest for his desired effort at platform oratory (though not a nationally popular subject, as is well seen) hence that is the reason he "acts that way" now.

Hence, according to all the evidence, it is the "verdict" that "Why Lindbergh Acts That Way," is, first, because to oppose the President appeals to him as the best excuse for his "taking to the platform"; and second, now that Mr. Lindbergh had already "committed himself" to praises of the German army, he cannot now consistently "change face about" and do otherwise than to carry on with his extolling Hitler's military power, by following his present line of "chatter," which the public in general very much disagrees with, dislikes and resents.

b7C

[redacted]

WHAT IS THIS "AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE?"

The American First Committee is the Lindbergh-Wheeler-Nye committee. It is a "tripartite" committee. It is the Lindbergh-Wheeler-Nye vest pocket committee. They carry it with them, in a vest pocket or a watch pocket. No danger of breaking it because it is completely "isolated" from all kinds of danger, even upon World War 2nd's widening and raging battle front. With this "committee" in a pocket, they roll into any [redacted] village, town, or city, hold a "tripartite" committee meeting, then sally forth to some hall and speak "Under the auspices of the Great Inner-First Committee."

Ha, Ha, BIG STUFF, THIS!

RECORDED 61 7/2-106
INDEXED FEDERAL [redacted]

b7C

[redacted]
Minot, North Dakota

President Rests In Hyde Park

President and Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt rested at their Hyde Park, N. Y., home. Mrs. Roosevelt is knitting as the president gives his attention to his dog, Falla. His holiday was ended by far east developments.

Warns Farmers Against Seeking More Than Parity

Florence, Ala., July 29—(AP)—Edward O. O'Neal, president of the American Farm Bureau federation, warned today that he knew "of no more certain method of bringing about wild inflation than for farmers to drive prices now as high as the traffic will bear."

"I counsel farmers to stick to the reasonable demands we have made for 20 years," the federation head asserted. "We have won parity, therefore let us be thankful."

In an address prepared for delivery at the 20th anniversary celebration of the Lauderdale county Farm Bureau, O'Neal declared:

"Let us not make the mistake of getting greedy and insisting on getting more than parity just because we could possibly get higher prices during the emergency period."

Expressing confidence that "American farmers will acquit themselves gloriously in the dark days ahead," he said "our own agricultural issues are overshadowed by the issues that face us as a nation, and to meet those issues we must pledge 'our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honor'."

O'Neal said "stabilization of the farm economy will do more to bring security to all southern business than anything else that could happen."

roads Not Restricting Grain ement; No Cars For Storage

statement to clarify the rail- position regarding the partial on shipments of grain for in the Twin Cities and at the the Lakes, announced last F. Mills, general agent of the Northern railroad in Minot, ay:

"Railroads have no desire or disposition to restrict in any way the free flow of grain to any market, and have and will continue to have a full supply of cars to move every bushel of grain to any destination where the cars can be unloaded promptly."

The statement continued:

"The volume of general traffic on the railroads incident to the national defense program and other demands is so great that no cars can be used for the storage of any commodity anywhere.

"(The) notice is not in a true sense an embargo at all, since it does not in any way limit the flow of free grain to markets and it permits the unlimited loading of all storage grain for which space can be provided at the terminals.

"This restriction was not initiated by the railroads, but was issued at the recommendation of the committee created May 27, 1941, at the request of the department of agricul-

SUSPEND W. P. A. PROJECT

Towner, N. D., July 29—Owing to the demand for farm labor, the W. P. A. project here has been suspended until after the harvest and threshing season.

CARD OF THANKS

We are deeply grateful to our neighbors and friends for their kind expressions of sympathy during our recent bereavement. Especially we wish to thank the choir of St. Leo's church and Arturo Petrucci for their music.

Mrs. Jerry Zlevor and daughter, Rosamund, Mrs. Joe Sy, er., Frank Zlevor.

VERYBODY'S COLUMN

ed communications, limited out 200 words each will be med in this column. Propa- a and personalities must be d. The News reserves the to reject any communications d improper.—Ed.)

Minot, N. Dak., July 28, 1941.

Stevenson's Greatest Fur Event!

This is your greatest investment opportunity . . . with anticipated price rises and new taxes, you

You Get Quick Cash Retu

THE MINOT DAILY NEWS
CLASSIFIED ADVERTISING RATES

	1 Day	2 Days	3 Days	4 Days	5 Days	6 Days	1 Mo.
1 Line	$ .25	$ .25	$ .27	$ .34	$ .40	$ .45	$1.50
2 Lines	.25	.40	.54	.68	.80	.90	3.00
3 Lines	.30	.60	.81	1.02	1.20	1.35	4.50
4 Lines	.40	.72	1.08	1.36	1.60	1.80	6.00
5 Lines	.50	.90	1.35	1.70	2.00	2.25	7.50
6 Lines	.60	1.08	1.62	2.04	2.40	2.70	9.00
7 Lines	.70	1.26	1.89	2.38	2.80	3.15	10.50
8 Lines	.80	1.44	2.16	2.72	3.20	3.60	12.00
9 Lines	.90	1.62	2.43	3.06	3.60	4.05	13.50
10 Lines	1.00	1.80	2.70	3.40	4.00	4.50	15.00

Classified (display) per inch 70c

No cuts or borders will be run under Classifications and all ads must conform to typographical restrictions.

Copy must be received by 9:00 o'clock a. m. to insure insertion same day on regular classified page.

No Clairvoyant, Fortune Telling, Matrimonial, Stock Selling or Doubtful Advertising accepted.

In case of error The News will be responsible for "Make Good" on one insertion only.

We reserve the right to reject any copy submitted.

AUTOS

USED auto parts, glass, repairing We buy used cars. Haugen Auto Parts.

USED auto parts, glass and tires We buy wrecked and burned cars. Sky's Auto Parts, Phone 1640.

NYBAKKEN Body Shop. Body, fender work, glass, Duco and Dulux auto painting. 512 3rd St. N. E. Phone 1622-W.

FOR SALE—1940 98 Oldsmobile club coupe. Clean. Joe Sabli, Garrison, N. Dak.

1936 CHEVROLET truck. Phone 1264-[illegible]

1937 [illegible] uxe 4-door se[illegible] new, low [illegible]cellent con- [illegible] Ave. S. E.

UNFURNISHED apartment, the Maryland. Phone 1002.

DESIRABLE apartment with bedroom in Zlevor Block. Gad Realty Co., Phone 340.

MODERN 4-room unfurnished apartment with garage, $45.00. Bond Lumber Company, Phone 145.

THREE-ROOM and bath apartment, furnished. 500 8th St. N. W. Phone 41½.

ONE 4-room and one 2-room unfurnished, newly decorated apartment. Reasonable rent. Baker Block. 214 East Central Avenue. Inquire at office, A. Baker and Co.

SUB-LET until October 1st, nicely furnished one-room kitchenette and bath apartment in the Zlevor Block. Available at once. Gad Realty, Phone 340.

AUTHORIZED factory service on all makes magnetos, speedometers, generators, Briggs and Stratton motors. Brake drum grinding. Tractor sleeve exchange. Hastings piston rings. Motor Service Co. Roosevelt Hotel Bldg. Phone 316.

COMPLETE meals, 30c and up. Steaks, short orders, homemade pastry, shoppers' lunch. Thompson Cafe, Security Building.

FARM lighting fixtures, fluorescent fixtures, fans, grocer's display refrigerator box. Kopald Electric.

YOU'LL be pleased with an Orchid Beauty Shop permanent—only finest materials used—guaranteed results—economical. Phone 875.

OLD lumber, dimension and sheeting. Also tin. 210 6th St. N. E.

ICELESS packed ice cream for picnics. 20 varieties. Vix Ice Cream.

FOR SALE—Office safe. May be seen at Sky's Auto Parts.

MAHOGANY piano, good make. Call 1082-M.

CEMENT for mending binder canvases; better than sewing. Cummings Tin Shop, 710 4th Ave. S. E.

HOUSEHOLD furniture. 18 8th Ave. N. W.

ROYAL typewriter, writing desk, rug. 1473-J.

TEN-FT. insulated back bar with coils. Beer dispenser, 3 faucets. One unit 7 ft. high, 4 ft. square, 4-inch cork insulation, ½ compressor and coil. Ideal box for meats. Central Confectionery, East Central Ave.

COMPLETE dining room set, in good condition. One electric refrigerator, like new. One overstuffed rocking chair; one glider, one 20-gal. earthen crock. Call at 528 Valley St. between 8 and 10 p. m.

BED, dressers, library table, wardrobe, gas range, living room set, dining set, rummage, 700 1st Ave. N. W. 981-R.

LIVING and bedroom furnishings, Books, lamps, dishes, 216 1st St. E. W.

WANTED—Good man farm and tractor w month. E. A. Schulther N. Dak.

LINOLEUM SPECI

CALL Keating's for free on wall linoleum, cove custom-cut floors and tops. Phone 266.

LIVESTOCK

ATTENTION, farmers. We for your dead and disab and cows with good hide not drag animals. We pic calves, hogs and sheep charge. Call us collect. Pt Northwest Rendering Co. Free gift with every call.

LOANS

Do You Wan

LOWE

Monthly Paymer

Let us re-finance your p home loan so as to reduce high monthly payments. may also have additional included for needed improve

COME IN AND LET'S T IT OVER!

Minot Federal Sav and Loan Associa

In the new McCannel Bld

Personal Loa

$9.09 ... thly repays a loa $10 ... ing interest, ser ... life insurance.

More Important Than Ever!

are able to make important definite savings by buying now! Take advantage of our huge early purchases . . . SAVE IN THIS GREATEST AUGUST FUR COAT SALE!

...surance. Shirley Agency.

"JUST Good Insurance." Insure your crops against hail. See Van Sickle, ... Union National Annex, Minot.

FARM LANDS

Farm Home For Sale

... is a farm that you would be proud to own—320 acres, all plow land. A good 7-room house close to school and only 4 miles from market. If you are thinking of getting a farm, come in and let me show you this one.

J. H. Peterson
608-1st Ave. N. W., Minot, N. D.

FOR RENT—80 acres good hay land, 13 miles N. E. of Granville. Mary Dwyer, Scobey, Mont.

FOR RENT

DESIRABLE office space for rent in First National Bank building. Inquire at the First National Bank.

FOR RENT—Front office and two apartments over Benno Drug. Phone 91.

FOR RENT—Warehouse on Great Northern Right of Way. Inquire 708 6th Ave N. E. Phone 404-W.

FOR RENT—FLATS

APARTMENT in the Willis. Phone 1922

UNFURNISHED apartment with bedroom in Central Block. Phone 300.

FURNISHED apartment for rent. Grand Hotel.

APARTMENT, Sweet Block. Phone 39.

APARTMENT in Chain Block. Call 980.

UNFURNISHED apartment. Phone 492, Mr. Doebler.

LARGE apartment, unfurnished. Minot Furniture Block. Phone 538, Mr. Olson. After 7 p. m., Phone 933-R.

LARGE, unfurnished apartment in the Fair Block. Phone 538. Mr Olson. After 7 p. m., Phone 933-R.

FURNISHED, unfurnished apartments, Weinrebe Building. 1190-R.

UNFURNISHED apartment, Emerson Apartments. Phone 1260-J.

UNFURNISHED apartment, Anderson Block. Call 1609-J.

FURNISHED or unfurnished apartment. Phone Mr. Olson, 538. After 7 p. m., Phone 933-R.

UNFURNISHED apartment. Call at office, Room 15, Bowker Block.

... Phillips Lodge.

FURNI... D room with private bath. Phone 698. Relshus and Holt.

ROOMS for rent. Call 422-W.

ROOM over Majestic Cafe Phone 143.

TWO unfurnished rooms for light housekeeping. 526 6th St. N. E.

ROOMS. 103 4th Ave. S. E. 615-W.

HOUSEKEEPING room. 207 2nd St. S. E.

UNFURNISHED room. 511 3rd St. S. E.

ROOMS, $6.00 and up. Dwire Annex.

FURNISHED rooms, hall entrance. Phone 1715-R.

MODERN housekeeping rooms, furnished. No objection to an infant. 110 6th St. N. E.

HOUSEKEEPING, sleeping room. Modern. Close. 1286-R.

ROOM for rent in Bader Block. Phone 64 or 1452-M.

SLEEPING room. Gentleman preferred. 394-W.

MODERN room. Close in. Phone 1181-M.

FOR SALE—HOUSES

HOUSES for sale in Northwest and Northeast Minot. Cornelius Hansen. Phone 1922.

HOMES for sale on easy terms. First Investment Corporation, 301 First Nat'l Bank Bldg. Phone 301. Sundays or evenings, Phone 1296.

HOMES for sale. Easy terms. Fidelity Building and Loan Association. Henry Montgomery, agent. Dale Block. Phone 390.

STILL have a few good houses for sale reasonable. Security Building and Loan Association, 301 First Avenue Building. Phone 1444.

FOUR-ROOM home and garage, good lawn, full size lot, pavement, low taxes, location in N. W. Minot. Down payment, $300.00. Monthly payments including principal, interest, taxes and insurance, $27.62. Interest rate 4½%. Shirley Agency, Real Estate Dept., 15 West Central Ave. Phone 424.

FOR SALE MISCELLANEOUS

GUARANTEED, reconditioned watches, $5.00 up. A. M. Foss, Jeweler, 14 South Main.

NOW manufacturing the famous Seng "Sofabeds," luxurious, smart and economical. Also used furniture. Lloyd's Cabinet Shop. Phone 611-J.

FOR VENETIAN blinds, awnings, upholstering, lawn trimmings, call Minot Upholstering and Awning Shop, 329½ 2nd St. N. W. Phone 1333-W. Jack Carter, prop. Free estimates.

WE SELL good paint cheap. John Broten Lumber Company. Phone 217.

SAVE $$—Bring clocks for repairs. Minot Clock Shop, 211 South Main.

... gas stove. 117 9th St. S. E.

RUGS, washer, ... es, furniture, doors, A. Rud, b... ouse south of G. N. depot.

FRUIT jars. 909 4th St. S. E.

HELP WANTED—GENERAL

5000
HOP PICKERS
WANTED
MEN, WOMEN, CHILDREN
FAMILIES PREFERRED
WE FURNISH FREE
OF CHARGE
CABINS EQUIPPED
Electric Stove
Electric Lights
Fuel
Bunks
Cupboards
Tables
TENTHOUSES
Fully equipped
SHOWER BATHS
COMMUNITY LAUNDRY
CHILDREN'S NURSERY
PICKING STARTS
About Aug. 18th
and lasts till about Sept. 25th
HIGH WAGES
$1.75 per Hundred Pounds plus
50c bonus if you stay entire season
WRITE FOR DETAILS
YAKIMA CHIEF RANCHES
BOX 528,. YAKIMA, WASH.

WANTED—Dishwasher. State experience. Write Box 786, care News.

HELP WANTED—FEMALE

WANTED—At once, experienced girl or middle-aged woman for general housework in town. State experience and wages in first letter. Mrs. H. W. Coffen, Souris, N. Dak.

WAITRESS wanted at the Selbert Hotel, Flaxton, N. Dak.

MIDDLE-AGED woman in S. E. Minot as part time housekeeper. Phone 710-J.

WANTED—Married woman with office experience for part time work. Write Box 791, care News.

EXPERIENCED waitress. Apply in person. Langseth's Cafe.

EXPERIENCED lady cook. Coffee Cup, Minot.

HELP WANTED—MALE

CARETAKER for dancehall and lodge rooms. Elderly couple preferred. Lodging with gas, water, lights and heat furnished. Salary. Write Box 781, care News.

FOR RELIABLE man with sales ability, we have the ideal selling job. Good earnings, pleasant work, steady employment with chance of advancement. Earn while you learn right in your home territory. See or write B. E. Orwick, Grand Hotel, Minot.

VACATION TIME
IS HERE
Do you need a few extra d... to make your vacation more ... joyable? Or for any other re...
THEN SEE US TODA...
$5 to $50
On Signature O...
We specialize in obtaining ... sonal Loans for employed ... and women.
Quick, courteous, confid... service. No security. N... signers. Easy payments. ... today.
Local Loan Brok...
202 Union National Ann...

SUBSCRIBE FOR THE ...

LOOK

MOTOR SPEEDS

earth it
Britain and
ited States
uch time and energy
and outside
to create in our
d contemptible hatred for the
while at the same time ex-
no particular criticism of
nor even of Hitler's bloody
of nations, and who, of Hit-
secretly have admiration,
become our next president
country, to become which he,
slightest doubt, secretly en-
an aspiration?
again, but in other words,
a thing should happen—a
hater and Hitler admirer
become president, then what
be the relation of our democ-
Hitler's totalitarian dictator-
wonder if, and do you sup-
at, our "isolationist" senator
president—would not quickly,
uickly, become quite chum-
h, and very likely become a
-in-crime with Hitler towards
g out the Western Hemis-
suit themselves?
I ask, could not exactly such
g be expected to take place
w of the great service the
has been rendering Hitler
n this country by persistent
ntiring efforts to defeat the
nd bill, to defeat the ap-
tion growing out of that bill
to Britain and the other
acies and by his travels from
st to coast encouraging Hit-
criticizing our president's for-
policy and endeavoring to stir
hatred for the British peo-
ive these "hows and whats"
olest consideration, my friends.
—Dan W. B. Kurtz, Jr.

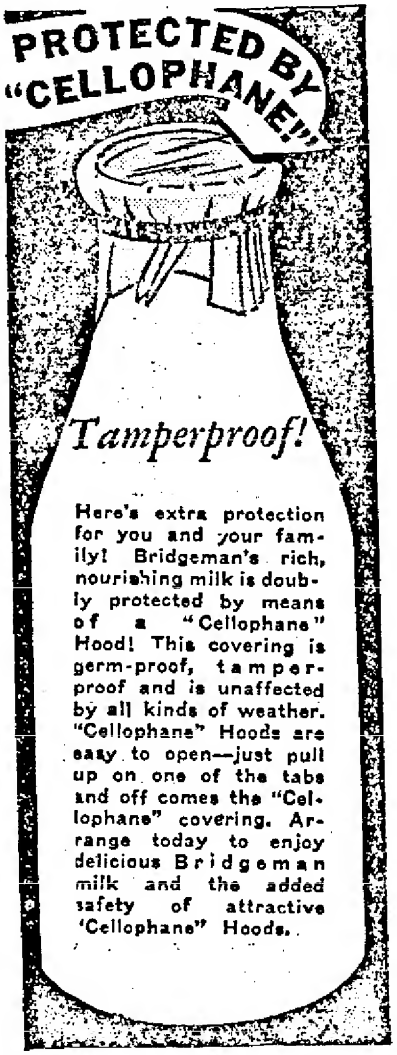
es Howe Passes s For Air Corps

s Howe, son of Mr. and Mrs.
C. Howe, 209-2nd st sw, re-
notice Monday that he has
the army air corps entrance
tions. He was told to be
o leave whenever called for
ining in California.
who received his bachelor
legree from the Minot Teach-
ge this spring, took the ex-
ons in Bismarck last month.

of the MONTH LEAGUE
members. They now use Chi-Pills for relief from functional discomfort and pain. Absolutely safe. Contain no habit-forming drugs. At all druggists. 50¢ and up
CHI-ESTER-PILLS
THE DIAMOND BRAND

The discovery was made at the Battelle Memorial institute, Columbus, O., by H. Pray, R. S. Peoples and F. W. Fink. The bismuth, they said, does not decrease the corrosion resistance of stainless metal, nor affect any other important properties, like strength and toughness.

PROTECTED BY "CELLOPHANE"



Tamperproof!

Here's extra protection for you and your family! Bridgeman's rich, nourishing milk is doubly protected by means of a "Cellophane" Hood! This covering is germ-proof, tamper-proof and is unaffected by all kinds of weather. "Cellophane" Hoods are easy to open—just pull up on one of the tabs and off comes the "Cellophane" covering. Arrange today to enjoy delicious Bridgeman milk and the added safety of attractive "Cellophane" Hoods.

THERE'S A BRIDGEMAN DEALER NEAR YOU

Bridgeman

Creameries, Inc.

Phone 276, Minot, N. D.

$139

$179

- Prime Pelts!
- Hollander Blends!
- Flattering Styles!
- Dramatic Savings!

Sketched from stock: Hollander Sable Blend Northern Muskrat.. $239!

Pay As Low As 10% Down

Balance on Easy Terms!

Now, you get not only the finest quality but extra savings at Stevenson's! Gorgeous skins that are the pick of the market! Masterful workmanship in these individually selected styles brings you the best at the price you want to pay!

Choose from an outstanding Selection of Luxury Furs!

Stevenson's Furs Are Priced up to $400.00!

STEVENSONS

was given at the home of Miss Mil-dred Haukom.

Gifts were members of a sewing club of which the bride belongs. Prizes at bridge went to Mrs. I. C. Gowin, the bride's mother, Frances Swonder and Price.

Refreshments were served, a bouquet marked the place of the bride. Assisting the hostess were Haukom, Esther Huss and

ERSONALS

ne Aakrann and Miss Blaisdell, who are taking ng at Abbott hospital, ere for a 2 weeks' visit es. Miss Aakrann is of Mr. and Mrs. O. C. Miss Blaisdell the r. and Mrs. J. C. Blais-

ore and children, Mar-d Joe, plan to leave a month in Michigan, t Sept. 1. The family 5th av se.

rs. Paul Bowles of Port-isited in Minot over the h friends. Mr. Bowles is not resident.

Mix a little Mel'o in your cleaning water. Whether you are washing clothes or cleaning paint and linoleum, Mel'o does a better job and does it faster. A scientific cleaner that lightens housework. Directions on the package. Sold by all grocers in two convenient sizes.

Miss Hammer Plans Wedding In August

The engagement of Miss Norma Hammer, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. N. O. Hammer, to William A. O'Hearn, son of Mr. and Mrs. A. R. O'Hearn of Minot, was announced at a tea Sunday afternoon.

Fifty persons were guests at the tea, given from 3 to 5 o'clock at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Hammer. Gladioli and other summer flowers were used in the rooms and a centerpiece of sweet peas with yellow tapers at either side was on the table.

Miss Betty McGee poured during the first hour and Miss Laura Hammer presided for the second hour.

Names of the couple and the wedding date, Aug. 25, were found on the tea napkins which the guests received. Each also received a miniature colonial corsage bouquet as a favor. Mrs. Hammer received with her daughter.

Milk, Spuds And Meat Run Short In Norway

London, July 29—(AP)—In a review of economic conditions in German-occupied Norway, the Norwegian government-in-exile intimated today that many persons in the kingdom would "feel the pangs of hunger" in the winter.

The review said milk and potatoes are running short because of German "borrowings," that meat, bacon and eggs virtually are unobtainable.

Bread has been rationed to a half-pound daily, butter to one and a third ounces daily, sugar to seven ounces weekly and coffee to two cups weekly, it was said.

INSPECT PORT LIGHTS

Grand Forks, July 29—(AP)—Field lights at the Grand Forks municipal airport were inspected by officials of the city and the civil aeronautics authority Monday and found in good order. Tested were the 62 lights outlining the airport boundaries, the wind gauge lights and the beacon light.

LIGHTNING KILLS FOUR

Franklin, N. J., July 29—(AP)—Four persons burned to death last night when lightning fired a two-story general store at Beaver lake, a summer resort near here.

SPECIALS ON ALL PERMANENTS

$5 Duart Wave $2.50

OIL SHAMPOO and FINGERWAVE 50c

Open Evenings

N. W. Beauty Shop

PHONE 381-R

nearly two yards out of water.

In proof, Miss Sco displayed the salmon, weighing 11¼ pounds.

Fast Italian Boats Blown Out Of Sea By Malta Defenders

London, July 29—(AP)—An audacious attack by Italian speed and torpedo boats against the harbor of Valletta, Malta, ended in disaster, the British reported, when shore batteries and aircraft blew 17 of them out of the water.

Announcement of the Fascist attempt to score a blow Sunday against British shipping in the Mediterranean was made almost simultaneously with an admiralty report that the 7,101-ton German ship Erlangen was intercepted in the south Atlantic.

Menu *Of The Day*

By Mrs. Alexander George

Informal Supper Party For Six

Frozen Fruit Cocktail
Sliced Cold Baked (or Boiled) Ham
Mustard Pickles
Vegetable Salad
Hot Biscuits Grape Butter
Vanilla Ice Cream
Chocolate Chip Cake
Peppermint Frosting
Coffee

Frozen Fruit Cocktail (Delicious Appetizer)

1 cup berries	3 tablespoons lemon juice
1 cup cubed pineapple	½ cup mayonnaise
½ cup cubed oranges	½ cup whipped cream
½ cup cubed grapefruit	

Mix cream and mayonnaise. Add ingredients and freeze until firm. Place in cocktail glasses, garnish with cherries and mint.

Chocolate Chip Cake

½ cup fat	½ cup milk
1 cup sugar	2¼ cups pastry flour
2 eggs, beaten	2¼ teaspoons baking powder
1 teaspoon vanilla	
¼ teaspoon salt	
⅔ cup chocolate chips (semi-sweet)	

Cream fat and sugar. Add ingredients and beat 2 minutes. Bake in 2 layer cake pans, lined with waxed paper, in moderate oven (350) for 25 minutes.

Peppermint Frosting

¼ cup white peppermint candies (mints)	2 tablespoons butter
2 tablespoons cream	Speck salt
	¼ teaspoon vanilla
	2 cups confectioner's sugar

Mix candies, cream and butter. Heat until blended and add ingredients. Beat well, let stand 5 minutes, then beat until creamy.

Leah Ann Grady of Grand has joined the state laboratories in Bismarck as junior chemist food laboratories.

House Of Delegat

Dr. F. W. Fergusson of K elected president of the h delegates of the North Dako cal association.

F. F. A. Secreta

John Weber of Fingal i of the state Future F America.

BODY AND
ENDER WORK
holstery Washed and Dyed
Glass Installation
co and Dulux Auto Painting
igseth's Body Shop
East Central — Phone 480

...nd Girl Gets Him

...stitute for ... organizations, which opened at the University of Montana in Missoula Monday. The institute continued thru Aug 1.

Other North Dakotans attending are A. M. Paulson, Valley City; Wayne L. Twito, Wahpeton; J. A. Schoonover, Jamestown; and John Rovig, Mandan.

Boyd is instructor in the course on "agricultural committee organization and service."

Tacoma, Wash., July 29—(AP)—Miss Bonnie Scott and two friends walking along a Puget sound beach saw a king salmon chasing a herring toward the shore.

Going full tilt, the salmon snared his prey at the water's edge—but was going too fast to turn around. He landed high and dry on the sand.

...work. Patterns: 3 contains charts and directions for making set; illustrations of set and of stitches; material requirements for each pattern.

Send 15 cents in coin to The Minot Daily News, Household Arts Dept., 259 W. 14th Street, New York, N. Y. Be sure to write plainly your NAME, ADDRESS and PATTERN NUMBER.

...nor; Shirley Anne Ennis, a minor; Catherine Enget; and all persons unknown, claiming any estate, or interest in, or lien or encumbrance upon the real estate described in the Complaint, whether as the heirs, devisees, legatees or creditors of Albert Ennis, deceased, or otherwise,

Defendants.

THE STATE OF NORTH DAKOTA TO THE ABOVE NAMED DEFENDANTS:

You are hereby summoned to answer the Complaint in this action, which is on file in the office of the Clerk of the ...

...of ... will join the ... and sister and other relatives ... be present for a family ... tion.

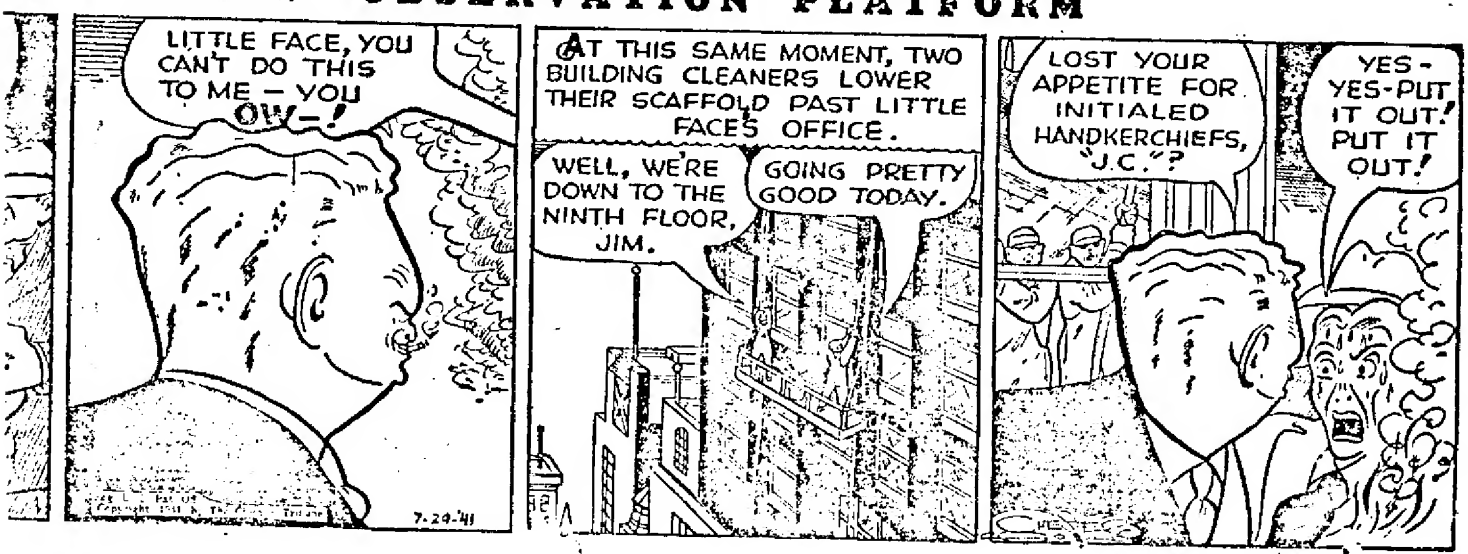
BRIDE HONORED—

A shower for Mrs. Gerald R. Price (Marjorie Gowin), whose marriage took place recently at Cheyenne, Wyo., ... Minot the Widens will be guests of Mr. and Mrs. Eldon White and other friends.

DEAD STOCK
WITH HIDES ON
We pay phone charges.
Free Gift With Each Call.
Minot Rendering Service
Phone 622 Minot, N. D.

GASOLINE ALLEY—BACK TO NATURE

ICK TRACY—OBSERVATION PLATFORM



Miss Piper Bride At New Rockford; Live At Maxbass

Miss Gwendolyn Stenehjem of Minot was maid of honor at the wedding of Miss Ruth Piper, daughter of Mrs. Edythe M. Piper, New Rockford, and Gordon Allan Brandes of LaMoure, which took place Sunday afternoon at New Rockford.

The service was at 4:30 o'clock in the First Congregational church, with the Rev. George Caley officiating.

Baskets of gladioli, a trellis, banked with pine and ferns and candles in branched candelabra formed the background for the ceremony.

The bride, given in marriage by her brother, Rollo Piper of Bismarck, wore a floor length gown of white organdy fashioned with a fitted bodice of embroidered organdy and a bouffant skirt with insets of the embroidered material. A small bonnet of white violets and a feather dove with tulle ribbons extending to the waist and a bouquet of asters, daisies and delphinium completed her costume.

Miss Stenehjem wore white and blue dotted swiss and a white eyelet hat. The bridesmaids, Miss Carol Buhrmann of Harvey and Miss Catherine Brandes of LaMoure, wore gowns of French blue with accents of pink and their hats were of ruffled pink eyelet embroidery. All had shower bouquets of snapdragons, delphinium and feverfew.

Clark Jenkins of Forman was best man for Mr. Brandes and the ushers were Lee Griner and Bernard Toman of Bismarck.

Mrs. Lloyd Beardsley played the wedding marches and Mrs. Trevor Reese of Harvey was soloist.

Seventy-five persons attended a reception in the church parlors following the service. Mrs. Piper, mother of the bride, wore blue lace over rose taffeta and Mrs. Carl F. Brandes, mother of the bridegroom, wore a rose print. Their bouquets were of Johanna Hill roses and baby's breath.

Among out-of-twon guests were Mr. and Mrs. Brandes, the bridegroom's parents, and Warren and Beatrice Brandes of LaMoure; Miss Claire de Rochford, Mr. and Mrs. Gordon Anderson, Mrs. Bernard Toman, Mr. and Mrs. Rollo Piper and son, Jerry, all of Bismarck; Mr. and Mrs. B. F. Stone, Mr. and Mrs. Trevor Reese, Mr. and Mrs. August Peterson and daughter, Helen, and Dr. William Hensel of Harvey; Mr. and Mrs. Rees Price, Fessenden.

The couple left for a trip to Clear lake in Riding Mountain national park and after Aug. 15 will live at Maxbass.

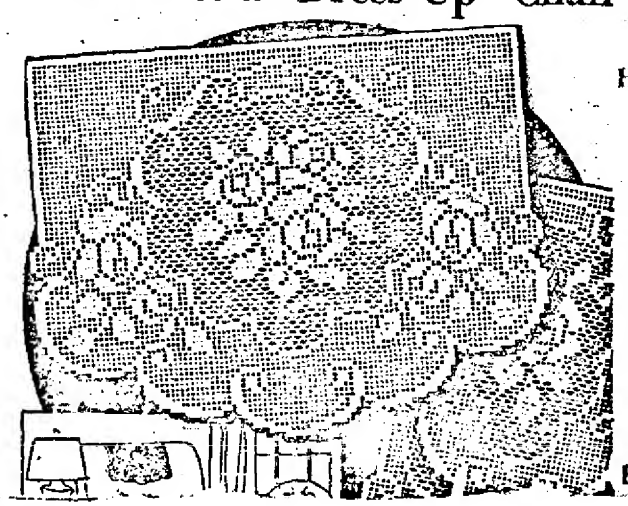
Widens To Visit Here Wednesday

The Rev. Henry F. Widen, Mrs. [illegible] and their daughter, Dorothy

Coque Feathers Are New

Coque feathers, shiny green and black, such as grandmother used to wear back of her pompadour make something different and dashing out of a snug black felt. There'll be clouds of feathers on fall millinery, now that the Audubon society and the feather manufacturers have reached a compromise, releasing certain wild bird plumage which has been taboo for years.

Crochet a "Dress Up" Chair Set



Household Arts by Alice Brooks

Exquisite

W.P.A. Engin Two Others I Near Bowbel

Bowbells, N. D., July Shupe, Bowbells, Burke P. A. engineer; his son, D Tom Jacobson, Bowbell farmer, were injured in bile collision at an inters county road halfway bet bells and Coteau Monday.

Shupe, made unconsci accident, sustained three L cuts about the face and eye. His son suffered a che bruised and cut leg and was badly shaken.

Patients At Kenm

Both are patients in hospital, Kenmare. Their today was reported satis

Jacobson, treated for bruises, returned to his ho

Dr. D. J. Halliday, Ken summoned to give first three injured persons.

The cars, driven by S Jacobson, collided with landed in a wheat field road, Shupe being partly der his machine. The Ja landed on its wheels.

Tall weeds along the ro terfered with the vision drivers.

Farmer Gives Ai

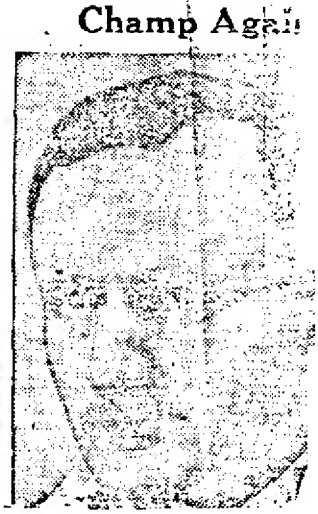
Charles Homiston, who w grain nearby and witnesse lision, used his tractor to f and then drove three mile bells to notify Sheriff H. son.

The sheriff and Deputy S O. Olson went to the scene charge.

The accident occurred a and two miles south of Bo three miles east of Cote

Shupe was formerly a M dent, having been connected state highway department time, and later serving as tendent of the W. P. A. ject in Minot, before be P. A. engineer for Burke 1940.

Champ Aga



rom Daily News Want Ads

LOST AND FOUND

D—Two 8-month-old light calves. Owner may have same identifying and paying for ad. Regina Goebel, Route One, ot.

D—One black mare, one brown ng, one buck skinned horse. er may claim same by identi- and paying for ad. County n, Minot.

TTRESS REPAIRING

LIZED, modern, heavy duty spring mattresses made from otton mattresses. We build mattresses. Free pick-up, de- y. See us for estimates. Phone Midwest Mattress, 417 2nd St. v.

MISCELLANEOUS

TED—Carnival company for Day. Prefer one with free Write Stanley Fire Depart- t, Stanley, N. Dak.

ED—Ferris Wheel rides, etc., 5th anniversary celebration at ora, N. Dak. Write O. H. e, secretary, Commercial Club, ora, N. Dak.

FFICE EQUIPMENT

WRITERS rebuilt, all makes d, repaired and sold on pay- n. Also adding machines. Of- Specialties Co., 16 1st Ave. S. W

WRITERS repaired and rented e and rebuilt machines for sale ot Typewriter Co., 9 E. Central

PLETE Office Service." Allen es Standard adders, Remington writers, rebuilts, rentals, serv- Speed-O-Print duplicators. ecograph supplies, Wiz regis- forms, salesbooks, office fur- ire, filing supplies, bookkeeping rds, janitor supplies, largest k stationery in northwest. ot Stationey, Main floor, First nue Building.

INTING—DECORATING

TING, decorating. Free esti- e. Phone 1506.

TING, decorating, paperhang- Wall paper sample books. Free mates. Phone 193-M.

SLE painting, decorating and ing. Free estimates. Phone . Tom Hoover.

TING wanted. Guaranteed job. ne 737-J.

PROFESSIONAL

CE cleaning. Repairs for fur- all makes. Cummings Tin hone 566.

AUTO body and fender repairing, painting. Glass. Furniture upholstering. Kerr's Body Shop.

STRAYED

STRAYED from pasture south of Minot, bay mare, 8 years. Weight about 1200 lbs; 15 hands. Had halter. Please notify George Southam, Mohall or Phone 1430 Minot.

TRACTORS—MACHINERY

FOR SALE—One used Nichols and Shepard 16-ft. combine with new platform attachment and also pick-up attachment. $750.00. F. B. Becker Co., Des Lacs.

FOR SALE—12-ft. Oliver combine. All necessary equipment. Run two seasons. Good condition. Price $950. T. E. Dempsie, Spirit Lake, Iowa.

CASE separator, 28-in., with drive belt. $150.00. Call 550, Oak Park Meat Market, Minot.

FOR SALE—Two 12-ft. McCormick Deering windrowers. Diepolder Bros., Willow City, N. Dak.

FOR SALE—M & M 8-ft. combine on rubber. Used two seasons. Good condition. $750 delivered. Francis A. Hoover, Mission, S. Dak.

FOR SALE—10-ft. power binder. Donovan Dunlop, Deering, N. Dak.

FOR SALE—28-inch steel threshing machine, complete with belts. Cheap. Mrs. B. Larsen, Crosby, N. Dak.

For Sale

12-ft. Baldwin combine, 1935 model.

Rumely combine. Cheap.

Also several head of horses.

Temanson

Implement Company

Phone 140
14-2nd St. N. E.

WATCH REPAIRING—JEWELRY

WATCH and jewelry repairing. A. M Foss, 14 South Main.

WATCH, jewelry and optical repairing. Ivan A. Cranston, 111 West Central Avenue.

WANTED TO BUY

WE buy and sell men's used clothing

Legal Notices

NOTICE TO CREDITORS

IN THE MATTER OF THE ESTATE OF JACOB ANDERSON, Deceased.

NOTICE is hereby given by the undersigned administrator of the Estate of Jacob Anderson, late of the P. O. of Coulee, in the County of Ward, and State of North Dakota, deceased, to the creditors of, and all persons having claims against said decedent, to exhibit them with the necessary vouchers within six months after the first publication of this notice to the said administrator at his home near Coulee, Ward County, North Dakota, or to the County Judge of said County in his office in said County and State.

Notice is hereby further given that the time and place fixed by the Court for hearing and adjusting such claims are the 6th day of February, 1942, at ten o'clock A. M. in the Court Rooms of the County Court in the Court House in the City of Minot, in the County of Ward and State of North Dakota.

Dated this 21st day of July, 1941.

ANDREW O. ANDERSON,
Administrator of the Estate of Jacob Anderson, Deceased.

HENRY E. JOHNSON,
Attorney for Administrator,
Minot, North Dakota.

First publication on the 22nd day of July, 1941.

(July 22, 29, Aug. 5, 1941)

TREASURER'S REPORT

Following is the report of the treasurer of Hilton School District No. 149 for the year ending June 30, 1941:

RECEIPTS IN GENERAL FUND

A. Cash in General Fund (in hands of District Treasurer and excluding Sinking Fund) July 1, 1940	$ 44.45
1. Total amount received during year from apportionment of State Tuition Fund	204.70
2. Total amount received during year from apportionment of County Tuition Fund	115.92
3. Amount received during year from State Equalization Fund (Total of a, b, c and d)	789.68
b. Teacher Unit $319.68	
c. Basis of Need 470.00	
5. Amount received during year from Taxes Levied by District School Board	1,470.51
B. Total amount received by School Treasurer during the year (Total of items 1 to 9 inclusive)	$2,580.81
C. Grand Total amount received by School District Treasurer including cash on hand (Item A and Item B)	$2,625.26

EXPENDITURES OF GENERAL FUND

Amounts Paid During Year for the Following Purposes:

1. General Control. (School Officers' Salaries $117.83. Expenses $14.50. Miscellaneous $150.00)	$ 282.33
2. Instructional Service. (Teachers' Salaries $1,096.52. Text Books $129.46. Teachers' Retirement Fund $34.30. Miscellaneous $3.90)	1,264.18
3. Auxiliary Agencies. (Transportation $421.37)	421.37
4. Operation of Plant. (Fuel $167.33. Janitor's wages $11.50. Supplies $8.93)	187.76
5. Maintenance of Plant. (Repairs to Equipment $15.14)	15.14
6. Fixed Charges. (Insurance $18.97)	18.97
8. Debt Service. (Interest on Warrants $186.57)	186.57
D. Total Amount Paid During School Year by District Treasurer	$2,376.32

RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES IN

District Court in and for the County of Ward and State of North Dakota, and to serve a copy of your Answer upon the subscriber within thirty days after the service of this Summons upon you, exclusive of the day of service, and in case of your failure to appear or answer, judgment will be taken against you by default for the relief demanded in the Complaint.

This action relates to the foreclosure of a Mortgage upon the following described real estate in the County of Ward and State of North Dakota, to-wit:

The Southwest Quarter (SW¼); also the Northeast Quarter (NE¼) of Section Seventeen (17); also the South Half of the Southeast Quarter (S½SE¼) of Section Eight (8); also the Southwest Quarter of the Southwest Quarter (SW¼SW¼) of Section Nine (9), all in Township One Hundred Fifty-eight (158), Range Eighty-seven (87) West.

Dated this 1st day of April, 1941 at Minot, North Dakota.

THOMAS B. MURPHY,
Attorney for Plaintiff,
Residence and Post Office Address:
Minot, North Dakota.

Notice Of No Personal Claim

To the above named Defendants:

You and each of you will please take notice; That the above entitled action is brought for the purpose of foreclosing a real estate mortgage covering the property described in the Summons above, and that no personal claim is made against any of the above named defendants in this action.

THOMAS B. MURPHY,
Attorney for Plaintiff,
Minot, North Dakota.

(July 8, 15, 22, 29, 1941)

Thompson-Larson Funeral Home
The Best at No Additional Cost
Phone 191

DR. M. M. KEMBLE
OSTEOPATHIC PHYSICIAN
Over Kresge's Dime Store
Phone 1825
Only Osteopath in Minot

Bee Line Service
Frame, Axle, Wheel Straightening
— Wheel Balancing —
Phone 1820
204 2nd St. S. W., Minot

444
Telephone 444
DELIVERY SERVICE
8 A. M. to 11 P. M
Trunks—All Kinds Deliveries
Baggage—Light Moving Jobs

J. Edgar Hoover,
-Director F. B. I.,
Washington, D. C.

b7C

FROM [redacted]
MINOT, N.D.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/7/86 BY SP-6 bja key

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

WAR DEPARTMENT
WAR DEPARTMENT GENERAL STAFF
MILITARY INTELLIGENCE DIVISION, G-2
WASHINGTON, D. C.

AUG 1 1941

Subject: Letter of transmittal.

To: Lt. Col. J. Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation

The attached communications are forwarded for your information and such action as you consider advisable.

Sherman Miles

SHERMAN MILES,
Brigadier General, U. S. Army,
Acting Assistant Chief of Staff, G-2

1 Enclosures:

RECORDED

100-4712-107
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
8 AUG 5 1941
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

CH-18

Declassified per Army letter dtd 7/29/91 8/23 mch/ltr 8/9/91

CONFIDENTIAL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ CONFIDENTIAL

WAR DEPARTMENT

M. I. D.

3-2 /0110-266

RCM/mcm

JUL 24 1941

OFFICE CHIEF OF STAFF
MIL. INTEL. DIV.

181
WAR DEPARTMENT

Headquarters Second Corps Area
Governors Island, New York

July 23, 1941
(Date)

Subject: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
Propaganda Among Soldiers

Summary of Information:

1. The following extract from a report made by an enlisted man stationed at a command near the metropolitan area is forwarded for information:

"Speaking of a visit to the headquarters recently opened by the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE in New Rochelle, operative writes: 'I stepped inside and asked her (the young lady at the headquarters) for a copy of one of Lindbergh's speeches. She was glad I had the nerve to come in, she said, because they have been accused of subversive activities which, she added, was of course ridiculous. I asked if most soldiers were afraid to come in. She said they were, but there had been two in one Saturday night, a Sergeant and a casual, both a bit drunk. I said I was in accord with the principles offered by the COMMITTEE, and what could I do to help. She said that she did not think it would be out of place for a soldier to write to Washington. A son of a friend of hers who was a National Guardsman at a Southern Camp was aiding the cause by having petitions signed by the enlisted men. Continuing her discussion, she said that many men had told her that in the event of war they would go AWOL. She signified that she wouldn't blame them. She said that she would find out more about what activities the National Guardsman was carrying on,' and where I could be reached if anything important came up. I appeared hesitant about giving my name, but she assured me that it would not be put in the general file."

2. Investigation as to other activities by the same agency among soldiers is continuing.

For the Assistant Chief of Staff, G-2:

E. V. CONSTANT
Lt.Col.,G.S.C.
Executive Officer, G-2

Declassified per Army letter dtd 5/29/91 8123 mch/tcy 8/9/94

Distribution:
5 copies to G-2, W.D.
1 copy DIO, 3rd N.D.
1 copy C of S, 2nd C.A.
1 copy for First Army
G-2 Distribution:
All G. A. C.
File

Evaluation
—of source —of information
✓ Reliable ✓
Credible
Questionable
Undetermined

CONFIDENTIAL

100-4712-10

16—17097 GPO

[redacted]

Aug. 3rd. 1941.

b7C

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover,
Director F. B. I.
Washington,
D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover :

A very large number of the business men of our town have been desireous of obtaining definite information of when and by whom this so-called "AMERICAN FIRST" committee was organized, and how it being supported. We would also like to know if Senators Nye and Wheeler, also Senator Clark of Idaho, all of whom advertise that they are speaking "under the auspices" of this said committee, are being paid for making these speeches, and if so then, how much they are paid, etc. The reason we ~~our~~ here desire this information is that we are - a very, very great many us - are bitterly opposed to the stand these men have taken towards the war situation.

I have, just yesterday, and by accident, learned this much about this "AMERICA FIRST" Comittee; A certain German lanquage newspaper, Der Staats Anzeiger, Bismarck, N. D. has been soliciting memberships for that committee. This information I received from an old simple minded German here by the name of Rev. Willis A. Seeman, 25 4th. Ave. Nw. this town, who told me has was a member of that committee and that he became a member throught that paper, to which he had paid a dollar.

Perhapse you have received by now printed copy of my article which appeared in July 29th. issue of our local paper here, the Minot Daily News. I hope so. And if you have received the copy I would greatly appreciate for you give me your opinion of the line of thought it con - tains.

Sincerely Yours,

[redacted]

b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/7/96 BY SP6 bja/kcy

[redacted]

1 ENCL. 0

RECORDED
INDEXED

100-4712-108
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
1 AUG 7 1941
U.S. DE[redacted]OE

b7C

MINOT
AUG 4
8 AM
1941
N. DAK.

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover,
Director F. B. I.
Washington, D. C.

b7C

MINOT, NORTH DAKOTA

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/7/86 BY SP6 bjalt

b7c

[redacted] August 25, 1941

RECORDED 100-4712-108

[redacted]

Minot, North Dakota

Dear [redacted]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 5/7/86 BY [illegible] b7c

I have for acknowledgment your letter of August 3, 1941, with enclosures. I want to thank you for your courtesy in communicating with me.

Please be advised that I am precluded by virtue of a well established policy of the Department of Justice from commenting as you have requested. I regret that I am, therefore, unable to be of assistance to you in this matter.

With respect to your request for information, I must inform you that all data contained in our files is strictly confidential and can be released only on the express authority of the Attorney General.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

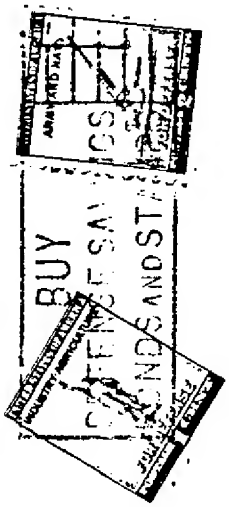
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED
AUG 25 1941
P. M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

b7c [redacted]

[redacted]

Anonymous Communication

b7C



J. B. Washington D.C.

American Trial Committee

1 ENCL. W

INDEXED
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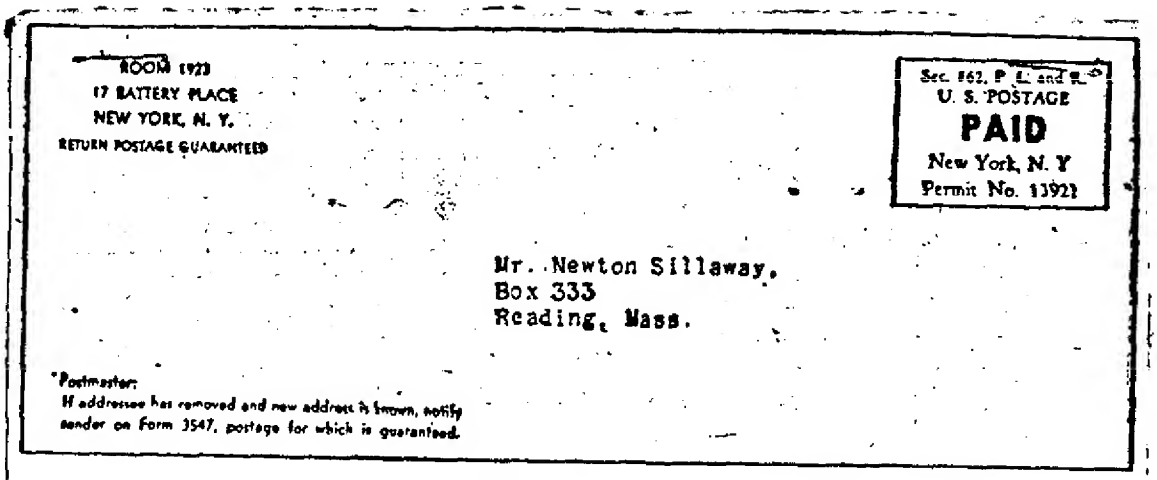
100-4712-109

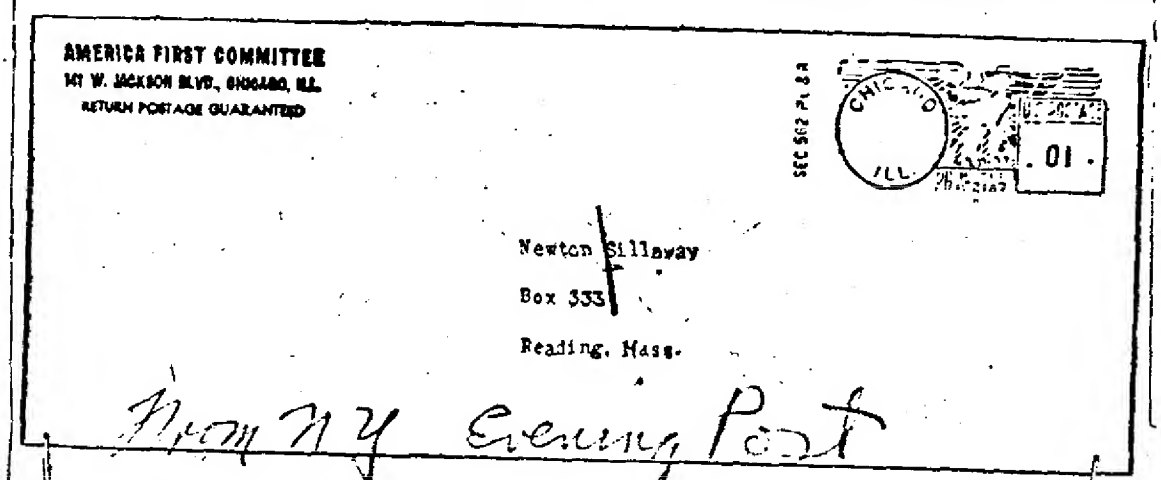
FEDERAL B[illegible]
5 AUG 7 [illegible]
U.S. DEP[illegible]

[redacted]
b7C

CH-26

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/7/86 BY SP6 bja/ltw





From N Y Evening Post

UNTIL UNCLE SAM closed it, the German Library of Information, 17 Battery Pl., had been flooding Newton Dillaway, Reading, Mass., writer, with propaganda, although he didn't ask for it. The envelopes always had been addressed Sillaway. Mr. Dillaway thought it a coincidence, at least, when the America First Committee recently began sending him unsolicited propaganda and also addressed him as Sillaway. Here are the Sillaway envelopes.

Nazis Go, Mail List Stays

For months, Newton Dillaway, a Reading, Mass., writer, has been getting German propaganda handouts through the mails in envelopes with the return address of the German Library of Information, 17 Battery Place, New York. On each envelope his name was misspelled "Sillaway."

When the German Consulate and information bureau were closed, recently, Dillaway thought that would be the end of the letters. He found out he was wrong. Now he's getting handouts from the America First Committee, 141 W. Jackson Boulevard, Chicago. They come addressed to Newton "Sillaway."

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/7/86 BY SP3 jatkg

PM News

100-4712-1

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER
DIRECTOR

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

ODA:PMC

July 22, 1941

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. R. P. KRAMER

RE: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
JOSEPH MCWILLIAMS

Information has been received at the Bureau from an unknown outside source which quotes from the publication known as "The Hour" as follows:

"Street corner meetings sponsored by the various appeasement, pro-fascist groups have already begun to make their appearance in New York City. To date the most active sponsor of such meetings is the America First Committee. Since Lindbergh's April 30 speech at Manhattan Center, approximately thirty such meetings have been held, usually in the better residential districts of the city. A number of these gatherings have taken place on Fifth Avenue. Forty-second Street and Fifth is the favorit spot for these "peace" rallies.

The technique of the meetings varies scarcely at all. The speaker mounts his portable platform. He stands under an American flag. He tells the crowd that a "small minority of financiers" is trying to get us into this war. He avoids openly anti-Semitic remarks; he merely indulges in innuendoes. All mention of the progressive forces in this country is markedly absent from his speech. He never speaks about a fight for democratic rights; in fact, he rarely utters the word "democracy". His hero is Charles A. Lindbergh and his concept of a wise man is Father Coughlin.

The speaker is usually heard by an audience of some two hundred persons, most of them passers-by who stop to listen out of curiosity. Heckling is frequent. To date, as far as The Hour can learn, there have been no incidents of violence. But all reports describe a tense atmosphere at these street corner meetings. It is to be expected that the Christian Fronters, who play an important part at these meetings, will not hesitate much longer to use force against hecklers in the crowds.

A Reverend Charles A. White, allegedly an Episcopalian minister, is in charge of the extensive speakers' bureau maintained by the America First Committee at their offices at 515 Madison Avenue. He does not have a church and his name is not listed in the directory of

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RECORDED
INDEXED

100-4712-110

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FILED

CH-26

the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. He himself is a frequent speaker for the Committee. Wearing his clerical collar, he opens the meetings at which he talks. He is usually followed by three to five speakers, whose addresses last for about fifteen minutes each.

No questions are permitted at these meetings.

Joseph McWilliams, who has been following with admiration the "success" of the America First street corner meetings, is soon to launch his own campaign along similar lines. He plans to abandon his covered wagon of last year. "A huge American flag will be enough," he says. The territory he will concentrate on includes Yorkville, the Bronx and Astoria, Long Island.

Four veteran Coughlinite orators, James Stewart, James Downey, Henry Curtiss and Frank Woodruff, are already picked to work with McWilliams; and he expects to increase this crew of rabble-rousers in the near future.

The content of his speeches and those of his henchmen is to be modeled on that of the America First speakers, although the McWilliams' gang intends to make much more vigorous use of the tactic of Jew-baiting."

Respectfully submitted,

Owen D. Anderson

Owen D. Anderson

VERITAS VINCIT

[redacted] b7C

Aug.6th 41

Hon.John Edgar Hoover
Director.Federal B.of Investigation
U.S.Department of Justice
Washington, D.C.

Hon.& Dear Sir:

Yours of the 28 July 41 to hand which gave me much pleasure to read as I have been confined to my room for two years having had a terrible accident tomy spine.,but I hope to get out in a few weeks time.

I had a nice letter from Prime Minister Churchill,and one from Hon.Wendell Willkie,the following

My dear [redacted] b7C Thank you very much foryour gracious letter of July 5th I appreciate it very much.

Sincerely yours,
Wendell L.Willkie

I hear from the leading men over the world. I wrote Chirchill that if Hitler was in this country he would have been hung long ago If he were here I know YOU would have got him sure.

I consider that you have power next to President ERoosevelt,

Do you ever want good men to work out here,? I know of a fine honorable man that would suit you.

Sincerely Yours,

[redacted] b7C

[redacted]

Thank you letter dated July 31, 1941, acknowledged.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 5-7-86 BY [illegible]

Committee Find

EX-11 RECORDED 100-4112-111

INDEXED Dpd

2 AUG 8 [illegible]

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

8/15/41

b7C

Hon. John Edgar Hoover,
Director
F.B.of I. US Department of Justice
Washington. D.C.

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DATE 5/7/86 BY SP6 bjs/tcg

[redacted]

100-4712-111

RECORDED

b7c

August 16, 1941

[redacted]

b7c

Dear [redacted]

b7c

I received your letter dated August 6, 1941, and I was pleased to hear from you again. It is interesting to know that during your illness you have received so many letters from famous persons.

With regard to the young man mentioned in your letter it is suggested that he communicate directly with this Bureau and if he possesses the qualifications necessary for appointment to any of the positions available I will be pleased to forward an application blank to him.

With best wishes and kind regards,

Sincerely yours,

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 5/7/86 BY SP6 bjalley

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Trapp
Miss Gandy

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED
★ AUG 19 1941 ★
P.M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER
DIRECTOR

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

KRM:bc

August 7, 1941

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Harbo
Tele. Room
Tour Room
Mr. Nease
Mr. Tracy
Miss Beahm
Miss Gandy

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. KRAMER

The following information was obtained from an outside unknown source dated at Washington, D. C. It is being made a part of the Bureau's files for any attention that might be deemed appropriate in the future.

"AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

Colored Section

J. Finley Wilson, Chairman Perry W. Howard, Secretary

National Office 613 F Street, Northwest Washington, D. C.

Telephone National 2702

CHARLES A. YOUNG DIVISION

GENERAL COMMITTEE

Dr. J. Finley Wilson
Grand Exalted Ruler
of the Colored Elks
of the World

Bishop J. A. Gregg
A.M.E. Church

Bishop A. P. Shaw
Methodist Episcopal Church

Bishop W. J. Walls
A. M. E. Zion Church

Sidney R. Redmond
President, National
Bar Association

Bishop David H. Sims
A.M.E. Church

Dr. W. H. Hernagin
President, National
B.Y.U. Congress

E. E. Howard
Physician and Surgeon,
Illinois

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 5/17/82 BY SP6 Sky/kty

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3-27-58
269

INDEXED RECORDED

100-4712-112

1 AUG 9 1941

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FBI

CH-23

"Joseph Edward W. Henry
Philadelphia

Marse Calloway
Realtor and
Political Leader,
Maryland

Dr. G. B. Key
Grand Master of
Masons, Missouri

J. Anthony Josey
Newspaper Publishers,
Wisconsin

J. G. Brown
State Guard of
Iowa

Henry Lincoln Johnson
President, District
Bar Association

Rev. Dr. J. H. Branham
Minister, Illinois

Perry W. Howard

Charles H. Mahoney
President, Great Lake
Insurance Co., Michigan

Hobson R. Reynolds
Former member, Pennsylvania
Legislature

"FELLOW COLORED AMERICANS;-

Our Common country has never been faced with a crisis that approaches the present one.

We are on the very edge of the vortex of a World War.

Our country should be concerned about this war, but there is no reason why we should get into it. But, if we should unfortunately enter this war, it will not only set our country back fifty years but it will particularly be disastrous to the minority groups.

We sympathize with England, but there is no justification for having hundreds of thousands of our sons and brothers slaughtered in the interest of another country.

We favor aid to England, but we earnestly insist that nothing should be done that will take us into this war or send our boys abroad.

We are patriots, and none love their country more than we and no group has shown greater patriotism and self-denial or self-abnegation than our group. And, if our country unfortunately should get into this war, we shall rally as we have always rallied around 'Old Glory'

"and do our bit to the last man. But, why should we be called upon to do this when we can avoid it?

The President has promised that he will not send our boys abroad and we urge you to act at once in giving the President such support, based upon his promises to keep us out of war, that he will not be influenced by some of the war-mongers that constantly din into his ears.

We urge you to organize a Chapter of the America First Committee in your community. There is nothing more vital at this time than this matter, and there is no greater service you can render your country. If you will undertake this organization work, write us for our Chapter manuel which will assist you in doing so.

In any case, let us urge you and your family write the President, your Representative and Senator in Congress urging that our country shall stay out of this conflagration. For, otherwise, with a war declared, we are faced again with the maimed and wounded, broken homes, destruction and death, the shell-shocked, the halt and blind, and sorrow and heartaches will know no bounds.

This general movement is directed by some of America's greatest statesmen and most unselfish leaders, as you will see from the enclosed copy of 'Aims and Activities of the America First Committee.'

We also enclose a membership card which you will please sign and return, but sign and send the card even if you are not able to make any financial contribution.

Yours for America First,

By the Committee,
J. Finley Wilson, Chairman

(Signed)
Perry W. Howard, Secretary"

Very truly yours,

K. R. McIntire

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER
DIRECTOR

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

ODA:ef

August 5, 1941

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Harbo
Tele. Room
Tour Room
Mr. Nease
Mr. Tracy
Miss Beahm
Miss Candy

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. R. P. KRAMER

Re: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE;
INTERNAL SECURITY - G.

The following information has been received at the Bureau from an unknown outside source through a communication dated July 27, 1941, at Youngstown, Ohio.

It is reported that pro-Nazi circles have been concentrating their agitation in an effort to oppose any extension of the one-year service for selectees and national guardsmen. However, it is felt that as a whole the general public favors keeping them in service as long as the present emergency exists.

This source states that fathers who have sons in service at Camp Shelby have said that much of the agitation against the extension of the one-year service is coming from national guardsmen and conscripts who have been used to fill up the quota. It is further said that an official of a local insurance agency has stated that he has received word from his son at Camp Shelby that the actions of the soldiers there are disgraceful and that on several occasions the President has been derided.

It is alleged that most of this agitation comes from the America First movement and from the resulting publicity given to Senator Wheeler and others. It has been reported that many citizens have expressed the opinion that the proper way to handle Mr. Wheeler and his associates is to give them no publicity whatsoever.

RECORDED 100-4712-113

Respectfully,
O. D. Anderson

O. D. Anderson

FIVE

OH-23

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/2/86 BY SP6bfa/tcg

Capt.

Aug. 14, 1941

Hon. Bartel J. Jonkman,
of Michigan.

Meridian, Mi.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/7/86 BY SP6 bja/tkey

Dear Sir:

In regard to the card you mail
me at the expense of our Government,
I wish to state the following:

1st. I have not lost faith in
our President, regardless of what condition
may occur that would force our
country into War!!!

2nd. Is people like you, who
very name sounds foreign to me, wh
are taking advantage of our free
nation and talking too much!!!

3rd. If I had my way, I'd
put you and your
a ship and send you
in Hitler's country - then you

RECORDED & INDEXED
100-47712-114
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
2 AUG 14 1941
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

b7c

would not be so free with your kind of activities - You would be put in a concentration Camp or Reshot, over there.

4th: Please remove my name from your files. I'm not the least bit interested in anything you might have to say at any time.

[redacted] b7C

Meridian, Mississippi.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES—PART OF Cong. Record—FREE

Mrs. Roosevelt Mistaken

Remarks of

HON. BARTEL J. JONKMAN
of Michigan

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

May 12, 1941

NOT PRINTED AT GOVERNMENT EXPENSE

AUG 7 9:30PM 1941

Bartel J. Jonkman

DEFENSE SAVINGS BONDS AND STAMPS

[redacted]

Meridian, Miss.

b7c

100-4712-114

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 5/7/86 BY SP6 bja/tkg

Meridian, Miss.

b7c

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/7/86 BY SP6 bjr/kg

[redacted] b7C

RECORDED 100-4712-114 August 30, 1941

[redacted] b7C

Meridian, Mississippi

Dear [redacted] b7C

This will acknowledge receipt of your communication dated August 11, 1941, and enclosure, which have been included in the official files of this Bureau.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/7/86 BY Sebastian

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Sands

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED
AUG 30 1941
P. M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

[redacted] b7C

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT KANSAS CITY

FILE NO. 100-1077

REPORT MADE AT	DATE WHEN MADE	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE	REPORT MADE BY
KANSAS CITY	8-16-41	7-29-41 8-10-41	[redacted]

TITLE	CHARACTER OF CASE
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE	INTERNAL SECURITY

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS: [redacted] furnished information regarding the progress of newly formed America First Committee in Springfield, Missouri.

- P -

REFERENCE: Report of Special Agent [redacted] Kansas City, Missouri, 6-27-41.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 5/7/86 BY SP4 Bailey

DETAILS: AT SPRINGFIELD, MISSOURI

[redacted] advised as follows:

On Friday night, July 11, 1941, an America First Committee rally was held at Phelps Grove Park, which is a municipal park located in Springfield, Missouri, and Senator BENNETT CLARK was the principal speaker.

COPIES DESTROYED 3-28-58 269

Mr. ORLAND K. ARMSTRONG was the opening speaker and spoke for some length condemning President ROOSEVELT for his actions in the present crisis and the attitude of the British government and Mr. CHURCHILL. Mr. ARMSTRONG then introduced Senator CLARK. The theme of Senator CLARK'S speech was that the present program was leading the United States to war and Senator CLARK suggested

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: Dwight Brantley SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES

100-4712-115

RECORDED

INDEXED

AUG 18 1941

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5 - Bureau
3 - Kansas City

FIVE

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE : 1941 — O-29088

to the audience that those in accordance with his views write their senators and congressmen. During the course of this remark someone in the audience advised that if they did that the F.B.I. might investigate them, to which Senator CLARK replied that in that case let him know and he would take care of that event.

[redacted] there were approximately 600 people who attended this rally and from all indications it was not too well received in Springfield, Missouri.

[redacted]

b7c/d

[redacted]

b7C
D

[redacted]

Many of the persons present refused to give their names.

[redacted] Post office employee, was contacted and he advised that he observed no letters which had been recently received from [redacted]

b7C

[redacted] informed the writer that [redacted] who formerly attended America First Committee meetings was identical with [redacted]

b7C
D

- PENDING -

- UNDEVELOPED LEADS -

KANSAS CITY FIELD DIVISION

[redacted] will after September 1, 1941, contact 57C/D for subsequent developments in this matter.

[redacted] b7C

July 17, 1941.

Walter Winchell
"Daily Mirror"
New York.

J. Edgar Hoover

Dear Mr. Winchell:

INDEXED 100-4712-116
RECORDED [illegible]

The enclosed propaganda [redacted] would indicate finding another candidate for your "scallion" column - I see the F. B. I.

Read it and weep.

Yours truly,

[redacted] b7C

ENCLOSURE

2 - Committee of Trust

6

JAY F. TIFFANY
60-35 83rd STREET
ELMHURST, NEW YORK

I M P O R T A N T M E S S A G E

MY FRIENDS AND NEIGHBORS:

I earnestly appeal to all of you to become supporters of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE. My reasons for making this appeal are the following:

All of us pay Federal taxes. Whether we pay an income tax or not, we pay hidden Federal taxes every day of our lives. Anyone who smokes a pack of cigarettes every day pays $17.72 in Federal taxes in the course of a year. When you women buy cosmetics, eleven per cent of the price consists of a hidden Federal excise tax. When we buy an automobile, a tire, an inner tube, a radio, a refrigerator, gasoline or lubricating oil, part of the purchase price consists of a Federal excise tax. If we go to the theater or the movies, we pay a Federal tax on the admission charge. We can't even drink a glass of beer without having part of our dime go to the brewer to reimburse him for the tax which he pays to the Federal Government on every gallon of beer which he brews.

Next year these taxes will all be increased because of the defense program.

Most of us pay a Federal income tax. This year some of you may have paid an income tax for the first time in your lives, because of the lowering of the personal exemptions.

Next year our income taxes will be drastically increased. They will be anywhere from three to six times as large as they were this year. For example, if you paid a tax of $11. this year on an income of $2,500., you will pay between $44. and $72. next year, according to the tax plans now pending in

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/7/86 BY [illegible]

100-4712-11

Congress; and if you paid a tax of $31. on an income of $3,000., next year you will pay between $97. and $152.

BUT IF AMERICA ENTERS THE WAR, OUR TAXES WILL NOT BE INCREASED THREE, FOUR, FIVE OR SIX TIMES. THEY WILL BE INCREASED TEN, FIFTEEN OR EVEN TWENTY TIMES. THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND ARE PAYING ONE-THIRD OR ONE-HALF OF THEIR INCOMES TO THEIR GOVERNMENT IN TAXES, AND WE WILL BE DOING THE SAME THING IN THIS COUNTRY UNLESS WE KEEP AMERICA OUT OF THE WAR.

When we are threatened with a paving or sewer assessment of $50. or $75. two or three thousand of us go to Lost Battalion Hall and shout down the politicians who are trying to assess us. We should be much more aroused whena very small minority of people in this country, many of whom are not even American citizens, are trying to push us into a war which will cost each one of us not $50. or $75. but hundreds of dollars per year for the rest of our lives.

I have said that a very small minority are trying to push us into war. Even the Gallup poll shows that only 20 per cent of the persons interviewed want war. Probably the actual number of people in this country who want war is as small as 5 or 10 per cent of the adult population. The following letter appeared recently in the New York World-Telegram:

> "I am an insurance man, who in the course of a year comes into personal contact with at least several thousand persons in all walks of life. During the last 12 months I have made it a point to ask all I have come in contact with this question:
>
> 'Do you favor our entry into war, even if Britian is defeated?'
>
> Invariably, the answer has been 'No'. Furthermore, and this is interesting, I have yet to meet a person who has been interviewed by the Gallup poll."

Senator Wagner said in a recent press interview that his mail is running 100 to 1 aganist convoys,which would lead usto war.

If so few people want war, then why are we deluged with war propaganda? The answer is that the warmakers are organized, active, influential and well-financed. There are at least five of them in President Roosevelt's Cabinet; they determine the editorial policy of many newspapers and magazines; and they control the production of motion pictures so completely that they have been able to pour down our throats a strong dose of war medicine with their anti-Nazi films (but they never produce an anti-Communist film).

There are two things which the 90 or 95 per cent of us who are opposed to war can do in order to offset the propaganda of the war-makers.

1. We can send a letter or a post-card to each of our Senators and Representatives telling them that we are opposed to American entry into the war, that we are opposed to convoys, that we are opposed to any amendment of the Neutrality Act, and that we favor legislation providing for a national popular referendum before any declaration of war shall be made by Congress. Such letters and post-cards should be sent to the following:

Hon. Robert F. Wagner,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

Hon. James M. Mead,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

Hon. Caroline O'Day,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

Hon. Matthew J. Merritt,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

Hon. William B. Barry,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

When you write take care to sign your name clearly and to put your address on your letter or post-card, so that the Senators and Representatives will know that you are among their constituents. When you write to Representative Barry, let him know that you appreciate the work which he has been doing to keep America at peace. As you can see from the enclosed copy of a letter which Representative Barry has sent to his constituents who have written him in opposition to convoys, he has taken his stand with those of us who do not want American boys to die for the defense of "democracy" in China and India (and now Russia).

2. We can join the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE, which is daily growing in strength and which, if it grows strong enough, will be able to compel the Administration to keep this country at peace. A small contribution to the Committee now will enable it to carry on its work and will save each one of us hundreds of dollars in war taxes. If you will sign the enclosed card and return it to me, one of my volunteer helpers or I will call on you to enroll you in the America First Committee.

The same clique of Judas Iscariots who sold the lives of American soldiers to the Allies for thirty pieces of silver in 1917 are working night and day to put over the same deal again. They have the help of the anti-Christian Communist Party with all its powerful propaganda agencies and all its smirking, hypocritical admirers and fellow travellers, from Mrs. Roosevelt down to Mayor LaGuardia. Unless the rest of us start fighting for peace, American boys will be dying in England, Russia, China and Africa before the end of this year, and the common people of America will be picked clean by the tax-collectors.

Sincerely yours,

JAY F. TIFFANY.

C O P Y

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.
May 21, 1941

Dear Constituent:

This is to acknowledge receipt of your recent letter regarding convoys.

I am absolutely opposed to this Nation sending its fleet to convoy through any war zone; as the President said, "convoys mean shooting and shooting means war".

I earnestly request you to send a letter of protest to the President, and also write to at least three friends, requesting them to do likewise and have them in turn write to at least three friends more; in other words, start a chain letter system a gainst the drive for convoys and war.

In spite of propaganda and hysteria of a frightened minority, this Nation can successfully defend the Western Hemisphere from attack by any possible combination of enemies.

The argument that we will lose our foreign trade with Europe, Asia and Africa and strangle economically if England does not win is absurd. In the first place, our foreign trade with those continents amounts to only 3½% of our entire business. In the second place, we have been competing successfully for many years with dictatorship nations where the so-called slave labor exists. As a matter of fact, since 1930 up until the outbreak of the War, our foreign trade doubled, and during those years we competed with and traded with all of the totalitarian countries; and strange as it may seem the lowest wage scale in the world exists in "Democratic" China, and the next lowest wage scale is in British India, another alleged democracy where coal miners are paid 90¢ a week, jute workers $1.25 a week and industrial workers $1.35 a week. Child labor is prevalent, and the average wage for it is 70¢ a month.

The destiny of this Nation is not dependent upon any other nation outside of the Western Hemisphere, where we can be self-sufficient if necessary.

It is my conviction that if the men who suffered at Valley Forge, and founded this Nation, were alive today, they would gaze with amazement and shame at the small minority of Americans who are hysterically proclaiming that this great and powerful nation of 130 million people cannot defend itself without the aid of the British Navy.

Yours very truly,

W. B. Barry
Member of Congress.

ELIOT AVENUE CIVIC ASSOCIATION

OF QUEENS, INC.

NOTICE OF SPECIAL MEETING

A special meeting of the Association will be held at the meeting hall, 84th Street and 60th Avenue, on Friday, July 18th, 1941, at 8:30 P.M. to take action on the following:

1. A resolution that this Association send to all the members of Congress a mimeographed letter urging them to vote in favor of the following:

(a) An amendment to the Lend-Lease Act providing that the President of the United States shall not extend any aid under the Act to Soviet Russia.

(b) An amendment to the Neutrality Act directing the President of the United States to apply the provisions of the Act to Soviet Russia.

(c) A proposed amendment to the Constitution of the United States providing that the armed forces of the United States shall not be sent to fight outside United States territory except upon an affirmative vote of a majority of the American people in a national popular referendum, such proposed amendment to be submitted to conventions in the several States.

2. A resolution that the Secretary of this Association write to President Roosevelt requesting him to re-

move Secretaries Stimson, Knox, Ickes, Morgenthau and Wickard from his Cabinet, replacing them with men who will concentrate on building up the defenses of the United States and who will not attempt to maneuver this country into the war; and authorizing the officers of this Association to circulate a petition to the same effect among the members of the Assocation for their signatures and to send the said petition to President Roosevelt.

3. A resolution that this Association donate to the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE a sum not exceeding one hundred dollars.

4. A resolution instructing the Board of Directors of this Association to rescind a resolution adopted at a special meeting held June 30, 1941, purporting to correct and interpret a resolution adopted by the members of this Association at a regular meeting held June 6, 1941, authorizing the President of this Association to appeal to the members for support for the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE, on the ground that th said purported action of the Board of Directors was beyond their jurisdiction and is therefore illegal, invalid, null and void, and further instructing the Board of Directors not to attempt to re-instate their said purported resolution, either in whole or in part, at any time in the future.

5. Any other business which may be brought before the meeting.

It is suggested that members take this notice to the meeting with them, so that they may readily follow the order of business and the consideration of the various items.

MURIEL BENLISA,
Secretary.

JAY F. TIFFANY
President.

THE BIOW COMPANY
INCORPORATED
9 ROCKEFELLER PLAZA
NEW YORK

OFFICE OF [redacted]

August 15th, 1941

b7C

Federal Bureau of Investigation
Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Gentlemen:

The enclosed letter was received by our client, Philip Morris & Co. Ltd., Inc., after the broadcasting of "Arms For The Love of America".

It is at the request of Mr. A. E. Lyon, Executive Vice-President of Philip Morris, that we send you this letter together with a copy of his answer to it. He is of the opinion that the contents of the original letter might be of importance to you.

Sincerely yours,

[redacted]

THE BIOW COMPANY, INC.

b7C

[redacted]

1 ENCL. FM

RECORDED 100-4712-117
INDEXED
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
8 AUG 19 1941
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FIVE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/7/86 BY SP-6 by 4 tcy

R. F. C.
1st Nat. Mart
Los Angeles, Calif.

Attn: Philip Mario Jofrus Co.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/7/86 BY SP6 byalty

Tuesday - July 21

Philip Morris Co.
c/o K.F.I.
Los Angeles, Calif.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/7/86 BY SP6 byalley

Gentlemen:

Just a line to let you that you have lost a customer of some fifteen years.

We listen to to radio to be entertained, not to be insulted with any patriotic or war spirit. I sincerely think your song "~~In Man~~ "For the Love of America" was entirely out of place tonight.

You would do well to place some one of the caliber of the Hon. Burton K. Wheeler on your program. Seventy-five percent of the "Americans"

in this county agree with the "America First Movement" and are getting very tired of Jewish flag waving and English propaganda. Tim vote or I refuse to smoke Philip Morris cigarettes (a nice drop in your bucket!) or listen to your radio programs.

Yours very truly

[redacted] b7C

[redacted] b7C

Los Angeles, Calif.

COPY

August 12th, 1941

b7c

[redacted]
Los Angeles, California.

Dear [redacted]

b7c

Your letter of July 29th has been placed before me, and may I at the outset say that we sincerely regret that you took exception to the patriotic number "For the Love of America" which was played on our programme. We ask, however, your indulgence and sympathetic understanding of our position.

When we put on a radio programme, we do not do so to please or entertain ourselves, but with a hope that we can correctly gauge the feelings and reactions of the listening audience. The people in charge of our radio productions felt that a very great majority of the people in this country were sympathetic to the democratic form of Government and would not resent the playing of the number to which you object.

Your letter, however, has forcibly brought home to them that there are followers of Burton K. Wheeler and members of the America First Movement, who object to such numbers.

Yours very truly,

A. E. Lyon
Executive Vice-President.

AEL:dk

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/7/86 SP6 byalty

b7c

[redacted]

100-4712-117 September 2, 1941

b7c

[redacted]
The Blow Company, Incorporated
9 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, New York

Dear [redacted] b7c

I want you to know that I deeply appreciate your courtesy in making your letter of August 15, 1941, available to me, together with the material attached thereto.

Any matters which you may care to transmit to me will be gratefully received.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/7/86 BY SP6 bjatley

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
SEP 2 1941
P.M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

4-750 (Rev. 4-17-85)

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

6 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

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☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.

☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.

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FBI/DOJ

[redacted] August 14, 1941

100-4712-97

b7c

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
BY SPECIAL MESSENGER

Assistant Chief of Staff
G-2, War Department
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

There are transmitted herewith for whatever consideration deemed appropriate by you copies of a communication dated July 26, 1941, addressed to me by [redacted] together with photostatic copies of the enclosure thereof.

b7c

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Enclosure

DECLASSIFIED ON 5/14/86 SP-6 by alt key

19998

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED
★ AUG 15 1941 ★
P.M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

100-4712-119
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
1 AUG 22 1941
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

b7C

CHICAGO

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER
DIRECTOR

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Harbo
Tele. Room
Tour Room
Mr. Neace
Mr. Tracy
Miss Beahm
Miss Gandy

ODA:DMM

August 19, 1941

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. R. P. KRAMER

RE: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
INTERNAL SECURITY

The following information was received at the Bureau from an unknown, outside source, through a communication dated at New York, New York, April 30, 1941.

This source reported that Edward S. Webster, Jr., Executive Secretary of the captioned committee issued a statement on April 28, 1941, that approximately 9200 new members had joined the organization since the Manhattan Center rally on April 23, 1941. It is reported that at this rally on the twenty-third the German groups had special buses from Newark, Jersey City, Irvington, Bloomfield, Paterson and even as far off as Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

It is stated that this meeting was divided into two groups, "one was those on the inside and the others were those people who had to pay out money for tickets." It is said that those on the inside could secure press tickets from the following groups:

American Patriots	German-American Bund
Committee for Preservation of America	Kyffhauser Bund
Christian Front	Modern '76's
Christian Mobilizers	Social Justice Groups
Crusaders for Americanism	

This source of information states that the following were among those who were present: Reverend Herbert Lewis, Bund and Christian Front member; George F. Boian, leading member of the U. S. branch of the Roumanian Iron Guard, disseminator of pro-Nazi propaganda; Edmund Burke, Christian Mobilizer, speaker and organizer, a jailbird; James McGee, Christian Front propagandist; Daniel Hogan, bodyguard of the American Destiny Party leader, Joseph McWilliams; George Rieper, Christian Front contact man, associated with many Fifth Column groups; James Stewart, a street-corner speaker of the Christian Mobilizers and member of their inner council; Edward Canta,

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100-4772-12

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
2 AUG 21 1941
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

former witness before the Dies Committee, now employed by the American Women Against Communism, a fascist organization; Mrs. Leonora Schuyler (on platform), bigwig in the Allied Patriotic Society, frequenter of Christian Front and Mobilizer meetings; Mrs. Cooper, a leader in the fascist Paul Revere Sentinels, a friend and co-worker of Mrs. Schuyler; Edward James Smythe, intimate of Bundites, KKK leader, staunch Hitlerite and violent anti-Semite; George A. Van Nosdall, bund member, former president of the Crusaders for Americanism; John B. Snow, chairman of the League for Constitutional Government, a white collar fascist group that specializes in spreading anti-Semitic propaganda; Lawrence Dennis, well-known fascist "theoretician," author of The Coming American Fascism; Gustav Elmer, treasurer of the Bund; August Klapprott, Bund leader now out on bail after conviction in New Jersey on charges of incitement to hate; and many others of like nature.

This source further indicates that the American First Committee is now becoming the spearhead of all the pro-Nazi appeasement movements in order to coordinate the storm troop forces in this country. According to the publication called "The Hour," it is alleged that the fascist groups throughout the United States have agreed on Charles A. Lindbergh as the man who will be the leader and coordinator of the entire movement and it is said that Lindbergh has already assumed this position. It is further stated that Father Coughlin will provide a large portion of the following, and that he is not reluctant to admit his participation. An editorial of the April 28, 1941, issue of Social Justice set forth the following:

> "Colonel Charles A. Lindbergh became a member of the America First Committee last week.
>
> "It is the same Committee under whose auspices Senator Burton K. Wheeler speaks.
>
> "It is the same Committee under whose auspices Father Charles E. Coughlin would be speaking did he enjoy one-half as much liberty as a priest and as a citizen, as that enjoyed by Monsignor John A. Ryan of the National Catholic Welfare Council.
>
> "It is the same Committee which all non-interventionists should join in the hope of saving this country from the destructionists -- the New Deal Interventionists."

The source of information inclosing indicates that the America First Committee has not the slightest interest in peace and that in reality it is eager to see Germany triumph. The source states that this movement has no concern with peace and that this can be shown by the policy of the committee which heavily recommends expansion of the United States to the South and the subsequent taking over of territory in Latin America either by "peaceful means or otherwise."

Respectfully submitted,

O. D. Anderson

O. D. Anderson

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

WAR DEPARTMENT
WAR DEPARTMENT GENERAL STAFF
MILITARY INTELLIGENCE DIVISION, G-2
WASHINGTON, D. C.

AUG 22 1941

Subject: Letter of transmittal.

To: Lt. Col. J. Edgar Hoover
FederalBureau of Investigation

The attached communications are forwarded for your information and such action as you consider advisable.

Sherman Miles

SHERMAN MILES,
Brigadier General, U. S. Army,
Acting Assistant Chief of Staff, G-2

1 Enclosures:

ENCLD

Declassified per Army letter dated 5/29/91 8123 Mech Hq 5/29/91

CH-26

RECORDED 100-4712-121

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
3 AUG 23 1941
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

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G2/10261-372

WAR DEPARTMENT
M. I. D.

G2/CI
DGE

August 19, 1941
(Date)

Subject: STREET SPEAKERS FOR AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE.

Summary of Information:

The America First Committee has in the New York Metropolitan Area a group of street corner speakers who are clean cut, "typical" American young men. They are obviously well educated, speak without accent and have an excellent command of English. They are not "rabble rousers" in any sense of the word but direct their appeal"to the common sense of the common people who will have to do the paying and the dying in the event of a war". They carry on their talks in quiet, well modulated tones often approaching the delivery of a teacher to a class. They are effective although their audience at 59th Street and Lexington Avenue (28 July 41, 9:15 P.) numbered only about 60 persons. Although the speakers received rather "spotty" applause they were not booed or hissed at all. There were three police officers and a patrol car in attendance at the above mentioned meeting.

When a request was made from among the listeners for a question period the speaker declined to yield to questions stating that the America First Committee had found that hecklers attempted to break up meetings; that the America First Committee was interested in placing the facts before the thinking public and that the America First Committee will be more than pleased to answer all questions if the questioner will stop in at one of their offices.

The America First Committee apparently had been careful in the selection of its speakers. The two men heard at 59th Street last night were men who bore out the tenor of their talks i.e that they were capable and willing to fight FOR THE UNITED STATES but they were "too well informed to be willing to fight for any other country."

Prev. Distribution:
W.D., Wash.
D.N.I., 3rd N.D.

Distribution:
✓FBI
ONI
State

Source:
A. C. of S., G-2,
Second Corps Area.

Evaluation	
-of source	-of information
x Reliable	x
Credible	
Questionable	
Undetermined	

Declassified per Army letter dtd 5/29/91 8123 mch/tcy 8/9/91

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16—17097 GPO

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WAR DEPARTMENT
WAR DEPARTMENT GENERAL STAFF
MILITARY INTELLIGENCE DIVISION, G-2
WASHINGTON, D. C.

AUG 20 1941

Subject: Letter of transmittal.

To: Lt. Col. J. Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation

The attached communications are forwarded for your information and such action as you consider advisable.

Sherman Miles

SHERMAN MILES,
Brigadier General, U. S. Army,
Acting Assistant Chief of Staff, G-2

1 Enclosures:

1 ENCL
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INDEXED
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
8 AUG 21 1941
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

CH-26

Declassified per Army Letter dtd 5/29/91
8123 mch ltr 8/9/91

EX-E

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HEADQUARTERS SECOND CORPS AREA
OFFICE OF ASSISTANT CHIEF OF STAFF, G-2
GOVERNORS ISLAND, NEW YORK

AUG 1941 OFFICE CHIEF OF STAFF MIL. INTELL. DIV. WAR DEPARTMENT

3-2 10261-C

EP/mcm

July 30, 1941

Subject: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE - Disaffection Among Troops

Summary of Information:

1. It has been learned from a source believed to be reliable that a special unit has been formed in the New York City section of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE called the "Investigation Unit." It is under the direction of one GEORGE WRANGELL, who calls himself BARON CHARLES BOKASSOWKI VON WRANGELL. This WRANGELL, of Russian origin, is in no way connected with the late GENERAL BARON WRANGEL, one of the leaders of the White Russian Army. GEORGE WRANGELL through GEORGE DJAMGAROFF, see report from this headquarters under date of April 11, 1941, was given this title by the GRAND DUKE CYRIL of Russia who lives in France and whose daughter KIRA married PRINCE LOUIS FERDINAND of Prussia and whose son VLADIMIR is now reported to be considered by the Germans to inherit the throne of Russia under German protection. GEORGE WRANGELL was able to obtain a number of important subscriptions to the funds of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE amongst Russian emigres and rich American women married to former Russians, such as HELENA RUBINSTEIN, owner of the well-known beauty parlors, and others. It is also reported that he has met at different times with the French refugee groups who gather at the Waldorf-Astoria, Pierre, Barclay and other hotels and some of whom were formerly subject of a report from this office dated July 17, 1941, under the heading "Vichy Government Officials and Their Associates Active in the United States."

2. GEORGE WRANGELL is openly PRO-GERMAN and PRO-NAZI and is closely associated with one BORIS BRASOL who was mentioned in a report from this office dated July 2, 1941, Russian, with the closest possible contacts with the GERMAN BUND and German Government circles. BORIS BRASOL recently addressed an open letter to the President of the United States, signed by himself, ARCHBISHOP VITALY of the Russian Orthodox Church of New York, and BORIS SERGIEVSKY, protesting against American help to Soviet Russia. BORIS BRASOL is also known to be in close touch with CHARLES HUDSON, Omaha, Nebraska, CHARLES W. PHILLIPS, Lincoln, Nebraska, GERALD WINROD and other subversive elements, including GUY JUENNEMAN, THERESA HOLM, COLONEL BRYANT, who were the subjects of a report from this office dated July 2, 1941.

3. The "Investigation Unit" is the creation of MR. BRONSON BATCHELOR, a noted press relations counsel and supposedly the leading spirit behind the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE activities. BATCHELOR is a close friend and

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1 copy to FBI, N.Y.

Evaluation
-of source -of information
Reliable
Credible ✓
Questionable
Undetermined

Declassified per Army Letter dated 5/29/91 8123 mch/tlg 9/4/91

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CONFIDENTIAL

business associate of CARL BYOIR, who was accused by CONGRESSMAN PATMAN on August 29, 1940, of being a German spy.

4. The WRANGELL-BRASOL group freely admit that they are PRO-NAZI and cooperate with the BUND. It has been learned from other sources believed to be reliable that German groups either friendly or affiliated with the BUND are actively supporting the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE activities and BUND leaders urge all their supporters to join the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE and collect funds for same.

5. It has been learned from the same sources that Bundists are operating as volunteer workers in addressing the anti-interventionist literature now being put out by the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE and also are seeking every means to contact parents of selectees, either directly or by mail, for the purpose of urging them to support by messages to Congressmen and Senators the propaganda against extension of military service for selectees.

6. It has been further learned that certain of these BUND agents, at least one of whom is on the payroll of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE, are meeting with soldiers in the taverns and amusement places around Fort Dix and other Army camps, primarily for the purpose of obtaining the home addresses of all men whose surroundings they think would react favorably to their efforts. These addresses are used to distribute literature ranging from the cards issued by SENATOR WHEELER to the highly subversive literature published by CHARLES HUDSON, GERALD WINROD and others.

7. It has been further reported that these agents have approached parents of selectees and suggested to them that their sons should form clubs in Army camps for the purpose of sending collective messages protesting against retention in the military service to SENATOR WHEELER and other prominent personages. For this purpose also the German groups are forming propaganda circles under the style of bridge clubs or pinochle clubs which are quite numerous in taverns in the suburban districts of New York City.

8. Particular attention is being paid by the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE to efforts to secure financial support and adherence to its program amongst groups of well-to-do citizens in Westchester County, New York, Fairfield County, Connecticut, and Morris County, New Jersey. These thickly populated, prosperous communities are the home of many of the young officers now on duty with troops. Special attempts are being made to influence them through impressing their parents and for this purpose notable speakers, such as Ex-Governor PHILIP LaFOLLETTE of Wisconsin and others, are being obtained to address the meetings. In this way the morale is seriously affected.

For the Assistant Chief of Staff, G-2:

S. V. CONSTANT
Lt.Col.,G.S.C.
Executive Officer, G-2

EMERY & CONANT COMPANY

INCORPORATED

WOOL MERCHANTS

267 SUMMER STREET

BOSTON, MASS.

ALLAN C. EMERY, TREASURER
RALPH W. CONANT, PRESIDENT
CLIFTON B RUSSELL, VICE PRESIDENT
RICHARD I. GOODRICH, CLERK

SUCCESSORS TO
STUDLEY & EMERY

August 20 - 1941

Hon. John Edgar Hoover, Director
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
United States Department of Justice
Washington
District of Columbia

Dear Sir:

Your letter dated August 18th, 1941, received.

Please accept my thanks for same.

I am glad to know these matters are having your close attention.

Faithfully yours,

[redacted]

b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/7/86 BY SP6 bja/ltcy

[redacted]

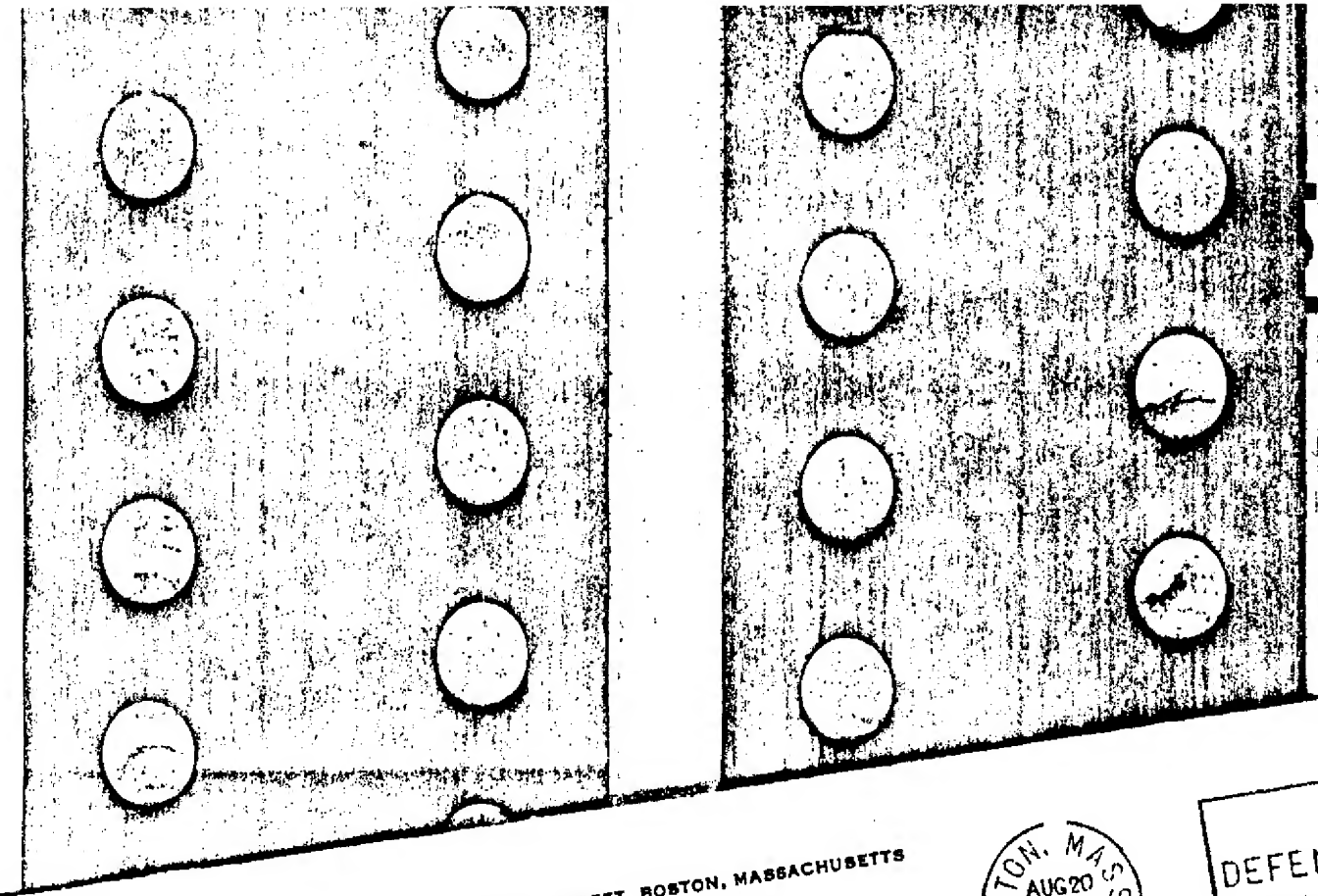
CH-10

RECO 100-4112-123

b7C

2 AUG 22 1941

U.S. [redacted] CE



EMERY & CONANT CO., INC. 267 SUMMER STREET, BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS

BOSTON, MASS. AUG 20 8-PM 1941

BUY DEFENSE SAVINGS BONDS AND STAMPS

FBI INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 6/14/76 BY SP2 [illegible]

HON. JOHN EDGAR HOOVER, DIRECTOR

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

WASHINGTON

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

AUG 14 1941

WESTERN UNION

WE11 69 NT

ATLANTICCITY NJ AUG 13 1941

EDGAR HOOVER

FBI

JUST HEARD A SPEECH OVER THE RADIO STATION WJZ SENATOR GERALD P/NYE IF I EVER HEARD ANY INCITEMENT OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE TO DISRESPECT ITS PRESIDENT AND THE WHOLE ADMINISTRATION I HEARD IT FROM THE MOUTH OF THIS SENATOR IT IS HIGH TIME THAT THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT AND THE DEPARTMENT CONCERNED WITH FINDING THE RESPONSIBLE PARTIES AND PLACE THEM IN THEIR PROPER SITUATION WHY DONT YOU DO SOMETHING

[redacted]

553A

b7c

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 5/7/86 BY SP6 bja Hey

Refer to Biddle

memo Biddle to McGuire 8-15-41 J.E.H.

RECORDED & INDEXED 100-4712-1

AUG 25 1941

FBI - NEW YORK

[redacted] August 15, 1941 b7c

100-4712-124

RECORDED

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. MATTHEW F. McGUIRE
THE ASSISTANT TO THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

I am transmitting herewith copies of a memorandum for the Honorable Francis Biddle, Acting Attorney General, dated August 15, 1941, quoting a telegram received from [redacted] b7c dated August 13, 1941 at Atlantic City, New Jersey.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Enclosures

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/1/86 BY SP6 bja/klg

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED
★ AUG 16 1941 ★
P. M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

RECORDED [redacted] August 15, 1941 b7c

105-4712-124

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ACTING ATTORNEY GENERAL
HONORABLE FRANCIS BIDDLE

For your information, I am in receipt of the following quoted telegram which I have not acknowledged due to insufficient address:

"ATLANTIC CITY NJ AUG 13 1941

EDGAR HOOVER
FBI
JUST HEARD A SPEECH OVER THE RADIO STATION WJZ SENATOR GERALD P NYE IF I EVER HEARD ANY INCITEMENT OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE TO DISRESPECT ITS PRESIDENT AND THE WHOLE ADMINISTRATION I HEARD IT FROM THE MOUTH OF THIS SENATOR IT IS HIGH TIME THAT THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT AND THE DEPARTMENT CONCERNED WITH FINDING THE RESPONSIBLE PARTIES AND PLACE THEM IN THEIR PROPER SITUATION WHY DONT YOU DO SOMETHING

[redacted] b7c

Respectfully,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Trow
Miss Gandy

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED
★ AUG 16 1941 ★
P. M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 5/7/86 BY SP6 [illegible]

FX-10

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER
DIRECTOR

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

August 12, 1941

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. FOXWORTH

[redacted], was referred to me from the Director's office.

[redacted] that she has a high regard for the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the part which it is presently playing in behalf of the national defense. She stated that she and her husband have been in frequent contact with Special Agent [redacted].

[redacted] stated that she merely wanted to call at the Bureau and report to one of Mr. Hoover's assistants her opinion that the America First Committee constitutes a real danger and menace to the national defense. She stated that members of the America First Committee in and about Santa Fe, New Mexico, believed by her to be very active in creating disunity, etc., are [redacted] who owns prominent railway interests; [redacted] of a prominent and wealthy family; [redacted], and owner of large financial and business interests in Germany; [redacted], Secretary of [redacted], a very pro-Nazi individual; [redacted], very anti-Semitic; [redacted] and numerous others.

[redacted] stated that in her opinion the America First Committee members are in the first place bitterly anti-Roosevelt; secondly, they are entirely fanatic; thirdly, they are strongly anti-Semitic; fourthly, they are completely discontented and dissatisfied with the present setup in America. She stated that in her opinion because of their wealth, influence and position they constitute the gravest menace to the internal security of this country at the present time.

[redacted]

This is not being recapitulated in detail in this memorandum.

[redacted] was thanked very courteously for her interest in bringing this information to the Bureau and she was assured that careful consideration and the attention deemed appropriate would be furnished this and any other material that she might care to furnish to this Bureau.

Respectfully,

C. H. Carson

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 5-1-84 BY SP6 bjs/key

CH-16

100-4772-12

RECORDED
INDEXED

Federal Bureau of Investigation

United States Department of Justice

BALTIMORE, MARYLAND
August 27, 1941

Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Re: "CAMPUS COPPERHEADS", Box 5512
Metro Station, Los Angeles,
California.
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Dear Sir:

There is being transmitted herewith a copy of a hand bill and a card turned over to this office by [redacted] b7C b7D

[redacted] advised that hand bills of this type were distributed by an unidentified woman at a CIO meeting at the Baltimore Coliseum on June 15, 1941.

This matter is being submitted for the information of the Bureau and no investigation is contemplated in this District.

Very truly yours,

E. A. SOUCY,
Special Agent in Charge.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 5/7/86 BY SP6 ja/tkg

[redacted] b7C

cc-Los Angeles
Encs.

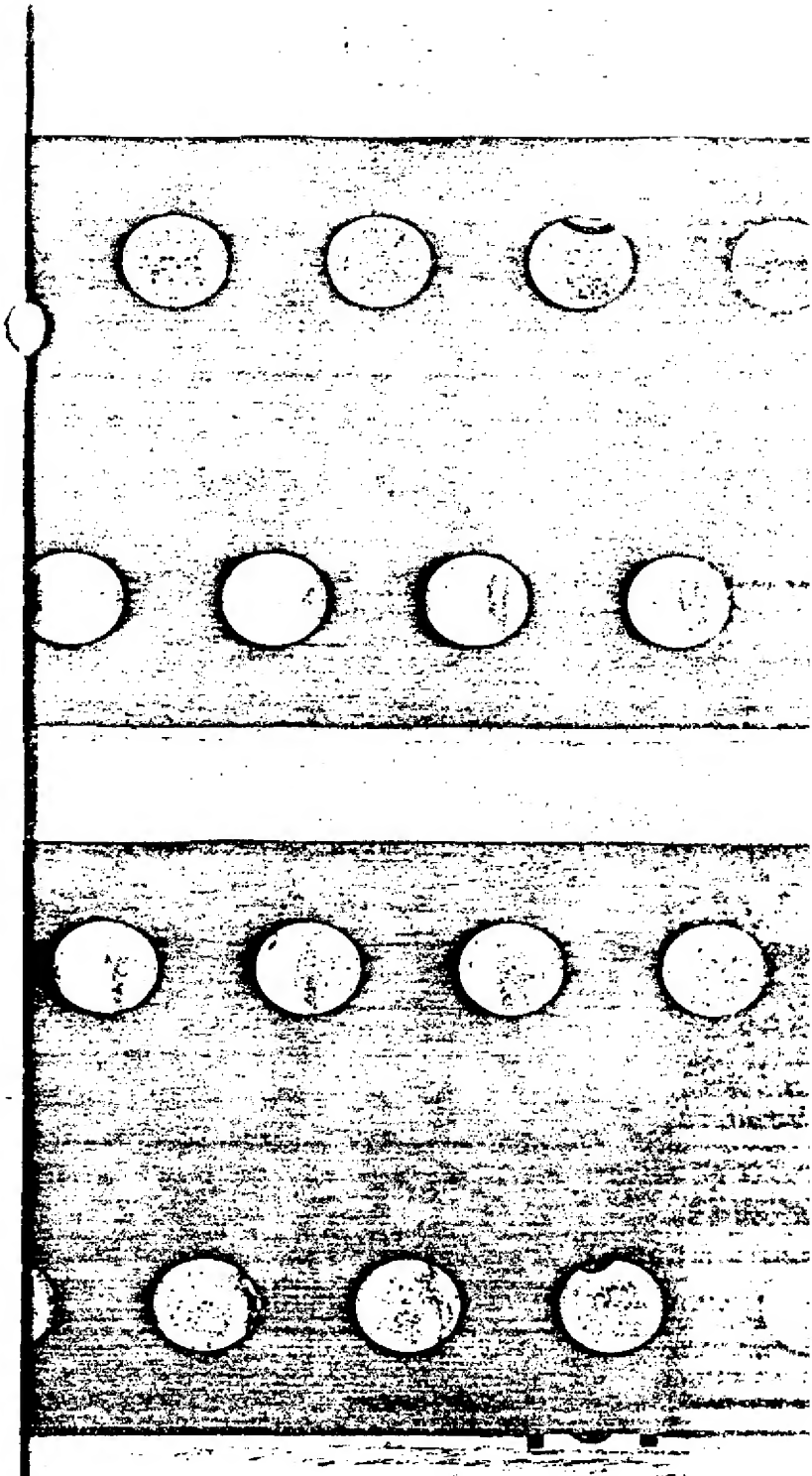
EX - 1

100 4712-126

RECORDED
INDEXED

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
8 AUG 29 1941
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FNE



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/8/86 BY SP-6 byltcy

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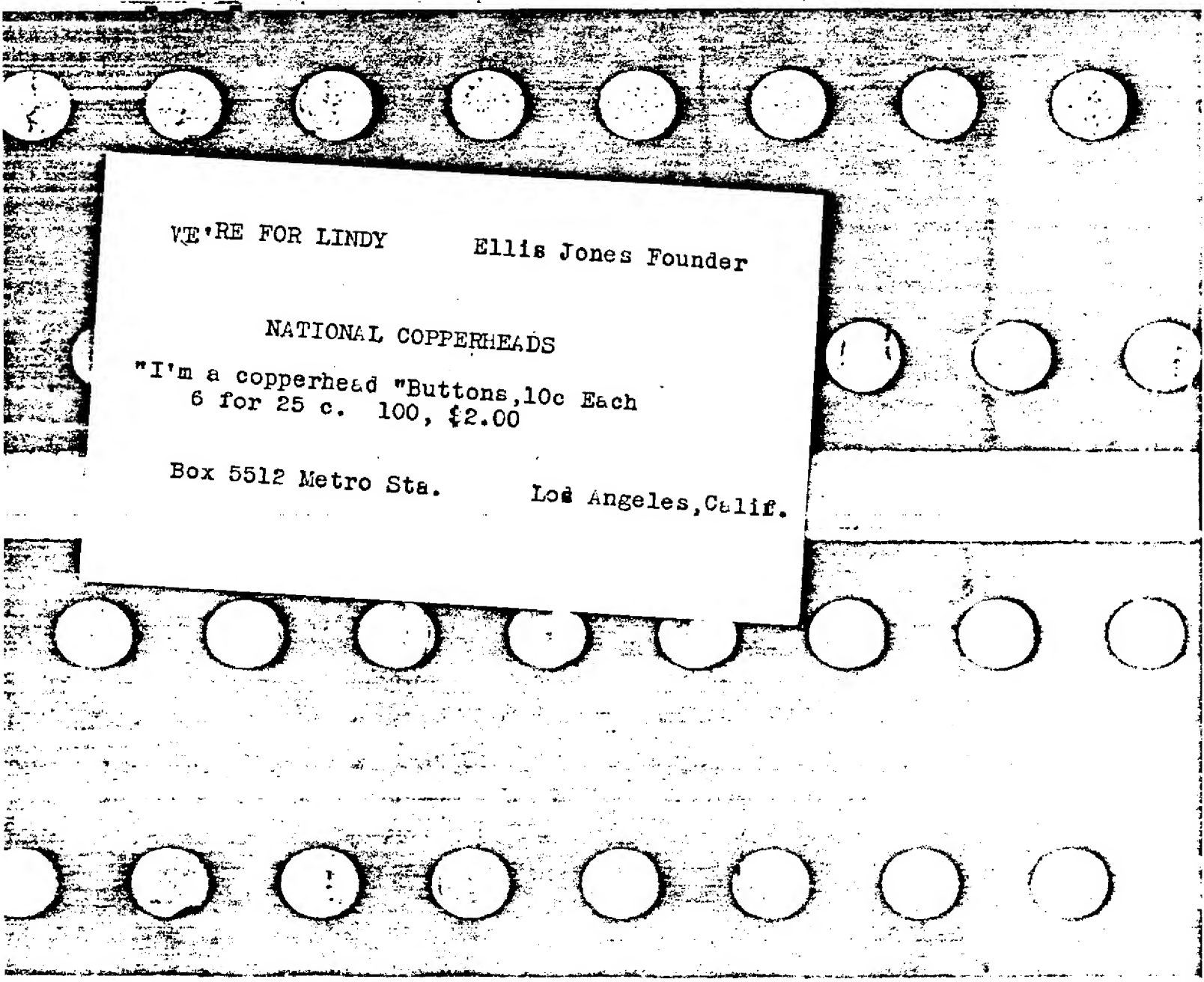
VE'RE FOR LINDY
Ellis Jones Founder
NATIONAL COPPERHEADS
"I'm a copperhead "Buttons,10c Each
6 for 25 c. 100, $2.00
Box 5512 Metro Sta.
Los Angeles,Calif.

CAMPUS COPPERHEADS.

Los Angeles - A group of Lindbergh enthusiasts among the under graduates at conservative, privately-endowed University of Southern California have formed what is believed to be the first "coil" of "Campus Copperheads". Claiming to have the shortest constitution and by-laws on record, the two together constituted of but three words, "We're for Lindy", they show their colors by wearing a sizable lapel button bearing the simple inscription, "I'm a Copperhead."

The provisional officers and charter officers and charter members h have been drawn from the ranks of those who entered vigorous protest at the discourtesy accorded by President Von Kleinsmid and other university authorities to Senator Gerald P. Nye when he recently spoke here under the auspices of the America First Committee. Preparations are under way for a large off-campus rally in the near furture to be addressed by prominent local non-interventionists.

The "Campus Copperheads" are affiliated with the National Copperheads, Bos 5512 Metro Sta., Los Angeles, launched here immediately following President Roosevelt' angry attack which resulted in Colonel Lindbergh's resignation from the army air corps. Also affiliated are the Copperhead Clubs, formed and forming among the pilots of LaGuardia Field and other aviation centers.

The purpose of the organization is declared to be a simple one, namely to "rally and organize in support of the unpolluted Americanism, the straightforward and clearheaded realism and those sound enduring principles so ably and convincingly enunciated over and over by that most popular of all Americans, our beloved Lindy".

Office of the Attorney General
Washington, D.C.

August 28, 1941.

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE DIRECTOR OF THE FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION.

Senator Pepper has written to ask me if we have any information with respect to the America First Committee. Attached are the Articles of Association of one of the local Committees.

Of course I am familiar with the objectives of the Committee. I should appreci te your letting me have any information which you may have on the Committee. Please return the papers when you have finished with them.

FRANCIS BIDDLE
ACTING ATTORNEY GENERAL.

Declassified per DOJ letter dtd 6/6/91 81234mch/tcf 8/15/91

RECORDED 100-4712-127
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
8 SEP 4 1911
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ ~~SECRET~~

August 29, 1941

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

5/8/86 Sc/bjc/ltcy

Declassify on: OADR

MEMORANDUM

Re: THE AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

The America First Committee was incorporated under the Not for Profit Laws of the State of Illinois on September 19, 1940. The purposes of the committee as outlined in its charter are to encourage and maintain in the United States of America:

1. Peace and the Democratic ideal.
2. A program of adequate defense.
3. A furtherance of peace in this continent, a policy of non-intervention in the affairs of other continents and to encourage the giving of help to refugees and the needy in other lands insofar as such help does not endanger the peace in the United States.

The America First Committee has advertised itself as being "non-partisan organization of loyal and patriotic men who believe:

RECORDED INDEXED 100-4712-127

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION 8 SEP 4

1. The United States must build an unbreakable national defense.
2. No foreign power nor group of powers can ever successfully invade a prepared America.
3. Our Government sending men of its own, ships, planes and materials of war to a belligerent overseas dangerously weakens our defense at home and threatens to involve America in war abroad.
4. Our American Democratic liberties can only be preserved by keeping out of foreign wars in Europe or in Asia."

The national headquarters of the America First Committee is located at 1806 Board of Trade Building, Chicago, Illinois. A local headquarters is maintained in Washington, D. C., at 1010 Vermont Avenue, N. W. There is a total of 586 local chapters and affiliated units of the America First Committee throughout the United States.

The following is a list of the officers and Directors of the America First Committee with the background as to each individual:

Summary Memorandum ~~SECRET~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

 ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECRET

Acting Chairman - GENERAL ROBERT E. WOOD, 925 S. Homan Avenue, Chicago, Illinois; graduate of West Point and served many years as officer in the United States Army; presently Chairman of the Board of Directors of Sears Roebuck and Company.

National Director and Secretary - R. DOUGLAS STUART, JR., 141 West Jackson Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois; graduate of Yale University and studied three years in the Yale Law School before terminating his study to become associated with the America First Committee; is the son of R. Douglas Stuart of the Quaker Oats Company.

Treasurer - J. STANFORD OTIS, Vice-President of the Central Republic Bank of Chicago.

Board of Directors

HANFORD MAC NIDER - Mason City, Iowa; presently a banker; former National Commander of the American Legion; former Assistant Secretary of War, 1925 to 1928; served with the United States Army in France during the World War and was promoted to Lieutenant Colonel on May 6, 1919; received Croix de Guerre - five citations; also connected with various civic organizations.

GENERAL THOMAS HAMMOND -
Retired United States Army Officer; president of Whiting Corporation, manufacturers of cranes and foundry equipment, Harvey, Illinois; served with United States Army in World War; chairman of Republican Party in Illinois.

J. C. HORMEL -
Formerly with George A. Hormel and Company Packers, Austin, Minnesota.

CLAY JUDSON -
Attorney, 120 West Adams Street, Chicago, Illinois; associated with the law firm of Wilson and McIlvaine; former president of Chicago Council of Foreign Relationships; member of Board of Trustees of United

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Handon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECRET

CONFIDENTIAL SECRET

Charities, Chicago, and president of Board of Trustees, Frances Parker School, Chicago, which is a well-known private school.

In addition to the above officers, the following are members of the America First Committee:

DR. ANTON JULIUS CARLSON -
Professor of University of Chicago; reported to be an international pacifist; has studied in Moscow, U.S.S.R.; considered an extreme liberal was a Lieutenant Colonel in the Sanitary Corps, United States Army in 1917 and was with the American Expeditionary Force from March to September, 1919.

WILLIAM R. CASTLE, JR. -
Former Assistant Secretary of State; former Ambassador to Japan.

IRVIN S. COBB - Nationally known speaker and author. ✓

JANET AYER FAIRBANKS -
Active in cause of women suffrage and politics; former member of the Executive Committee of the Democratic National Committee; was a member of the Women's National Liberty Loan Committee during the World War; has written several books.

JOHN T. FLYNN - Noted economist and writer; wrote "Country Squire in the White House." ✓

HENRY FORD - Automobile manufacturer. ✓

GENERAL HUGH S. JOHNSON -
Nationally known retired Army officer.

ALICE ROOSEVELT LONGWORTH -
Daughter of the late President Theodore Roosevelt.

THOMAS N. MC CARTER -
Attorney General of New Jersey, 1902 to 1907, which post he resigned to become president of the Public Service Corporation of New Jersey, which operates and controls nearly all of the gas, electric and transportation utilities in New

CONFIDENTIAL SECRET

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ ~~SECRET~~

Jersey; director of Chase National Bank, New York City; Federal Union Trust Company; Newark, New Jersey; American Surety Company; American Super Power Corporation and United Gas Improvement Company.

CAPTAIN EDWARD RICKENBACKER - Nationally known aviation figure.

LOUIS J. TABER - Nationally known for his work in connection with agricultural developments.

DR. GEORGE H. WHIPPLE - Nationally known pathologist.

The following persons, who are nationally known, are also Members of this Committee:

Mrs. Bennett Champ Clark
Bishop W. E. Hammaker
Kathryn Lewis
Sterling Morton
Edward L. Ryerson, Jr.
Mrs. Burton K. Wheeler

The America First Committee is reported to be financed solely by voluntary contributions by those interested in the organization. The Committee conducted a radio broadcast on October 21, 1940, at which time the radio announcer requested his listeners to send anything from dimes to dollars to the America First Committee, Board of Trade Building, Chicago, Illinois, and this same request was made following numerous other broadcasts.

The financial support of the America First Committee seemingly evolves from voluntary contributions and in connection with the financing of this Committee attention is directed to the financial positions held by:

General Robert E. Wood	J. C. Hormel
R. Douglas Stuart, Jr.	Clay Judson
J. Sanford Otis	Wm. R. Castle
Hanford MacNider	Henry Ford
General Thomas Hammond	Alice Roosevelt Longworth

Thomas N. McCarter (100-4712-18)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ ~~SECRET~~

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XXXXXX
XXXXXX

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

_____ Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

☐ Deleted under exemption(s) _____ with no segregable material available for release to you.

☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.

☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.

☐ Documents originated with another Government agency(ies). These documents were referred to that agency(ies) for review and direct response to you.

_____ Pages contain information furnished by another Government agency(ies). You will be advised by the FBI as to the releasability of this information following our consultation with the other agency(ies).

_____ Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):

_____

_____

☑ For your information: Page 5 of this document is missing from file.

☑ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:
100-4712-127

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X DELETED PAGE(S) X
X NO DUPLICATION FEE X
X FOR THIS PAGE X
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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECRET

The America First Committee has published an enormous amount of propaganda literature concerning the aims of the Committee and has circulated this literature throughout the United States. The apparent object of the literature is to crystallize American opinion to prevent the entrance of the United States into European wars and to vilify the foreign affairs program of President Roosevelt. The numerous pamphlets published by the Committee state that 86% of the people of the United States are opposed to the United States intervening in foreign wars. These pamphlets fail to make any explanation as to how the figure of 86% was arrived at. This literature also makes an appeal to American mothers to aid the Committee for the purpose of preventing their sons from being embroiled in another European war. The foreign program of President Roosevelt is termed "the road to war" by the literature emanating from this committee. (100-4712-41-56)

Friends of Democracy, Incorporated, L. M. Birkhead, National Director, with National headquarters in Kansas City, Missouri, published a pamphlet entitled the "America First Committee, the Nazi Transmission Belt." This pamphlet alleges the America First Committee whether its members know it or not and whether they like it or not is a Nazi front organization and is a transmission belt by means of which the apostles of Nazism are spreading their anti-Democratic ideas into millions of American homes. This pamphlet also charges that Adolf Hitler and his disciples in the United States are using the America First Committee to spread Fascist and Nazi propaganda.

Information received from the office of Naval Intelligence discloses that on February 4, 1941, [redacted] entertained [redacted] During the course of the conversation at the party, [redacted] stated while attacking the contemplated Land Lease Bill, also opposed by the America First Committee, that the "only way we can be safe is to see the pins knocked out from under Britain." The informant who furnished this information stated that such a remark indicated that she had become imbued with pro-German sentiment because of her association with various individuals, including [redacted] and one [redacted] all of whom are suspected of German espionage. It will be noted that [redacted] has done publicity work for the German Embassy. (S-1)(C)

b7c

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECRET

[redacted] b2 b7C b7D

[redacted] b7D

Committee is reported as attempting to secure the support of any and all organizations including the Coughlinite Social Justice Group. The news venders of Coughlins Social Justice in New York City appeared upon the streets displaying America First Committee buttons. (100-4712-5X).

[redacted] b7C

. (100-4712-17X).

Information received from a confidential source reveals that Captain Joseph M. Patterson, owner of the New York Daily News and Colonel Robert McCormick of Chicago, Illinois, are heavy financial backers of the Committee. [redacted] 61-7566-2558). b2 b7D

Information received from Edwin S. Webster, General Secretary of America First Committee, 49 East 53 Street, New York City discloses that a New York Chapter of this Committee has between 15,000 and 20,000 members. Webster claims that none but an American citizen can become a member of this Committee. (100-4712-21).

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECRET

[redacted] (S)

b1

[redacted] (S) (S)

b7D

b1

Information received from the office of Military Intelligence, indicates that the America First Committee, in the opinion of the Communists, is a dangerous movement launched by "big open-shop industrialists," and the political bureau of the Communist Party is of the belief that in the event that the United States gets into the war, the America First Committee will support the war regardless of its present opposition; and further that when this country is ready to plunge into war the "General Woods, Ryersons, Fords, McCormicks," etc., would declare that they no longer opposed war because the country is engaged with a foreign foe. (Conf. Source G-2, 61-7559-11557) (S-1)(X)(U)

A leaflet distributed in February, 1941, by the German American National Alliance urged the recipient of the leaflet to write to two senators advocating the defeat of the Land Lease Bill and to send financial contributions to the America First Committee. (61-10498-444)

On February 25, 1941, the Chicago Tribune carried an article relating that the America First Committee had assigned speakers to cover down-state communities in Illinois for the purpose of creating opposition to the Administration Bill. It was stated that Walter F. Boye who, during the summer of 1938, had toured the German Reich and who had returned to the United States with glowing accounts of Nazi accomplishments and praise of

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECRET

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECRET

Hitler's ideology was one of those speakers. It was indicated that Nye's line of argument in his speaking tour would take the form of "placing such terrific power in the President's hands." (100-3-5003)

The Philadelphia Ledger for April 22, 1941, carried an article stating that the National Legion of Mothers and Women of America contemplated inviting women associated with the Kyffhauser Bund into its membership. Mrs. Edith Scott of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, whose organization is affiliated with the America First Committee, said the invitation was under consideration by her group. (100-4712-A)

In the April 14, 1941 issue of the Staten Island Advance an article appeared stating that Howard I. Jump, son of Mrs. Lila Jump, head of the Staten Island unit of the America First Committee, had failed to report for induction as ordered by the local draft board and had been given a formal notice giving him five days in which to change his mind. Jump, twice before, was refused deferment by his local draft board; once on a medical deficiency claim and again on an occupational claim. (100-4712-30XI)

Information received from the office of Naval Intelligence on April 23, 1941, disclosed that [redacted], a member of the crew of the U.S.S. Simms, a United States destroyer, had been active aboard the ship and had obtained the signatures of twelve enlisted men to join the America First Committee. (Conf. Source ONI, 100-4712-33) b7c

The News Letter of Los Angeles, California for April 9, 1941, carried an article concerning the America First Committee meeting held at Los Angeles, California, which was addressed by Mrs. Catherine Curtis and Senator Gerald P. Nye of North Dakota. This article related that Mrs. Curtis' experience in rabble rousing is so comprehensive that she might easily qualify as "the top matcher of the petticoat platoon." It was she who founded the Women's National Committee for Hands Off the Supreme Court." She also was active in organizing the Women Investors in America, Incorporated, which organizations make their headquarters at 535 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York. (100-4712-38)

Information received from the office of Military Intelligence on May 6, 1941, reveals that the German American War Veterans of Portland, Oregon had contributed funds to the America First Committee, and that the America First Committee had received funds from other German organizations. (Conf. Source G-2, 100-36444-1)

(5-1)(2)(u)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECRET

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECRET

Information emanating from the office of Military Intelligence on May 9, 1941, reports that the Nazis have instructed the naturalized members of the German-American population to join the America First Committee and to use it as an avenue of anti-British and anti-war propaganda. (S-1)(2)(U)

(conf. source G-2, 100-4712-69)

The same source advised that on May 21, 1941, the America First Committee in the Ninth Corps Area of the United States Army had fallen under the control of radicals seeking to undermine the morale of the soldiers by means of anti-war propaganda. (conf. source G-2, 61-7559-11760)

(S-1)(2)(U)

The Washington Times Herald for May 26, 1941, reported that the America First Committee together with the Committee Against War and the Keep America Out of War Congress had made plans for a three-day rally commencing May 30, 1941. The two latter groups are reported to contain a number of Socialists in their ranks.

(100-10689-A)

[redacted] b7D

(61-9879-268)

The activity of the America First Committee reached its peak during the period when it exerted its complete effort to the end of blocking the Land Lease Bill sponsored by the administration. Thousands of pieces of literature were distributed; numerous meetings were held in the metropolitan areas and the people all over the nation were incited to petition their national representatives to block the passage of this legislation.

(100-4712-16)

Two of the largest meetings sponsored by this Committee during that period were held at New York City on May 23, 1941, and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania on May 29, 1941, at which meetings approximately 20,000 people attended. Senator Burton Wheeler of Montana, Charles A. Lindbergh, Kathleen Norris and Norman Thomas were the headline speakers at these meetings. The texts of the speeches delivered were concerned with deriding the administration's foreign policy, especially the Land Lease Bill, which they emphatically criticised as an active step towards entrance of the United States into the European conflict.

(100-4712-58-71)

[redacted] b1 (C)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECRET

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECRET

b1

[redacted]

Information received from a confidential source in May, 1941, indicated that the America First Committee is supplying the financial support for the publication "Uncensored", which is published by the Keep America Out of War Congress, an organization reported to contain a number of Socialists in its membership.

(100-4712-72) (61-7566-2558)

Information has been received from the office of Military Intelligence that a young lady employed at the America First Committee headquarters in New Rochelle, New York, had advised an enlisted man that it was permissible for him to petition the authorities in Washington in regard to the proposed national foreign policy and expressed the opinion that she would not blame the enlisted man in going A.W.O.L., in case war was declared by the United States.

(S-1)(E)(U) (0-2, 100-4712-107)

An anonymous communication received on July 28, 1941, enclosed a clipping from the New York Evening Post. This clipping disclosed that Newton Millaway of Reading, Massachusetts received numerous communications from the German Library of Information addressed to him as Newton Millaway, and that after this organization was closed he began to receive literature from the America First Committee addressed to him in the same manner, that is the same mistake with the spelling of his name, and the stencil printing on the literature received from the America First Committee was identical with that received from the German Library of Information.

(100-4712-108)

Information received from an outside unknown source on August 7, 1941, disclosed that the America First Committee has a Colored Section headed by J. Finley Wilson, Chairman, and Perry W. Howard, Secretary, with national headquarters at 613 F Street, North West, Washington, D. C. This organization is reported to have distributed literature in colored circles requesting the colored population to petition their national representatives to discourage the United States from entering the European war.

(100-4712-112)

Other nationally known figures who have affiliated themselves with the America First Committee are Senator David I. Walsh, Congressman Hamilton Fish, Congressman James Francis O'Connor, Congressman Dewey Short, former Governor Philip LaFollette, and Robert Hutchins, President of the University of Chicago.

(100-4712)

~~SECRET~~ (U) ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SECRET

[redacted] September 3, 1941

b2

RECORDED 100-4712-127

[redacted]

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ACTING ATTORNEY GENERAL
HONORABLE FRANCIS BIDDLE

In response to the request contained in your memorandum of August 28, 1941, there is attached a memorandum containing the information available in our files with respect to The America First Committee.

The inclosures to your memorandum of reference are being returned herewith in accordance with your request.

Respectfully,

DECLASSIFIED BY 5/8/86 S-6 bja/Hcy

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Inclosure

No copies inclosures retained Bureau file

Lett 8-23-41 to Mr. Biddle from United States Senator Claude Pepper -
Lett 6-26-41 to the Senator from [redacted] -
3 page "Articles of Association - Preliminary Statement - mimeographed -
Mimeographed sheet - Petition, America First Committee - req pro forma decree be gran

b7C

Deleted Copy Sent R. W. Steele
By [illegible] 3-8-76
Per FOIA Request

154 Sent 9-3-41 P.M.

EAT:WK

August 29, 1941

Time 1:05 PM

THE DIRECTOR

12633

While discussing the conference held in New York this morning with Mr. Sackett he stated that the Area Controller advised that he had given to General Watson pamphlets and literature that had come up at previous meetings such as cartoons of the President published by the America First forces, etc. The Area Controller suggested to General Watson and the General agreed with him that some sort of legislation be enacted forcing all contributors to any organizations of that nature to have their names published and go on record as having subscribed to it as a means of reducing the number of people who would cooperate with such organizations. Mr. Sackett stated that this will probably be suggested to the President.

Respectfully,

Edward A. Tamm

5/8/86 536 bja/tcg

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hanson
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

168

RECORDED 100-411-127X

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

SEP 23 1941

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

INITIALS ON ORIGINAL

Federal Bureau of Investigation

United States Department of Justice

1300 Biscayne Building
Miami, Florida
August 28, 1941

Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

RE: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE;
Internal Security.

Dear Sir:

There are transmitted herewith for the perusal of the Bureau, various pieces of literature circulated by the America First Committee of Miami, Florida.

This literature was received from [redacted] b2 b7D

[redacted] As this literature is received from time to time copies of same will be furnished to the Bureau.

Very truly yours,

R. G. DANNER
Special Agent in Charge.

[redacted] b7C

Enclosures.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE _____ BY _____

RECORDED 100-4712-128

An Editorial THAT SPEAKS FOR ITSELF

From the Chicago Tribune, May 8, 1941.

YOU CAN'T OUTBUILD A MAP

When a member of parliament asked Mr. Churchill why more retaliatory bombing raids were not made on Berlin, that statesman retorted that he was forced to put business ahead of pleasure. President Roosevelt apparently does not feel that grim obligation. In his call for a vast increase in the production of heavy bombers—the proposed rate of 500 a month is 25 times what we now produce—he is indulging in wishful thinking.

Mr. Roosevelt calls for the plane factories of the democracies to outbuild the Nazis. That, presumably, can be done. He says that democratic superiority in the air must be made absolute. That is wishful thinking. It is impossible to outbuild a map, and it is the map that makes Britain an easy target and Germany a difficult target in a bombing war.

The map on the picture page today shows the triple advantages that Germany holds over Britain in this respect—the advantages of distance, of area, and of direction. Each of these tends in a measure to reinforce the other.

Distance is today the greatest of these advantages. The Germans hold Scandinavia, the Low Countries, and France and launch their bombing attacks from airports in those countries. Dover is only 22 miles across the channel. London is only 90 miles away. It is only 125 miles from Cherbourg, France, to Bristol, one of the principal western ports of England; only 175 miles from Belgian airports to Coventry, only 235 miles from the continent to Manchester and the other great British manufacturing centers. Over the southern part of England Nazi fighter planes can accompany and protect bombers.

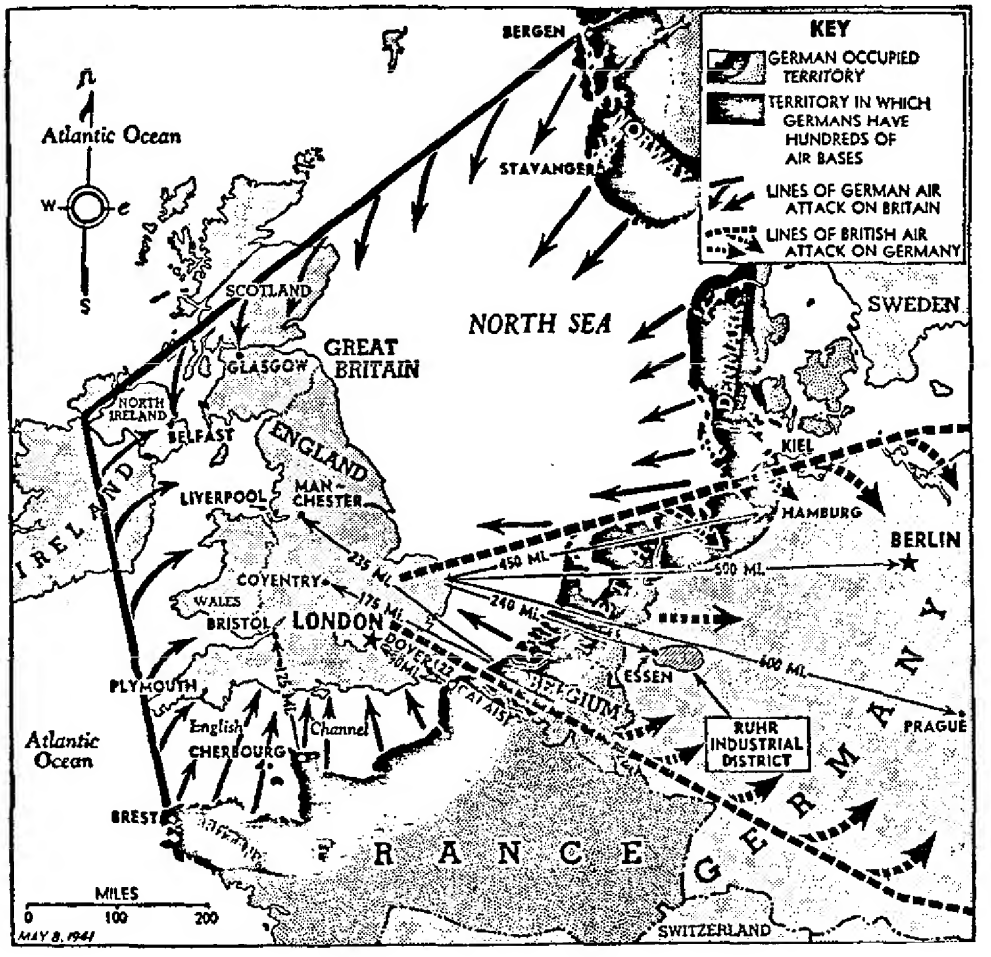
The British, it is true, can strike back at the airports from which these attacks are launched, but that is defensive bombing. To attack Germany they must cross the belt of Nazi held lands of their former allies. Essen and the Ruhr industrial region are 240 miles from the nearest British airports. Nearly half that distance must be flown over occupied territory that the British can bomb only at the cost of injuring their former allies, but from which the Nazis can launch defensive forces against the British bombers. Hamburg and the submarine building yards are 450 miles or more from British soil. Berlin is 500 miles; Prague, center of the seized Czech munitions industry, is 600 miles. No point of attack in Germany is close enough for British fighter planes to escort bombers raiding it, a fact that limits the British to night operations whatever their air strength may be.

The second German advantage is in the matter of airports. Theirs extend from Norway to Brittany. There is a limit to the number of bombers that the British can operate, imposed by the number and size of their airports. The Nazis are under no such handicap within practical limits.

They not only hold more airports, but the fields are arranged in a great half circle with Britain at its center. They can attack from any angle within this semi-circumference and they make their approach over the sea. British attacks on Germany, on the contrary, can depart little from a direct east and west course, flown for the most part over land from which defense measures can be launched. Geography imposes the same handicap on British observation. The Germans can watch a small island easier than the British can detect projected attacks spread over half a continent. On aerial defense the Nazis need guard only a comparatively narrow western gate; the British must man a whole defensive wall.

All the airplane plants in America cannot change the map, and it is the map, even more than any lack of planes, that puts Britain at an incurable disadvantage in bombing warfare. It is an atrocious blunder to attempt to fool the American people in this matter in order to get them into a war the end of which is certain calamity.

DISTANCES IN THE DUEL OF BOMBERS



THIS EDITORIAL SPEAKS FOR ITSELF—AND FOR 100 MILLION LOYAL AMERICANS WHO WANT TO STAY OUT OF FOREIGN WARS. IT DEMONSTRATES A FACT THAT CANNOT BE DENIED BY WISHFUL THINKING.

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
MIAMI CHAPTER
504 SEYBOLD BLDG. PHONE 3-3932

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
(National Headquarters)
141 W. JACKSON BOULEVARD
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

READING TIME • 17 MINUTES, 40 SECONDS

Can Hitler Cripple America's Economy

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6/4/86 BY SP6 bjatty

See what three of America's outstanding economists say:

BERNARD M. BARUCH
RAYMOND MOLEY
GEORGE N. PEEK

TO FIND the answers to the questions which are being asked so frequently these days about Hitler's threat to our economy, the America First Committee presents the views of three men who know as much about that problem as anyone in the country.

A brief biographical sketch of Mr. Baruch will be found on page 4.

Mr. Moley's background is described on page 9.

To see why Mr. Peek is so well qualified to answer those questions, read the brief outline of his record on page 16.

An interview with

BERNARD M. BARUCH

BERNARD M. BARUCH was born in 1870. As the man who directed this country's unprecedented industrial effort of 1917-18, he is singularly well qualified to discuss America's economic relation to the present war.

A member of the New York Stock Exchange, who had dealt with problems of trade and finance all his life, Mr. Baruch was appointed a member of the Advisory Council on National Defense by President Wilson in 1916. He was soon elevated to the post of Chairman of the War Industries Board, where he discharged with great distinction powers which were said to be the greatest ever held by any American. Later he served as Economic Advisor for the American Peace Commission and in 1922 became a member of the President's Agricultural Peace Commission. He is the author of many treatises on various economic subjects.

The statements he makes in the interview published herein are rendered particularly pertinent by the fact that Mr. Baruch is presently a close consultant of President Roosevelt on matters of national defense.

(The following is a reprint of an article by Robert Laffan which appeared in the June 6th issue of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.*)*

U. S. CAN UNDERSELL TOTALITARIANS IN WORLD MARKETS, SAYS BARUCH

Germany Would Be "On Spot" Economically Even If She Won War, He Asserts.

THE UNITED STATES can undersell totalitarian countries in world trade, according to Bernard M. Baruch, formerly chairman of Woodrow Wilson's War Industries Board, now a national defense consultant to the Roosevelt Administration.

In an exclusive interview with The Wall Street Journal, Mr. Baruch pointed out that Germany, not the United States, would be "on the spot" economically if Germany were to win control of the European continent.

"What will she do? Where can she sell her products or those of the countries she has conquered?" the veteran of another all-out war asked the reporter.

The United States market will be cut off from European countries that formerly sold here, according to Mr. Baruch. Under proper economic policy the United States should be able to drive Germany out of any desired neutral market, he believes.

A Program for the U. S.

According to Mr. Baruch this country must:

(1) Maintain a low price structure throughout this war.

(2) Develop quality and economy in mass-production industries.

(3) Build military defenses.

Fears concerning Germany's economic prowess and cheap labor are exaggerated, according to Mr. Baruch.

He cited evidence he had just received from a large American company that owns a factory in a leading industrial city in Germany. (He named the city, but suggested the name be omitted.) The parent American company has received a report from the German factory, Mr. Baruch asserted, that shows conclusively that despite low wages and long hours, with the German mark at 37 cents, the American plant is turning out the same products more cheaply.

"Oh, they can make gimcracks where we don't make them," Mr. Baruch remarked, "but there is no reason why we can't undersell them in important mass-production products provided we maintain a low price structure."

Importance of Low Prices

He stressed the importance of this. A price rise now would have to be liquidated in the post-war period, and that would throw this country off balance and place it in an unfavorable position to wage economic war, he pointed out. But if prices here are held down, Germany will be faced with the huge unemployment and economic problem after the war, he believes.

Won't that mean that Germany will be forced to attack us? Mr. Baruch was asked.

"Let 'em come," he replied. Mr. Baruch emphasized that he is not one of those who have been complacent about Germany over the past many years. Like Winston Churchill, Mr. Baruch can point to the fact that he has been trying to awaken public opinion ever since 1935 to the rise of Nazi military power and to the need for preparedness.

Mr. Baruch's comments followed a discussion of his book, "American Industry in the War," which has just been issued by Prentice Hall, Inc. The book is a reprint of the report of the old War Industries Board, together with Mr. Baruch's own program for total mobilization of the nation as presented to the War Policies Commission in 1931. It also contains material on priorities and price fixing.

An interview with

RAYMOND MOLEY

RAYMOND MOLEY was born in Berea, Ohio in 1886. He has long been a keen observer of national affairs—first as a Professor of Politics, Government and Public Law; later, as a journalist. He has been one of President Roosevelt's closest advisors.

During the World War, Mr. Moley served as Director of Americanization for the Ohio State Council on Defense. In 1933 he was appointed Assistant Secretary of State by President Roosevelt—his special forte being international economics. He left this post to assume the editorship of the magazine "Today". This magazine later merged with "Newsweek", of which Mr. Moley is now Contributing Editor.

The following is reprinted from Mr. Moley's June 9 column of "Newsweek".

WORLD TRADE AND THE FUTURE

BY NOW the military, naval and diplomatic implications of President Roosevelt's fireside speech have been pretty thoroughly thrashed over. He has, by subsequent statements and acts, clarified much of what he said then. So it is unnecessary to pursue those aspects here. But there were economic implications in the President's statement of policy that will prove to be of almost equal importance in the long run. What he said about international economic questions, taken in connection with Mr. Hull's speech a week before, merits the keenest examination.

In much of the discussion on both sides of the debate on how far we should move into the orbit of war, there is a common economic assumption. It seems to be taken for granted that it is possible, through a military decision, to restore nineteenth-century methods of international trade if Britain wins, or, if Germany wins, to destroy those methods as we have known them in the past and to substitute an entirely new worldwide system of exchanging goods among nations.

YET it ought to be remembered that, war or no war—even without the interposition of the World War, in fact—economic developments were taking place throughout the world which pointed to a permanently changed world trade.

This has never been described so well as in Mr. Graeme K. Howard's book, "America and a New World Order." Mr. Howard's rare competence to speak on this subject lies in the fact that he is not a mere theoretical economist or a diplomat or a politician. He is vice president of the General Motors Corporation in charge of overseas operations, and his experience has been that of a man who has actually been engaged in selling goods abroad. He says: "In the new century, in spite of the fact that markets have grown and that new inventions, such as the automobile and the airplane, have infused new vigor into world economy, the rate of market expansion has declined . . . Unless domestic economies everywhere are again made to function as they once did, we will find the twentieth century barren of the remarkable growth in trade which was characteristic of the nineteenth."

There have been times when the Administration has proceeded on the basis of this belief. There have been others when the Administration has adhered to this theory's exact opposite. The strange duality of economic policy with which the fabric of New Deal history is shot needs no detailed analysis here. In the oil business, for instance, agreements to limit production and dispose of surpluses—agreements encouraged by some sectors of government—have been attacked by other sectors of government as combinations in restraint of trade. Or, to take another example, we are boosting the price of cotton by artificial means, thus encouraging competitive foreign production, at the same moment that we

insist upon talking about increasing our exports of cotton.

THE success of the United States in world competition after this war will largely depend upon the power, resourcefulness and productiveness of its own economy. Of course we cannot compete if that economy is plagued by disunion, hamstrung by fundamental inconsistencies, living beyond its means, dissipating its substance for nonproductive purposes. Nor can we afford to make the mistake of attempting to repeat the imperialistic course of the British Empire in the past century. The creation of that kind of empire is a thing of the past. We should find it impossible, as Germany, Japan or any joint effort of Germany and Japan will find it impossible.

The world is moving in the direction of self-dependent states and self-dependent blocs of states, eager to produce what they consume and intent upon an economy that will, through inventive genius, devise substitutes for the materials supplied by foreign producers. In this very fact lies a direct economic answer to the German threat. Because whatever may be the intention of the military and political masters of Germany, the kind of economy that the Germans have developed is in itself an answer to and a defeat for its pretentions as an imperialistic system. That is the ironic truth that Germany will sometime have to face. And if it has any intelligence left, it will face it soon, before the lust for empire gets too strong.

It was a corollary of the haphazard free-enterprise theory of trade that some, though not all, wars were fought in pursuit of trade advantages. It is possible that there was just enough color in the theory of the military pursuit of foreign markets to lend widespread credence to the Marxian thesis that capitalism was a breeder of wars.

If that thesis of Marx cannot be refuted by cold facts and by internationally directed intelligence, the future of the world is dark indeed. If the choice we of the twentieth century face is a choice between militarily controlled trade and the boggling free-enterprise kind of trade—both of which ultimately run themselves into the ground—then Communism may be destined to inherit the earth, with all the evil that would follow in its wake. If we cannot carry on trade without fighting wars over and over—wars which, in most instances, bring to the conqueror the hatred not only of the enemy, but the hatred of those who are allegedly being helped—then there is no prospect but retrogression before the human race.

All this has a very special bearing upon the economic future of this hemisphere and upon our relations with the countries to the south of us. The attitude of this Administration with respect to Latin America has been admirable in its restraint, in its courtesy and in its constant emphasis upon a spirit of mutual help. It has not limited itself to mere conversational hoopla, but has made sincere efforts to lay the foundations for sound political relationships with the Latin-

American nations. Still there is a tendency to blur over the hard fact that lasting relations cannot be established on any basis that would keep these countries as permanent producers of raw materials only. Without industrialization they cannot develop the means of economic self-defense. They will lack even the means of effective cooperation in hemisphere defense. And, unless they are industrialized, we, in turn, cannot escape the ultimately disastrous role of a dominant industrial nation penetrating the markets of these countries solely for the purpose of supplying them with consumers' goods.

THE military as well as the economic defense of the other countries in this hemisphere can succeed only if those countries are able to sustain, in and of themselves, a considerable proportion of their energy and of their material means for that defense. That will mean close and active military alliances with us. It will mean the joint occupation of military and naval bases. It will mean a clear definition of the extent to which nations alien to this hemisphere will be permitted to penetrate any of these countries.

Thus mobilized, the Western Hemisphere could contemplate the localization of the Nazi movement in Europe alone with vastly less trepidation. As the President pointed out in his speech, the farther the Nazi power spreads itself over Europe, Asia and Africa, the greater the danger to itself and the more certain that the whole structure will ultimately break up into little bits.

An interview with

GEORGE N. PEEK

GEORGE N. PEEK *was born in Polo, Illinois, in 1873. All his life he has been intimately connected with farm problems, and especially with their relation to America's foreign trade.*

In 1933 he was appointed Administrator of the Agricultural Adjustment Act, and during 1934-35 he filled the post of Special Advisor to President Roosevelt on foreign trade. During this same period he was President of the Government Export-Import Banks.

Thus, Mr. Peek speaks as a man whose life has been devoted to those very problems whose solution means so much to America today. His opinion is an expert one. His facts come not only from the most accurate sources available to the government, but also from his own vast knowledge and experience.

QUESTION:

Can Hitler impoverish America? Can he cause an economic collapse in this country by stifling our foreign trade, cutting off our markets, and denying us access to the vital materials we need? Can his slave labor, his barter system, his goldless economy invade us where his panzer divisions cannot? Assertions that Hitler could do those things are made by the war interventionists, including Mr. Wendell Willkie, in a recent statement.* What do you think of those assertions in general?

*"Americans, Don't Be Afraid!" *Collier's*, May 10, 1941.

ANSWER:

HITLER cannot impoverish America by stifling our foreign trade, by cutting off either our markets or our sources of supply of vital materials. To assume that he can is a counsel of unreasoning defeatism. But America can impoverish herself by spending her substance on foreign wars.

One of the presumably convincing arguments put forth by many well-meaning people, as well as by the interventionists, is that although a victorious Germany might find it impossible to invade this country, she could destroy our world trade and force us to trade according to her wishes and on her own terms.

Now comes Mr. Willkie citing this argument as part of the interventionist campaign to take this country into war. He does not advance a

single reason why his views should be taken seriously on account of any special knowledge or experience in the field of trade—foreign or domestic. He advances no new points. Rather, he seems to appear as just another advocate, this time on economic grounds, of the interventionists' campaign—a campaign to involve our country in a foreign war. In this campaign, too, his assertions may be regarded as "campaign oratory."

The arguments of one, however, are the arguments of all. They stem from the self-interests of a few. They are built on a false theory of trade. Therefore, their case will not stand up before a jury of American informed opinion.

QUESTION:

Your statement may be perfectly true, but I think it must be substantiated. You say that the argumenis of the war interventionists are based on a false theory of trade. Now if Hitler were to control a large part of the rest of the world, would he not be in a position to dictate terms to us? Why is that a false theory of trade?

ANSWER:

MY REPLY to their argument has been that we hold the answer largely in our own hands. The same argument could be advanced with respect to Great Britain or other nations. My reply would be the same. Competition is the life of trade and is always a threat in private business, no matter from whom it comes. So it is with nations.

Political control is one thing—economic necessity quite another. Now let us get this straight. There is no difference in principle between foreign and domestic trade, except as restrictions have been imposed upon the entry of goods and the transfer of funds between countries. The war interventionists' theory is that one party to a transaction could dictate all the terms and conditions of the trade between two or more parties. How false! Every man, woman, and child knows better if he will think but for a moment. It takes two parties to complete a trade. The necessities and the desires of each are basic. To assume that one may dictate all the terms and conditions is assuming something which is not so. Therefore, their case rests on a false premise and should be dismissed. As to Hitler's ability to dictate terms of trade to us in the event of a victory—no—that is where economic necessity comes into play. For example:

In 1933 and 1934 we demonstrated that we could trade with other nations to our mutual advantage. Indeed, we made some desirable deals—mutually agreeable ones with France, Spain and Italy—but the Administration refused to continue to trade. The reason given was that to do so would interfere with our trade agreement policy, which was one of international altruism toward every country in the world save one. The real reason, however, was more obscure. In the case of Germany, notwithstanding that her two great necessities were under-

stood to be easier access to raw materials and larger markets for her manufactured products, we denied her both, beginning as far back as 1934. The reasons were social and political. Vice President Wallace now says (Address, Foreign Policy Association, April 8, 1941) "The next peace must give the . . . aggressor nations the opportunity to buy raw materials and sell manufactured goods without discrimination." If the President, Mr. Hull, Mr. Wallace, and the other New Dealers had recognized Germany's legitimate necessities in 1934 and since, instead of declining to trade with her, they might have made a real contribution toward world peace and might have checked the rapid rise of Naziism and thus avoided the danger of American participation in this war.

Desirable opportunities to trade were rejected, also, for one reason or another, with England, Japan, Italy, and other nations. In 1939 we revised this position somewhat when we made an agreement with England to exchange cotton for rubber. No change in basic policy, however, is indicated by this isolated incident, as the President made clear in his message to Congress last January.

QUESTION:

Accepting your statement that it takes two parties to make a trade, what advantages would we have to use against Germany's increased bargaining power? You have shown that grave errors were made and it would have been possible to make desirable trades. But under

German control of Europe and other areas, won't the conditions be so different that former rules will not apply?

ANSWER:

FIRST and foremost in importance is our great market. We have the greatest consuming power in the world. Our purchases from foreign countries support a large part of the economy of many of them. For example:

Latin America produces 90 percent of all the coffee—we consume half of it. Europe, too, depends upon Latin America for her supply—about the same quantity as ours—although she has four times our population.

The Malay States, the Dutch East Indies, and small neighboring countries produce nearly 95 percent of the rubber and, including China, 60 percent of the tin. We use half of the rubber and 40 percent of the world's production of tin.

Japan produces nearly 90 percent of the silk —we buy 90 percent of her exports.

These are examples of the dependency of foreign nations upon our market. Others may be cited, i. e., jute from India, diamonds and gold from South Africa, tea from southeastern Asia, etc.

The economy of such nations does not shift with the flag of the overlord. It relies upon our markets. It does not change with super-political control.

A careful canvass of the world's mineral production discloses that the non-American nations of the world are more dependent upon the western hemisphere than it is dependent upon them.

As an example of the dependency of other countries upon our markets, let us consider a few items:

In the case of rubber, in 1929 we imported 528,602 tons at an average price of 20.5¢ per pound; we paid foreign countries for it $247,420,000. By 1932 our imports had dropped to 393,731 tons and the price to 3.4¢; we paid $34,273,000. By 1937 we had increased our imports to 592,528 tons, and the price had risen to 19.4¢—a total of $252,859,000. The last two years show a greatly increased tonnage on account of our policy of storing up rubber.

In the case of tin, the story is similar. In 1929 we imported 195,165,000 pounds at 45.19¢, or $31,839,000. In 1932 we imported 77,995,000 pounds at 22.01¢, or $16,474,000. In 1937 our imports amounted to 197,377,000 pounds at 54.24¢, or $104,285,000.

This merely shows the necessity and desirability of an active American market for the products of foreign lands.

Then comes the question of technological development and the use of substitutes. Great progress has been made in this field in recent years.

The development of synthetic rubber has progressed to a point where we may say that,

if necessary, we are no longer dependent upon the eastern hemisphere. Within a very few years we could produce our own rubber, as Germany has done. A number of our most important concerns are active in this field.

The same thing may be said of silk—witness the great development of rayon, and now nylon.

We are now preparing to smelt a considerable portion of our tin requirements in the United States from ore coming from Latin America. In addition, important substitutes have been developed from plastics and other materials, replacing tin.

This hemisphere can supply our manganese and potash—the former through the development of machinery and processes of refining low grade ores here and in Cuba, and the latter through the development of our own mines.

These are examples only. There is great progress in other fields.

Trade is a fleeting thing. Conditions and methods change, demand and sources of supply with them. For example, we have seen England abandon the practice of a century as the leading advocate of free trade and the gold standard, and for a decade follow a new policy of tariffs, trade agreements between nations, and managed currency. I do not say that this is or is not the best way to conduct trade between nations, but the point is that that is the way world trade has been trending for more than a decade. We are the only important nation attempting to ignore this fact.

My view is that we must recognize the fact that we cannot prescribe the rules and regulations for all the world. Rather, if we are going to engage in trade with other nations, we should use our strategic advantages to negotiate country by country in our own interest.

We should, of course, keep ourselves in a position to join with other nations in improving methods of trading if and when the time comes that the rest of the world is ready to consider a change. But, in the meantime, we should refrain from playing Santa Claus and from opening our markets recklessly to nearly all the world and so exposing our national economy to influences from abroad over which we have no control. Our need is for *more* defense of our internal economy—not less. We must stop letting foreign prices determine our domestic prices.

QUESTION:

What do you mean by foreign prices determining domestic prices?

ANSWER:

WORLD price very largely determines the domestic price of every crop of which we export a surplus. This price applies to the whole of the crop, whether consumed at home or exported, however much this burden is lessened by Government handouts. Industrial tariffs can and do protect prices of articles for which crop is exchanged. The fair exchange value of the crop is thus reduced in proportion to the protection afforded industry. Therefore, the protective principle usually operates for the benefit of industry and to the detriment of agriculture.

This problem is as old as our history. Alexander Hamilton recognized it and in his famous "Report on Manufactures", written in 1790, after urging a policy of tariff protection for industry, observed that the day might come when it would be necessary to give agriculture an equivalent. He proposed at some future time to offset by subsidy or otherwise the farmer's disadvantage of having to buy in a protected market while having to sell in an unprotected world market at world prices.

Notwithstanding the millions and billions that have been appropriated for agriculture in the last few years, the basic fault remains—while we pay our farmers not to produce, we encourage foreign farmers to produce, not only for foreign markets which we formerly supplied, but for our markets, by making it easier to import. Such a policy cannot be permanent. Its duration will be immeasurably shortened by the vast expenditures we must make for our national defense program.

QUESTION:

If Germany, producing with slave labor, can offer better prices to South America, how could we be able to compete?

ANSWER:

THAT is a trick question. It must be remembered that Germany, and England, too, had a substantial representation in South America

before the war in 1914. There is nothing new about competition with them except in degree. There are many considerations besides price. Design and adaptability of products to do the work desired; terms, delivery dates; personal equation between buyer and seller and numerous other things. Frequently we hear the phrase, "Quality is remembered long after price is forgotten." If price were the sole measuring stick the manufacturer with the lowest price would be selling all the goods, be they automobiles or what. Competition would die, monopoly would succeed it and higher prices might then result.

The answer lies in mutuality of interest between countries so long as governments control the foreign trade of their nationals. Under these circumstances there is only one intelligent procedure and that is to recognize the conditions under which trade is conducted between nations and negotiate country by country for the terms and conditions under which goods may be exchanged satisfactorily. Each country must recognize frankly the needs of the other.

Other things being equal free labor can outproduce slave labor. We made our greatest progress after we abolished slavery—slave labor produces little buying power. We must keep in mind always that American wage levels support our higher American standards of living. They protect the American workers on our farms and in our factories against the lower standards not only of the forced labor of the Axis Powers and Russia but of the lower paid labor of the Argentine Indian and the Chinese Coolie and the cheaper labor everywhere outside the United States of America. The difference is one only of degree. Our wage levels must be insulated against the competition of a world turned upside down.

Perhaps this is not a complete answer but it is difficult to give a complete answer to a trick question.

QUESTION:

In the early part of this interview you referred to the arguments of the war interventionists as stemming from the self-interest of a few. To whom did you refer?

ANSWER:

IN THE FIRST place I referred to the approximately 20% shown by the Gallup poll of the people constituting the interventionists. More specifically I referred to those who profit from international trade—the international bankers, ocean transportation companies, marine insurance companies, importers, et cetera—as distinguished from the industrialists who do some foreign business incidental to their domestic business. All of the latter group must realize that if compelled to choose between a prosperous American market and one periodically shot to pieces by foreign events, they must choose the American markets.

Many Americans will recall that Mr. James P. Warburg of New York wrote two books in

1936 opposing President Roosevelt's reelection. He supported Alfred Landon, but after Governor Landon made his St. Paul speech in which he took a stand for protection of the American market and for real Yankee trading, Mr. Warburg wrote a letter to Secretary Hull saying that in view of Mr. Landon's position he would have to support the Democratic ticket. He is now one of our leading interventionists. This is queer company for the New Dealers who were going to drive the money changers from the temple.

QUESTION:

Can you sum up in a few words what you think our policy should be and what the question boils down to?

ANSWER:

I THINK that all our foreign policies—political and economic—should be related definitely to our American needs and ideals, with the objective of protecting and perpetuating the form of government and the economic policies which have made our country great. Our aim should be to make possible to all Americans the fullest benefits of our form of government as granted by our Constitution and the Bill of Rights. The first requisite to this aim is knowledge based on reliable and comprehensive information, so that we may know what the problems are and consider them fairly. The second is a realization of the principle that foreign policies—whether political or economic—must

not be permitted to destroy or impair either our form of government or our standards of living.

The question boils down to this: Shall we take advantage of our position of geographic and economic security and contribute to world peace and prosperity by developing our own country and by attending to our own affairs, or shall we toss our nation into a common pool in the management of which ours will be only one voice and that not the controlling one? Shall we dilute our nation's strength with the world's weakness?

Added Note

AFTER the preceding interview was completed, the President and Secretary Hull again reiterated their views. The President stated, ". . . International commerce in a world dominated by totalitarianism would never be carried on for the mutual benefit of all . . . Therefore, it is idle for us to talk of future foreign trade unless we are prepared now to defend the principles upon which it is and must be based." This statement is on a par with his grandiose utterance about our enforcing the "four freedoms everywhere in the world."

Secretary Hull sets up five peace points:

1. "Extreme nationalism must not again be permitted to express itself in excessive trade restrictions.
2. "Nondiscrimination in international commercial relations must be the rule, so that international trade may grow and prosper.
3. "Raw material supplies must be available to all nations without discrimination.
4. "International agreements regulating the supply of commodities must be so handled as to protect fully the interests of the consuming countries and their people.
5. "The Institutions and arrangements of international finance must be so set up that they lend aid to the essential enterprises and the continual development of all countries, and permit payment through processes of trade consonant with the welfare of all countries."

If the President's statement and the Secretary's five points mean anything, they mean world free trade, with the United States acting as underwriter and director general even if such fanaticism drags us into war. G. N. P.

Principles of America First Committee

1. Our first duty is to keep America out of foreign wars. Our entry would only destroy democracy, not save it. "The path to war is a false path to freedom."
2. Not by acts of war abroad but by preserving and extending democracy at home can we aid democracy and freedom in other lands.
3. In 1917 we sent our American ships into the war zone and this led us to war. In 1941 we must keep our naval convoys and merchant vessels on this side of the Atlantic.
4. We must build a defense, for our own shores, so strong that no foreign power or combination of powers can invade our country, by sea, air or land.
5. Humanitarian aid is the duty of a strong, free country at peace. With proper safeguard for the distribution of supplies, we should feed and clothe the suffering and needy people of England, the other democracies, and the occupied countries.

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
141 WEST JACKSON BOULEVARD
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

MEMBERSHIP AND CONTRIBUTION FORM

I hereby enroll as a member of the America First Committee in order to help keep our country out of foreign war. I am a patriotic American citizen. I am not affiliated in any way with any foreign power.

Name _____ Date _____

Address _____

To further support the work of the Committee, I wish to enroll as a

☐ CONTRIBUTING MEMBER $1 TO $5 ☐ SUSTAINING MEMBER $5 TO $10 ☐ SUPPORTING MEMBER $10 AND OVER

$_____ $_____ $_____

Send to

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE, 141 West Jackson Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
MIAMI CHAPTER

504 SEYBOLD BLDG. PHONE 3-3932

"I HATE WAR"

Franklin Delano Roosevelt said
at Chautauqua, N. Y., August 14, 1936

and

83%

of the American People

HATE WAR

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Principles
of
The America First Committee

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5. Humanitarian aid is the duty of a strong, free country at peace. With proper safeguard for the distribution of supplies, we should feed and clothe the suffering and needy people of the democracies of Europe.

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
141 WEST JACKSON BOULEVARD
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Please enroll me as a member of
THE AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

I am a patriotic American citizen, I am not affiliated in any way with any foreign power, I believe in the principles of the America First Committee:

Name.....

Address.....City.....

I enclose $.....to be used in furthering the causes for which the America First Committee is fighting.

(The America First Committee is supported entirely by voluntary contributions of time and money, but you need not contribute to become a member.)

Send or bring this card to
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE, 141 West Jackson Boulevard, CHICAGO CHAPTER
504 SEYBOLD BLDG. PHONE 3-2322

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

cj

THESE ARE THE SOLEMN AND SACRED PLEDGES

Made by

THE PRESIDENT DURING THE 1940 ELECTION CAMPAIGN

We Will Not Participate Nor Intervene In Foreign Wars.

"We are arming ourselves not for any purpose of conflict or *intervention in foreign disputes.* I repeat again that I stand on the platform of our party; we will not participate in foreign wars and will *not* send our *Army, Naval* or *Air Forces* to fight in foreign lands outside of the Americas except in case of attack."

"It is for peace that I have labored; and it is for peace that I shall labor all the days of my life."

Philadelphia, Oct. 23, 1940.

The First Purpose of Our Foreign Policy Is to Keep Out of War.

"We look at the old world of Europe today. It is an ugly world, poisoned by hatred, and greed and fear. We can see what has been the inevitable consequence of that poison—it has been war.

"And we look at this country, built by generations of peaceable, friendly men and women who had in their hearts faith—faith that the good life can be obtained by those who work for it.

"We know that we are determined to defend our country and with our neighbors to defend this hemisphere. We are strong in our defense.

"*The first purpose of our foreign policy is to keep our country out of war.*"

Your Boys Are Not Going to Be Sent Into Any Foreign Wars.

"And while I am talking to you, *fathers* and *mothers,* I give you one more assurance. *I have said this before,* but I shall say it *again,* and *again,* and *again, your boys are not going to be sent into any foreign wars.*

"They are going into training to form a force so strong that, by its very existence, it will keep the threat of war far away from our shores. Yes, the purpose of our defense is defense."

Boston, Oct. 30, 1940.

Ships Flying the American Flag Must Stay Out of the War Zones.

"In 1935 in the face of growing dangers throughout the world, your government undertook to eliminate the hazards which in the past had led to war. *We made it clear that ships flying the American flag could not carry munitions to a belligerent; and that they must stay out of war zones.*"

New York City, Oct. 28, 1940.

I Am Fighting to Keep Out of Foreign Wars.

"I am fighting to keep this nation prosperous and at peace. I am fighting to keep our people out of foreign wars and to keep foreign conceptions of government out of our own United States."

Brooklyn, Nov. 1, 1940.

The

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

Leads the Fight to Keep the United States Out of War

●

HELP US SAVE THE NATION

from

THE HORRORS OF WAR

●

DEMAND FAITHFUL FULFILLMENT

of the President's

SOLEMN and SACRED PROMISES

●

Write — Wire — Telephone

President Roosevelt

Your Senators

Your Congressmen

●

JOIN WITH US NOW

and

ENROLL YOUR NEIGHBORS

in the

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

141 West Jackson Boulevard

Chicago, Illinois

A SHAMELESS DISHONEST FAKE

"In and out of Congress we have heard orators and commentators and others beating their breasts and proclaiming against sending the boys of American mothers to fight on the battlefields of Europe. That, I do not hesitate to label as one of the worst fakes in current history. It is a deliberate setting up of an imaginary bogeyman. The simple truth is that no person in any responsible place in the national administration in Washington, or in any state government, or in any city government, has ever suggested in any shape, manner or form the remotest possibility of sending the boys of American mothers to fight on the battlefield of Europe. That is why I label that argument a shameless dishonest fake."

PRESIDENT FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

At the New York Herald-Tribune Forum, Prior to the 1940 Election

MESSAGE

[redacted]

8/25/41 -

MIAMI, FLA.
AUG 21
7:30 PM
1941

POST CARD

b7C

[redacted]

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DANGEROUS AMBITION

Mr. Roosevelt's dangerous ambition always to do what no other President ever did led him to meet Mr. Churchill at sea. As head of a nation at peace he had no right to discuss war aims with the ruler of a country at war. He had no regard for his constitutional duties or his oath of office when he did so. He not only likes to shatter traditions, he likes to shatter the checks and restraints which were put on his office. He is thoroly un-American. His ancestry is constantly emerging. He is the true descendant of that James Roosevelt, his great-grandfather who was a Tory in New York during the Revolution and took the oath of allegiance to the British king. He comes of a stock that has never fought for the country and he now betrays it. The spectacle was one of two autocratic rulers, one of them determining the destiny of his country in the matter of war or peace absolutely in his own will, as if his subjects were without voice.

The country rejects that idea of its government.

(From: Chicago Tribune).

WAR

What is it?

★

(Excerpts from speech by John T. Flynn to League of Women Voters, Carnegie Hall, Pittsburgh, Pa., Feb. 28, 1941)

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Please Enroll Me as a Member of

THE AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

I am a patriotic American citizen, I am not affiliated in any way with any foreign power. I believe in the principles of the America First Committee:

Name .....

Address ..... City .....

I enclose $..... to be used in furthering the causes for which the America First Committee is fighting.

(The America First Committee is supported entirely by voluntary contributions of time and money, but you need not contribute to become a member.)

Send or Bring This Card to

MIAMI CHAPTER OF AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE, 504 Seybold Building, Phone 3-3932

On October 23rd, before the election, at Philadelphia the President said: "We will not participate in foreign wars and will not send our army, naval or air forces to fight in foreign lands outside the Americas except in case of attack." On October 30th, four days before the election, he said: "And while I am talking to you, fathers and mothers, I give you one more assurance. I have said this before and I shall say it again and again and again. Your boys are not going to be sent into any foreign wars."

I wonder if these men who talk about pushing us into "war" ever pause to realize what this terrible thing called "war" means. Let me tell you what war will do for us. The flags will fly, the national anthems will ring out, the boys in their new uniforms will march down our bright avenues. The Big Shots of the nation and the towns, the politicians and the generals will be in the reviewing stands, exhibiting themselves, wallowing in the acclaim of the troops and the cheers of the people. But the Big Shots, the politicians and the generals will not die. The dying will be done by the boys who parade. And they will die, not in the bright avenues, but in the fog and smoke of battle, in the stench, the filth, the terrors and the obscenities of the fight upon distant fields in Europe and Asia.

Millions of these boys will be taken from their classrooms, their professions, their work benches in the dawn of their young careers. A hundred thousand of them will die—if we are lucky. More likely a half million will die. A million may be wounded and a vast, melancholy legion of them will live out long, tortured, frustrated lives in veterans' hospitals, armless, legless, crippled, twisted or suffocated by gas, blinded or shell-shocked—or insane. This is what the war will do to the young men. The Big Shots, the politicians, the generals will still preen themselves, run for office and some of them expect statues when they die of old age in bed.

Every man and woman and child, one way or another, sooner or later, will have to pay the incalculable costs of this mad adventure. We will spend a hundred billion dollars—and borrow it—on top of the billions we still owe for the last war and the billions we still owe for the depression.

Taxes will consume your earnings and cripple your business. Vast government loans will impose a paralyzing interest charge of from three to four billions a year —and forever. A gigantic pension system for the new veterans will be reared on top of the veterans' aid burdens of the last war. The prospect of certain inflation will bring all private investment to a stop and end by sweeping away the accumulations of every man's industry and savings.

A great army of bureaucrats will help to manage every man's affairs. They will swarm over your banks, your shops, your stores. They will tell you what materials to use and for what, where to buy them and at what price. They will tell you what you can make, where you can sell it and for what. You will spend half your time seeking permits, getting visas, answering questions, making reports and satisfying the thousand and one demands of the supervisors. They will tax you until your profits vanish, if any remain, they will squeeze them out of you in the form of forced loans.

The gains of labor, the long, painfully acquired right of the worker in his job and his union will be swept away. His labor problems will be settled for him by a man in uniform. And when the war is over these armies of bureaucrats will never be demobilized. And neither will the armies of soldiers. We will have struck down the present economic system with a death blow and these millions of soldiers and civil servants on the public payroll will have become an economic necessity in a society in which private enterprise is dead is dying. The apologists for all this will tell you that this is a "new order". But it will be nothing more than the twilight of American freedom.

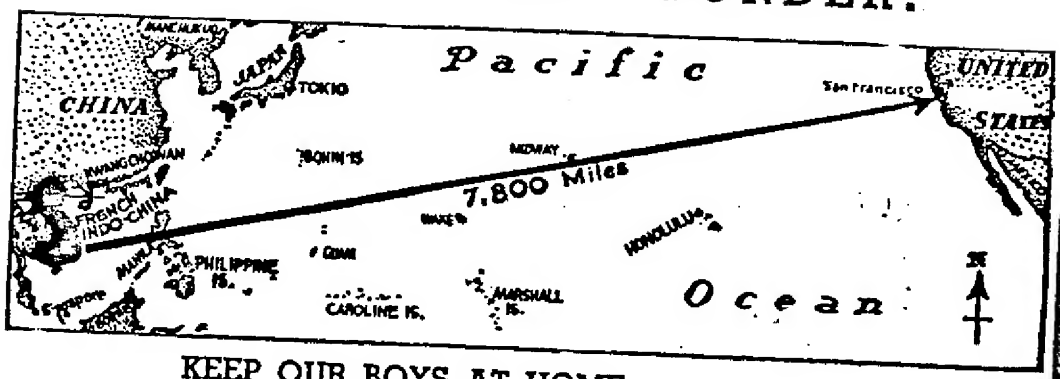
Propaganda for war will conscript our minds. The radios, the papers, the movies and the pulpits will be mobilized, coerced and controlled to teach us when to hate and how to hate with effective energy and whom to hate. We will be urged to spy upon our neighbors, to watch one another with suspicion. Our racial groups living side by side in peace will be torn asunder by old racial hatreds. Our telephones will be tapped, our mail opened, freedom of speech and those other freedoms we talk about bringing to the rest of the world and

all the decencies and dignities of human tolerance which are the very soul of the democratic life will be snuffed out.

And when the war is over and the terrible bills come due and the illusions have fallen from our eyes, we will look around for some scapegoats. And then true Americans, as they behold the reign of intolerance that will degrade us, remembering fairer days, will hang their heads in shame. Our economic system will be broken. Our financial burdens will be insupportable. The great war boom will have burst. The streets will be filled with idle men and women. And the once independent farmer will become a government charge. Our tempers will be frayed. And amidst these disorders we will have the perfect climate for some promising Hitler on the American model to rise to power with promises of abundance and recovery. The peace, the security, the liberties of a whole generation will be destroyed. And we, who set out once again on a fool's errand to remodel the world and bring democracy to peoples who do not want it, especially at our hands, and to save the crumbling fragments of democracy in other lands, will see it pass out of our own country. This is what you are talking about when you talk so glibly about that terrible thing "war".

Therefore I urge you not to cease to fight and to write your senators and congressmen and to make them know that they will take the next step toward war at the peril of their political lives.

WHY WAY OUT YONDER?



KEEP OUR BOYS AT HOME
KEEP AMERICA OUT OF WAR
KEEP OUR PLEDGES TO DRAFTEES — do not force them into bondage as perpetual conscripts to fight and die on foreign fields.

HIS HOUR OF GLORY—FOR WHAT?

REPRINTED FROM THE CHICAGO TRIBUNE

Principles of the America First Committee

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UNCLE SAM A FELLOW TRAVELER?

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AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
National Headquarters
141 WEST JACKSON BLVD.
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
MIAMI CHAPTER
504 SEYBOLD BLDG. PHONE 3-3932

Should America Fight to Make Europe Safe for Communism?

Herbert Hoover: "It (the Russo-German War) is one-half a dozen more reasons for the United States to stay out of the European war, and, secondly, it greatly releases the pressure on the British."

Senator Robert M. LaFollette, Jr.: "Some interventionists have tried to smear with communism those of us who believe our best interests will be served by keeping out of war. Now the shoe is on the other foot! In the next few weeks the American people will witness the greatest whitewash act in all history. They will be told to forget the purges in Russia by the OGPU, the confiscation of property, the persecution of religion, the invasion of Finland, and the vulture role Stalin played in seizing half of prostrate Poland, all of Latvia, Estonia, and Lithuania. These will be made to seem the acts of a 'democracy' preparing to fight Nazism. The interventionists will scream that now is the time for us to go to war. Will the American people fall for all this? I do not believe it. They will refuse to let Uncle Sam be 'a fellow traveler.'"

General Robert E. Wood: "With the ruthless forces of dictatorship and aggression now clearly aligned on both sides, the proper course for the United States becomes even clearer. This latest development gives dramatic emphasis to the obvious proposition that there can never be a place for the United States in Europe's everlasting strife, and its shifting alliances and enmities."

Senator Burton K. Wheeler: "I don't think the American people will stand for us to tie up with the Communists. I think there is more likelihood now that we can keep American soldiers at home. Now we can just let Joe Stalin and the other dictators fight it out."

American Legion Commander Milo J. Warner says: . . . the United States "should think twice" before sending war material to Russia. "Russia has been and so far as I know still is the breeding ground of Communists, and we just don't like Communists in this country."

Senator Robert A. Taft: "If, thru our aid, Stalin is retained in power, do you suppose that he will spread the four freedoms thru Finland and Estonia and Latvia and Lithuania? Do you suppose anybody in Russia itself will ever hear of the four freedoms? Apparently we are to follow Bundles for Britain with Packages for Petrograd.

Norman Thomas: "The lion has now turned on the jackal and marches Finnish troops against the dictator who assayed the conquest of Finland. We shall watch with interest to see how fast American Communists and the organizations which they control or influence will become propagandists for American entry into the war on the side of those 'Great democracies,' Stalin's dictatorship and the British Empire. We, whose concern has been to keep America out of war in order to make our own democracy work and whose interest is in peace and not in Stalin, see in the tangled course of events new reason for maintaining the fight to keep America out of war."

Senator Bennett Champ Clark: "Can any one conceive of American boys being sent to their deaths singing 'Onward Christian Soldiers' under the bloody banner of the hammer and sickle, the emblem of the cruel extirpation of all religion?"

John T. Flynn: "If Germany wins, Russia will go Fascist. If Russia defeats Germany, Germany will go Communist. There is no choice for us at all. The question now is, are we going to fight to make Europe safe for communism?"

Let's Keep Out of Europe's Eternal Wars!

WHY THIS WAR

It was in 1791 that full rights of citizenship were granted to the Jews in France. This was the first legislation to relieve the Jewish race from inferior recognition. Before this date they had no rights of citizenship and were not permitted to hold political office in any European country.

In Germany legislation was passed in 1812 granting citizenship to the Jews, but it was not until 1848 that emancipation for the Jews was really established.

In England pressure for the emancipation of the Jew attained prominence in 1830 and in 1858 the first Jew was permitted a seat in the House of Commons.

In Austria the fight for Jewish equality started in 1848 and succeeded in 1867. In Hungary from 1840 to 1849, Denmark 1831 to 1849, Italy 1848 to 1859. In Belgium the Jews were liberated in 1815. The Constitution of the United States in 1787 made no distinction as to the rights of Jews but some of the thirteen Original States had laws restricting Jews as political office holders. The last of these, North Carolina, did not fully recind this law until 1868.

The Jewish race, which is estimated to include about 18,000,000 people, is spread throughout the world, the largest number living in the United States which has a Jewish population of about 8 to 10 million. Russia had a Jewish population of about 7 million a generation ago but since then several million have emigrated to the United States. Since the spread of Communism with which they are prominently associated, large numbers came here from other European countries.

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Ever since the advent of Naziism and Fascism it has been increasingly difficult for communistic Jews to live in Europe. They are harassed and driven out of political positions and big business. Many have had their fortunes confiscated and their rights as citizens cancelled. Naziism and Fascism have spread to a number of countries and wherever these doctrines exist, the Jewish people are being deprived of their rights as citizens. So it seems that the European Jew is being thrown back to the days before 1791 when their emancipation first got foothold.

It is of course, natural that Jews the world over shall band together to destroy the isms that are so relentlessly against them and to use their powerful influence wherever possible to destroy the forces that seek to take away the freedom they have enjoyed in the past hundred years.

According to German claims, Jews are being harassed because of the control they achieved in government politics, the law courts and in general economics. Also because of their promotion of the communistic elements in that country.

Ever since their emancipation, the Jews in Germany have grown in power. Before the world war there were approximately six hundred thousand in Germany, about one per cent of the population. They were well thought of and under the Kaiser, shared in the development of the German Reich. However, after the world war and especially later, when the Germans were in the throes of tremendous financial and political difficulties, they took undue advantage of the German people to such extent that they finally had political, financial and economic control over them.

The Jews became obnoxious to the Germans and were despised everywhere. This situation culminated in the creation of the Nazi party which took strong measures to expel the Jews from political office as well as from the law courts, educational institutions and big business.

The anti-Jewish feeling spread to other countries in Europe and a great many Jews came to the United States where the powerful Jewish element put terrific pressure on the government to use all of its resources in an attempt to destroy those European factions that are against them.

Ever since 1932 an anti-German attitude has been promoted in the United States with ever increasing viciousness. Our highest government officials have preached vengeance on the Germans and have vilified them. Only lately a prominent Senator, in a vehement outburst, delivered over the radio, said among other things, that the Germans were under orders to use their unmarried young women to produce cannon fodder for the Nazi's. He also made the villianous statement that the Germans are denouncing God.

A universal boycott of German goods and drastic restrictions of trade were the immediate weapons. A destructive war on Germany was however the ultimate goal and this they achieved by propaganda in England, France and the United States, when England declared war because the German people in their ambitions to correct the wrongs of the Versailles Treaty sought to join the City of Danzig with the German Reich.

For great nations to go to war over a matter so trivial seems absolutely silly. That incident was however only an excuse for the Jewish propaganda machine which expounded the Germans to be

a frightful people and aggressors whose aim it is to dominate the world. During the Danzig incident and before war was declared by England, Jewish propaganda had so incited the Polish people against the Germans that a peaceful settlement became an impossibility. Through intensive propaganda instilling fear in the minds of people, that the Germans were out to conquer the world, Jewish interests were finally successful in having war declared on Germany.

Since this war has progressed the Germans, although with successive victories to their credit, have made several peace overtures to stop this terrible carnage. It is reasonable to think that with the military power and economic resources of the United States in the back ground, satisfactory peace terms could be made with Germany. But evidently the Jewish demand for total destruction of Germany is so strong that the war must go on regardless, - even if it means the destruction of Europe and ultimately leads to our own economic disaster.

Although the Axis powers have refrained from any action that could give this country the least provocation to warrant its entry into the war, our government has now occupied an independent European Island which is in the midst of the British-German war zone, and dares Germans to interfere with, or sink, any United States ship in that war zone.

It is unfortunate for this country of Washington and Lincoln that the Rosenmans and the Ben Cohens are the sought for advisers and collaborators of our highest government officials and that these men and others of their race who now occupy the most important and influential positions in our government, should at this time guide our destinies.

It must be plain to everyone that people of the Jewish race cannot be impartial in this world conflict. They should and they must defend themselves and do all they possibly can to correct that which seeks to take away their liberty. It is unfortunate however that this must be done by force of arms, and that the world must go to war on their account. Seems that we are back in the centuries before Christ when in that small world there were constant wars over the Jews who were even then alternately in subjection and free.

In these enlightened times one would think that the internal difficulties of one nation could be adjusted without the whole world going to war in an attempt to destroy that nation. We should know by now that international vengeance cannot succeed in correcting an unwelcome national situation. The experience of the effect of the Versailles Treaty should have taught us that an intelligent and progressive nation cannot be held in subjection by force.

The Jewish people in Continental Europe have received a serious setback but they can again achieve their rightful place there when the present feeling against them subsides in a natural way. A war bred of vengeance will not save the situation - it will only make it worse.

Bibliography,
Encyclopedia Americana,
Jews and Judaism.

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Post Office Box 812
Chicago, Illinois

August 30, 1941

Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir: Re: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE,
Chicago, Illinois

Reference is made to a telephone call received July 18, 1941 from MR. KRAMER of the Bureau advising that [redacted] had received a letter from [redacted] to the effect that he, [redacted] had information that the America First Committee of Chicago was making a canvass of families who have members in the armed forces and urging them to write these individuals to advise them not to leave the United States unless it was approved by Congress. Further that the AmericaFirst Committee is also circularizing the wives of soldiers urging them to write to Congressmen requesting the immediate release from the Army of their husbands.

b7C b7D

MR. KRAMER stated that [redacted]

b7C b7D

MR. KRAMER requested that immediate contact with [redacted] be had to secure from him any other information concerning the above matter.

b7C

An effort was made to contact [redacted]

[redacted]

b7C b7D

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100-4712-129

FEDERAL [illegible] INVESTIGATION
5 SEP [illegible]
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

CH-21

Director 8/30/41

b7C
b7D

[redacted]

[redacted] stated that they were very emphatic in pointing out that the Committee is interested only in any activities which may keep America out of war and that they are very definitely in favor of the national defense program. These individuals stated to [redacted] that under no circumstances, would they allow any literature or letters be sent out to Draftees, their wives, or families which would in any way be detrimental to their morale. They advised that the literature and letters which they are sending out are copies of speeches made by such men as Senator Wheeler and MR. CHARLES A. LINDBERGH as well as from the America First Committee urging people to write their Congressmen to oppose any Bills which they feel might lead the country into active war.

The America First Committee is also urging people to write the President of the United States to remind him of his pleadings to keep this country out of the European conflict.

[redacted] stated that if any attempt were made by persons affiliated with the Committee to send out any letters or literature to Draftees, that the entire Committee would rise up against such a movement and if necessary would disband completely. [redacted] further stated that in the event this country should enter the war, the America First Committee would be immediately disbanded.

[redacted] he was thoroughly convinced that the Committee, at least in Chicago, was sincere in all the above statements.

Efforts have been made through Confidential Informants of the Chicago office working on Communist activities to secure any further information in the above matter with negative results.

Director 8/30/41

There is apparently no grounds to believe that the Communist Party is taking part or instigating any such activity on the part of the America First Committee.

Very truly yours,

A. H. JOHNSON
Acting Special Agent in Charge

[redacted] b1c

ANONYMOUS COMMUNICATION ENVELOPE ATTACHED

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FBI DATE 5-7-86 BY SP6 bga/ltcy

b7c

Dear Sir America is facing a great danger worse than War. "Revolution against they Jews" American First Committee all members mostly Germans are collecting money all over the Country. The have tried to get some of the "House members to join them.

The Have sons in the Army sending them Home if not are the movements of the Army.

one man his Son is in "Virginia. I dont know but he comes from "Jackson Heights "Bespe" his brother collect she got $2.5 - in one night all the German here even American [illegible] for Hitler. I hear a child age 7. [illegible] "Lindbergh" is a good man. But the American [illegible] not trained to hate like the "Foreign Born" they will ruin this Country with their Hatred.

America is too easy take them up before it too late. they intend to shoot all the Jews in America may God protect America they are mad at the "President" he tries to help (Russia a mad man) let america keep out of European affairs and see America England did her best last year ago. Read English History thank you

ENCL

100-4712-130
RECORDED
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
8 SEP 3 9
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

b7c

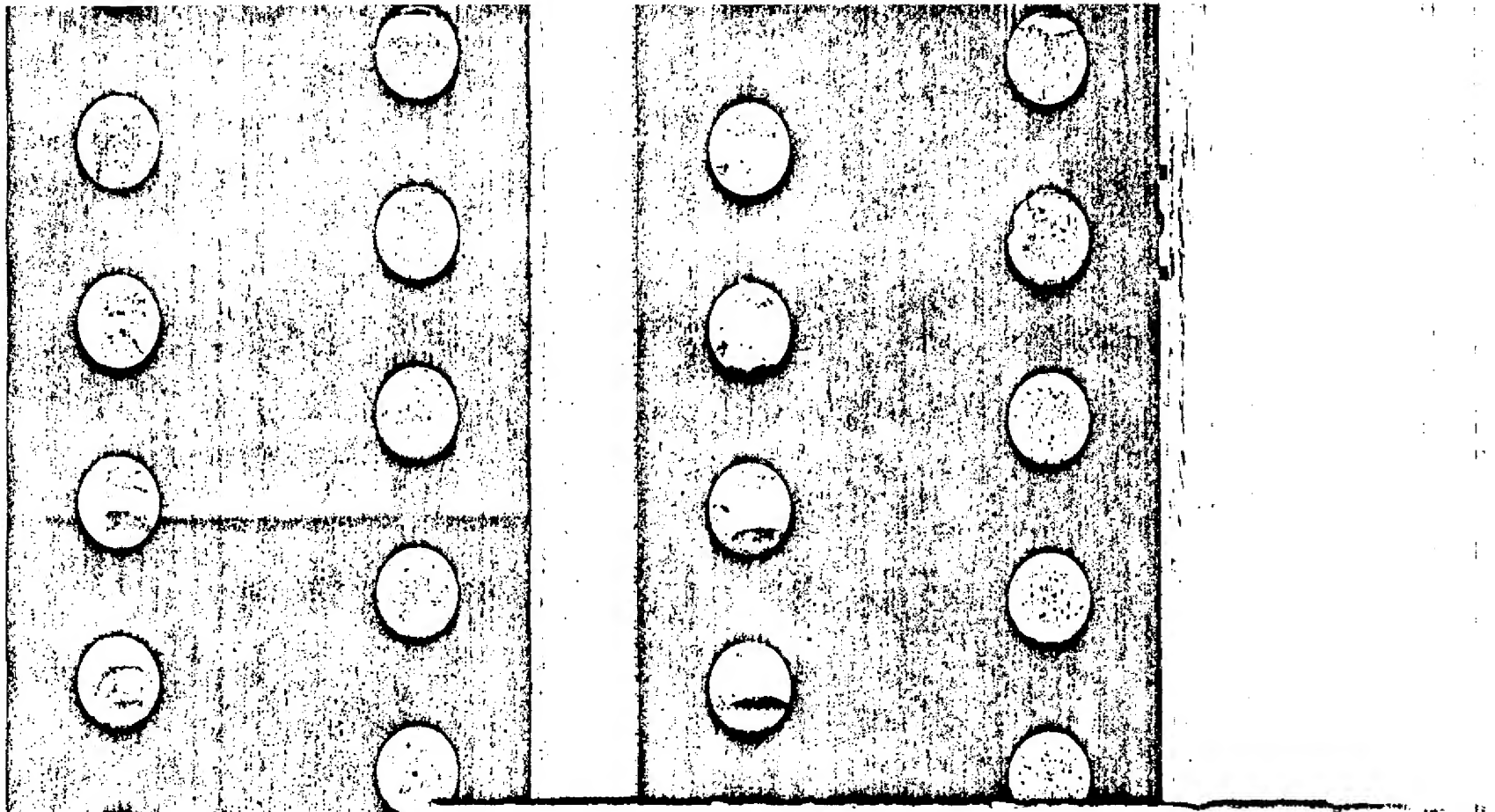
us. I would never vote for him again.

"There are many thousands of American born, and thousands of naturalized German boys, who would shed the last drop of their blood in defense of America, on American soil; and many thousands more, descended from other European countries, who are just as loyal to America.

"But, what Hitler gave the Jews was a picnic excursion to what they will get in this country on declaration of war on foreign soil. Hitler at least, let them live; here they will be massacred. America is fed up to the bursting point with this interfering in everything here."

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-7-86 BY SP6 bga/ktg

100-7712-130



AFTER 5 DAYS RETURN TO

NEW YORK N.Y. AUG 31 5-PM 1941

BUY DEFENSE SAVINGS BONDS AND STAMPS

F. B. I.

Washington D.C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 3/17/16 BY 26 by 4SP

Detroit Mich

Dear Mr Hoover: 12631

On Wednesday evening August 27 1941, at a meeting in Redford High School, Redford, Mich., to organize a new chapter of the America First committee, Mr. Vietig, executive secretary for Mich, directed the audience, among other things:

"No matter what the United States laws on the subject, don't allow your rifle or shotgun to be taken from you under any

DO NOT REMOVE THIS COMMUNICATION FROM ENVELOPE ATTACHED

Answer this letter

RECORDED
INDEXED

100-4712-13

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
5 P-3 1941
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

ENVELOPE

pretext from now on....
you may need them sooner
than you think.... And
the dicks who run the
government had better not
try to take the hunter's guns
from them.... Don't let
your guns leave your
hands.. and keep them
well oiled, like all good
hunters do."

Give me right you ought
to know

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/7/82 BY Sp2 clb/ltq

SEP 9
FBI - NEW YORK
RECEIVED

SEP 8 4 AM
DEPT. OF JUSTICE
RECD

Detroit_ Mich.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

12632

On Wednesday evening, August 27, 1941, at a meeting in Redford High School, Redford, Mich., to organize a new chapter of the America First committee, Mr. Vietig, executive secretary for Mich, directed the audience, among other things:

"No matter what the United States law is on the subject, don't allow your rifle or shotgun to be taken from you under any pretext from now on... You may need them sooner than you think... And the alien's who run the government had better not try to take the hunter's guns from them... Don't let your guns leave your hands.. and keep them well oiled, like all good hunters do."

(We thought you ought to know)

5/7/86 Pursuant to

Anonymous communication, postmarked at Detroit, Michigan on September 1, 1941.

COPY
LEH

BUY U.S. SAVINGS BONDS
ASK YOUR POSTMA

DETROIT, MICH.
SEP 8 9-PM
1941

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/7/86 BY SP6bja/tcg

REGISTERED 100-4712-131 [redacted]

September 13, 1941

12630 b7C

Special Agent in Charge
Detroit, Michigan

b7C

Re: [redacted]
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
INTERNAL SECURITY

Dear Sir:

For your information, I am transmitting herewith copies of an anonymous communication, received at the Bureau on September 8, 1941, in an envelope postmarked September 1, 1941, at Detroit, Michigan.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Enclosures

[redacted] 5/11/66 per jitney

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Brayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Kunkel
Mr. Trow
Miss [redacted]

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED
SEP 15 1941
P. M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

[redacted] b7C

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER
DIRECTOR

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

EAT:DS

September 3, 1941

MEMORANDUM FOR THE DIRECTOR

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Harbo
Tele. Room
Tour Room
Mr. Nease
Mr. Tracy
Miss Beahm
Miss Gandy

On August 28th Secretary of the Navy Knox called and in your absence requested me to call upon him. At Mr. Knox's office he advised that he was convinced that the America First Committee was engaged in an attempt to frustrate the National Defense Effort through manipulation of trade unions in bringing about labor disputes. Mr. Knox had in his possession a letter written by [redacted] which indicated that some preliminary inquiries had been made [redacted] The letter indicated that the America First Committee operated through the Producer Council in New York City, which in turn served as a front for the Associated General Contractors. The name of General Wood appeared in the letter on several occasions and it indicated further that a reporter for the Chicago Daily News, named [redacted] had made some investigation of the America First Committee.

b1C

b7C

Mr. Knox stated he would like some information about the background of the America First Committee and I told him that we would compile some information and furnish it to him. A letter to Secretary Knox is attached.

Respectfully,

Edward A. Tamm

1 ENCL

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/7/86 BY S6bja/tcy

RECORDED

100-4712-132
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
8 SEP 6 1911
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
TOLSON
NICHOLS

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CH-23
154

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

WAR DEPARTMENT
WAR DEPARTMENT GENERAL STAFF
MILITARY INTELLIGENCE DIVISION, G-2
WASHINGTON, D. C.

SEP 2 1941

Subject: Letter of transmittal.

To: Lt. Col. J. Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation

The attached communications are forwarded for your information and such action as you consider advisable.

SHERMAN MILES,
Brigadier General, U. S. Army,
Acting Assistant Chief of Staff, G-2

1 Enclosures:

RECORDED

100-4712-133
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
7 SEP 3 1941
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FIVE

1 ENCL.

CH-23

CONFIDENTIAL

Declassified per Army letter dtd 5/29/91 8123 mch Ltr 8/9/91

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WAR DEPARTMENT
M. I. D.
Pittsburgh Ordnance District RFB/jd

August 12, 1941
(Date)

Subject: Pro-Nazi Activity Relative to Conscripts and National Guardsmen

Summary of Information:

1. The following information which comes from Youngstown, Ohio, under date of July 27, 1941, is submitted for your files.

2. "Pro-Nazi circles have been concentrating their agitation opposing any extension of the one-year service for conscripts and national guardsmen, yet as a whole the general public favors keeping the men in service as long as the present emergency exists. It is stated by fathers who have sons in the service at Camp Shelby that much of the agitation against extension of the one-year service comes from national guardsmen and conscripts who have been used to fill up the quota. An official of a local insurance agency states that he has received word from his son at Camp Shelby that the actions of the soldiers there is disgraceful, that on several occasions the President was hooted.

3. "Most of this agitation comes from the America First Committee and the publicity given Wheeler and others. Many citizens express the opinion that the proper way to handle Wheeler and his associates is to give them absolutely no publicity."

Distribution:
G-2, WD
G-2, 4th CA
HBS
File

Evaluation
—of source —of information
X Reliable X
Credible
Questionable
Undetermined

Declassified per Archives letter dtd 5/24/91 8/23 mcb/ltr 8/9/91

source & info: Reliable 8/28/91 km

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

16—17097 GPO

Joplin, Missouri Joplin Mo Aug 25

Hon James Roosevelt

Dear Sir.- The Residents Should Know That the American First Committee is a Reasonable Subservicive Hitler Bund Organization. If he already has not been in Connect. We have here a Sub-Committee and my friend [redacted] found them to [redacted] found out they threatened to Kill her and she is still on the "spot"

I would say the President to have her come to Washington, she has the data in Black and White they claim membership over a Million. I Dare ask your Father where in the Constitution The right in the U S of an enemy is given to free speech and assembly And have him Tell us. The Gestapo Rep threatened to Kill [redacted]

Love

100-4712-133 X b 7c

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 5/14/86 BY SP6 bjg/icy

Joplin, Missouri

America First is a German Bund
organization formed to sell
Sears Robuck goods? by Gen,
Robert Wood and one Henson
and others I believe Henson being
traffic manager they should be
suppressed now and put under
a Bond or tax so high as to destroy
them the Constitutional penalty
is Death To my Way of thinking
No one has a right To free speech
And organization who belongs to
subversive organization or is an
enemy. I would like to know
I am part so my people have been
free since 1635 I would hate to have
To take Defence in my own hands
Liberty began To disappear when the
"Duce" Than 400 Masons out of the
Windows in Rome 20 years ago
I would like an answer

b7

COORDINATOR OF INFORMATION

WASHINGTON, D. C.

America First Committee

September 2, 1941

Mr. E. A. Tamm
Department of Justice
Room 5633
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Tamm:

I don't like to bother you with these trivialities, but the FBI seemed to be the best "referring you to", don't take it too seriously.

Best wishes,

Sincerely,

James Roosevelt

James Roosevelt
Captain, U.S.M.C.

ENCL. 1

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 5/7/86 BY SP6 bjatty

RECORDED 100-4712-133X

INDEXED

SEP 16 1941

67C

September 5, 1941

RECORDED/ 62-47172-137X

Captain James Roosevelt
c/o Coordinator of Information
Apex Building
Washington, D. C.

My dear Captain Roosevelt:

Mr. Tamm has brought to my attention your letter of September 2, 1941, and the enclosure transmitted therewith, namely, a letter addressed to you by [redacted] on August 29, 1941, concerning the America First Committee. I am most appreciative of your courtesy in furnishing this information to me and wanted you to know that it is being incorporated in the official files of the Bureau for possible future reference.

b7C

Very truly yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover
Director

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 5/7/86 BY [illegible]

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED
SEP 5 1941
P. M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

COPIES DESTROYED
3-28-58
K 69

[redacted]

September 3, 1941

b7C

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ASSISTANT TO THE ATTORNEY GENERAL
MR. MATTHEW F. McGUIRE

I am transmitting herewith a copy of a memorandum which I have today prepared for Honorable Francis Biddle, attaching a memorandum containing the information available in the files of this Bureau relative to The America First Committee.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Inclosure

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/7/86 BY SP-6 bja/tcg

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED
★ SEP 3 1941 ★
P. M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

RECORDED 100-4112-134
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
1 SEP 10 1941
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

THE SECRETARY OF THE NAVY

WASHINGTON

September 8, 1941

Dear Edgar:

Thank you for your letter of September 3 enclosing the data relative to the America First Committee. I am glad to have this and will advise you if any further information is desired.

Yours sincerely,

Frank Knox

Honorable J. Edgar Hoover, Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

RECORDED

100-4712-135

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
4 SEP 11 1941
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

CH-26

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

Special Agent in Charge
San Francisco, California

Re: American First Committee
Internal Security

Dear Sir:

I am transmitting herewith two copies of a communication dated August 25, 1941, received by the Bureau from the Office of Naval Intelligence, Washington, D. C.

The enclosed communication indicates the infiltration of Italian Fascists into the American First Committee, and is being furnished your office in the event you are not already in possession of the same. (S-1) (X)

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Enclosure

1 ENCL. W

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Boone
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Colin Tamm
Mr. Handon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

FBI/DOJ

★ AUG 27 1941 ★
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
5 SEP 2 1941
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

DOI/PA # 262359
APPEAL #
CIVIL ACT. #
F.O.I. # 12356
DATE 5/28/96 INITIALS ltg

S-1 Secy

Declassified per Tamm letter dtd 7/25/91
8123 mch/ltg 8/15/91

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CONFIDENTIAL

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FBI

AMERICAN FIRST COMMITTEE- Italian Fascist Infiltration.

As generally know the policy of this committee is to keep America out of war and it is therefore against any aid to Great Britain, Russia, China or other nationals now waging a defensive war against the Axis powers. Senator Burton Wheeler and Charles A. Lindbergh are two of the most outstanding orators in putting over the program of the subject committee. While no one doubts the sincerest of these two individuals, yet unconsciously, they are giving aid and comfort to the Axis powers and their fifth columnists in the United States.

Evidence has been received of an Italian Fascist infiltration into the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE. Thus there has been established the BURTON WHEELER MARINA DISTRICT CHAPTER of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE at San Francisco, California The chapter predominantly Italian has been addressed by individuals prominent in the Italian American colony in San Francisco. One of the speakers, Renzo TURCO, an attorney with offices at 550 Montgomery Street, San Francisco, California demanded U.S. neutrality in Asia as well as in Europe. TURCO on January 18th, 1941 was the leading figure during a banquet held under the auspices of the San Jose Chapter of the Italian War Veterans. Turco is a member of the Orders of the Sons of Italy and attended a bund meeting on May 30th, 1938.

Another chapter of the subject committee is known as the William PACA chapter and meeting at the Fugazi Hall, 617 Green Street, San Francisco, California. The Burton Wheeler Marina District Chapter meets in the Disiano Hall, 2453 Lombard Street, San Francisco, California. The Paca Chapter is also Italian in character. A Mrs. Maria G. PUCCETTI of 712 Tennessee Street, San Francisco, California is chairman of the Paca Chaptor which holds a meeting each week.

While it is appreciated that the information only concerns the 12th Naval District and the local representatives of FBI and MID in that area, the information concerning the activities of these two chapters and the individuals connected with them, has been set out in detail to show the method of infiltration of the Italian Fascist groups in to the subject committee.

In view of the foregoing it is suggested that in districts where it is reported that new chapters of the subject committee are being formed, such information should be immediately transmitted to the local representative of MID and to the local agent of FB I for information and investigation to determine the extent, if any, of Italian Fascist infiltration into the subject committee. There ~~xxxx~~ is no question that a check as to the identity of Italian-Americans interested in such chapter will uncover information as to their allegiance to the Italian Fascist cause.

ND 12 coggizan t.
ALL US NAVAL DISTRICTS
FBI, MID, STATE DEPARTMENT

August 20th, 1941

CONFIDENTIAL

B-7-I

Ltr to Lou Brand
8/27/41 - HEW

Declassified per Navy Letter dtd 7/25/91
8123 mch ltr 8/15/91

Federal Bureau of Investigation

United States Department of Justice

Saint Louis, Missouri
September 9, 1941

5/4/86 S.C. by Ley #26235
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9/30/85 BY SP2 SAC
FBI/DOJ
Army info. Remains
unclassified per the
letter dtd 5/9/86
7/25/86 SP2 SAC
262119 25864 6

Director,
Federal Bureau of Investigation,
Washington, D. C.

Re: AMERICA FIRST, INC.
INTERNAL SECURITY

Dear Sir:

Please be advised that this office is in receipt of the following communication from Colonel W. T. Bals, Office of the Assistant Chief of Staff, Military Intelligence, Headquarters Seventh Corps Area, Omaha, Nebraska, dated August 29, 1941:

"SUBJECT: America First, Inc.

TO: Intelligence Officers and FBI Agencies Seventh Corps Area.

The following extract of a confidential report received at this office is quoted for your information: SEE U

'The organization was the brain child of R. Douglas Stuart, Jr., a 24 year old law student of Yale University in 1940. He is the son of the First Vice-President of Quaker Oats Company. The first person contacted when the Committee was formed was Colonel Lindbergh, and the second was Earl Browder. These people met with Stuart, and later on General Robert Wood, head of Sears & Roebuck, Chicago, Edward L. Ryerson, a director of Inland Steel, Mrs. Jeanette Ayer Fairbanks, a wealthy woman, and Chester Bowles, Chairman of Benton and Bowles, an advertising agency, made up the picture. Soon William Castle, under Secretary of State in the Hoover cabinet, and alleged master mind behind Lindbergh was added. Then Senator Wheeler and Senator Bob Taft. At the start this organization had a tremendous amount of money despite the claim that they never accepted more than $1,000 from any one person. In the east, Thomas N. McCarter, former chairman of the Public Service Company of New Jersey, is one of the leading lights. He is the contact man for Joe Pew, millionaire Republican boss of Pennsylvania. Henry Ford is one of the bigwigs of this Committee, as is J. C. Hormell, millionaire Minnesota meat packer; Kathryn Lewis, the daughter of John L. Lewis, is one of the active members. For the Catholic element there is John T. Flynn, Father Coughlin, John O'Connors. Another man in the limelight is General Hugh S. Johnson. Others are Alice Roosevelt Longworth, Amos R. Pinchot, former Governor of Pennsylvania and Lewis J. Taber. Secretly there is a tremendous Jewish group backing the America First Committee. This group has as its front the Guggenheim Foundation, and the

100-4712-13
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
SEP 12 1941
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Re: AMERICA FIRST, INC.
INTERNAL SECURITY

Committee was quietly subsidized for tremendously large amounts of money. The Guggenheim interests have always fronted for Lindbergh.

'America First was set up because of the hatred for President Roosevelt and its purpose is to do everything possible to embarrass him and the Army in the United States. Mrs. Wheeler, wife of the Senator, is bitterly anti-Semitic. She is a stockholder of the Chicago Tribune, and Colonel McCormick, the Tribune owner, has as his stooge Harry Jung, head of the American Vigilante Intelligence Federation, and strongly pro-Nazi and anti-Semetic. Mrs. Wheeler, Harry Jung and Colonel McCormick are using America First as a sounding board for anti-Jewish propaganda. In this connection Father Charles E. Coughlin of Detroit and the Christian front organizations have just recently been officially welcomed into America First by General Wood, another stockholder of the Chicago Tribune.

'America First has a lobby strictly anti-Roosevelt in Washington. This lobby is composed of William Castle and Alice Longworth, John L. Lewis and General Hugh S. Johnson. All are bitter enemies of the President. This group has figured out a way to reach the President with the most bitter attacks in the history of the world. The Hatch Act would not permit large political contributions to campaign funds, so this organization, America First, has its worst enemy in President Roosevelt and consequently anything he attempts, no matter what it concerns in respect to war, will be attacked by America First. In other words, this group is cooperating with every branch of anti-war groups such as the IRA, Christian front, anti-British, Catholic group, German group and every pacifist group in the country.

'This is one organization that will always have to be watched. From the Communist angle, William Castle has on his payroll William Sanger, a former Communist, Stalin school graduate. Sanger now receives $250 a month and is located in Washington, D. C.

'It must be remembered that America First has plenty of money back of it in General Wood, Mrs. Jeanette Ayer Fairbanks, Frank O. Lowden, Thomas M. McCarter, Edward L. Ryerson and Pew, who controls the Sun Oil Company in New York. The bitterness which Castle, John

Re: AMERICA FIRST, INC.
INTERNAL SECURITY

> others has against Roosevelt is such that they would not deviate one inch in fighting everything that the President wants or attempts, and consequently the British suffer to a great extent."

The above is furnished for the information of the Bureau. No doubt, the Bureau has already received more detailed information regarding the activities of the America First Committee.

Very truly yours,

G. B. MORRIS,
Special Agent in Charge.

GBN:djh
100-1726

Federal Bureau of Investigation

United States Department of Justice

Denver, Colorado
September 9, 1941

5/7/86 SP6 by/cag #26235
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2/30/85 BY SP2 mag
#241182 Army report pertaining to Legal Status of Japanese remaining in U.S. 3/25/86 SP6 AG JC
262119 258646

Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Re: AMERICA FIRST, INC.
INTERNAL SECURITY

Dear Sir:

There are being transmitted herewith two copies of a report furnished this office by [redacted] who advises that this information was obtained from his own confidential informant whose identity is not known to this office [redacted] advised that his informant has informed him that this report, which concerns America First, Inc., is a report [redacted] showing the organization tie-up of the Communist Party with the America First Committees. b2 b2 b7D

This report is being furnished for the Bureau's information, and no further action is being contemplated by the Denver Field Division on the America First Committee unless advised to the contrary.

Very truly yours,

G. A. NICHOLSON
Special Agent in Charge

1 ENCL

[redacted]
61-28
Enc. 2

b7C

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100-4712-138
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
8 SEP 18 1941
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
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5/7/86 SP6 by alley #62359
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9/30/05 BY SP1 AG/JC
#241 163

COPY

August 8, 1941

AMERICA FIRST, INC.

National Office, 141 West Jackson Boulevard, Chicago.
New York Office, 515 Madison Avenue.

2/25/86 SP1-AG-JC
262119
258646

The organization was the brain child of R. Douglas Stuart, Jr., a 24 year old law student senior of Yale University in 1940. He is the son of the First Vice-President of Quaker Oats Company. The first person contacted when the Committee was formed was Colonel Lindbergh, and the second was Earl Browder. These people met with Stuart, and later on General Robert Wood, head of Sears & Roebuck, Chicago, Edward L. Ryerson, a director of Inland Steel, Mrs. Jeanette Ayer Fairbanks, a wealthy woman, and Chester Bowles, Chairman of Benton and Bowles, an advertising agency, made up the picture. Soon William Castle, under Secretary of State in the Hoover cabinet, and alleged master mind behind Lindbergh was added. Then Senator Wheeler and Senator Bob Taft. At the start this organization had a tremendous amount of money despite the claim that they never accepted more than $1,000 from any one person. In the east, Thomas N. McCarter, former chairman of the Public Service Company of New Jersey, is one of the leading lights. He is the contact man for Joe Pew, millionaire Republican boss of Pennsylvania. Henry Ford is one of the big-wigs of this Committee, as is J. C. Hormell, millionaire Minnesota meat packer; Kathryn Lewis, the daughter of John L. Lewis, is one of the active members. For the Catholic element there is John T. Flynn, Father Coughlin, John O'Connors. Another man in the limelight is General Hugh S. Johnson. Others are Alice Roosevelt Longworth, Amos R. Pinchot, former Governor of Pennsylvania and Lewis J. Taber. Secretly there is a tremendous Jewish group backing the America First Committee. This group has as its front the Guggenheim Foundation, and the Committee was quietly subsidized for tremendously large amounts of money. The Guggenheim interests have always fronted for Lindbergh.

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3-28-58
169

First as a sounding board for anti-Jewish propaganda. In this connection Father Charles E. Coughlin of Detroit and the Christian front organizations have just recently been officially welcomed into America First by General Wood, another stockholder of the Chicago Tribune.

America First has a lobby strictly anti-Roosevelt in Washington. This lobby is composed of William Castle and Alice Longworth, John L. Lewis and General Hugh S. Johnson. All are bitter enemies of the President. This group has figured out a way to reach the President with the most bitter attacks in the history of the world. The Hatch Act would not permit large political contributions to campaign funds, so this organization, America First, has its worst enemy in President Roosevelt and consequently anything he attempts, no matter what it concerns in respect to war, will be attacked by America First. In other words, this group is cooperating with every branch of anti-war groups such as the IRA, Christian front, anti-British, Catholic group, German group and every pacifist group in the country.

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(The above is [redacted] which shows how that organization ties in with the Communist Party.)

670

In the forth-coming SPRING PRIMARIES

we will -Support-

Anti-War Candidates

An Undeclared War Is Unconstitutional.

Give us a Referendum.

Name & Address _____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/7/86 BY SP-6 by Ltr

UNITY

according to the 'War Party' means union with it.

— IN THE U. S. A. —

The only possible unity is the CONSTITUTION

Therefore for the United States there can be no war unless it is enacted by the Congress--*Free and Independent*

CONGRESS

Freed from *Administration domination.*

Freed from nonAmerican --- *office holding fellow Travelers and Communists.*

Freed from *foreign Lobbyists.*

Citizens of America Awake

Your Unity and Your Freedom under the Constitution are at Stake.

Arming of Ships and Convoys?

"Convoys" says the President "Means Shooting, and Shooting means War."

The Argentine now also declares irresponsibility for citizens and ships in war zones — as had been our President's stand.

Why then in this critical hour of undeclared war does he shift that policy — to make the crime of war the more certain?

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
102 WEST MARKET STREET
WEST CHESTER, PA.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 9/11/80 BY SP2 dmh/kg

NOT RECORDED

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

WAR DEPARTMENT
WAR DEPARTMENT GENERAL STAFF
MILITARY INTELLIGENCE DIVISION, G-2
WASHINGTON, D. C.

SEP 16 1941

Subject: Letter of transmittal.

To: Lt. Col. J. Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation

The attached communications are forwarded for your information and such action as you consider advisable.

SHERMAN MILES,
Brigadier General, U. S. Army,
Acting Assistant Chief of Staff, G-2

1Enclosures:

I ENCLOH

RECORDED

Army information declassified. Ltr dated 5/29/91

100-47112-139

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
SEP 17 1941
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FIVE

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

HEADQUARTERS SECOND CORPS AREA
OFFICE OF ASSISTANT CHIEF OF STAFF, G-2
GOVERNORS ISLAND, NEW YORK

WCG/td

August 30, 1941.

Subject: ANTI-SEMITIC ACTIVITIES.

To: Assistant Chief of Staff, G-2,
War Department,
Washington, D. C.

The attached copy of report has been received from a highly confidential and reliable source. This information was not solicited by this office.

For the A. C. of S., G-2:

S. V. CONSTANT,
Lt.Col.,G.S.C.,
Executive Officer, G-2.

1 Incl.-(triplicate)
1 copy report re subj.

Dist:
SBD
6th C.A.
File

Source: Reliable
Info: Undetermined
9-15-41
Jon

100-4112-139

CONFIDENTIAL

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100 - 47712 - 139

105672

In some of my previous reports I made reference to initial moves instituted by notorious anti-Semites for the formation of a Nationalist Party.

This impression was related to me in hints without any definite or conclusive proof that a movement of that sort is in the offing. From several sources those rumors came to me, some reliable, some based on gossip, that something big is being manufactured to be built around Colonel Lindbergh.

Strong indication pointed to the fact that wide spread anti-Semitic activities are now being promoted in Detroit, and Chicago, which convinced me that they are a definite part and parcel of a nationwide program well engineered and amply financed.

In making considerable inquiries on this subject, I ascertained that they are centered around the American First Committee, at least as far as this territory is concerned, and behind the so-called peace program and the isolationist attitude of the America First Committee, there is something more deeply rooted and sinister. Of course, there is no question that the leading exponents of organized anti-Semitism have rallied around the America First Committee, and as far as far as Detroit and Chicago are concerned, they are the principal mainstays of that movement.

In my recent inquiries concentrating particularly on the gatherings sponsored by the America First Committee, leaflets, booklets, pictures and even books, such as Elizabeth Dilling's "The Octopus" are widely distributed.

Forums addressed by well known speakers allied with the so-called Nationalist Movement in America, are meeting with tremendous success, and to accommodate the large influx of crowds, they are now being transferred to open air gatherings.

The works of Father Coughlin, Edmondson, Winrod, Colonel Sanctuary's "The Hidden Hand", Hudson's "America in Danger" are freely and profusely distributed. Every subterfuge is being used and utilized to inflame the masses against the Jewish race.

Today I came into the possession of some startling information, which of course, calls for some further inquiries and verification, but of sufficient importance to call your immediate attention and submit it to you in the form in which I obtained it. The story is that the financial backer of this country wide anti-Semitic movement is HENRY FORD with Charles Lindbergh as the national leader; that the intermediary between Henry Ford and Lindbergh is Major Thomas Lamphier. This major

100-4712-139

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resigned from the Army, having been the commanding officers of the Selfridge Flying Field and subsequently employed by the Ford Motor Car Co., as a contact man, and it is this major who is acting in behalf of Henry Ford in his relationship with Lindbergh and other leaders of anti-Semitism in America. It is further claimed that on or about July 30, 1941 at the Lee Plaza Hotel, Detroit, Michigan, a very important meeting took place ostensibly arranged by Major Larghier in behalf of Colonel Lindbergh, but without his personal participation. It is further claimed that more than a dozen men attended this gathering, two from San Francisco, one from Pittsburgh, two from Washington, D.C., one from New York, one from St. Louis, two from Chicago and a personal representative of Lindbergh's. According to my informant this gathering discussed a variety of questions, all of them centering around the Jewish question. He classifies those discussions as follows:

1. The planning of nation wide anti-Semitic drive, using pamphlets, booklets and radio under very auspices.
2. The tying in the anti-war sentiment of the American people.
3. The exploitation of the coming tax burden stressing the influence of Roosevelt's Jewish advisors.
4. Slum housing largely controlled by Jews.
5. Corruption by Jews of local law enforcement agencies.
6. Propaganda among negroes on the basis that the colored tenants are victims of exorbitant rent raising by Jewish landlords.
7. Activities of the Jews in the communist party, in the pawn shop business, small loan business and motion picture industry.
8. The nation's resources control placed in the hands of Felix Frankfurter, Henry Morganthau, Barney Baruch and Lilienthal of the T.V.A.
9. The predominance of Jewish appointed ambassadors.
10. The formation of a Nationalist Party with an official pronouncement relegating the Jewish race to a subservient stage.
11. Recognition of Colonel Lindbergh as their national leader and the utilization of the America First Committee organization as a recruiting agency for this coming nationalist party.

You can readily see that this is a diabolical plan which definitely fits in to the various pronouncements made by the smaller fry, who have been active along those lines for the past several years. At the meetings of the Nationalist Worker's League, the formation of a nationalist party is a live topic of discussion. Similar sentiments I encountered in Chicago. All these incidents preclude the possibility of a gathering such as the one described in the Lee Plaza Hotel. I am now trying to identify some of those who were present at this meeting, which I will send to you

CONFIDENTIAL

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Supplementing my report embodying information on the Leo Plaza Hotel conference, I herein submit the names of three participants of that conference. One Rodgers or Rogers from Minnesota, Webert or Weibert alleged to be connected with the Mid West Forum and one Fleming who is a resident of Washington, D. C. representing the Ford Motor Car Co. in a capacity of a lobbyist.

100-4712-139

3

Files Section unable to identify [redacted] at San Diego, California.

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

POSTAL

W1 27 NL

TD SANDIEGO CALIF SEPT 16 1941

J EDAR HOOVER

DEFL BUREAU OF INVESTIATION WASHN DC

HOW ABOUT CONCENTRATION CAMP FORH HOOVER

LINDBERG, WHEELER, FISH AND OTHERS OF THE AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE AND YOU

KMOW WHO THAT ARE UNDERMINING AMERICA PLEASE ANSWER

[redacted] b7C

£

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/7/86 BY SP6 Gaitley

Hoodlum-gmen F.F.

RECORDED 100-4712-139X

INDEXED

FEDERAL [illegible]

5 26 1941

U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

TOLSON TAMM ROSEN NICHOLS HENDON

[redacted] b7C

TREASURY DEPARTMENT

TREASURY ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES

WASHINGTON

OFFICE OF
CHIEF COORDINATOR

September 12, 1941.

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover,
Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

There is transmitted herewith a letter from one [redacted] with which he encloses several communications from the America First Committee, Santa Monica, California, with the request that the material be forwarded to the proper officer of the Federal Government. b7C

This is referred to you inasmuch as your Bureau has investigative responsibility in matters of this character.

Very truly yours,

Elmer L. Irey,
Chief Coordinator.

Enclosures.

100 - 4712-14

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

6 SEP 22 1941

FBI

[redacted]

b7C

Aug. 29, 1941.

INTERNAL REVENUE
SEP 3 1941
INTELLIGENCE UNIT

Dear Mr. Frey:

Greetings.

Will you kindly refer the enclosed "America First" letter to the proper Officer of the Federal Government. I believe everyone of these fellows who are posing as patriotic Americans but who in fact are doing so much to raise the morale of the Nazis and thus endanger our Country, should be investigated. I have no doubt that many of them are undercover agents of a Foreign Government.

With kindest regards and best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

[redacted]

b7C

Enclosures:
"Initiated" envelope,
letter, and 2
"Rush Holt" pamphlets.
Copy my reply

[redacted] 8/29/41 b2c

"PEACE FOR AMERICA"

SENATOR RUSH D. HOLT

WILL SPEAK --- TUESDAY --- SEPT. 2nd --- 8 PM.

UNIVERSITY HIGH SCHOOL AUDITORIUM

(We are still unable to meet in the Santa Monica schools)

REVOLUTIONARY RUSH HOLT (the youngest Senator ever elected) FIGHTS THE DEMOCRATIC MACHINE IN THE SOUTH LIKE THE YOUNG REPUBLICANS WHO ARE IN REVOLT AGAINST THE CYNICAL LEADERSHIP OF THEIR PARTY IN THE NORTH.

WHAT OF OUR BOYS? WILL WE LET THE POLITICIANS USE THEM TO BLUFF THE WORLD? ARE WE TO SIT IDLE WHILE OUR LEADERS MILITARIZE THE NATION FOR FORIEGN CONQUEST?

IF SENATOR PEPPER'S PREDICTION COMES TRUE WE WILL BE BLED WHITE. OUR PROPERTY, OUR DEMOCRACY, OUR YOUTH - ALL GONE.

THE AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE SAYS -- NO!
THE AMERICAN PEOPLE SAY -- NO! -- NO'.

BRING FRIENDS OF PEACE AND <u>THOSE WHO ARE IN DOUBT</u>.

HEAR SENATOR HOLT (in person)

University High School Auditorium.
(On Westgate Avenue - one block South of Wilshire)
West Los Angeles.
Tuesday - Sept. 2nd., 8 PM.

Our meeting scheduled for Thursday Sept. 4th is cancelled -- Tell others so they will not be confused.

PASS THIS CIRCULAR ON TO A FRIEND -- BRING SIGNED MEMBERSHIP CARDS TO THE MEETING.

"NATIONAL DEFENSE AT ANY EXPENSE
BUT KEEP OUR BOYS AT HOME"

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

BAY CITIES CHAPTER.

[redacted] 141 b7c

America First Committee

SANTA MONICA, CALIFORNIA

August 28th, 1941

POST OFFICE BOX 748

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA DIVISION
NON-PROFIT ORGANIZATION

Executive Committee

☆

GEN. ROBERT E. WOOD
Acting Chairman

JANET AYER FAIRBANK
Vice-Chairman

HANFORD MacNIDER
Vice-Chairman

R. DOUGLAS STUART, Jr.
Director

J. SANFORD OTIS
Treasurer

National Committee

☆

CHESTER BOWLES

DR. A. J. CARLSON

WILLIAM R. CASTLE

MRS. BENNETT CHAMP CLARK

IRVIN S. COBB

JOHN T. FLYNN

LILLIAN GISH

BISHOP WILBUR E. HAMMAKER

GEN. THOMAS HAMMOND

JAY C. HORMEL

GEN. HUGH S. JOHNSON

CLAY JUDSON

KATHRYN LEWIS

CHARLES A. LINDBERGH

ALICE ROOSEVELT LONGWORTH

THOMAS N. McCARTER

RAY McKAIG

MRS. JOHN P. MARQUAND

STERLING MORTON

KATHLEEN NORRIS

GEORGE N. PEEK

AMOS R. E. PINCHOT

WILLIAM H. REGNERY

EDWARD L. RYERSON, JR.

LOUIS J. TABER

MRS BURTON K. WHEELER

DR. GEORGE H. WHIPPLE

MAJOR ALFORD J. WILLIAMS

[redacted] b7c

Dear Member:

The AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE of the Bay District calls to your attention that a WAR is in the making, a WAR that will take our boys to a foreign land, a WAR which some speechmakers paint as a glorious adventure, but which we know to be GRIM and HORRIBLE.

WAR will come to America if people sit back in their easy chairs and do nothing to prevent it.

AMERICA FIRST LEADERS believe that if we are successful in holding the interventionist "BLITZ" for another six months, we shall have witnessed such confusion in the interventionist ranks and such evidence of the crazy WAR girations abroad that it will convince every American of the folly of our participation.

Through the efforts of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE to date we have prevented CONVOYS, stopped the President's WAR SPEECH, held off an A.E.F. and won over to the AMERICA FIRST ideals TWENTY new SENATORS and CONGRESSMEN in the past week. The bare ONE vote majority in the house for the draft extension speaks volumes.

Although the Bay Cities Chapter of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE is young, it is growing rapidly, thanks to the support of those of you who joined up early. We must reach everyone in this area who feels strongly about this burning question. Now this takes MONEY.

You who are in this fight are the voice and hope of the 80 percent of the people of America who are for PEACE, and knowing you support our ideas we are counting on a generous contribution now and an indication of how much you can give weekly or monthly to carry this fight forward for another six months. Your pledge of future financial support will enable us to budget our expenses and open a headquarters in Santa Monica to instill in the minds of the people in the Bay District that there is a National Organization fighting for PEACE.

Please mail your contribution, preferably by check or money order, to Post Office Box 748, Santa Monica, and it will be acknowledged by our Treasurer.

Yours truly,

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

by R. E. Burton Chairman

(2P4 [redacted] 5/29/41

b2C

A.E.Burton,
"America First Committee"
PO Box 748
Santa Monica, Calif.

You have made a gross error in addressing to me a communication with the salutation: "Dear Member,"

The America First Committee as at present constituted is a grave menace to the security of our Country. Every word your principal speakers, Lindbergh, Wheeler and even little Nye utter, gives cheer to every Nazi in Germany, from Hitler down, not to mention the Nazis and Nazi-sympathisers who seem to make up the greater part of the audiences of the said Wheeler, Lindbergh, Nye, and the thoroly misguided and senseless Holt, who you say will speak here soon. I have heard, over the radio, without one word of disapproval from Lindbergh or Wheeler, your Nazi sympathisers hiss and boo the names of patriotic Americans like Willkie and Roosevelt, and the name of Winston Churchill who has brought so much grief to Hitler,- but I have never heard your audiences boo or hiss the name of Hitler, or even that of the almost forgotten Mussolini. Why is this? Do your supporters want Hitler to win? I shall say this, and it is my firm conviction: Every word and every act, of which I have heard, by any member of your organization has encouraged the Nazis, and thus endangered all Democracies. Not one word nor one act, of which I have heard, on the part of any member of your organization, has encouraged the American defence workers, or the men in our Army, Navy and Air Forces.

Any man who belongs to an organization that welcomes to its audiences unpatriotic men and women who boo and hiss the President of the United States, and who boo and hiss the name of the patriotic Willkie, who fought against the same kind of Military Machine in the last War as Churchill and his people are fighting now, and who never utter one sound of disapproval when Hitler's name is mentioned, [redacted] as Wheeler called him recently, "the little dictator", should, in my opinion, be investigated by the F.B.I. which is doing such fine work in ferreting out saboteurs and traitors. We are a patriotic people, [redacted] Wars, the Spanish-American, and the first World War. It is too bad we were not allowed to destroy [redacted] the burning military madness which again threatens every country on earth. And we been permitting [redacted] that thing, and Willam Forrest was a necessary thing [redacted] do, who like you would not be in a position now to [redacted] for encouragement of the most brutal military machine [redacted]

[redacted]

RECORDED 100-4712-140

September 25, 1941

b7C

[redacted]

b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/7/86 BY SP6 bja/tcg

b7C

Dear [redacted]

Your communication dated August 29, 1941, with enclosures, addressed to the Chief Coordinator, Treasury Enforcement Agencies, Washington, D. C., has been referred to the FBI. I want to thank you for your courtesy and interest in communicating with the Federal Government.

Should you obtain possession of any additional information you believe of value to the internal security of our country, I want you to feel free to communicate with Mr. R. B. Hood, Special Agent in Charge, Federal Bureau of Investigation, United States Department of Justice, 900 Security Building, Los Angeles, California.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Hoffman
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED
★ SEP 26 1941 ★
P. M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

b7C [redacted]

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER
DIRECTOR

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Harbo
Tele. Room
Tour Room
Mr. Nease
Mr. Tracy
Miss Beahm
Miss Gandy

KRM:bc

September 12, 1941

5pfmac,lpt 9-30-85 #624/183
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3-16-90 BY SP2TAP/DRMLC
5/7/86 SP6 by attey # 262359
SP1.AG.SC 7/25/86
262119 258646

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. KRAMER

RE: AMERICA FIRST, INC.
National Office - 141 W. Jackson Blvd., Chicago, Illinois
New York Office - 515 Madison Ave.

The following information concerning the above organization was obtained from an outside unknown source dated at New York, New York, on August 4, 1941.

This organization was originally planned by R. Douglas Stuart, Jr., 24 year old law school senior in 1940 at Yale University. He is the son of the first vice president of the Quaker Oats Company. The first person contacted when the committee was formed was Col. Lindbergh, and another was Earl Browder. These people met with Stuart and later on General Robert Wood, head of Sears-Roebuck Company, Edward L. Ryerson, a director of Inland Steel; Mrs. Jeanette Ayer Fairbanks, a wealthy woman; and Chester Bowles, chairman of Benton and Bowles, an advertising agency, made up the picture. Soon William Castle, Under-Secretary of State in the Hoover Cabinet and the original master mind behind Lindbergh was added, then Senator Wheeler and Senator Bob Taft. At the very start this organization had a tremendous amount of money on hand, despite the claim that they never accept more than $1,000 from any one person.

In the East, Thomas N. McCarter, former chairman of the Public Service Company of New Jersey, is one of the leaders, and he is said to be the contact man for Joe Pew, the millionaire Republican leader of Pennsylvania.

RECORDED
INDEXED

100-4712-140

Henry Ford and Jay C. Hornell are members of the Committee. Kathryn Lewis, the daughter of John Lewis, is one of the active members, and for the Catholic element we find John T. Flynn, Reverend Father Coughlin, and John O'Connors. Other members are General Hugh S. Johnson, Alice Roosevelt Longworth, Amos R. Pinchot and Louis T. Taber.

COPIES DESTROYED
5-29-59
RC 9

EX - 16

Secretly there was a tremendous Jewish group backing the America First until just recently. This Jewish group had as its front the Guggenheim Foundation, and the committee was quietly subsidized for tremendous sums of money. The Guggenheim interest has always fronted for Lindberg, but a few weeks ago the Jewish group withdrew all financial support. A number of the members of the committee quietly withdrew or became inactive. This was due to three reasons. U

1. America First was set up because of the hatred for President Roosevelt and the purpose was to do everything possible to embarrass him in every way possible. U

2. Mrs. Wheeler, the wife of the Senator, is bitterly anti-Semitic. She is a stock-holder of the Chicago Tribune, and Col. McCormick, the Tribune's owner, has as his man Harry Jung, head of the American Vigilante Intelligence Federation, who is also strongly pro-Nazi and anti-Semitic. It is alleged that Mrs. Wheeler, Harry Jung and Col. McCormick are using America First as a sounding board for anti-Jewish propaganda. In connection with this, Father Charles E. Coughlin of Detroit and the Christian Front Organization have just recently been officially welcomed into America First by Col. Wood, another stock-holder of the Chicago Tribune. U

3. America First has a lobby strictly anti-Roosevelt at Washington. This lobby is comprised of William Castle, Alice Longworth, John L. Lewis and General Hugh S. Johnson. Each and every one of these are bitter enemies of the President. U

This group had to figure a way to reach at the President through probably the most bitter attacks in the history of the world. The Hatch Act would not permit large political contributions to the campaign funds, so this organization, America First, has as its base enemy President Roosevelt, and consequently anything he attempts, no matter what it concerns in regard to war and Britain, will be attacked by America First. U

In other words, this organization which is cooperating with every branch of anti-war groups, such as the I.R.A., Christian Front, anti-British, Catholic groups, and every pacifist group in the country, make it an organization that will always have to be watched. U

From the Communist angle, William Castle has on his payroll William Sanger, a former Communist Stalin School graduate. Sanger now receives $250 a month and is located at Washington. U

When the present Pope who then was Papal Secretary, was in the United States on a visit, he confided to certain members of the church that he thought that the American priests, outside of the Irish, were a lazy lot. Since then a peculiar thing happened that makes one consider. Cardinal Dougherty of Boston sev rely criticized Father Coughlin and tried to have him removed. Cardinal Dougherty went to Rome on the matter. In the meantime, Coughlin started an attack on the Jews and the British, and he was only mildly chastised for his actions, and ever since he has been on the war-path now that the Irish groups in the Catholic Church and the Knights of Columbus have become very bitter and active against Britain and Roosevelt, and no one is saying a thing to them. They are running wild, and ex-Congressman John O'Connor, one of the most staunch friends of the I.R.A. has been acting as attorney for Coughlin's organization, the National Union for Social Justice.

The America First has a great fortune back of it. Among the monied people are General Wood, Mrs. Jeanette Ayer Fairbanks, Frank O. Lowden, Thomas N. McCarter, Edward L. Ryerson, and Pew who controls the Sun Oil Company.

Respectfully,

K. R. McIntire

DS-5

OFFICE OF DIRECTOR
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Mr. _____
Mr. Foxworth _____
Mr. Glavin _____
Mr. Ladd _____
Mr. Nichols _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Carson _____
Mr. Drayton _____
Mr. Quinn Tamm _____
Mr. Handen _____
Mr. Coffey _____
Mr. Harbo _____
Tele. Room _____
Tour Room _____
Mr. Nease _____
Mr. Tracy _____
Miss Beahm _____
Miss Candy _____

Record of Telephone Call or Visitor

August 28 1941

Time 2:42 PM

Name Secretary Knox's Office, tele.

Referred to _____

Details:

When advised that the Director was on the West Coast and that Mr. E. A. Tamm was Acting Director, the secretary stated that Mr. Knox would probably call Mr. Tamm later today.

Mr. Tamm's Office has been advised.

cc - Mr. Tamm

jm
3 PM

EX-8

RECORDED 100-4712-141

Mr. Tamm advises he is going over to see Mr. Knox.
RP

INDEXED 13

SEP 6 1941

FIVE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-7-86 BY SP-6 bja/tcj

New York, Sept, 13,1941.

To the President of the United States.

Washington, D.C.

Honored sir;-

As a loyal American I feel it is my duty to report an experience I had the other evening. On the corner of Fifty-seventh Street and Ninth Avenue at about ten o'clock I happened to pass by an ordinary saloon where I heard a lou voice holding the attention of several hopelessly drunk men and women. I was curi to see what was going on and so ventured in and,to my utter disgust,found a man who said his name was John Cram,collecting signatures from those men and women,on a petition to block the United States from giving any help to the Allies. He dis-tributed pamphlets of the American First Committee and wrote on them the names of senators and congressmen to whom they should send their protests.

Those persons,---eleven of them---to whom he was appealing, were in condition to reason or to know what it was all about. It is deplorable enough to get sober persons converted to hatred and intolerance and to solicit for such a petition the names of persons under the influence of alcohol is a dastardly crime

I talked to this Mr.Cram and told him,in an effort to gain informat how I admired his untiring efforts to rid this country,as he put it, of present war-mongers and told him I would like to help in my way,asking what I could do. He replied that I could come to the American First Committee meetings and act as a sort of "storm trooper".Then I asked"What do you men by storm trooper",he answered,"You could help rid our meetings of hecklers,Jews,and so forth",and adde "There will be plenty of others to beat those to a pulp"

This is how the American First Committee gets members,Honored Sir. They stop at nothing to undermine this wonderful country of ours.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 5/11/86 BY SP6 byw key

RECORDED 100-4712-14

INDEXED

23

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

I would be happy to offer my services in any way that would help to dest this subversive element.

May I be permitted to sign myself as one of your sincere supporters.

[redacted]

b7c

[redacted]

b7c

[redacted] b7C

Dept. of Justice
Washington, D.C.

1143 ...D. BU. OF INV.

Dear Sirs:

Your attention is invited to the anti-Semitic, anti-Russian - and decidedly anti-Franklin D. Roosevelt (impeachment proposed) utterances of Gerald L. K. Smith, Christ Oemmler (American First Committee) meeting, held in Native Sons Hall, this city 9/10/41. (Meeting scheduled for 8 P.M. Monday)

RECORDED
100-4712-143

I file with the above expressed views inimical to the interests of the government and the security of the people of the United States.

SEP 22 1941

The audience contained a number of fanatics - decidedly Fascist. Above is what it was for - Zionism for political & religious freedom,

[redacted] b7C

b7C

BUY
DEFENSE SAVINGS
BONDS AND STAMPS
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.
SEP 15
3 30PM
1941
AFTER FIVE DAYS RETURN TO
Department of State
Washington, D.C.
INFORMATION CONTAINE
IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/7/86 B

[redacted] October 2, 1941

b7C

RECORDED 100-4712 - 143

[redacted]

b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/7/86 BY SP6 Bjalkey

b7C

Dear [redacted]

Your communication of September 17, 1941, has been received at this Bureau.

Please be advised that the content thereof has been carefully noted and made a matter of permanent record in our official files.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Glese
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Holloman
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

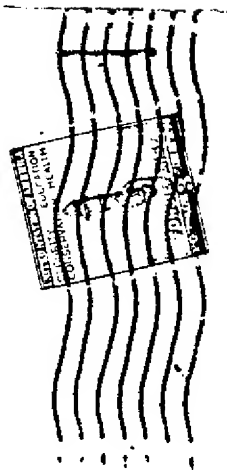
100-4712-143
1683

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED
★ OCT 2 1941 ★
P. M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

b7C

[redacted]

...S COMMUNICATION
...ELOPE ATTACHED



USA. CALIF.
LOS
SEP 16
1:30 P.M.
1941

Federal Board of Investigation
Washington
D. C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 5/7/86 BY SP6 Jaffey

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
SEP 22 19[redacted]

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[redacted]

CH-15

Calif

RAMENTO BEE, MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 15, 1941

Group Score Shooting Edict Of Roosevelt

CHICAGO, Sept. 15.—(UP)—Robert E. Wood, national chairman of the America First Committee, announced last night an "independent group" of fifty eight "prominent Americans" had united in a public condemnation of President Roosevelt's address last Friday as a "grave threat to democratic principles of majority rule."

The group included former Governors William H. (Alfalfa Bill) Murray of Oklahoma and Philip La Follette of Wisconsin, Alice Roosevelt Longworth, Charles A. Beard, historian; Irvin S. Cobb, writer; President Ray Lyman Wilbur of Stanford University; George N. Peek, former chief of the Agricultural Adjustment Admanistration, and several persons prominent in the America First Committee.

Statement Of Group

"The President has decreed that shooting shall begin," the group's joint statement charged. "His edict is supported neither by congressional sanction nor by popular will."

Roosevelt's speech was an open challenge to the authority of congress, the statement said, and the committee called upon congress to "reassert immediately in unmistakable terms its historic guardianship of our lives and liberties."

Unless congress acknowledges the challenge, the group declared, it must "submit to the imminent prospect of an undeclared war.

"The president's speech of September 11th presents a grave threat to the constitutional powers of congress and to the democratic principles of majority rule. Our congress cannot ignore this challenge."

Wood, serving as chairman of the group, said Roosevelt's "shoot on sight" order to the navy and air force "undermines the constitutional provision which gives the war power to congress alone."

Committee Members

Among the committee's members were:

General Johnson Hagood, former 6th and 7th Corps Army commander, retired; John T. Flynn, New York economist and writer; Vice President William L. Hutcheson of the American Federation of Labor; Kathryn Lewis, executive assistant to her father, John L. Lewis, United Mine Workers (Congress of Industrial Organizations) president; Mrs. Burton K. Wheeler, wife of the Montana senator; Kathleen Norris, novelist, and Herbert K. Hyde, Oklahoma City, chairman of the resolutions committee at the 1940 Republican National Convention.

Ripley, cartoonist; Gerald Shaughnessy, bishop, Seattle, Wash.; Claude K. Boettcher, Denver, financier; Samuel Hopkins Adams, New York author; Mrs. Ruth Tanna Simms, former Illinois member of congress; former Representative Samuel B. Pettengill, South Bend, Ind.; Robert R. Young, Providence, chairman of board, Allegheny Corporation, and Amos Pinchot, New York attorney.

Educators Included

Rev. Samuel K. Wilson, president, Loyola University, Chicago; Rev. John A. O'Brien, Notre Dame University; Joseph Scott, California attorney; Dr. Charles C. Morrison, editor of the Christian Century, Chicago; Janet Ayer Fairbank, Chicago author; Edward Price Bell, Mississippi, author; Thomas S. Hammond, president Whiting Corporation, Chicago; Most Rev. Wilbur E. Hammaker, Methodist bishop, Rocky Mountain States, Denver; Otto A. Case, treasurer of State of Washington; William G. Dennis, president of Earlham College; Porter Sargent, Boston publisher; John L. Wheeler, California attorney.

John G. Mott, chairman of board, Associated Telephone Company, California; Rev. Frank B. Fagerburg, religious author, California; Dr. Clarence Manion, dean of law school, Notre Dame University.

Capper Holds U. S. Must Back Roosevelt Act

WASHINGTON, Sept. 15. — (AP) — Senator Capper, Republican of Kansas, said President Roosevelt has initiated an "undeclared war" which "the congress and the people of the United States must and will support."

The Kansas, who has been critical of administration foreign policy, discussed in an address transcribed for broadcast over station WIBW of Topeka, Kan., the president's order for the navy to shoot first at axis raiders in American defensive waters. Copies of the address were released here.

He declared:

Shooting on sight is not short of war. Shoot on sight is war, and no carefully chosen words in explanation can make such an order anything else.

For weal or woe the United States and the people of the United States are involved to whatever extent President Roosevelt has gone to implement his policy of national defense.

My own position is simply this: For myself, I will support the national defense program, as I have been doing. The United States must be kept a free and independent and powerful nation and the people of the United States must and will support that action. There is no other course of action open to us.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 5/21/96 by Bridgeley

1-1 4112-144

Hon. J. E. Hoover
Sep - 6 - 1941

Dear Friend of U.S.A.

ANONYMOUS COMMUNICATIONS
KEEP ENVELOPE AT HOME

Vacancy!

Thanks for the Bulletin "2" received. Also your war greetings. You are trying to "Keep 'em flying" and may our colors never be defeated eventually either on land or sea.

SE RECORDED 100-4212-145

Watching your persistent [redacted] and applauding your [redacted]

Note polite way of saying there is no vacancy.

b7C

After 5 days, return to

.....

.....

CEDARBURG, WISCONSIN.

CEDARBURG SEP 6 2 PM 1941 WIS.

UNITED STATES POSTAGE

Hon. J. Edgar Hoover
Director F. B. I.
Dept. of Justice
Washington, D. C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 5/11/82 BY

[redacted]

Federal Bureau —
Mr. J. Edgar Hoover,
Washington, D.C.

Sept. 17, 1941.

b7C

10/1/41 auth ltr [redacted] b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/7/86 BY SP-6 bjs/key

Dear Mr. Hoover:

I want to be fair with you in expressing my opinion of your department. I'm not aiming to paint any rose colored picture — it is simply the viewpoint, as I get it, from the public. You may wonder why I'm telling you this, but first allow me to continue:

INDEXED RECORDED

100-4712-14

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

[redacted] b7C

To start with I am a columnist and I travel a circuit two hundred SEP 19 1941 east, west, north and south in central Illinois, right in the midst of the German-Dutch communities. I'm a German-Dutch descendant. In my travels I see the public's re-action to your department's "who dictates Lindbergh's speeches?" Lindbergh must transmit important information to Berlin, because they know Washington's developments before the public knows them. I hear another says:— "F.B.I. has that sort of thing well in hand," and the rest agree.

EX-4

In fact, I can truthfully say that the public has unlimited confidence in you and your dept., and what goes on inside the minds of the public also goes on inside my mind — I hope I've made myself clear; now for the purpose of this letter.

1. Who writes Lindbergh's speeches?
2. Does he really have a transmitter?
3. Why does he frequent the Nazi trenk?
4. Why did he rush back to America in 1939 after asserting that this was an unfit country to live in — he was afraid of kidnaping?
5. Why did he wait till after the German and Italian Consulates were closed to offer himself for investigation?
6. Why is Vieck permitted to remain here after his subversive acts during wwi 1 & 2?
7. And why is Lindberg so closely connected with Vieck?
8. (1) Why does Lindberg ape Hitler's speeches?

I hope to get positive answers to the above, also, permission to petition a Congressional investigation of certain isolationists, the America First, including Lindbergh. How about it?

Yours,

[redacted]

b7C

AMERICA FIRST RALLY

Cedarburg High School Gymnasium

CEDARBURG, WIS.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 11th

8:00 P. M.

SPEAKER:

Representative Frank B. Keefe

6th Congressional District, Oshkosh, Wis.

GENERAL ADMISSION FREE

Fair Enough

Labor Day Is Mockery!

By Westbrook Pegler

NEW YORK, Sept. 6—Of course, Labor day orations often are low political frauds, uttered in the interests of scheming men, but the power of tradition and publicity are great and it would be a shame to let the perpetrators get away with their cynical imposture unchallenged.

Labor day no longer is a festival of those who do the work, but a day devoted to the mocking of the betrayed, to self-approval and mutual admiration by sordid conspirators who boss the unions and to the flattery of evil men by politicians, high and low.

It is as though Adolf Hitler were to select some historic day of solemn patriotic meaning to the Czechs and humiliate them by howling to the silent helpless masses that he and his political agents had freed them from themselves.

Last Monday was a day of indecent sneering at millions of voiceless Americans whose right to work and select their own bargaining agents has been revoked by despicable cunning, whose wages have been chiseled of exorbitant taxes in the guise of dues and permit fees, who have been ...urged and stabbed or intimidated by threats of physical and economic terror.

SO ARROGANT were some of the speakers, so confident of their power over the robots in the ranks, that not one of them felt any necessity to refer to the crimes perpetrated by unioneers against countless individuals and against the nation itself. Provision was made that no voice should be heard to protest against the organized rapacity, cruelty and treason of the unions, nor any reminder of the anti-American treachery of the communists who helped to wreck France and only 10 weeks ago were trying to bring down the United States in the same humiliating ruin.

I listened to William Green and heard not one word of apology for his own willful, knowing collaboration against the workers with the underworld crooks who infest the unions of his greedy mafia, nor even a hint of perfidy which has disgraced his organization.

I read the remarks of Sidney Hillman as quoted in the papers and found no condemnation of the Moscovites who lately stabbed this nation between the shoulders ...and then abruptly whooped it up for war, but in defense of Russia, not the U. S. A.

Instead, Mr. Green claimed for himself and his associates full credit for every boom enacted by the sound American conscience of the whole nation from the institution of the public school to the swat-the-fly movement and had the gall to boast over a national hookup that this rogue-infested mob of political highbinders had so intimidated the U. S. congress as to kill every patriotic bill directed against its vicious activities.

Mr. Hillman, whose own union in New York less than a year ago shook down American employers for political contributions for President Roosevelt's third term and threatened workers with reprisals should they exercise their political right to vote against the administration, was fetched out as an official of the government to celebrate the subjugation of the masses.

Labor day, once the festival of united free workers, has become a day of mockery when the captors howl their own praises and the workers snuffle in their ... like showstock at a fa...

CH-5

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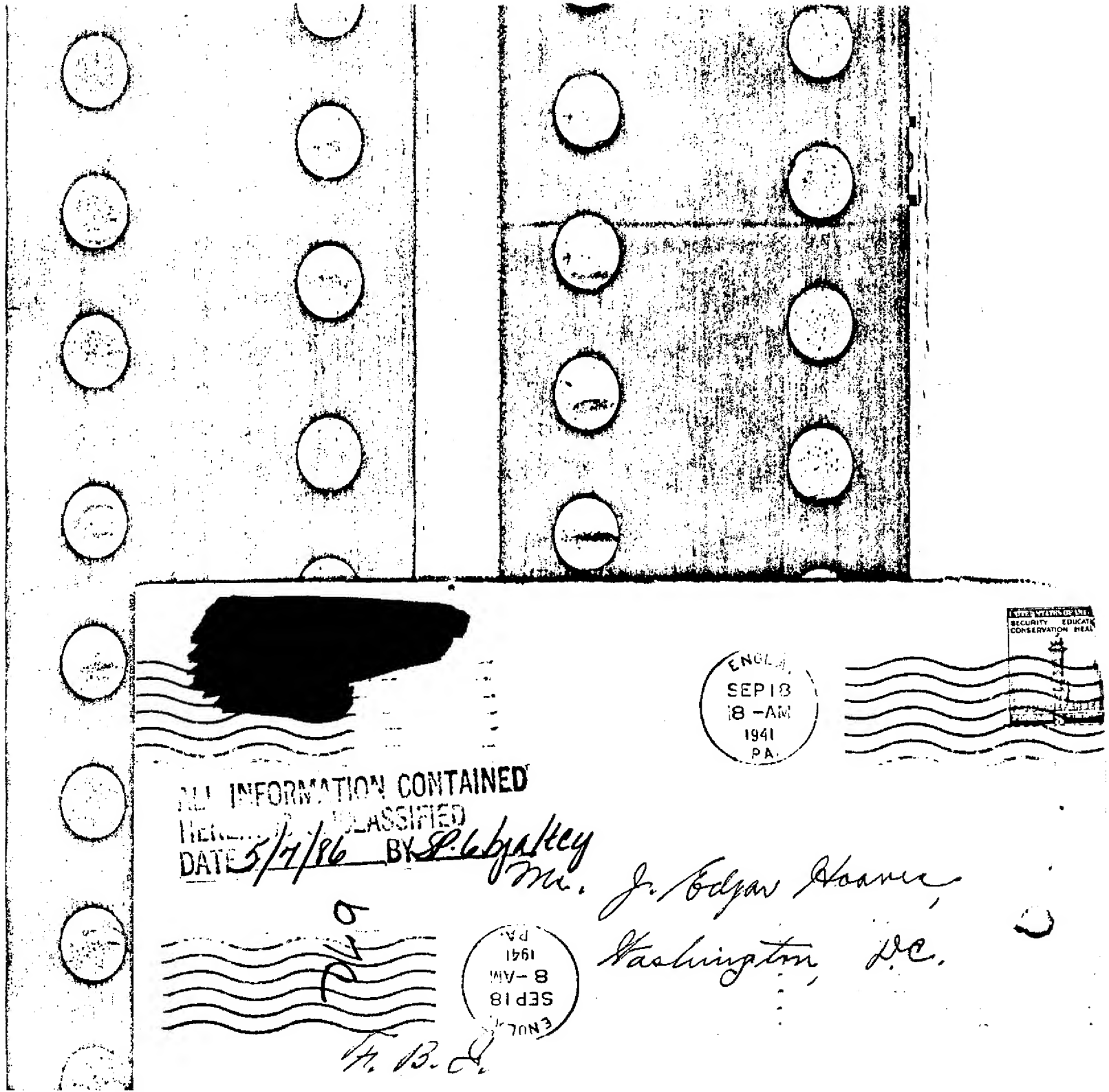
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DATE 5/7/86 BY SP6 galley
Mr. J. Edgar Hoover,
Washington, D.C.
SEP 18
8 -AM
1941
PA.
H. B. L.

October 1, 1941

RECORDED [redacted] 100-4712-146

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[redacted]

b7C

Dear [redacted]

This will acknowledge your letter dated September 17, 1941, and I want to thank you for your courtesy in communicating with me.

With respect to your inquiries, I regret that I must advise you that by virtue of a well established policy of the Department of Justice, all information contained in the files of the FBI is of a strictly confidential nature and can be disclosed only on the express authority of the Attorney General. A similar reason precludes me from offering any comments, and I regret that I am, therefore, unable to be of assistance to you in this matter.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Holloman
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED
★ OCT 1 1941 ★
P. M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

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DATE 5/7/86 BY SP-6 bja/kg

[redacted]

b7C

Dear Mr. President, — Justice

8 Sept. 11, 1941

Your speech was attentively listened to and carefully absorbed by the undersigned. I likewise heard Lindbergh's address and it prompted me to become so bold as to suggest to our good President of the U.S.A. (the best country on earth in my opinion) that he permit one of his officials to ask the "Colonel" just a few simple questions, as follows, that all may know just what his true wishful, but unfortunately not practical at this time, platform may really be.

1. Do you truthfully think that the present administration wants war, a shooting war?

2. Do you think the American people as a whole want war?

3. Do you think or know that if the U.S.A. sits idly by and arms itself and renders no aid to oppressed peoples fighting for their very lives unto the death, that Heir Hitler will not attack us after he has conquered them?

4. If you were in an unfair fight with an opponent whom you knew could easily beat the stuffing out of you and a man who owed you money hopped into the fray on your side, would you say - no, I'll take a good beating because you did not pay your debt to me?

5. If you were sunk by an Axis submarine without warning and had an opportunity to later retaliate, would you still turn the other cheek that that same murderer might murder more innocent and peace loving people?

6. Do you feel certain or know that if Hitler conquered all the peoples you mentioned in your speech (of class bigotry and hatred) in addition to those already subjected, that we would be able to avoid a much worse shooting war without capitulating to that type of satan worshiper?

7. Do you think England, France, Holland, Poland, etc., wanted a war?

8. Who do you think started this war?

9. If by any chance you think it was the Nazi butcher and his gangster colleagues, Goering, Geobbels, Hess, etc., then how inconsistent to say we, and England wanted it, when both did all humanly possible to avoid it?

5/21/96 SP6 Shirley Cmpt#
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DATE 3.18.96 BY SP2 alm/kk

RECORDED 100-4112-1
INDEXED
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
SEP 25 1941

[redacted]

161

CHF

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

NEW YORK CHAPTER, Inc.

GLENDALE-RIDGEWOOD UNIT

65-43 Myrtle Avenue, Glendale, N. Y.

EVergreen 2-9427

GEN. ROBERT E. WOOD
National Chairman

JOHN T. FLYNN
Executive Chairman
New York Chapter

HENRY R. CHRIST
Chairman
Queens Headquarters

JAMES S. HARDIMAN, Jr.
Chairman
Glendale-Ridgewood Unit

September 19, 1941

Dear Fellow American:

We are enclosing our newly approved certificate of membership in the America First Committee.

Your local Unit urges you in this present crisis to redouble your efforts to preserve the United States from foreign wars. As a patriotic American you will naturally want to take an active part in fighting for the principles of the America First Committee. Who knows what the Roosevelt Administration will do NEXT? Your help is certainly needed to avoid another American Expeditionary Force!

FIRST - Enroll a new member.

SECOND - Write to Washington opposing all foreign involvement. Your Headquarters can help you with this.

THIRD - Pledge financial support. A Coin-of-the-Week Club has been formed to support Headquarters. We enclose a card in the hope that you will either join or sign up a friend.

FOURTH - Give a few hours of your spare time for office work in Headquarters.

FIFTH - Join our active Committeemen. Help our intensified Membership Drive by distributing literature on your block.

We hope that you will make full use of your Headquarters at 65-43 Myrtle Avenue. Come in any afternoon or evening and inquire about our numerous activities. Be sure to attend our meetings every second and fourth Tuesday of the month at 8:30 p.m. Bring your friends.

WITH YOUR HELP - AND ONLY WITH YOUR HELP - AMERICA FIRST CAN SWEEP THE COUNTRY!

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DATE 5/7/96 BY P6 by alty

Yours very sincerely,

James Hardiman

Enclosures

Chairman James Hardiman, Jr.

GLENDALE-RIDGEWOOD UNIT

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

RALLY

Against Involvement in Foreign Wars

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
5/7/86 BY

Tuesday Evening, Sept. 30, 1941

AT EIGHT O'CLOCK

AT GLENWOOD MANOR

MYRTLE AND SENECA AVENUES

SPEAKERS

HON. WM. B. BARRY

Congressman of Queens

ROBERT LANCASTER

Wall Street Broker

GENERAL ADMISSION FREE

Reserved Seats - - - Twenty-five Cents

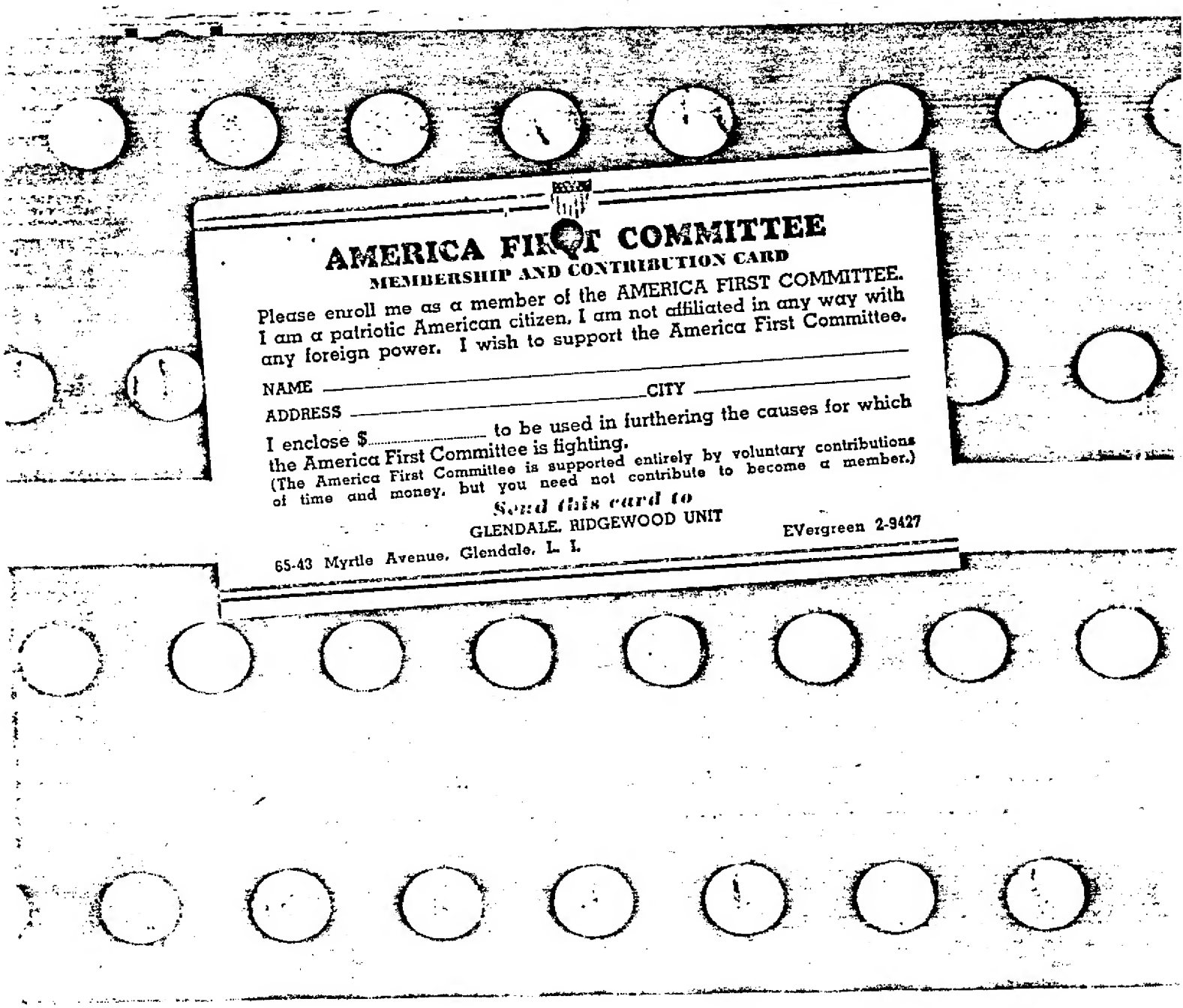
Tickets Obtainable at Headquarters

UNITE NOW IN OPPOSITION TO WAR!
JOIN AMERICA FIRST!

HEADQUARTERS GLENDALE-RIDGEWOOD UNIT
65-43 MYRTLE AVENUE, GLENDALE EVergreen 2-9427

Regular Meeting Every Second and Fourth Tuesday of Each Month
Speakers and Discussion

382



AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

MEMBERSHIP AND CONTRIBUTION CARD

Please enroll me as a member of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE. I am a patriotic American citizen. I am not affiliated in any way with any foreign power. I wish to support the America First Committee.

NAME _____ CITY _____

ADDRESS _____

I enclose $_____ to be used in furthering the causes for which the America First Committee is fighting.

(The America First Committee is supported entirely by voluntary contributions of time and money, but you need not contribute to become a member.)

Send this card to

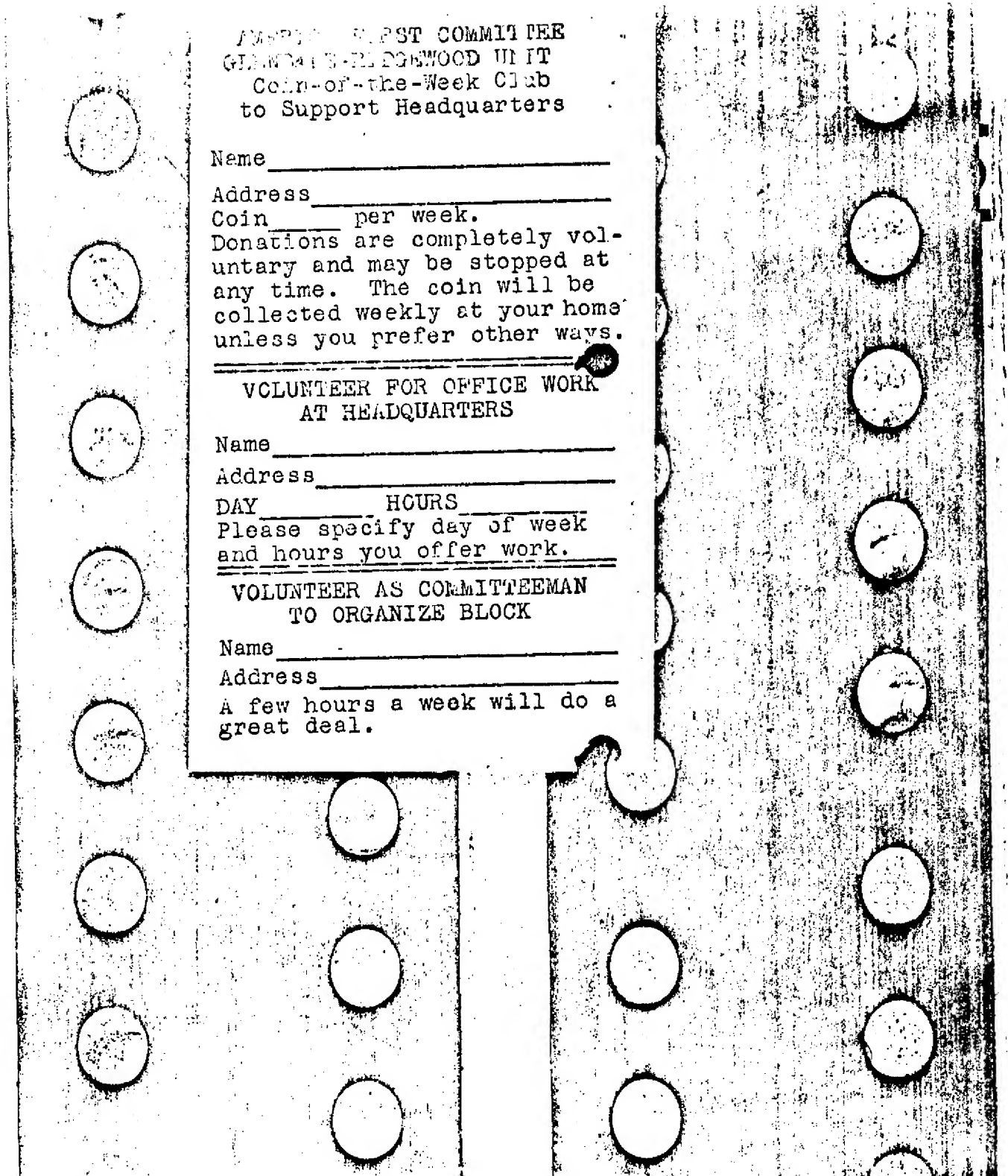
GLENDALE. RIDGEWOOD UNIT

65-43 Myrtle Avenue, Glendale, L. I. EVergreen 2-9427

PRINCIPLES of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

1. Our first duty is to keep America out of foreign wars. Our entry would only destroy democracy, not save it. "The path to war is a false path to freedom."
2. Not by acts of war abroad but by preserving and extending democracy at home can we aid democracy and freedom in other lands.
3. In 1917 we sent our American ships into the war zone and this led us to war. In 1941 we must keep our naval convoys and merchant vessels on this side of the Atlantic.
4. We must build a defense, for our shores, so strong that no foreign power or combination of powers can invade our country, by sea, air or land.
5. Humanitarian aid is the duty of a strong, free country at peace. With proper safeguard for the distribution of supplies, we should feed and clothe the suffering and needy people of the occupied countries.

12



AMERICAN LEGION POST COMMITTEE
GLENDALE-INGLEWOOD UNIT
Coin-of-the-Week Club
to Support Headquarters

Name_____

Address_____

Coin_____ per week.

Donations are completely voluntary and may be stopped at any time. The coin will be collected weekly at your home unless you prefer other ways.

VOLUNTEER FOR OFFICE WORK AT HEADQUARTERS

Name_____

Address_____

DAY_____ HOURS_____

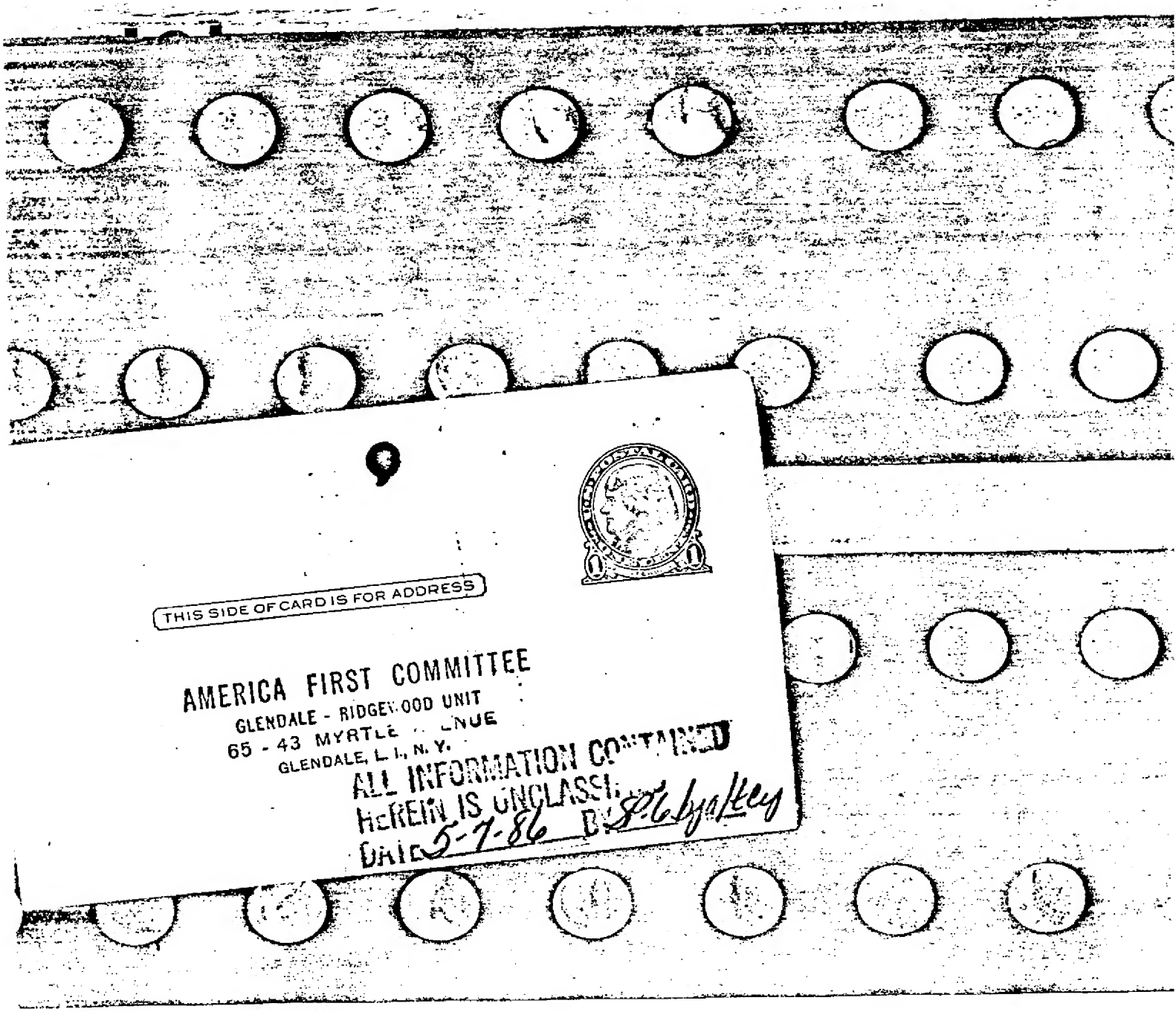
Please specify day of week and hours you offer work.

VOLUNTEER AS COMMITTEEMAN TO ORGANIZE BLOCK

Name_____

Address_____

A few hours a week will do a great deal.


THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
GLENDALE - RIDGEWOOD UNIT
65 - 43 MYRTLE AVENUE
GLENDALE, L. I., N. Y.
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DATE 5-7-86 BY SP6 byakley

BUY DEFENSE SAVINGS BONDS AND STAMPS

BROOKLYN, N.Y. 6 OCT 2 630PM 1941

F. B. I.
WASHINGTON
D. C.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
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3 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

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BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1
THIS CASE OF: OKLAHOMA CITY

FILE NO. 100-922

REPORT MADE AT	DATE WHEN MADE	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE	REPORT MADE BY
OKLAHOMA CITY	9-10-41	7-2,7,14,18;8-20,21,25,26,27,28,29,30;9-1,2,8-41	[redacted] b7C

TITLE	CHARACTER OF CASE
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE	INTERNAL SECURITY

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP (S) OF 9-15-41 DATE

105671

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

The America First Committee organized in the state of Oklahoma by DON LOHBECK, HERBERT K. HYDE, Chairman of the American First Committee in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma and MACK SHRODES, Chairman in Tulsa, Oklahoma, WILLIAM S. FOULIS, and E. C. JEFFREY, National Committeeman, made arrangements for CHARLES A. LINDBERGH to speak in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. LINDBERGH denied use of the Municipal Auditorium by the City Council of Oklahoma City; spoke at Sandlot Park, Oklahoma City, on August 29, 1941 with Senator BURTON K. WHEELER. Membership drive now in progress - aims and purposes of national as well as local organizations explained.

- P -

CLASSIFIED AND EXTENDED BY 3-RHP 10-2 REASON 2 DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION 3-15-92 E2-046

DECLASSIFIED BY 9130185 spmac

LS:

[redacted] advised as of August 8, 1941 the following:

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"The organization was the brain child of R. Douglas Stuart, Jr. a 24 year old law student senior of Yale University in 1940. He is the son of the First Vice-President of Quaker Oats Company. The first person contacted when the Committee was formed was Colonel Lindbergh, and the second was Earl Browder. These people met with Stuart, and later on General Robert Wood, head of Sears & Roebuck, Chicago, Edward L. Ryerson, a director of Inland Steel, Mrs. Jeanette Ayer Fairbanks, a wealthy woman, and [redacted] Bowles, Chairman of Benton & Bowles, an advertising agency, made up the picture. Soon

APPROVED AND FORWARDED	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES
H E Anderson		100-4712-149

COPIES OF THIS REPORT

3- Bureau
Oklahoma City

SEP 16 1941

FIVE

Army information remains declassified per their letter dtd 5/29/91 & 8/23 mtg/ltr 8/13/91

William Castle, under Secretary of State in the Hoover Cabinet, and alleged master mind behind Lindbergh was added. Then Senator Wheeler and Senator Bob Taft. At the start this organization had a tremendous amount of money despite the claim that they never accepted more than $1,000 from any one person. In the east, Thomas H. McCarter, former chairman of the Public Service Company of New Jersey, is one of the leading lights. He is the contact man for Joe Pew, millionaire Republican boss of Pennsylvania. Henry Ford is one of the biggest of this Committee, as is J. C. Hormell, millionaire Minnesota meat packer; Kathryn Lewis, the daughter of John L. Lewis, is one of the active members. For the Catholic element there is John T. Flynn, Father Coughlin, John O'Connors. Another man in the limelight is General Hugh S. Johnson. Others are Alice Roosevelt Longworth, Amos R. Pinchot, former Governor of Pennsylvania and Lewis J. Taber. Secretly there is a tremendous Jewish group backing the America First Committee. This group has as its front the Guggenheim Foundation, and the Committee was quietly subsidized for tremendously large amounts of money. The Guggenheim interests have always fronted for Lindbergh.

America First was set up because of the hatred for President Roosevelt and its purpose is to do everything possible to embarrass him and the Army in the United States. Mrs. Wheeler, wife of the Senator, is bitterly anti-Semetic. She is a stockholder of the Chicago Tribune, and Colonel McCormick the Tribune owner, has as his stooge Harry Jung, head of the American Vigilante Intelligence Federation, and strongly pro-Nazi and anti-Semetic. Mrs. Wheeler, Harry Jung and Colonel McCormick are using America First as a sounding board for anti-Jewish propaganda. In this connection Father Charles E. Coughlin of Detroit and the Christian front organizations have just recently been officially welcomed into America First by General Wood, another stockholder of the Chicago Tribune.

America First has a lobby strictly anti-Roosevelt in Washington. This lobby is composed of William Castle and Alice Longworth, John L. Lewis and General Hugh S. Johnson. All are bitter enemies of the President. This group has figured out a way to reach the President with the most bitter attachs in the history of the world. The Hatch Act would not permit large political contributions to campaign funds, so this organization, America First, has its worst enemy in President Roosevelt and consequently anything he attempts, no matter what it concerns in respect to war, will be attacked by America First. In other words, this group is cooperating with every branch of anti-war groups such as the KKK, Christian front, Anti-British, Catholic group, German group and every pacifist group in the country.

This is one organization that will always have to be watched. From the Communist angle, William Castle has on his payroll William Sanger, a former Communist, Stalin school graduate. Sanger now receives $250 a month and is located at Washington, D. C.

It must be remembered that America First has plenty of money back of it in General Wood, Mrs. Jeanette Ayer Fairbanks, Frank O. Lowden, Thomas H. McCarter, Edward L. Ryerson and Pew, who controls the Sun Oil Company in New York. The bitterness which Castle, John L. Lewis, Hugh Johnson

Pew, Colonel McCormick, Senator Wheeler and others has against Roosevelt is such that they would not deviate one inch in fighting everything that the President wants or attempts, and consequently the British suffer to a great extent."

[redacted] b1C b7I

The Daily Oklahoman published an article on August 26, 1941 to the effect that the American Legion, Post #36 adopted a resolution requesting the City Council to deny the use of the Municipal Auditorium for a speech by Charles A. Lindbergh, speaker of the America First Committee. In a similar action the Knights of Pythias Lodge and the Oklahoma State Women's Ambulance and Transport Corps lodged formal protest against granting Lindbergh the use of the hall. The Daily Oklahoman on August 27, 1941 stated that the City Council voted to deny Charles A. Lindberg the use of the Municipal Auditorium. This article further states that the City Council's action came after several city organizations protested Lindbergh's appearance in Oklahoma City and rescinding order of T. T. JOYNSON, Auditorium Manager, permitting the meeting in the Auditorium. This article further reveals that Lindbergh notified the America First Leaders that he would speak on "air power" anywhere the appearance can be arranged. On August 28, 1941 the Daily Oklahoman published an article stating that the Sandlot Baseball Park 3200 N. W. 10th Street had been rented for the America First Committee's rally to be addressed by CHARLES A. LINDBERGH and BURTON K. WHEELER on August 29. On a day later, August29, 1941 CARL J. STEWART, Managing Editor of the Daily Oklahoman and Oklahoma City Times published the following letter which was delivered to Charles A. Lindbergh upon his arrival in Oklahoma City August 28, 1941. The letter reads as follows:

"It has been announced that Friday you will speak in this community for the cause of isolationism. Of all the persons advocating this idea, you are perhaps its most persuasive sponsor. I think I have read carefully every press report of your recent utterances. Almost without exception, I find them negative. They abound in "shall nots" without, as I see it, offering any valid alternatives.

Perhaps in your mind there are alternatives. If that is the case you should, in all honesty and candor, state them also.

To focus your attention upon the gaps that appear to me in your platform for America, and doubtless to millions of other Americans, I submit to you the following 10 questions, together with my sincere recommendation that frank and responsive replies to them can hardly fail to serve

a very useful purpose at this time:

1 -- Did you not, prior to lend-lease express the conviction that Britain alone never can defeat Germany?

2 -- Did you not also publicly oppose the lend-lease bills?

3 -- If your answer to these questions is "yes" does it not necessarily follow that you would rather see a peace on Germany's terms, than to see the United States take any action to prevent such a development?

4 -- Do you think "Germany's terms" would be anything less than complete political and economic domination of the entire European continent?

5 -- Do you think such a peace would be tolerable to the United States?

6 -- Do you think a democratic western hemisphere could do business with a totalitarian eastern hemisphere on any other basis than slave-labor competition and an armed truce?

7 -- Would you, as an American, rather face the prospect of making and maintaining the United States as an armed camp for the next 50 years than to take any steps to help insure the defeat of Germany?

8 -- You said recently that as between Germany and Russia, you would rather see the United States allied with Germany. I assume this statement was made with due regard to the realities of the situation, and that it means that you would rather ally the United States with Germany against Britain, than with Russia against Germany. Is that your position?

9 -- Does your view of the course the United States should take in this world revolution arise out of a personal belief that democratic framework of government have been outmoded and that the only nations that will be able to compete in the world of the future must be organized as a totalitarian pattern?

10- -Are you prepared to recommend this view to the American people?

I await your reply when you are here Friday.

Sincerely
(Clark K. Stuart "

W. H. "ALFALFA" BILL MURRAY, Former Governor of the State of Oklahoma introduced Lindbergh in a 15 minute address. Former Governor MURRAY said he was present at the meeting because he believed that in the Capitol city of his Sate the right of free speech was in danger and that he felt it his duty to attend. The writer attended the rally of the America First Committee on 8-29-41 at Sandlot Park in which CHARLES LINDBERGH and Senator BURTON K. WHEELER spoke on behalf of the America First Committee.

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE #100-922 CONFIDENTIAL 9-10-41

Following is the speech of CHARLES A. LINDBERGH as delivered in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma on August 29, 1941:

"As you all know, I stand with the men and women in America who oppose our entering this war in Europe. There are many reasons why I believe we should not enter the war. I have discussed these reasons freely and openly in articles and radio addresses during the last two years. I have said that I did not believe it was within our power to control the wars, or to solve the problems that have existed in Europe since European history began. I have said that we were hot prepared to wage war abroad successfully at this time, and that we would not be prepared to do so for months if not for years to come.

I have said that our participation in this war would simply add to bloodshed and prostration in Europe, and bring confusion to our own country. I have said that the United States is strong enough and able enough to protect itself, and that we in America do not have to depend upon any foreign country for our security and welfare.

To these statements and beliefs, I hold as firmly today as I have at any time in the past. Developments since the war started have already partially proved them correct; and I think that by the time the war ends, you will find I have in no way misled you.

But tonight, I am going to lay aside the broader issues of the war, and talk to you about air power, its capabilities, its limitations, and its consequences. I have selected air power as my subject for two reasons: First, because of its great military importance; and second, because aviation has become a symbol of this modern, scientific and mechanized era in which we live. Germany has used aviation to change the entire technique of warfare both on land and on the sea. England is using aviation to strike back at a continent she is unable to invade. The American interventionists are usin aviation to justify the occupation of Iceland, to prepare the way for an occupation of Africa, and to add to the general hysteria of the war. The capitalists are using aviation to make money, and the taxpayer is finding aviation a more and more expensive item on his bill.

I spent many years of my life surveying and laying out air routes in North and South America, and across the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. One of the greatest problems I encountered in those years lay in the difficulty of persuading people that aviation was actually a practical from of transportation; that, some day, this country would be spanned in a single night by passenger carrying air-liners -- and that, eventually, even the oceans themselves would be flown on regular schedule.

That was only a little over 10 years ago. Now I find myself in the novel position of arguing that aviation has certain limitations as have all of the other inventions of man. Ten years ago, I was trying to convince the government and the people of this country that transoceanic

passenger carrying was not only possible, but also practical. Today, I am trying to assure our government and our people that while trans-oceanic bombing is possible, it is not practical, and that the damage it could do on wartime standards would be slight.

I find the same people who scoffed at transatlantic air routes 10 years ago, now telling me that if the British empire does not win this war, the United States of America will be conquered by air invaders from Europe. They say that the world's two greatest oceans are no barrier to bombing planes, and that at any moment we may find trans-oceanic parachuse troops raining down on the streets of our major cities.

Our own president has talked about air invasions by way of icecapped Greenland, and about others based on the jungles of Central and South America -- incidentally, at cruising spoeds that are far higher than any racing plane has yet attained. Well, 10 years ago, those of us who believed in aviation set out to make this country "air minded." We seem to have succeeded, and now I suppose it is our job to get its feet safely back onto the ground. Now that we have become "air minded," our next problem is to learn how to operate aircraft to our best advantage.

But from what I say here, do not gain the impression that aviation has reached its ultimate development. It has still far to go both in commerce and in war. The bombing plane will become more destructive, the pursuit plane more effective, and the commercial plane more efficient than they are today. It is even possible that the discovery of new sources of energy will permit us to build rocket planes in the future which will outperform the mythical bombers of our present day politicians and interventionists. With unlimited energy available, one can conceive of speed limited only by the acceleration the human body can withstand. In that case, our descendants may some day accelerate halfway across the ocean, and "decelerate" the rest of the way across. If new sources of energy are discovered, the power of explosives will also increase. And then, in some future generation, fifty, or a hundred, or a thousand years from now, the United States may be as vulnerable to attack from Europe as England is today.

Now, I am sure that many interventionists will feel that since we may some day harness the atom and travel in rockets, we should go to war immediately to make the world safe for whatever system of government exists in that unknown and distant time. But I am among those non-interventionists who feel that we have enough problems to solve in our own generation; and that if our grandchildren insist on splitting atoms and building rockets, it must be upon their own responsibility. I believe that our generation will have accomplished its duty if we pass on to our children a free and independent American heritage that is not too greatly burdenod with the debts of war. And so, for the present at least, I am willing to pass the atom and the rocket plan over to the interventionists, to hold in trust for generations of the future.

In discussing air power, we should start with the realization that man's conquest of the air will bring revolutionary changes to the entire

world, and that the changes which take place in one portion of the world are bound to affect in some degree all other portions. Whatever affects America affects Europe and Asia; and, conversely, whatever affects Europe and Asia is bound to have more or less effect on America.

Possibly we can appreciate the significance of air power better by considering the effect that sea power has had on the relationship and fortunes of nations. The comparison is not exact, but it is enlightening. And one must remember that aviation has developed as much in a generation as shipping developed over a period of centuries.

Now when great changes in methods of warfare take place, history shows that empires and nations fall, and other rise instead. The important problem for us in this country to solve, is how to turn the changes of this modern era to our advantage and how to avoid having them used against us. If we use air power intelligently, we can increase our national safety, add to our standard of living, and improve the quality of our civilization. But if we do not use air power intelligently, if we expose ourselves unnecessarily, if we fail to understand its limitations as well as its advantages if we allow some foreign nation to turn the developments of modern warfare against us we may find our national safety in jeopardy, and our standard of living far lower than it is today. In fact, air power if unintelligently handled, could bring the downfall of the very civilization which created it.

After a careful study of this problem, both in America and Europe, over a period of years, I was forced to the conclusion that France and England were not in a position to win a war against Germany, and that the dominant position in Europe had shifted from England, as a sea power, to Germany as a land and air power. The same study brought me to the conclusion that while aviation greatly strengthened our position in America from the standpoint of defense, it greatly weakened our position from the standpoint of attacking Europe.

I based these conclusions upon many observations and facts, there is not time to outline all of them tonight, but I would like to bring some of the most outstanding to your attention:

It was obvious, even before this war started, that air power made it costly, if not impossible, for naval forces to operate within effective bombing range of an enemy coast adequately protected by aircraft. This meant that troops could not be landed and maintained on any coast where an enemy had strong supremacy of the air. These facts have been confirmed by the results of naval and air battles off the coast of Norway, in the Skagerrak, in the North Sea, off the coast of Greece, and in the vicinity of Sicily and Crete. Wherever sea power and air power have clashed during this war, there is not a single instance where sea power has won.

It was obvious, before the war started, that Germany had by far the strongest air force in Europe, and that air power could strike across the English channel and behind the Maginot line, regardless of the strength of the

British navy or the French Army. These facts, too, have been confirmed by the developments of the war.

It was obvious that aviation, and the mechanization of ground forces, among other elements, placed Germany among others in a stronger position under Hitler than France was in under Napoleon.

It was obvious that England lay within idea bombing range of aircraft based on the continent of Europe, and that her sea lanes could be harassed both by submarines and bombing planes. German objectives, on the other hand, were farther removed from bases in the British Isles; so that even if England and Germany had equal numbers of fighting planes the advantage would still lie with Germany.

It was just as obvious that the great distance across the ocean placed America outside the effective bombing range of European aircraft, and that even if it were possible to establish European air bases in South America which I beli3ve we can prevent, the United States would still be outside of their effective bombing range.

After I had traveled through the various nations of Europe and Asia, I came to the conclusion that there were two, and only two, great and natural air powers in the world at this time --the United States, in the western hemisphere, and Germany, in the eastern hemisphere. I was convinced that neither was in a position to attack the other successfully across the ocean unless an internal collapse preceded an invasion. It seems clear to me that the quickest way for Germany to lose the war would be to attack America and that the quickest way for America to lose a war would be to attack Germany.

By way of illustration suppose we should follow the lead of the interventionists and enter a war against Germany. In that case, we must send the great bulk of our armies, and supplies, and fuel, across the Atlantic ocean on ships - ships that would have to be built, for there are not enough in existance today. The vulnerability of the shipping to bombing planes, raiders and submaries, has already been shown by British losses. Our convoys would be harassed in the Atlantic by Germany, and possibly in the Pacific by Japan at the same time. And under this harassment by bombing plane, raider and submarine we would have to find some way of forcing a landing, on a hostile coast. We would have to force a landing against the prepared positions of the same army and air force that broke the Maginot line and overcame the British, French and Belgian armies combined. We might easily find ourselves fighting, at one and the same time, the military forces of Germany, Italy, France, Spain, Japan and other nations, with the natural resources of Russia available to them. And it is not at all inconceivable that before this war is over, England herself may turn against us, as she has turned against France and Finland. Reasons are always found to justify whatever action a nation takes in time of war. It was no more improbable in 1939 that England would turn against Finland and France, than it is today that she will turn against us.

it becomes expedient to her welfare in the future. If you question my words now, I ask only that you read a history of the relationships between the United States and England during the last hundred and fifty years, and that you combine with this a re-reading of the pledges of everlasting loyalty that took place between England and France less than two years ago. If you will do this, I believe you will agree with me that we must depend upon ourselves and ourselves only, for our security in the future.

Now instead of following the lead of the interventionists, suppose we concentrate on our own defenses, as I have advocated, since long before this war began. I have maintained that if we attend properly to our own defense, no European or Asiatic power will dare to attack us; and that if we attend properly to our own affairs, none will desire to. But suppose that the fears of the interventionists come true, and we are attacked. In that case it would be our enemy, and not we, who would have to force a landing on a histile coast. It would be our enemy, and not we, who would have to maintain supply lines across the ocean against the harassment of our bombing plan our submarines, and our battleships. In that case, we could use our own aviation to the utmost advantage, concentrating it within a few hours at any point on our shores, and basing it on established and well-equipped air fields. If the British navy with its bases strung out from Alexandria to Scapa Flow -- if that navy with Gibraltar and Malta to assist it, cannot remain within bombing range of the European coast, then how can any navy, or any combination of navies, cross the ocean, and without a single base in this hemisphere, land an expeditionary force on American shores?

Instead of reducing the value of the Atlantic and Pacific oceans from the standpoint of our security, aviation makes them more important than ever before. Air power practically removes the danger of attack by sea; and the oceans themselves prevent effective attacks by air.

Let us take advantage of this fact. Let us take advantage of the changes that aircraft and this modern era bring to nations and to men. Let us use these changes to our advantage, and not permit them to be used against us. They can either strengthen our American independence, and add to the quality of our western civilization, or they can take us back into the endless wars and quarrels of the old world. The nation that makes use of these advantages will survive, and the nation which fails to understand them is certain to fall. The choice is the test of America, and the way of life we have built up in this new world.

We have the most perfect defensive position of any nation. We have highly developed industries, and an entire hemisphere full of natural resources. Here in America we have developed new standards of life and a new civilization; and our forefathers fought for the right to do so. Our entire national tradition is based on independence. Shall we now give up the independence we have won, and crusade abroad in a utopian attempt to force our

 CONFIDENTIAL

ideas on the rest of the world; or shall we use air power, and other advances of modern warfare, to guard and strengthen the independence of our nation; Shall we sell our American birthright for the mess of pottage that is offered us in Europe and Asia today; or shall we preserve for our children the free and independent heritage that our forefathers passed on tu us?

The America First Committee is an organization of men and women who stand firmly opposed to merging our future with that of any foreign land. We stand for a united nation behind an impregnable defense and an independent destiny for America. We stand for American traditions -- for the right of free citizens to meet, and to discuss the issues that confront their nation; for the right to know about, and to vote upon, the fundamental policies of our government. We stand for the right of those who will do the paying and the dying to also have a voice in the deciding.

If you stand with us, we ask you to join our committee. Our strength is growing in every section of thecountry. But we need your assistance here in Oklahoma. We need your assistance that freedom and independence and representative government, may continue to live in this nation. "

Senator BURTON K. WHEELER reiterated his opposition to active participating in the present war and scorned alleged propaganda, "jus like that used in the last war." Senator WHEELER attacked the action of the City Council and stated, "I am glad the people of this state don't feel about CHARLES LINDBERGH as your city council does. There isn't a more honest, decent, patriotic man in America." Turning to hational affairs the Senator declared himself, "opposed to every kind of 'ism' except Americanism, even if you must call it New Dealism." WHEELER further declared "our boys would have to be sent to all parts of the world, to police India, China and other places and I am not in favor of sending American boys to die on the battlefields of Europe or Asia. If we go to Europe to save democracy again, we are likely to lose it in this country. " Membership cards were distributed in this rally by the America First Committee, 408 Perrine Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. On the back of this membership card are the principles of the local organization :

1. Our first duty is to keep America out of foreign wars. Our entry would only destroy democracy, not save it. "The path to war is a false path to freedom."

2. Not by acts of war abroad but by preserving and extending democracy at home can we aid democracy and freedom in other lands.

3. In 1917 we sent our American ships into the war zone and this led us to war. In 1941 we must keep our naval convoys and merchant vessels

CONFIDENTIAL

on this side of the Atlantic.

4. We must build a defense, for our own shores, so strong that no foreign power or combination of powers can invade our country by sea, air or land.

5. Humanitarian aid is the duty of a strong, free country at peace. With proper safeguard for the distribution of supplies, we should feed and clothe the suffering and needy people of England, the other democracies and the occupied countries.

On August 30, 1941, [redacted] advised that he had been one of the members of the American Legion to appear before the City Council protesting the use of the Municipal Auditorium for use by CHARLES A LINDBERGH on behalf of the America First Committee. [redacted] further advised that the City Council is composed of the following members:

A. P. VAN METER, JOE C. CAMPBELL, SALTY FULLERTON
HARLAN GERS, LEONARD H. DICKERSON, L. I. BAKER
PERCY JONES, G. A. STARK;

[redacted] stated that [redacted] was the only person to appear before the City Council who spoke in favor of granting the use of the municipal auditorium to the America First Committee. [redacted] further stated that Councilman JOE CAMPBELL inquired of all those persons who were protesting the use of this auditorium to LINDBERGH if they had considered the possibility of getting the situation reversed and of giving to LINDBERGH additional favorable publicity by denying him the right to use the auditorium. [redacted] said that A. P. VAN METER, Councilman was opposed to LINDBERGH's using the auditorium because of the tenor of LINDBERGH's previous remarks which indicated a tendency toward subversive activities. A motion was made that the Mayor be instructed to deny the use of this Municipal Auditorium to LINDBERGH for the purpose of making a speech which might be considered subversive in nature. Mayor R. A. HEFNER, inquired as to whether the motion should be voted upon in secret or openly; since there was no reply to this inquiry Mayor HEFNER stated all those who would vote in the negative would sifnity their intention and since there was no indication of any negative votes being cast, Mayor HEFNER stated that all the votes would be cast in the affirmative to deny LINDBERGH the use of the municipal auditorium on the occasion of August 29,1941.

TICE T. JOHNSON who had rented the auditorium was instructed to return the rental fee to the America First Committee, according to the statement that [redacted] made. [redacted] related that HERBERT K. HYDE, who is chairman of the America First Committee in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma is a republican seeking much publicity. [redacted]

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE #100-922 CONFIDENTIAL 9-10-41

[redacted] b7C b7D

By letter of August 25, 1941, [redacted] b2 advised as follows:

"A reliable source has reprted that German groups around New York have received instructions to advise parentsof men serving under the Selective Service Draft to tell their sons to prepare petitions to SENATOR WHEELER, protesting against their retention in the armed forces more than a year period. The suggestion is to have the men form groups or clubs for this purpose. Such petitions are to be sent to the PRESIDENT and Senator WHEELER. It is to be pointed out that the soldiers need not fear punishment for this, after what happened at Fort Dix where the General announced a pardon. (Presumably refers to newspaper statements by MAJOR GENERAL CLIFFORD POWELL, in command of the 44th Division, Fort Dix, N. J.) The groups meet in taverns in the prosperous suburbs around New York, in Westchester County and Connecticut. Active support for the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE is also advocated. It is known that the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE leaders are nervous over the shortage of operating funds, which has recently resulted in paid workers being laid off. The support of the German organizations and the funds they provide is therefore of vital importance to the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE and gives them prestige and power in this work.

That the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE is being used, consciously or otherwise, to do the work of German interests in obstructing the national defense effort is indicated by the above and other items of information. One of these items is that the GERMAN LIBRARY OF INFORMATION mailing list has been made available to the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE and used for their purposes."

On July 2, 1941 the Tulsa Tribune published an article which stated that DON LOHBECK scheduled a meeting for the Tulsa Chapter of the America First Committee at 8:00 pm July 11, 1941 in room 211 of the Albany Hotel. In this article it is further stated that LOHBECK had said that Senator GERALD P. NYE of North Dakota who had spearheaded the Committee's program of non-interventionist in the European war probably will come to Tulsa to address a mass meeting to be planned by the local committee. On August 21, 1941 Rev. O.A. PANKEY acting chairman of the America First Committee, Tulsa, attempted, with the assistance of W. S. FOULIS, to make arrangements with the Mayo Hotel for operations to contend a meeting of this committee, but such arrangements were unsuccessful. On August 25, 1941 the Tulsa Tribune published an article that CHARLES LINDBERGH might be booked for a peace lecture while in the state for his Oklahoma City address. This article further stated that Reverend PANKEY, Temporary chairman, advised: (1) The committee had abandoned efforts to secure a room in the Mayo hotel for the meeting and obtained permission to use one of the district court rooms instead. (2) Dis claimed any intention of serving as promised chairman permanently for the America First Committee with the statement "I don't have time." In the article

Reverend PANKEY is quoted as stating that some forty Tulsans had been invited by telephone to attend the meeting which will be purposely for the business of electing permanent officers. The tulsa World on August 26, 1941 published an article which stated that MACK SHRODES former republican Police and Fire Commissioner was elected chairman of the America First Committee, Tulsa Chapter, at a meeting at the court house Monday night. This article relates that only about 30 persons turned out for the meeting that out of these thirty, fourteen signed up for membership in the America First Group. In an article appearing in the Tulsa Tribune August 30,1941 MACK SHRODES, Chairman, Tulsa America First Committee is quoted as saying he would like to secure Senator BENNETT CHAMP CLARK for a meeting in Tulsa on September 17. SHRODES is further quoted as saying in this article that CHARLES LINDBERGH and Senator BURTON K. WHEELER were invited to speak there but were forced to decline due to the other many engagements which they had. In the Tulsa Tribune on September 2, 1941 is an article which states that the America First Committee may stage a membership campaign in Tulsa on following up the cards signed at Tulsa meeting and by Tulsans at the CHARLES A LINDBERGH speech in Oklahoma City on August 29, 1941. This article also stated that MACK SHRODES, Committee Chairman will go over new organization records tonight with Mrs. ELLA GESSEL and EUGENIA POWER, Secretary and Treasurer. SHRODES is quoted further as stating that W. S. FOULIS, Chicago Secretary and Organizer would be here soon to help outline the committee's program.

b2 b7D

[redacted] supplied the following information concerning the activities of the America First Committee in Tulsa, Oklahoma:

July 14, 1941 meeting of the America First Committee was held tonight at 8:00 pm in the Baldwin Methodist Church, 2200 Block on North Frankfort, with about 43 women and seven men attending. Among this group there were four men with the Reverend SMITH group and three men from the A.P.M. and later two married couples joined the group. DON LUBBOCK St. Louis organizer opened the meeting stating that his committee group had intended forming a chapter in Tulsa and raising funds to get the Hon. Senator WHEELER there for an open air meeting. LUBBOCK then introduced attorney MEAD of the Oklahoma City Branch. MEAD asked for funds several times and although no money was offered he reiterated his former statement that the "best insurance against further war is to finance this committee." [redacted] b7C

[redacted] in all instances "they are out of town," with excuses. The literature distributed in these meetings was the usual type, carried in the general stock of the America First Committee.

b2 b7D b7C

[redacted]

[redacted]

July 18, 1941.

A close search for DON LUBBOCK, Organizer for the America First Committee was of no avail because neither he nor MEAD were in town. [redacted] said she was not contacted at all by them as promised and a call to [redacted] disclosed that she had received a letter from LUBBOCK asking that she attend the meeting last Monday but she had a previous engagement and was not interested in the America First Committee. [redacted] said through a telephone conversation that she will be willing to act as Chairman if Senator WHEELER will come and speak but she doesn't want to line herself in the open with any specific group. [redacted] further stated that while she is willing to work for peace she likes to do it through her own efforts [redacted] and not through the dictates of any organization. [redacted] said that she is very busy in her own way and expressed herself as well gratified of the results of the Tulsa Tribune Peace Poll which showed that 85% of the population is against any open warfare with anyone. She said "This will give a little more leeway in coming out in the open and while I don't like the America First Group coming here and trying to steal the limelight I still maintain that we can well handle the situation as far as peace is concerned. We are sure that the working people are essential in any group or drive and we have prepared an appeal to the various labor groups for cooperation.

August 20, 1941.

[redacted]

b7C
b7D

[redacted]

Mrs. DORIS WEST came into the picture today with an announcement that she will attend the Oklahoma City Youth Legislature meeting on Labor Day and incidentally mentioned the America First Committee, the Rev. PANKEY as being holy pacifists, Rev. TETRICK as one who has no stand at all, Rev. SMITH as anti-semetic who has no peace stand at all and that Nazi sympathies are without bearing on the general peace situation. Mrs. WEST further announced, "If the American First Committee, including General WOOD has so many different aims among the leaders there is certainly no future for them and the names of those honest leaders whose sacrifices are holding up the committee are bound to fall when the crucial moment arrives." She also spoke of the A.P.M. mentioning the last release she had received from the national office urged that immediate material be sent to Russia to relieve the strain of the Russian production of war materials. This infuriated Mrs. WEST and she wrote to them to discontinue sending her material for distribution. She lauded, however, their efforts and would aid them in any way possible to

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make a weak movement stronger in Oklahoma despite the protests of her husband who had resolved to give up all activities along these lines.

August 26, 1941.

The schedules meeting of the America First Committee was held on the second floor of the county Court, Corner of 6th & Boulder with only the guests present which included 34 people of whom only nine were women. The Reverend PANKEY, GEORGE FOULIS, Special representative of the Chicago Chapter of the America First Committee and Rev. SMITH were on the platform when PANKEY opened the meeting explaining briefly that the America First Committee is exactly what the word stands for; namely to defend America first. PANKEY went into a lengthy history of his family, as well as his own personal history, making it look like an alibi for his presence at the meeting. He then introduced FOULIS who went into a lengthy explanation as to what the America First Committee stands for and what they have accomplished and stated that they earnestly hope to keep this country out of any foreign entanglements, including war. He eulogized LINDBERGH and WHEELER as those who are sacrificing their career and their futures in order to accomplish the aims of this committee. He then went into lengthy plea for support of this committee in Tulsa and finally asked for the nomination of a permanent chairman. Both Rev. PANKEY and Rev. SMITH who were nominated declined in favor of MACK SHRODES and promised support from them if he would accept the nomination which he did after a brief discussion with FOULIS. SHRODES made an acceptance speech expressing confidence in the movement and asking for cooperation for all those present. Included in the audience was RAYMOND ANDERSON, who butted into the speech that FOULIS made asking how the America First Committee stands on supporting the Russian Peace in defense of their country. FOULIS explained that they are for aiding all democracies in Europe and they would have no love for any Nazi, Fascist or any other didactic or dictatorial power, however, he sidestepped the real question of Anderson's. Very conspicuously the O.Y.L and the A/P.M. members have been absent from the meeting although Miss HOWARD said that all of them have been called on the telephone asking them to be present at the meeting tonight and that she expected about 50 people to be present allof whom she had called. The following permanent committee was elected:

MACK SHRODER, Chairman
MRS. GESSEL, Secretary
MISS HOWARD, Treasurer

Executive Committee

REV. SMITH
REV. TETRICK
GEORGE PERRINE
ED HOLSUM
JAMES TURDOCK
EDMOND FISHER

There was much discussion about going to Oklahoma City on Friday to hear the address by CHARLES A. LINDBERGH and a delegation was announced from this chapter to be accompanied by others who were willing to go. No comment was had from anyone present regarding this meeting and most of those present as shown had a rather optimistic view regarding the success of the

movement in Tulsa. There is some dissention existing already among those who have favored the America First Committee as the following statement will show. A fellow named [redacted] said, "I would have opposed the presence of Reverend SMITH at this or any other meeting of the America First Committee because he has been identified with the KKK and the Silver Shirts and every other radical movement including Anti-Semitism. Although I have no real love for the jews I don't try to persecute them and I don't go around preaching against them. In this case I don't think that Reverend SMITH at this or any other time should be included in any official capacity because that is going to hurt more than any good he may expect to do and I doubt that I ought to be in it with him."

Another fellow named [redacted] expresses similar sentiments regarding this Reverend SMITH and [redacted] added that he, SMITH, has been very anti-labor and that it therefore, will be hard to interest the laboring classes in this movement. [redacted] further stated that the working men in the Tulsa District are determined to follow the lead of the City Administration which is far from being pacific or far from having any peace tendencies, for the population according to [redacted] is strongly pro-British, therefore, it is going to be a real problem to put the America First Committee on the market there.

On August 30, 1941 at 7:30 pm there were 47 persons in the hall at a meeting of the Oklahoma Youth Legislature including four negroes; with the arrival of MACK SHRODES at 7:50 pm the meeting was called to order by BOB STONE with the introduction of four participants in the symposium. Miss DOROTHY MURDOCK, representative of the fellowship of reconciliation, was the first. GEORGE CHURCHILL, leader of the Bundles for Britian group was second. MACK SHRODES, Tulsa Chairman of the America First Committee was the third, and LENORE WOLFE, Executive Secretary of the OYL was the last speaker. MACK SHRODES, explained that he was not prepared to make an address but asked permission to read GEORGE WASHINGTON's address and asked those present to get a copy of it and read and study it and they would find that this country has no moral right to intervene in Europe's affairs. At this Oklahoma Youth Legislature meeting it was found that there occurred a heated argument regarding LINDBERGH and his recent Oklahoma City speech in which he failed to mention anything about the Nazis. MACK SHRODES now head of America First Group in Tulsa defended LINDBERGH, WHEELER and others claiming that their stand is the stand of the majorityof American public, and reiterated the much publicized statement that 80% of the American public does not want any European intervention. He then left the meeting stating he had another engagement to keep.

The writer ascertained from KATHRYN MANTON, Secretary of the State's Office, Oklahoma State Capitol, Oklahoma City that the America First Committee is not registered, incorporated, or licensed in the State of Oklahoma.

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UNDEVELOPED LEADS:

THE OKLAHOMA CITY FIELD DIVISION

At Bartlesville, Oklahoma, will determine the activities of The America First Committee in that city.

At Norman, Oklahoma, will determine the activities if any of the America First Committee in that city.

At Tulsa, Oklahoma, will determine the subsequent activities of the America First Committee and also the background of [redacted] b7C

At Ponca, City, Oklahoma, will determine the activities, if any, of the America First Committee in that city.

At Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, will determine the subsequent activities of the America First Committee and will check the background of [redacted] b7C

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Bureau of Investi

United States Department of Justice
Los Angeles, California
September 23, 1941

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DATE 9/30/85 BY SP2 mac
3/7/86 SP6 by/tly #262259

Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

RE: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

Dear Sir:

This is to advise that while with Attorney General FRANCIS BIDDLE recently, he requested that I make arrangements to have a Special Agent attend the America First rally to be held in Los Angeles on either October 1 or 2, at which Senator BURTON K. WHEELER of Montana will speak. The Attorney General stated he would like to be advised as to the size of the group and its reactions to the Senator's statements.

This matter will be handled and the Bureau advised immediately in order that this report may be furnished to the Attorney General in accordance with his request.

Very truly yours,

R. B. LOOD
Special Agent in Charge

LBH:hlk

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By [illegible] 3-8-76
Per [illegible] pc

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INDEXED

100-4712-150

CH-17

FREEDOM OF INFORMATION AND PRIVACY ACTS

SUBJECT: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

FILE NUMBER: 100-4712

PART: 4 OF 19

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

FILE DESCRIPTION

BUREAU FILE

SUBJECT America First Committee

FILE NO. 100-4712

SECTION NO. 4

SERIALS 151

thru

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ANONYMOUS COMMUNICATION
KEEP ENVELOPE ATTACHED

Chicago Fund Committee

BUY DEFENSE BONDS AND STAMPS

UNITED STATES POSTAGE 3 CENTS 3

CHICAGO SEP 24 3 PM 1941 81 ILL.

F. B. I.
WASHINGTON, D. C.

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U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

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100-4112-21

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

No. 1
CASE ORIGINATED AT LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA FILE NO. 100-3249

REPORT MADE AT	DATE WHEN MADE	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE	REPORT MADE BY
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA	9-24-41	9/19,23/41	[redacted] b7C dp

TITLE	CHARACTER OF CASE
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE, LOS ANGELES AREA	INTERNAL SECURITY "G"

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS: Articles of Incorporation filed with Secretary of State, California, on January 23, 1941, reflect certain organizations advocate preparedness and isolation. Its Southern California Committee is composed of substantial citizens. No evidence of subversive activities. Names of national and local officials listed.

- C -

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 5/7/86 BY SP-6 by 4/leg

Details: A review of the file on this case disclosed that on January 24, 1941 an article appeared in the Los Angeles Times, dated January 23, 1941, Sacramento, California, which article stated that on that day the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE, a Los Angeles patriotic organization opposed to "legislation empowering the President to lend, lease, give or otherwise dispose of" defense materials, filed articles of incorporation January 23, 1941 with the Secretary of State.

b7D

[redacted] on February 19, 1941, the following report was submitted to this Office:

"An examination was made of the articles of incorporation filed by the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE, Los Angeles, in the Office of the Secretary of State of the

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: W Offord a SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

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U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE 7—2035

State of California, on January 23, 1941.

"The articles of incorporation are as follows:

"ARTICLES OF INCORPORATION OF THE AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE indorsed and filed in the Office of the Secretary of State, State of California, January 23, 1941.

"Article 2: The purposes for which this corporation is formed are:

"A: To organize and to give effective voice to the vast number of Californians who agree with the tenents of the America First movement and who wish to add their strength to the mounting will of Americans everywhere against involvement in foreign wars.

"B: To preserve American democracy, which purpose can be accomplished only by keeping the United States out of the present European war and all other foreign wars.

"C: To support a program for the building of an impregnable defense for America.

"D: To oppose all subversive groups whose programs attempt to involve the United States in foreign wars, or entangling alliances.

"E: To oppose the use of American troops for any purpose other than the defense of the Americas and our possessions against armed attack.

"F: To oppose repeal of the Neutrality Act. To oppose repeal of the Johnson Act, and to oppose passage of any bill permitting American vessels to enter the combat zone of the European war.

"G: To oppose passage of any legislation for the disposition of equipment or materials vital to American defense to foreign nations, and to oppose legislation impowering the President to lend, lease, give or otherwise dispose of such equipment and materials in his sole discretion.

"H: To oppose any legislation or executive acts by the President or any future administration, tending to impair or destroy the Civil liberties guaranteed to American citizens by the constitution of the United States.

"I: Non-profit corporation.

"J: To appoint any paid officers, agents or employees of the corporation.

"ARTICLE 3: Los Angeles County to be the principal office, to be located _____

"ARTICLE 4: Directors of the corporation.

"ARTICLE 5: No limitation upon number of members of the incorporation. Only

"A: Shall be American citizens

"B: Have no affiliation with German-American Bund or Communist Party, or any affiliations of either, or any official or semi-official propaganda instrumentality of any foreign nation whatsoever.

"ARTICLE 6: The determinations of all matters of policy, election of officers, and financial control, shall be invested in a Board of Directors, and any vacancies occurring in Board of Directors shall be filed by majority vote of remaining directors.

"The national headquarters of this organization is located at 1812 Board of Trade Bldg., Chicago, Illinois. General ROBERT E. WOOD, acting chairman. The National Committee is composed of 27 members, and the following are some of the names listed:

"MRS. BENNETT CHAMP CLARK
IRVING S. COBB
BISHOP WILBUR E. HAMMAKER
GENERAL THOMAS HAMMOND
GENERAL HUGH S. JOHNSON
ALICE ROOSEVELT LONGWORTH
CAPT. EDWIN RICKENBACKER
MRS. BURTON K. WHEELER.

"The principles of this organization are given as follows:

"1. The United States must build an impregnable defense for America. With such a defense no foreign power, or group of powers, can successfully attack us.

"2. With proper safeguards for the distribution of supplies and the maintenance of our neutrality, Americans should, to the limit of their ability, give humanitarian aid

to the suffering and needy people of England and the occupied countries.

"3. The cash and carry provisions of the existing Neutrality Act are essential to American peace and security. Within the limits of that Act Americans may properly aid Great Britain. Aid to her beyond the limitations of the present Neutrality ACT would weaken our defense at home, and might well involve us in conflict. We oppose any change in the law which would permit American vessels to enter the combat zone or which would permit the American navy to convoy merchant ships through that zone, as any such course would inevitably plunge this country into Europe's war.

"4. Americans should and do cherish the ideals of democracy and abhor dictatorship, but the welfare of one hundred thirty million Americans and the preservation of democracy on this continent demand that the United States keep out of foreign wars.

"The subsidiary objectives are listed as follows:

"1. To bring together all Americans regardless of possible differences on other matters, who see eye to eye on these principles (this does not include Nazis, Fascists or Communists).

"2. To urge Americans to keep their heads amid rising hysteria in times of crises.

"3. To provide sane national leadership for the majority of the American people who want to keep out of the European war.

"4. To register this opinion with the President and with Congress.

[redacted] b7C

"Although this organization may have the sympathetic endorsement of some so-called front organizations, we were unable to find any indication that they are anything but patriotic,

sincere, Americans, with no thought of subversive activities."

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Although various Nazi sympathizers in the Los Angeles area are known to have attended meetings of various AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE in Southern California, there is no evidence that the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE in itself is engaged in subversive activities.

On August 25, 1941, a communication was received from FREDERIC A. CHASE, Executive Secretary of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE, located at 3142 Wilshire Boulevard, Suite 5, Los Angeles, California, telephone FEderal 1168, which letter stated that by authorization of the executive Board of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE of Southern California, they were asking all officers, employees and representatives of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE or its chapters to fill out a questionnaire, which will be retained in the confidential files of the COMMITTEE, and has for its purpose to provide information whereby competent investigation can be made if necessary.

CHASE stated the organization had already checked with the files of the Los Angeles Police Department on chapter officers and with the exception of one case no question had been raised as to the loyalty of any individual. He stated they were checking further on this particular individual.

CHASE stated that the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE is pledged to the maintenance of American institutions and specifically bars from membership any person who belongs to any subversive organization, and that in the event this Office wished to conduct an investigation of any individual of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE the questionnairs setting forth confidential information would be available to this Office upon request.

- C L O S E D -

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[redacted] August 29, 1941

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MEMORANDUM

5/8/86 Classified by S.Cobyjatzy Declassify on: OADR

RE: THE AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

The America First Committee was incorporated under the Not for Profit Laws of the State of Illinois on September 19, 1940. The purposes of the committee as outlined in its charter are to encourage and maintain in the United States of America:

1. Peace and the Democratic ideal.
2. A program of adequate defense.
3. A furtherance of peace in this continent, a policy of non-intervention in the affairs of other continents and to encourage the giving of help to refugees and the needy in other lands insofar as such help does not endanger the peace in the United States.

The America First Committee has advertised itself as being "non-partisan organization of loyal and patriotic men who believe:

1. The United States must build an unbreakable national defense.
2. No foreign power nor group of powers can ever successfully invade a prepared America.
3. Our Government sending men of its own, ships, planes and materials of war to a belligerent overseas dangerously weakens our defense at home and threatens to involve America in war abroad.
4. Our American Democratic liberties can only be preserved by keeping out of foreign wars in Europe or in Asia."

FOI/PA # 262,555 APPEAL # CIVIL ACT. # E.O. # DATE 3-24-98 INITIALS JFK

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INDEXED RECORDED 100-4712-154

The national headquarters of the America First Committee is located at 1806 Board of Trade Building, Chicago, Illinois. A local headquarters is maintained in Washington, D. C., at 1010 Vermont Avenue, N. W. There is a total of 586 local chapters and affiliated units of the America First Committee throughout the United States.

The following is a list of the officers and Directors of the America First Committee with the background as to each individual:

Summary Memorandum [redacted] 8 Pg 62

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Acting Chairman - GENERAL ROBERT E. WOOD, 925 S. Homan Avenue, Chicago, Illinois; graduate of West Point and served many years as officer in the United States Army; presently Chairman of the Board of Directors of Sears Roebuck and Company.

National Director and Secretary - R. DOUGLAS STUART, JR., 141 West Jackson Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois; graduate of Yale University and studied three years in the Yale Law School before terminating his study to become associated with the America First Committee; is the son of R. Douglas Stuart of the Quaker Oats Company.

Treasurer - J. STANFORD OTIS, Vice-President of the Central Republic Bank of Chicago.

Board of Directors

HANFORD MAC NIDER - Mason City, Iowa; presently a banker; former National Commander of the American Legion; former Assistant Secretary of War, 1925 to 1928; served with the United States Army in France during the World War and was promoted to Lieutenant Colonel on May 6, 1919; received Croix de Guerre - five citations; also connected with various civic organizations.

GENERAL THOMAS HANFORD -
Retired United States Army Officer; president of Whiting Corporation, manufacturers of cranes and foundry equipment, Harvey, Illinois; served with United States Army in World War; chairman of Republican Party in Illinois.

J. C. HORMEL -
Formerly with George A. Hormel and Company Packers, Austin, Minnesota.

CLAY JUDSON - Attorney, 120 West Adams Street, Chicago, Illinois; associated with the law firm of Wilson and McElvaine; former president of Chicago Council of Foreign Relationships; member of Board of Trustees of United Charities, Chicago, and president of Board of Trustees, Frances Parker School, Chicago,

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which is a well-known private school.

In addition to the above Officers, the following are members of the America First Committee:

DR. ARTHUR JULIUS CARLSON-
Professor of University of Chicago; reported to be an international pacifist; has studied in Moscow, U.S.S.R.; considered an extreme liberal; was a Lieutenant Colonel in the Sanitary Corps, United States Army in 1917 and was with the American Expeditionary Force from March to September, 1919.

WILLIAM R. CASTLE, JR.-
Former Assistant Secretary of State; former Ambassador to Japan.

IRVIN S. COBB- Nationally known speaker and author.

JANET AYER FAIRBANKS-
Active in cause of women suffrage and politics; former member of the Executive Committee of the Democratic National Committee; was a member of the Women's National Liberty Loan Committee during the World War; has written several books.

JOHN T. FLYNN- Noted economist and writer; wrote "Country Squire in the White House."

HENRY FORD- Automobile manufacturer.

GENERAL HUGH S. JOHNSON-
Nationally known retired Army officer.

ALICE ROOSEVELT LONGWORTH-
Daughter of the late President Theodore Roosevelt.

THOMAS N. MC CARTER-
Attorney General of New Jersey, 1902 to 1907, which post he resigned to become president of the Public Service Corporation of New Jersey, which operates and controls nearly all of the gas, electric and transportation utilities in New

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECRET

Jersey; director of Chase National Bank, New York City; Federal Union Trust Company, Newark, New Jersey; American Surety Company; American Super Power Corporation and United Gas Improvement Company.

CAPTAIN EDWARD RICKENBACKER- Nationally known aviation figure.

LOUIS J. TABER- Nationally known for his work in connection with agricultural developments.

DR. GEORGE H. WHIPPLE- Nationally known pathologist.

The following persons, who are nationally known, are also Members of this Committee:

Mrs. Bennett Champ Clark
Bishop W. E. Hammaker
Kathryn Lewis
Sterling Morton
Edward L. Ryerson, Jr.
Mrs. Burton K. Wheeler.

The America First Committee is reported to be financed solely by voluntary contributions by those interested in the organization. The Committee conducted a radio broadcast on October 21, 1940, at which time the radio announcer requested his listeners to send anything from dimes to dollars to the America First Committee, Board of Trade Building, Chicago, Illinois, and this same request was made following numerous other broadcasts.

The Committee has also issued a card called "America First Committee Contribution Card," bearing the following:

"I am convinced that we can preserve our American Democracy only by keeping out of foreign war. Therefore I am contributing $____ to support the work of the America First Committee."

On October 21, 1940, Books Carter was sponsored in a transcription program of Station WMAQ, Chicago, Illinois, by the America First Committee. In this broadcast Carter explained that the Committee was dedicated to aid America first and later to aid Britain. Following the transcription, the announcer suggested that the listeners write their congressmen and senators demanding that they prevent the United States' intervention into the war and

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECRET 154

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that they arm America before aiding Britain and also requesting the audience to send in anything from dimes to dollars to the America First Committee, Board of Trade Building, Chicago, Illinois.

A confidential informant stated that the America First Committee was started by General Wood in cooperation with the other members of the Committee and that although the Committee's viewpoints in connection with the United States' present policy in foreign affairs is different from that of the administration, he is of the opinion that the Committee originally had a few persons in it who were what he termed "left-wingers" and according to him are not to be considered Communistic.

[redacted] b7C b7D

On December 18, 1940, the America First Committee sponsored a rally in Orchestra Hall, Chicago, Illinois, at which rally 3500 persons attended and several thousand were turned away. [redacted] b7D

Information received from a confidential source, reveals that on January 16 the office of the America First Committee was opened on Wilshire Boulevard, Los Angeles, California, and it was observed that the automobile of Dr. Georg Gyssling, German Consul was parked in front of the building during that day. The informant related that this car had never been seen there previously and has not been seen there since that time.

The America First Committee has published an enormous amount of propaganda literature concerning the aims of the Committee and has circulated this literature throughout the United States. The apparent object of the literature is to crystallize American opinion to prevent the entrance of the United States into European wars and to villify the foreign affairs program of President Roosevelt. The numerous pamphlets published by the Committee state that 86% of the people of the United States are opposed to the United States intervening in foreign wars. These pamphlets fail to make any explanation as to how the figure of 86% was arrived at. This literature also makes an appeal to American mothers to aid the Committee for the purpose of preventing

b7D

CONFIDENTIAL SECRET

their sons from being embroiled in another European war. The Foreign program of President Roosevelt is termed "the road to war" by the literature emanating from this committee.

Friends of Democracy, Incorporated, L. M. Birkhead, National Director, with National headquarters in Kansas City, Missouri, published a pamphlet entitled the "America First Committee, the Nazi Transmission Belt." This pamphlet alleges the America First Committee whether its members know it or not and whether they like it or not is a Nazi front organization and is a transmission belt by means of which the apostles of Nazism are spreading their anti-Democratic ideas into millions of American homes. This pamphlet also charges that Adolf Hitler and his disciples in the United States are using the America First Committee to spread Fascist and Nazi propaganda.

Information received from a confidential source discloses that on February 4, 1941, Paul von Gontard entertained John Wheeler and his wife Helene Albright Wheeler, the son and daughter-in-law of Senator Wheeler. During the course of the conversation at the party, Mrs. Wheeler stated while attacking the contemplated Lend Lease Bill, also opposed by the America First Committee, that the "only way we can be safe is to see the pins knocked out from under Britain." The informant who furnished this information stated that such a remark indicated that she had become imbued with pro-German sentiment because of her association with various individuals, including Dr. Adolph Spreckles, Miss Josephine Alderman, and one Hans Wolfram, all of whom are suspected of German espionage. It will be noted that Hans Wolfram has done publicity work for the German Embassy. (5-1)(X) 4

At this party Mr. Paul von Gontard who is also suspected of German espionage displayed a cashier check for $2,000 drawn on a St. Louis, Missouri bank, which he turned over to Mr. John Wheeler as a contribution to the America First Committee. ([redacted] 100-4712-7X) b2

Information has been received that the America First Committee has caustically criticized the William Allen White Committee. The America First Committee is reported as attempting to secure the support of any and all organizations including the Coughlinite Social Justice Group. The news vendors of Coughlins Social Justice in New York City appeared upon the streets displaying America First Committee buttons. (100-4712-5X)

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[redacted] b7C

The financial support of the America First Committee seemingly evolves from voluntary contributions and in connection with the financing of this Committee attention is directed to the financial positions held by:

General Robert E. Wood
R. Douglas Stuart, Jr.
J. Sanford Otis
Stanford MacNider
General Thomas Hammond
J. C. Norsal
Clay Judson
Wm. R. Castle
Henry Ford
Alice Roosevelt Longworth
Thomas N. McCarter (100-4712-18)

[redacted] b7C b7D

Information received from Edwin S. Webster, General Secretary of America First Committee, 49 East 53 Street, New York City discloses that a New York Chapter of this Committee has between 15,000 and 20,000 members. Webster claims that none but an American citizen can become a member of this Committee. (100-4712-21)

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A leaflet distributed in February, 1941, by the German American National Alliance urged the recipient of the leaflet to write to two senators advocating the defeat of the Lend Lease Bill and to send financial contributions to the America First Committee. (61-10498-444)

On February 25, 1941, the Chicago Tribune carried an article relating that the America First Committee had assigned speakers to cover down-state communities in Illinois for the purpose of creating opposition to the Administration Bill. It was stated that Walter F. Boye who, during the summer of 1938, had toured the German Reich and who had returned to the United States with glowing accounts of Nazi accomplishments and praise of

b1

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Hitler's ideology was one of these speakers. It was indicated that Nye's line of argument in his speaking tour would take the form of "placing such terrific power in the President's hands." (100-0-5003)

The Philadelphia Ledger for April 23, 1941, carried an article stating that the National Legion of Mothers and Women of America contemplated inviting women associated with the Kyffhaeuser Bund into its membership. Mrs. Edith Scott of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania whose organization is affiliated with the America First Committee said the invitation was under consideration by her group. (100-4712-A)

In the April 14, 1941 issue of the Staten Island Advance an article appeared stating that Howard I. Jump, son of Mrs. Lila Jump, head of the Staten Island unit of the America First Committee, had failed to report for induction as ordered by the local draft board and had been given a formal notice giving him five days in which to change his mind. Jump, twice before, was refused deferment by his local draft board; once on a medical deficiency claim and again on an occupational claim. (100-4712-30X1)

[redacted] b7c

The News Letter of Los Angeles, California for April 9, 1941, carried an article concerning the America First Committee meeting held at Los Angeles, California, which was addressed by Mrs. Catherine Curtis and Senator Gerald P. Nye of North Dakota. This article related that Mrs. Curtis' experience in rabble rousing is so comprehensive that she might easily qualify as "the top notcher of the petticoat platoon." It was she who founded the Women's National Committee for Hands Off the Supreme Court." She also was active in organizing the Women Investors in America, Incorporated, which organizations make their headquarters at 535 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York. (100-4712-38)

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(C)

[redacted] b1

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The Washington Times Herald for May 26, 1941, reported that the America First Committee together with the Committee Against War and the Keep America Out of War Congress had made plans for a three-day rally commencing May 30, 1941. The two latter groups are reported to contain a number of Socialists in their ranks. (100-10689-A)

Information received on May 26, 1941, reveals that united German societies held a meeting at the New York Turn Hall at which time the meeting was addressed by Dr. Fleischmann, a member of the America First Committee. (61-9879-268)

The activity of the America First Committee reached its peak during the period when it exerted its complete effort to the end of blocking the Lend Lease Bill sponsored by the administration. Thousands of pieces of literature were distributed; numerous meetings were held in the metropolitan areas and the people all over the nation were incited to petition their national representatives to block the passage of this legislation. (100-4712-16)

Two of the largest meetings sponsored by this Committee during that period were held at New York City on May 23, 1941, and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania on May 29, 1941, at which meetings approximately 30,000 people attended. Senator Burton Wheeler of Montana, Charles A. Lindbergh, Kathleen Norris and Norman Thomas were the headline speakers at these meetings. The texts of the speeches delivered were concerned with deriding the administration's foreign policy, especially the Lend Lease Bill, which they emphatically criticized as an active step towards entrance of the United States into the European conflict. (100-4712-58-71)

[redacted] b1

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CONFIDENTIAL

[redacted] (100-4712) b1

Information reported on June 10, 1941, indicates that the America First Committee is supplying the financial support for the publication "Uncensored," which is published by the Keep America Out of War Congress, which organization reportedly contains a number of Socialists in its membership.

[redacted] b1

Information received as of July 28, 1941, discloses that Newton Dillaway of Reading, Massachusetts received numerous communications from the German Library of Information addressed to him as Newton Dillaway, and that after this organization was closed he began to receive literature from the America First Committee addressed to him in the same manner, that is, the same mistake with the spelling of his name, and the stencil printing on the literature received from the America First Committee was identical with that received from the German Library of Information. (100-4712-109)

Information received as of August 7, 1941, disclosed that the America First Committee has a Colored Section headed by J. Finley Wilson, Chairman, and Perry W. Howard, Secretary, with national headquarters at 612 F Street, North West, Washington, D. C. This organization is reported to have distributed literature in colored circles requesting the colored population to petition their national representatives to discourage the United States from entering the European war. (100-4712-112)

Other nationally known figures who have affiliated themselves with the America First Committee are Senator David I. Walsh, Congressman Hamilton Fish, Congressman James Francis O'Connor, Congressman Dewey Short, former Governor Philip LaFollette, and Robert Hutchins, President of the University of Chicago.

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100-4712-154

September 3, 1941

The Honorable
The Secretary of the Navy
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Secretary:

Pursuant to your recent request of Mr. Tamm of my office, I am pleased to transmit herewith copy of a memorandum which summarizes available data relative to the America First Committee. I trust that this material will be of some interest and value to you in connection with your study of the activities of this organization.

Sincerely,

Attachment

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DATE 5/8/86 BY SP-6 bjs/tcy

RECEIVED-DIRECTOR
F B I
U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE
SEP 3 5 50 PM '41

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

Personal and confidential

RECEIVED-DIRECTOR
F B I
JUSTICE

B5M

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAIL ROOM
21399
★ SEP 3 1941 ★
P. M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER
DIRECTOR

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

RPK:TD

September 3, 1941

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Harbo
Tele. Room
Tour Room
Mr. Nease
Mr. Tracy
Miss Beahm
Miss Gandy

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. E. A. TAMM

There is attached a blind memorandum containing information in our files with respect to The America First Committee. This is furnished in accordance with your request.

Respectfully,

R. P. Kramer

R. P. Kramer

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DATE 5/8/86 BY S-6 byatley

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3-28-58
249

RECORDED 100-4712-154

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R E S O L U T I O N

WHEREAS, our Country is going through a period of National crisis with a tremendous responsibility and burdens untold placed on the shoulders of our beloved President Franklin D. Roosevelt, and

WHEREAS, the American Federation of Labor has pledged full cooperation to our President in his recent speech to the citizens of this Country and the world at large, and

WHEREAS, complete unity of all loyal Americans is vitally essential during these critical times, and

WHEREAS, attempts are being made by certain so called Isolationists to divide the American people by anti-semitism speeches and every other kind of misleading, contemptible, untrue and unAmerican statements for reasons best known to themselves; but which in our opinion are for the purpose of bringing about a condition of class and religious hatred between the citizens of our country, which if successful may seriously effect the program and policy of our government in protecting the freedom of our people, therefore be it

RESOLVED, that the Grays Harbor County Central Labor Council in regular meeting assembled this 19th day of September, 1941, go on record condemning the recent speeches and activities of Charles Lindberg, Senator Wheeler and other so called Isolationists, and be it further

RESOLVED, that we ask the Federal Bureau of Investigation to make a complete and thorough investigation of the aims and objects of the America First Committee and of Charles Lindberg.

Respectfully submitted by your
Resolution Committee

[redacted] b1C

[redacted]

[redacted] 100-4712-155

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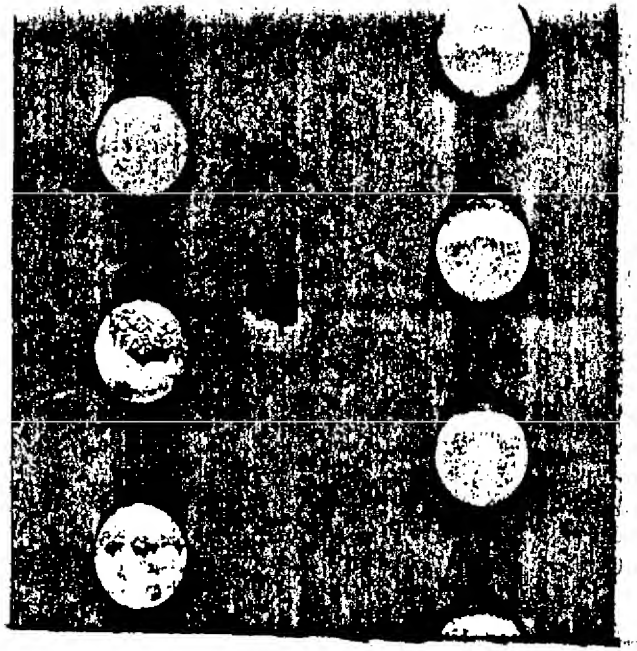

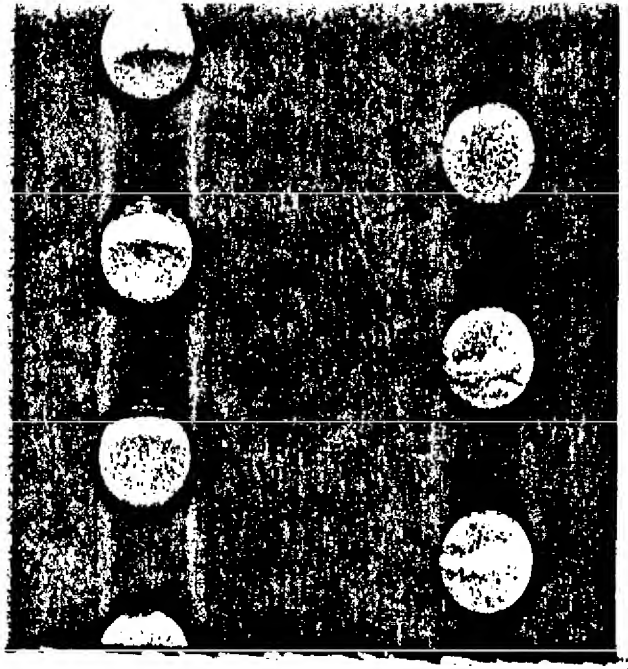

GRAYS HARBOR COUNTY
CENTRAL LABOR UNION
BOX 509 ABERDEEN, WASH.

2

ABERDEEN SEP 26 2 PM 1941 WASH.

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DATE 5/18/82 BY Sp4 Bagley

OFFICE
Federal Bureau Investigation,
Washington, D. C.

23935

[redacted] b7C

REC[redacted] 100-4712-155

October 9, 1941 73993

[redacted] b7C

Grays Harbor County
Central Labor Union
Box 509
Aberdeen, Washington

Dear Sir:

I desire to acknowledge receipt of the Resolution of the Grays Harbor County Central Labor Council signed by you and bearing the names of [redacted] b7C

Please be advised that the content of your Resolution has been carefully noted and made a matter of permanent record in the official files of this Bureau for such future reference as may be deemed appropriate.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

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DATE 6/8/86 BY SP4 Lebyackey

179

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED
★ OCT 9 1941 ★
P.M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Lodd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Trotter
Miss Gandy

b7C

Hotel Plymouth

49TH STREET JUST OFF BROADWAY
ADJACENT TO RADIO CITY
New York

73992

5/8/86 SP6 byakey #2389
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 4-30-85 BY SP2 JMC
#24713 CP

September 28, 1941

Mr. Walter Winchell
c/o New York Daily Mirror
New York City

Dear Walter:

Sorry I can't see you in person, but I know you are very busy, so here goes. Do you remember in our time in show business [redacted] - he 's a comic. He told me that his friend, either a world war veteran or American Legion man who lived in Butte, Montana witnessed something very interesting. b7C

While there, he attended a dinner given by either a Bund or some German society to Senator Wheeler at Butte, and that he was one of the guests. At the conclusion of the dinner, everybody stood up and gave three "Heil Hitler" cheers and salute, and right in front doing the same very nicely, was Wheeler.

Walter, if this is true, which I'm sure it is, and can be checked, it's a great feather in your cap to expose that rat. What I'd suggest is to get in touch with [redacted] b7C and in turn have him get in touch with his friend. If it sounds good, you can check on it from Butte some way and the rest is easy.

I can get in touch with [redacted] and assure you I will be happy to work with you on this case just for the asking, so if you care to have me start the proceedings, just call on me and I'll do all I can to bring this thing to a head. b7C

RECORDED 100-4712-1

Best wishes and lots of good luck. With kind regards

Sincerely,

[redacted] b7C

FIVE

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Newark, New Jersey

[redacted]

October 3, 1941

b7C

Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Re: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

Dear Sir:

On September 23, 1941, Mr. THOMAS GREGORY, of the America First Committee, Commerce Street, Newark, New Jersey, called at this office suggesting that the Bureau have some agents present at a meeting being held on that same date, September 23, 1941, at Newark, New Jersey, at which Senator GERALD P. NYE was to be the principal speaker.

Mr. GREGORY was advised by Special Agent (A)[redacted] b7 that the Bureau had no jurisdiction in the matter of providing protectors or maintaining order at such meetings, and that such protection and order as was necessary should be handled by the local police. Mr. GREGORY then suggested that the Bureau would probably like to have agents present more or less as observers to see exactly what was going on. He suggested that having observers present might be to the benefit of the Bureau in that if any so-called Nazis were present the Bureau might like to observe this firsthand. Agent [redacted] b7C again pointed out that this was a matter in which the Bureau did not have jurisdiction and that no agent would be present to furnish protection, maintain order or observe.

The above is being furnished for your information.

Very truly yours,

E. E. CONROY
Special Agent in Charge

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/8/86 BY P6bjaltcy

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INDEXED

100-4712-157

FEDERAL B[illegible]
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U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

15

Federal Bureau of Investigation

United States Department of Justice

Los Angeles, California
October 3, 1941

#241163

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 9/30/85 BY SP2 [illegible]
3/8/86 SP6 bja/tcy #262359

Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D.C.

RE: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
MEETING AT OLYMPIC AUDITORIUM,
Los Angeles, California,
October 2, 1941.

Dear Sir:

As you were previously advised, Attorney General FRANCIS BIDDLE requested me, when on the West Coast, to have the meeting of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE at which Senator BURTON K. WHEELER was to speak in Los Angeles, attended for the purpose of furnishing him with a report.

This meeting was held at the Olympic Auditorium in Los Angeles at 8:00 p.m., October 2, 1941, and the auditorium was filled to capacity. There was an estimated attendance of slightly over 8,000.

The hall was well-decorated with American flags, bunting, and various signs bearing slogans such as "NO A.E.F.," and "Keep Our Factories Humming for National Defense, But Keep Our Boys in the United States." While the auditorium was being filled, community singing was engaged in, and at 8:10 p.m., Senator WHEELER and his party, including a woman dressed in a costume as the Statue of Liberty and an Indian in full costume including a feathered head dress, mounted the speaker's platform. From the ovation extended the Senator at that time, it was obvious that the audience was very sympathetic and friendly towards the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE and Senator WHEELER. At this time the crowd rose to its feet and afforded the senator a demonstrative reception. There was applauding, screaming, and much waving of handkerchiefs then and at various other times during the meeting. There was a vocal number of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE song and the song of the Gold Star Mothers of America, both of these following the playing of the national anthem.

100-4712-158

RECORDED

The first speaker was Attorney JOSEPH SCOTT, who made an appeal for funds, and he based this appeal upon the following story: He stated that when he was a young man, his

INDEXED

FIVE

COPIES DESTROYED

grandmother had presented him with a Liberty Bond, stating it to be a token that the last World War was one waged for righteousness and it was her investment in his future, made in the hope that he could live in a peaceful, free, and democratic world. After the Treaty of Versailles, his grandmother stated to him that she had been deluded, and that the treaty was one which would only lead to more wars. He continued by stating the Government, in order to pay the bond and its indebtedness, which is evidenced by the bond, actually taxed him in order to pay the debt which was due him.

He stated, therefore, that the collection which would be taken up that evening was an investment, and that the cost of any future war would assume staggering proportions in so far as it would relate to any individual. He added that any money which was contributed might well be regarded as an investment to protect the people against future greater debts. It was his opinion that the minimum cost per citizen--should we enter this war--would be $2,000, and approximately $7,000 per bread-winner. At this time the ushers passed up and down the aisles taking a collection. It is not known at this time how much was obtained.

Senator WHEELER was introduced by JOHN STEVEN McGROARTY, who referred to the senator as a lifelong friend. McGROARTY is referred to as the poet laureate of California, and was at one time a member of the United States Congress.

The theme of Senator WHEELER'S speech was conerning the fact that there are many people in America today who were against this country's entry into any war, but were afraid to speak. He is too frequently met with the response, "We Are in business," meaning that people were not in a position to express their views as they were in business and were actually against entry into war but were afraid to express their opinions. He stated he was unalterably opposed to America's entry into any foreign war and was now trying to force the President to keep the promises made to the American people when he was seeking their votes to re-elect him to a third term. He quoted President ROOSEVELT'S speeches to the effect that he, President ROOSEVELT, was

RE: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE MEETING AT
OLYMPIC AUDITORIUM, Los Angeles,
California, October 2, 1941.

against war, and he defined war as meaning "shooting." He also quoted President ROOSEVELT'S pledge that American boys would never be sent outside of the Western Hemisphere. He then stated that President ROOSEVELT had broken these pledges inasmuch as he had ordered the American Navy to shoot and also that he had occupied Iceland after consulting the Parliament of Iceland without consulting the Congress of the United States, and that he had stationed American soldiers in Iceland under command of British officers. He added that Iceland is situated in the Eastern Hemisphere and that "Not even a magician like WENDELL L. WILLKIE could bring it back into the Western Hemisphere."

Senator WHEELER launched an attack upon President ROOSEVELT'S statement that religious freedom in Russia is the same as in America. He quoted figures as to the number of priests, bishops, and other clergymen who had been killed by Communist overlords, and then gave as his source for these figures the title of a book, volume, and page number, the book being one written by WINSTON CHURCHILL. This statement was met with wild applause and enthusiastic cheering.

He then stated that from this fact, it might well be assumed that American soldiers would shortly be fighting side by side with Communist soldiers for the protection and preservation of Communist Russia. During the course of the speech, Senator WHEELER also stated he was against Nazi oppression and mentioned a tour he had made through Germany and the persecution he had witnessed there.

He referred to the present cooperation between England and Russia, and stated it was an "Unholy Alliance." The Senator launched an attack against the motion picture industry, and stated that the people in attendance at this meeting had not been attracted by glamorous movie stars, Bingo, bank night, and so forth. He attacked the industry as spreading war propaganda and stated that in years to come, the motion picture industry would t[illegible]dict Arnold if America gets involved in the present war. He stated the industry was attempting to build up a war spirit, resulting in active participation in the war. In speaking of the motion picture industry, he referred to the stand which

is being taken towards the Jewish race, adding that this is the reason this industry is putting forth every effort by way of propaganda pictures. He stated Jewish refugees have come to this country and are presently being feted and living in luxury and attempting to have the United States fight the war for them and for their cause. He criticized the regiment of British actors who are serving the present war from Hollywood Boulevard, and stated he was aware that not all of the producers were engaged in war propaganda, adding that the Senate investigation is directed against those who are.

During his talk, the senator stated that he was not anti-British, that he greatly admired the British people for being smart people, and he always admired smart people. He sarcastically outlined the role played by Great Britain during the last war, stating that that nation first requested America for money, which was furnished; then they requested a small token army to boost the morale of the allies, and a token army was given, which was followed by the A.E.F. He stated we did this because the smart people in England had told America it was fighting her war. He stated that when the war was over and after many of the men sent over failed to return, when America tried to collect her war debt, the smart people of England characterized America as "Uncle Shylock."

He then drew a parallel in present day events in the Lend-Lease Bill and the transfer of bombers and ships, and stated that shortly the President was contemplating introducing a bill authorizing the arming of American merchant ships. He stated that prior to the last war, a bill authorizing the arming of merchant ships was passed, and 21 days later America was in war.

The senator did not refer to Germany and Italy to any extent, only stating that the world has no room for dictators and dictatorships, and that Americans will continue to live in a democracy by supplying England with materials to carry on her war against the Rome-Berlin Axis.

He also mentioned CHARLES LINDBERGH as being a true and loyal American citizen who puts heritage above all, and he is being supported by all real Americans. This statement was received

RE: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE MEETING AT
OLYMPIC AUDITORIUM, Los Angeles,
California, October 2, 1941.

with great enthusiasm by the audience.

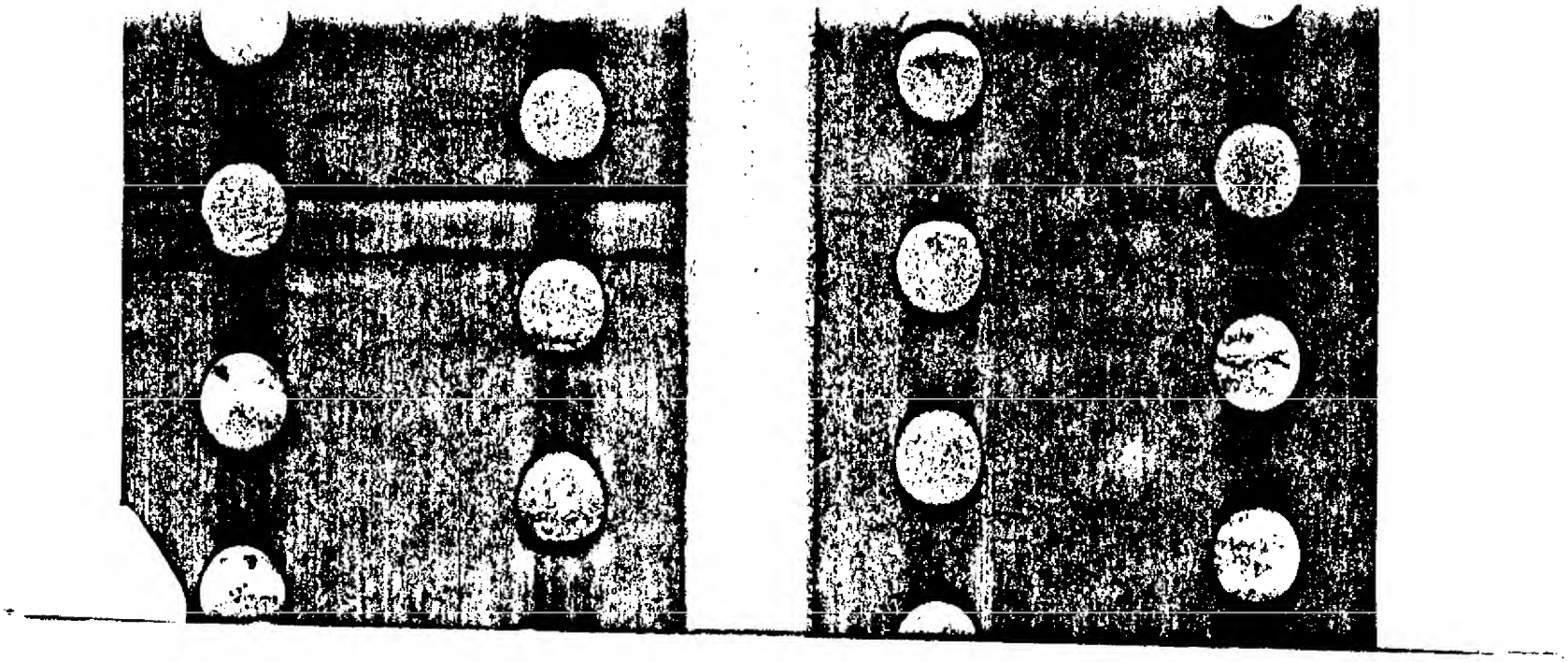
The meeting was generally orderly, with only two incidents being noted by the observers. Upon launching his attack against the movie industry, one person in the audience rose and called Senator WHEELER a liar. It was a minor disturbance, and this individual was ejected by the police. A middle-aged woman stalked down the aisle on the main floor of the auditorium to inspect the Indian at close range, stating she did not believe he was a real Indian. There was no violence with this incident, and the entire thing was greeted with laughter by the audience.

In general, the audience was very attentive and receptive, and the applauded the speaker most loudly when he referred to statements about keeping America out of the present war and keeping American boys at home. Although his accusations against the President of not keeping his 1940 campaign promises, and his jests of WENDELL L. WILLKIE drew applause from the audience, at no time was there hissing or booing at the mention of the name of the President or that of WENDELL L. WILLKIE. Before, during, and after the meeting, pamphlets and papers were passed out and copies of two of them are being attached to this communication. The Los Angeles press reports that 11,000 persons were in attendance at the meeting.

Very truly yours,

R. B. HOOD
Special Agent in Charge

RBH:hlk
Enclosures
AIR MAIL SPECIAL DELIVERY



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UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

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Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
U. S. Department of Justice
Pennsylvania Avenue at Ninth Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

AIR MAIL AND SPECIAL DELIVERY

October 13, 1941 PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

[redacted]

100-4712-158

SPECIAL MESSENGER

RECORDED
EX - 10

Major General Edwin M. Watson
Secretary to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Re: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

Dear General Watson:

Information has been received to the effect that the above Committee held a rally at the Olympic Auditorium in Los Angeles, California, on October 2, 1941, which rally was attended by an estimated audience of between 8,000 and 11,000 persons.

It is reported that the walls of the auditorium were decorated with American flags and various signs bearing slogans such as "No A.E.F." and "Keep our Factories Humming for National Defense, But Keep our Boys in the United States."

It is further reported that when Senator Wheeler and his party mounted the Speakers' Platform, the crowd rose to its feet and afforded the Senator a demonstrative reception. There was applauding, screaming, and waving of handkerchiefs. It is stated that the ovation extended to the Senator at this time by the audience made it apparent that it was very sympathetic and friendly toward the America First Committee and Senator Wheeler.

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5/8/86 SP-6 ga/tcy #22559

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CH-13

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED
OCT 14 1941
P.M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Gandon
Mr. Hollomon
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

FBI
DEPT OF JUSTICE
OCT 13

It is stated that Senator Wheeler was introduced by John Steven McCrearty, who referred to the Senator as a lifelong friend. McCrearty is alleged to have been at one time a member of the United States Congress.

It is stated that the theme of Senator Wheeler's speech was concerning the fact that there are many people in America today who are against this country's entry into the present war who are afraid to speak. He is alleged to have stated that he unalterably is opposed to America's entry into any foreign war and is now trying to force the President to keep his promises made to the American people when he was seeking their votes to an election to a third term. It is reported that he quoted President Roosevelt's speeches to the effect that he, President Roosevelt, was against war and that he defined war as "shooting." Further, that he quoted President Roosevelt's pledge that American boys would never be sent outside of the Western Hemisphere. He is alleged to have stated that President Roosevelt has broken these pledges, inasmuch as he has ordered the American Navy to shoot and that he stationed American soldiers in Iceland after consulting the Parliament of Iceland, without consulting the Congress of the United States. It is stated that he added that Iceland is situated in the Eastern Hemisphere, and that "not even a magician like Wendell L. Willkie could bring it back into the Western Hemisphere."

Senator Wheeler is reported to have launched an attack upon the alleged statement of the President that religious freedom in Russia is the same as in America. It is stated that he quoted figures as to the number of priests, bishops and other clergymen who had been killed by Communist overlords, and gave as a source

for these figures the title of a book, volume and page number, which book is reported to have been written by Winston Churchill. It is alleged that this statement by Senator Wheeler was met with wild applause and enthusiastic cheering. He is reported to have stated that the President was contemplating introducing a bill authorising the arming of American merchant ships. Further, that prior to the last war a bill authorising the arming of merchant ships was passed and 21 days later America was in war.

Senator Wheeler is alleged to have referred to the present cooperation between England and Russia, and stated that it was an "Unholy Alliance." He is reported to have launched an attack against the motion picture industry, and stated that the people in attendance at this meeting had not been attracted by glamorous movie stars, bingo, bank night, etc. He is reported to have attacked this industry as spreading war propaganda, and stated that in years to come the motion picture industry would be known as a "Benedict Arnold" if America becomes involved in the present war. It is reported that the Senator during his speech sarcastically outlined the role played by Great Britain during the last war, and commented on the fact that the English people characterized America as "Uncle Shylock." It is stated that he drew a parallel to present day events.

Senator Wheeler is alleged to have mentioned Charles Lindbergh as being a true and loyal American citizen who puts heritage above all, and who is being supported by all real Americans. This statement is alleged to have been received with great enthusiasm by the audience.

It is reported that the meeting was generally

158

orderly, with one exception. This incident is stated to have taken place during the time that the Senator was launching his attack against the motion picture industry. It is said that on this occasion one person in the audience rose and called the Senator "a liar."

It is reported that in general the audience was very attentive, receptive, and applauded the speaker most loudly when he made statements relative to keeping America out of the present war and keeping American boys at home. It is stated that his accusations against President Roosevelt for not keeping his 1940 campaign promises and his jests concerning Wendell L. Willkie drew applause from the audience, but at no time was there any action that would reflect disregard at the mention of President Roosevelt's or Wendell Willkie's name.

With assurances of my highest regards,

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

CC: Mr. E. A. Tamm
CC: Mr. D. M. Ladd

Detailed in Division

18

[redacted] b7C

RECORDED 100-4712-458 October 8, 1941

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

RE: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

In accordance with your recent request that an Agent of this Bureau attend the America First rally to be held in Los Angeles, California, on October 2, 1941, for the purpose of ascertaining the size of the audience and its reactions to Senator Wheeler's statements, the following is being furnished:

The meeting was held at the Olympic Auditorium in Los Angeles at 8:00 P.M., October 2, 1941, at which time this auditorium was filled to capacity. There was an estimated attendance of between eight and eleven thousand persons.

The walls of the auditorium were decorated with American flags and various signs bearing slogans such as "No A.E.F." and "Keep our Factories Humming for National Defense, But Keep our Boys in the United States."

When Senator Wheeler and his party mounted the Speakers' Platform, the crowd rose to its feet and afforded the Senator a demonstrative reception. There was applauding, screaming, and waving of handkerchiefs. It was apparent from the ovation extended to the Senator at that time that the audience was very sympathetic and friendly toward the America First Committee and Senator Wheeler.

The first speaker was Attorney Joseph Scott, who made an appeal for funds for the instant organization. He based his appeal for funds on a comparison between the purchasing of Liberty Bonds during the last war as an investment in the future and the giving to the America First Committee as a present investment in the future. Subsequent to Mr. Scott's speech, a collection was taken and it is not known at this time how much was obtained.

Deleted Copy Sent by Letter 3-4-76 Per FOIA Request R. W. Steele

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Holloman
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

SENT FROM D. O.
TIME 1302
DATE 10-9-41

#241183
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 9/30/85 BY SP2 MCG
5/12/86 per b6 by atty # 262259

Senator Wheeler was introduced by John Steven McCroarty, who referred to the Senator as a lifelong friend. McCroarty is referred to as the poet laureate of California and was at one time a member of the United States Congress.

The theme of Senator Wheeler's speech was concerning the fact that there are many people in America today who are against this country's entry into any war but are afraid to speak. He stated that he too frequently meets with the response, "We are in business", meaning that people are not in a position to express their views as they are in business and are actually against entry into war but are afraid to express their opinions. He stated that he unalterably is opposed to America's entry into any foreign war and was now trying to force the President to keep the promises made to the American people when he was seeking their votes for re-election to a third term. He quoted President Roosevelt's speeches to the effect that he, President Roosevelt, was against war and that he defined war as meaning "shooting". He also quoted President Roosevelt's pledge that American boys would never be sent outside of the Western Hemisphere. He then stated that President Roosevelt had broken these pledges inasmuch as he had ordered the American Navy to shoot and also that he had occupied Iceland after consulting the Parliament of Iceland without consulting the Congress of the United States. He stated that President Roosevelt had stationed American soldiers in Iceland under the command of British officers. He added that Iceland is situated in the Eastern Hemisphere and that "Not even a magician like Wendell L. Willkie could bring it back into the Western Hemisphere."

Senator Wheeler launched an attack on President Roosevelt's statement that religious freedom in Russia is the same as in America. He quoted figures as to the number of priests, bishops, and other clergymen who had been killed by Communist overlords, and gave as his source for these figures the title of a book, volume, and page number, which book is reported to have been written by Winston Churchill. This statement of Senator Wheeler was met with wild applause and enthusiastic cheering. During the course of his speech, Senator Wheeler also stated that he was against Nazi oppression and mentioned a tour that he had made through Germany and the persecution he had witnessed there.

He referred to the present cooperation between England and Russia, and stated that it was an "Unholy Alliance". The Senator launched

an attack against the motion picture industry and stated that the people in attendance at this meeting had not been attracted by glamorous movie stars, bingo, bank night, and so forth. He attacked this industry as spreading war propaganda and stated that in years to come the motion picture industry would be known as a "Benedict Arnold" if America gets involved in the present war. During his talk, the Senator sarcastically outlined the role played by Great Britain during the last war, and commented on the fact that the English people characterized America as "Uncle Shylock". He then drew a parallel to present day events.

Senator Wheeler mentioned Charles Lindbergh as being a true and loyal American citizen who puts heritage above all, and one who is being supported by all real Americans. This statement was received with great enthusiasm by the audience.

The meeting was generally orderly with one exception. This incident took place during the time that the Senator was launching his attack against the moving picture industry. On this occasion one person in the audience rose and called Senator Wheeler "a liar". This, however, was a minor disturbance and this individual was quickly removed by the police.

In general the audience was very attentive, receptive, and applauded the speaker most loudly when he made statements relative to keeping America out of the present war and keeping American boys at home. His accusations against President Roosevelt for not keeping his 1940 campaign promises and his jests concerning Wendell L. Willkie drew applause from the audience but at no time was there any hissing or booing at the mention of President Roosevelt's or Wendell Willkie's name. Before, during, and after the meeting, pamphlets were passed out, two of which were obtained and are being transmitted herewith.

Respectfully,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Enclosure

CONFIDENTIAL

b7c

CONFIDENTIAL

[redacted]

October 23, 1941

100-4712-159

RECORDED

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

Dear Admiral Emory S. Land
Chairman
United States Maritime Commission
Commerce Department Building
Washington, D. C.

5/8/86 Classified By: P-6 bja/tcy
Declassify on: OADR

My dear Admiral Land:

I wish to advise for your information and whatever consideration deemed appropriate that this Bureau is in receipt of data from an outside confidential source that [redacted] is reportedly sympathetic towards Hitler. He has been described as thinking "Adolph Hitler is absolutely O. K." (S-1) b7c

It has been further reported that [redacted] recently brought a quantity of isolationist propaganda to Chile. (S-1)

Our informant advises that the data was received from an unknown source.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

DECLASSIFIED BY 8123 mch/tcy
ON 8/9/91
Paragraph 1-2 per State Dept letter dtd 7/16/91

FBI/DOJ
FOIPA # 2412359
APPEAL #
CIPHANT #
E.O. # 13526
DATE 5/8/96

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Mason
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Nenden
Mr. Hoffman
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

2 20 -17

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED
★ OCT 23 1941 ★
P. M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

CONFIDENTIAL

S-1 & State

CONFIDENTIAL

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

WASHINGTON

In reply refer to
FC 800.20211 America First Committee/15

OCT 4 1941

CONFIDENTIAL

The Department of State transmits to the following the attached information in the hope that it will be of value:

Military Intelligence Division

Office of Naval Intelligence

Federal Bureau of Investigation

Enclosure:

Copy of strictly confidential despatch no. 1810, dated September 9, 1941, from the American Embassy, Santiago, subject: America First Committee propaganda allegedly brought to Chile by [redacted]

b7c

RECORDED
INDEXED

100-4712-159

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
2 OCT 7 1941

ENCLS. 9

Declassified per
State Dept letter
7/18/91
8123 mch/May 8/9

EMBASSY [redacted]NE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

No. 1810 Santiago, Chile, September 9, 1941.

Subject: America First Committee propaganda allegedly brought to Chile by [redacted] b7C

[redacted]

STRICTLY [redacted]DENTIAL

The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington, D. C.

Sir:

I have the honor to transcribe below an extract from a letter to the Embassy from the Consul at Valparaiso reporting information received from an unnamed source alleging that a quantity of America First Committee and similar isolationist propaganda has been brought to Chile by [redacted]

"I have to report that I was recently informed by a contact believed to be reasonably reliable that [redacted] an American, [redacted] b7C brought a large amount of propaganda issued by the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE and other similar organizations. The Consulate's contact says that he has been a "friend of [redacted] for many years but on account of his political sympathies he has not been in touch with him during the last trip or two of [redacted] He further said that [redacted] "thinks that Adolf Hitler is absolutely O.K".

Respectfully yours,

[redacted]

820.02

[redacted]

100 - 4712 - 159

Declassified per State Dept letter dt 7/18/9 8/23 mch/ltr 8/9/9

DO-6

OFFICE OF DIRECTOR
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Harbo
Tele. Room
Tele. Room
Mr. Nease
Mr. Tracy
Miss Beahm
Miss Gandy

Record of Telephone Call or Visitor

September 27, 1941

Time 11:25 am

Name [redacted]

[redacted]

Referred to

Details:

b7C

When advised the Director was out of the city, [redacted] asked to speak to the Assistant in Charge. The call was transferred to Mr. Ladd.

11:25

RECORDED
INDEXED

100 4712-1

Mr. Ladd advises [redacted] told him anytime the FBI Agents wish any information contained in the files of the America First Committee, if the Agents will contact her she will be glad to give them such information. [redacted] expressed her dislike for the tactics used by the Department in the recent incident concerning these files, and told Mr. Ladd she knew no FBI men would use similar tactics.

Mr. Ladd will dictate a memorandum on this call

fro

cc - Mr. Foxworth

1744

EX-10

KER:bc September 12, 1941

MR. KRAMER

RE: AMERICA FIRST, INC.
National Office - 141 W. Jackson Blvd., Chicago, Illinois
New York Office - 515 Madison Ave.

The following information concerning the above organization was obtained from an outside unknown source dated at New York, New York, on August 4, 1941.

This organization was originally planned by R. Douglas Stuart, Jr., 24 year old law school senior in 1940 at Yale University. He is the son of the first vice president of the Quaker Oats Company. The first person contacted when the committee was formed was Col. Lindbergh, and another was Earl Browder. These people met with Stuart and later on General Robert Wood, head of Sears-Roebuck Company, Edward L. Ryerson, a director of Inland Steel; Mrs. Jeanette Ayer Fairbanks, a wealthy woman; and Chester Bowles, chairman of Benton and Bowles, an advertising agency, made up the picture. Soon William Castle, Under-Secretary of State in the Hoover Cabinet and the original master mind behind Lindbergh was added, then Senator Wheeler and Senator Bob Taft. At the very start this organization had a tremendous amount of money on hand, despite the claim that they never accept more than $1,000 from any one person.

In the East, Thomas N. McCarter, former chairman of the Public Service Company of New Jersey, is one of the leaders, and he is said to be the contact man for Joe Pew, the millionaire Republican leader of Pennsylvania.

Henry Ford and Jay C. Hormel are members of the Committee. Kathryn Lewis, the daughter of John Lewis, is one of the active members, and for the Catholic element we find John T. Flynn, Reverend Father Coughlin, and John O'Connors. Other members are General Hugh S. Johnson, Alice Roosevelt Longworth, Amos R. Pinchot and Louis T. Taber.

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

RECORDED
INDEXED

100-4712-16

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2/8/86 BY SP-6 by ltr
Information from Army remains unclassified per Drew letter dtd 5/29/91 823 mch/ltr 8/13/91

Secretly there was a tremendous Jewish group backing the America First until just recently. This Jewish group had as its front the Guggenheim Foundation, and the committee was quietly subsidized for tremendous sums of money. The Guggenheim interest has always fronted for Lindberg, but a few weeks ago the Jewish group withdrew all financial support. A number of the members of the committee quietly withdrew or became inactive. This was due to three reasons.

1. America First was set up because of the hatred for President Roosevelt and the purpose was to do everything possible to embarrass him in every way possible.

2. Mrs. Wheeler, the wife of the Senator, is bitterly anti-Semitic. She is a stock-holder of the Chicago Tribune, and Col. McCormick, the Tribune's owner, has as his man Harry Jung, head of the American Vigilante Intelligence Federation, who is also strongly pro-Nazi and anti-Semitic. It is alleged that Mrs. Wheeler, Harry Jung and Col. McCormick are using America First as a sounding board for anti-Jewish propaganda. In connection with this, Father Charles E. Coughlin of Detroit and the Christian Front Organization have just recently been officially welcomed into America First by Col. Wood, another stock-holder of the Chicago Tribune.

3. America First has a lobby strictly anti-Roosevelt at Washington. This lobby is comprised of William Castle, Alice Longworth, John L. Lewis and General Hugh S. Johnson. Each and every one of these are bitter enemies of the President.

This group had to figure a way to reach at the President through probably the most bitter attacks in the history of the world. The Hatch Act would not permit large political contributions to the campaign funds, so this organization, America First, has as its base enemy President Roosevelt, and consequently anything he attempts, no matter what it concerns in regard to war and Britain, will be attacked by America First.

In other words, this organization which is cooperating with every branch of anti-war groups, such as the I.R.A., Christian Front, anti-British, Catholic groups, and every pacifist group in the country, make it an organization that will always have to be watched.

From the Communist angle, William Castle has on his payroll William Sanger, a former Communist Stalin School graduate. Sanger now receives $250 a month and is located at Washington.

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

When the present Pope who then was Papal Secretary, was in the United States on a visit, he confided to certain members of the church th he thought that the American priests, outside of the Irish, were a lazy lot. Since then a peculiar thing happened that makes one consider. Cardinal Dougherty of Boston sev rely criticised Father Coughlin and tried to have his removed. Cardinal Dougherty went to Rome on the matter. In the meantime, Coughlin started an attack on the Jews and the British, and he was only mildly chastised for his actions, and ever since he has been on the war-path now that the Irish groups in the Catholic Church and the Knights of Columbus have become very bitter and active against Britain and Roosevelt, and no one is saying a thing to them. They are running wild, and ex-Congressman John O'Connor, one of the most staunch friends of the I.R.A. has been acting as attorney for Coughlin's organization, the National Union for Social Justice.

The America First has a great fortune back of it. Among the monied people are General Wood, Mrs. Jeanette Ayer Fairbanks, Frank O. Lowden, Thomas H. McCarter, Edward L. Ryerson, and Pew who controls the Sun Oil Company.

Respectfully,

K. H. McIntire

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Ti
Miss Gan

[redacted]

b7C

September 20, 1941

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

There is transmitted herewith a memorandum dated September 20, 1941, concerning the America First Committee, in which I think you will be interested.

This memorandum has also been submitted to Major General Edwin M. Watson, Secretary to the President, The White House, Washington, D. C.

Respectfully,

/s/ J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover
Director

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 5/8/86 BY SP6 JAH/dlw
Deleted Copy Sent R. W. Steele
by Letter 3-8-76
Per FOIA Request

Sent DD 8PM 9/22/41 JMM

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Gleason
Mr. Lord
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Trotter
Miss Gandy

cc - Mr. E. A. Tamm

Enclosure

2-4

CH-17

RECORDED
100-4712-76
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
1 SEP 29 1941
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

SEP 22

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
New York, New York

[redacted]
100-0

b7C

October 6, 1941

Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 5/8/86 BY [illegible]

Dear Sir:

For your information, I am quoting below the contents of an anonymous communication recently received in this office.

"On Wednesday evening, August 27, 1941, at a meeting in Redford High School, Redford, Michigan, to organize a new chapter of the America First Committee in Redford, Mr. Vietig, executive secretary for Michigan, said, among other things:

No matter what the United States law is on the subject "Don't allow your rifle or shotgun to be taken from you under any pretext from now on.....And the aliens and alien philosophies who run the government had better not try to take the hunter's guns from them. Don't let your guns leave your hands.....And keep them well oiled and ready for use, like all good hunter's do".

(We thought you ought to know)."

Very truly yours,

P. E. Foxworth

P. E. FOXWORTH
Assistant Director

RECORDED
INDEXED

CH-5 168

100-4712-162

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
2 OCT 8 1941
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Federal Bureau of Investigation

United States Department of Justice

San Francisco, California
October 1, 1941

Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Re: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
INTERNAL SECURITY - G and I

Dear Sir:

For the information of the Bureau and the offices receiving copies of this letter, the following information was obtained from "The Herald of the America First Committee of Northern California" issue of September 4, 1941, with reference to the division headquarters of the America First Committee in the West, together with regional directors:

San Francisco, California: 507 Mission Street, Telephone Garfield 7545; JOHN J. TAHENY, Regional Director; RAIMUND B. WURLITZER, executive secretary.

Los Angeles, California: 3142 Wilshire Blvd.; JOHN L. WHEELER, Regional Director.

Palo Alto, California: 444 University Avenue; ELMER BENNETT, Director.

San Diego, California: 530 Broadway; JAMES R. ABBEY, Director.

Santa Monica, California: Post Office Box 748, A. E. BURTON, Director.

Fresno, California: 1104 Pacific Southwest Bldg., Miss VALERIE McNITT, Director.

Tucson, Arizona: Post Office Box 1629, Mrs. GERALD JONES, Regional Director.

Phoenix, Arizona; Route 6, Box 1021, FRANK H. HILLEMAN, Regional Director.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 5/18/86 BY Sp2 Bridgeley

100-4712-1
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INDEXED
EX-14
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
4 OCT 8 1941
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

CH-18 90 COPIES DESTROYED
3-27-58
269

Glendale, Arizona: Route 1, Box 768; Mrs. B. F. REICHENBERGER, Regional Director.

Denver, Colorado: 637 Eighteenth Street; ARTHUR BROOKS, Jr., Regional Director.

Salida, Colorado: WILLIAM J. RUSH, Regional Director.

Boulder, Colorado: Room 12, Court House; FRANKLIN R. STEWART, Director.

Caldwell, Idaho: 1915 Dearborn Street; Mrs. VERA FLORY, Director.

Leonia, Idaho: America First Committee: FRANCIS W. McCORMICK, Director.

Boise, Idaho: 308 McCarty Bldg.; Justice ROBERT ADAMS, Regional Director.

Butte, Montana: 231 East Granite Street, Miss MARGARET LOUGHRIN, Director.

Billings, Montana: National Bonds, Inc.; HARRY MILLER, Director.

Albuquerque, New Mexico; 1309 East Coal Avenue; Mrs. AMY P. HURT, Regional Director.

Encin, New Mexico: P. O. Box 91; A. H. WILLIAMS, Director.

Portland, Oregon: 728 Failing Bldg., DELLMORE LESSARD, Regional Director.

McMinnville, Oregon: Masonic Bldg., Dr. E. J. FAGAN, Director.

re: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
INTERNAL SECURITY - G

Dallas, Texas: (State Headquarters) Box 832; RICHARD JEFFREY, Regional Director.

Houston, Texas: 1816 Banks Street; W. F. DIXON, Director.

Salt Lake City, Utah: 25 East First Street South, Miss LOUISE FIFE, Regional Director.

Logan, Utah: 296 North Sixth Street East; NORMAN CHRISTENSEN, Director.

Seattle, Washington: 300 Insurance Bldg., F. H. SURRY, Regional Director.

Spokane, Washington: West 2107 Jackson Avenue, Mrs. A. E. JACOBS, Regional Director.

Tacoma, Washington, 214 Bankers Trust Bldg.; MRS. ROBERT LEA, Director.

Hoquiam, Washington; Box 71; Mrs. ELIZABETH BLATTNER, Director.

Olympia, Washington: 1500 South Water Street, Hon. OTTO A. CASE, Director.

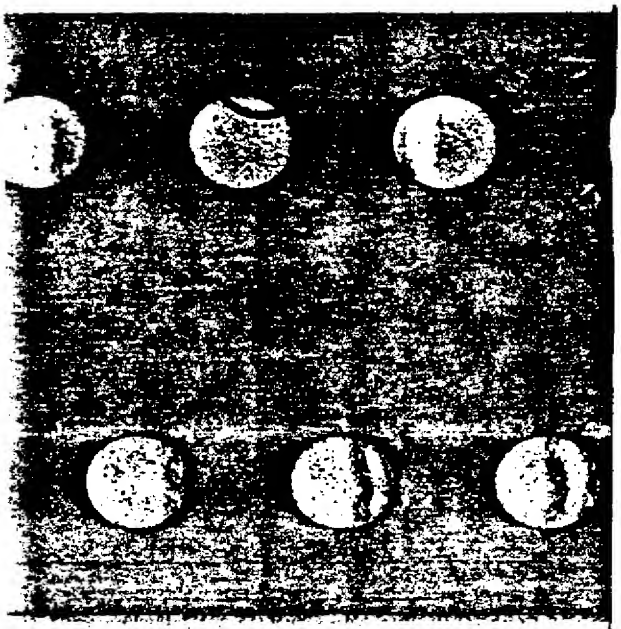
Very truly yours,

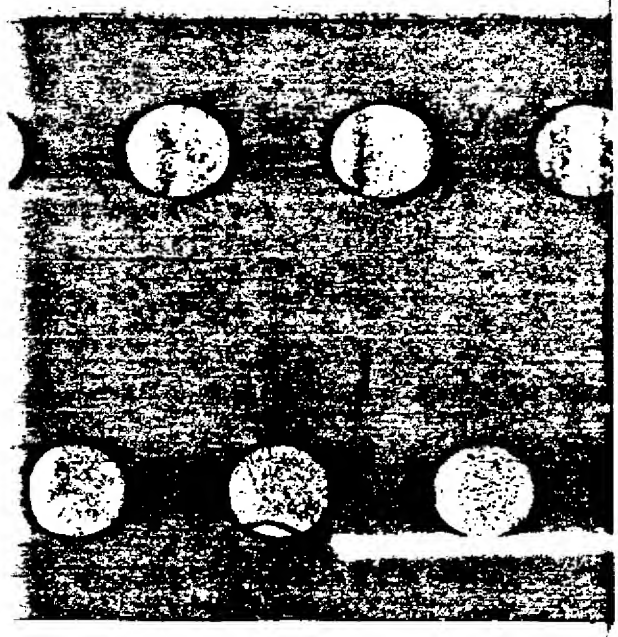
N. J. L. Pieper

N. J. L. PIEPER
Special Agent in Charge

AVT:MR
100-3325

cc Los Angeles (2)
cc San Diego (2)
cc Phoenix (2)
cc Denver (2)
cc Butte (2)
cc El Paso (2)
cc Portland (2)
cc Dallas (2)
cc Houston (2)
cc Salt Lake City (2)
cc Seattle (2)
cc San Antonio (2)





10-4-1941

[redacted] b7C

For Peterson:

How much longer is that dirty spy Lindbergh to be allowed to spread disunity among the population of the U.S.?

[redacted] b7C

W.C. Mr. Hoover, if this clipping isn't propaganda of a very dangerous type. Well I don't know Never from a fish Rutter

Please advise me as to what you think

BX-12

RECORDED
INDEXED

100-4-712-764

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
6 OCT 9 1941
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

America First Committee

[redacted] b7C

Ack 10/20/41

1 ENCL. HP

The Charleston Gazette, Saturday, October 4, 1941.

Wedge Seen Newest Goal of Germans

(Continued from Page 1)

towards Moscow and southward towards Kharkov."

Fierce battles raged all day Friday before Budenny's lines protecting Kharkov and Kursk, the Mail added, with von Rundstedt's panzers probing for weak spots in the Red front.

Simultaneously von Rundstedt launched a new attack against the Russians standing before Rostov-on-Don, north of the Sea of Azov.

But everywhere, the Mail said, the Germans are meeting with fierce resistance, with heavy tank battles involving many hundreds of tanks raging east of Dniepropetrovsk.

Lindbergh Fears Loss of Liberti

Tells Fort Wayne Rall This Address 'May Be My Last'

FORT WAYNE, Ind., Oct. 3.—(INS)—The administration has shown by "many signs" that it may clamp down on free speech and end free government in America, Charles A. Lindbergh declared tonight in an address which he said "may be my last."

In the first speech he has given since the one in Des Moines for which he has been under fire, the aviator hinted that he believed the end of free elections was in sight.

"The time has come when we must consider even that," he said.

Lindbergh opened his address before an America First rally with the words:

"When I speak to you here in Fort Wayne tonight, I realize that it may be my last address.

Sees Many Signs

"How much longer free speech will be possible in the United States, I do not know. But I do know that an administration which can throw this country into unde-

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 5/8/86 BY SP6 Bjatky

100-471

as free speech ends in this country, it means that we are no longer a free people. It means that we are about to enter dictatorship and probably foreign war. It means that we will be forced to do this against the will of the people just as we have been forced into an undeclared naval war against the will of our people."

Dangers Sketched

Sketching the dangers he said America now faces, Lindbergh continued:

"The interventionists claim we have reached our present position by taking steps which the majority of the people approved of, and that, therefore, the will of the people has prevailed. The fact is that we have reached this position by following the false promises of the interventionists and our administration in Washington. Not one step the administration has taken in these last two years has been placed honestly before our people as a step toward war . . .

"Instead of seizing every opportunity to draw us further from the war, the president and his administration have not missed a single chance to push us closer to it. Instead of avoiding incidents of war, they have created them. Instead of following our mandate to stay out, they have, by subterfuge and dictatorial procedure, led us in.

"They have not only turned their backs on their campaign promises but they have been treating our congress more and more as the German reichstag has been treated under the Nazi regime.

"Congress, like the reichstag, is not consulted."

Gloomy Picture Given

Pointing to the consequences of entering the war, Lindbergh asserted that it would be necessary to turn America into an armed camp, create a military force strong enough to cross the Atlantic and invade the continent and survive a coming wave of prostration, famine and disease.

The aviator charged that administration leaders have not presented a fair picture of these consequences.

"It is essential for us to realize that what we used to call representative government, American independence and the American way of life is rapidly becoming a thing of the past," he said.

"Recently—no one will ever know the exact date—we began following a road which involved the abandonment of our most fundamental customs and traditions . . . We must face the fact that you and I and our generation have lost our American heritage. It is no longer a case of defending it. It is a case of rebuilding it."

urday, October 4, 1941.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/18/86 BY SP6bjatty

100-471

October 20, 1941

[redacted] b7C

RECORDED 100-4712-164
EX-5

[redacted] b7C

Slagle, West Virginia

Dear [redacted] b7C

I desire to acknowledge receipt of your letter of October 4, 1941, with enclosure.

Please be advised that the content of your communication has been made a matter of permanent record in the official files of this Bureau.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/8/86 BY SP6bja/tcg

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Nease
Mr. Hollomon
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED
★ OCT 20 1941 ★
P. M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

[redacted] b7C

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

CT:DSS

September 24, 1941

MEMORANDUM FOR THE DIRECTOR

Mr. Paynter, of OPM, called stating Mr. Floyd Odlum, a Division Head in OPM, connected with sub-contracting work, was desirous of securing a full membership list of America First in order that he might check such list against the names of applicants for positions. I told him the Bureau did not have a full membership list of this organization and I doubted that he would be able to secure such a list.

Clyde Tolson

Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Holloman
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nerdon
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Harbo
Tele. Room
Your Room
Mr. Keese
Mr. Tracy
Miss Beahm
Miss Gandy

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 5/8/86 BY Rebyalday

RECORDED
INDEXED
100-9712-165
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
SEP 29 1941

Federal Bureau of Investigation

United States Department of Justice

San Francisco, California
October 10, 1941

Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Re: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
INTERNAL SECURITY - G

Dear Sir:

[redacted] b7D

Very truly yours,

N. J. L. PIEPER
Special Agent in Charge

[redacted]
100-3325

b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCL...
DATE 5/8/86 BY SP6 [illegible]

1 ENCL. W

ENCL BEHIND FILE

ENCLOSURE BEHIND FILE

RECORDED
INDEXED

100-4712-1

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
5 OCT 14 1941
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FILED

ENCLOSURE - 100-4712-166

WAR IN THE MAILS

An explanation of the most Gigantic Direct Mail Fraud in the History of Advertising

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 3/18/86 BY [illegible]

EXHIBIT A-3

THE MAIL ATTACK FROM WITHOUT

U.S. CITIZENS OR RESIDENTS WITH FOREIGN HERITAGE OR TIES

THE AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE

CONSULATES: Bund Leaders; Agents; Executives; Legislators; Teachers; Military Officers

GERMAN LIBRARIES: Ministers; Teachers; College Editors; Publishers; Cultural Leaders; Legislators; Columnists

GERMAN RAILROADS: Travel Agents; Hotel Executives; Brokers; Editors; Military Officers; Senators; Civic Leaders; Attorneys

GERMAN BOARD OF TRADE: Big Businessmen; Business Leaders; Executives; Exporters; Importers; Colleges

"PATRIOTIC" ORGANIZATIONS: "Patriots"; "Philosophers"; Crack Pots; Fanatics; Students; Executives; Professors; Writers; Women

THE MAIL ATTACK FROM WITHIN

EXHIBIT "A"

WAR IN THE MAILS

A brief outline of the investigation to uncover and expose the Nazi campaign of disruption through the United States mails . . . by HENRY HOKE.

Prepared for Senator Burton K. Wheeler

I have been engaged in the Direct Mail Advertising business for twenty-one years. I have consistently crusaded for more effective, efficient and honest use of the mail for selling merchandise or ideas. At present, I am the publisher of the only magazine devoted exclusively to this form of advertising.

During September of 1939, I became alarmed at the increasing use of the mails (by foreign governments) for propaganda purposes. With the assistance of my contacts around the country, we began collecting evidences of the foreign inspired mailing campaign reaching into every phase of American life . . . the home, the office, the campus, the school room, the factory, the church—and even into Congress.

In May of 1940 I published my first article denouncing the misuse of our mails by foreign governments—and I asked the Post Office for a fraud order against the German Agencies. Unfortunately, a fraud order is issued only against those who ... money fraudulently by mail. There is no law to apply ... those who would disrupt and wreck the United States ... subversive mail campaign.

Immediately after the appearance of this article, Ernst Schmitz, Manager of the German Railroads Information Office wrote a letter to my home demanding an apology and implying the possibility of a suit for libel.

I answered Schmitz in my magazine (see Exhibit A-1). Newspapers picked up the story. As a result, many persons who had never heard of the term "Direct Mail Advertising" learned about my work. They sent or brought me additional evidence. Many of these people were German Americans who love America and who have watched with growing fear the Hitler drive to disrupt our country by dividing our thinking.

Working in cooperation with many experts in advertising and investigation, we compiled a composite picture of the far-flung and intricate Nazi mail campaign. This composite picture was presented to all investigating branches of the Government during the summer of 1940.

It is a matter of record that the Dies Committee raided various German Agencies such as Library of Information, Railroads Information Service, American Fellowship Forum, etc.

Most of the evidence obtained can be studied by securing from the Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D. C., a copy of Appendix Part III of Preliminary Report on Totalitarian Propaganda in the United States, released by Dies Committee on un-American Activities.

So that you can have in your files the exact evidence I presented to the Dies Committee, I am enclosing tear sheets of article which appeared in my magazine last July.

As a supplement to this evidence, I am attaching a photostat of a chart (Exhibit A-2) which shows the set-up of the Nazi mail campaign directed against the American Way of Life. We have actual concrete pieces of evidence to substantiate all divisions of campaign. (See Dies Report or The Reporter for July 1940.)

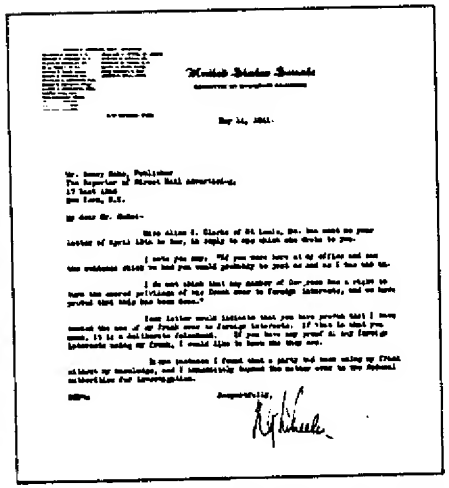
Briefly described, the Nazi mail attack on the United States can be divided into two main divisions:

(1) the attack from without, and
(2) the attack from within.

The attack from without has been directed for a number of years toward United States citizens or residents with foreign heritage or ties. Purpose: to get them to work for Hitler in the disruption of America . . . on the principles which Hitler himself has voiced:

> "America is permanently on the brink of revolution. It will be a simple matter for me to produce unrest and revolts in the United States so that these country will have their hands full with their own affairs."
>
> "National Socialism alone is destined to liberate the American people from their ruling clique. I shall undertake this task simultaneously with the restoration of Germany to her leading position in America."
>
> "I guarantee that at the right moment a new America will point as our strongest supporter when we are ready to take the stride into overseas space."

All of this Nazi propaganda, telling German-Americans what books to read, what radio stations to listen to, how to answer



questions, how to stir up the Jewish question was delivered by U. S. Post Office free of charge under the liberal rules of the International Postal Agreements.

The attack from without has now been stopped temporarily by the action of the Post Office Department (during January 1941) in seizing and burning foreign propaganda mail on the technicality that the senders had not registered as a foreign agent. Re-entry of this mail is possible by having necessary forms filed.

The attack from within America is directed, controlled and financed by the German Consulates . . . no longer diplomatic agencies. These German Consulates contact Bund Leaders, Agents, Business Executives, Legislators, Teachers, Military Officers. The mail attack here is limited to personal instructions and confidential bulletins to the other divisions of the propaganda set-up.

The German Library of Information issues its propaganda sheet regularly to some ninety-six thousand ministers, school teachers, editors of college papers, publishers, cultural leaders, legislators, columnists, etc., in an effort to convince leaders of thought that the Hitler system is better than our American Way of Life. This has been a constant barrage for the past six or seven years. Its effect on certain religious and student groups has been particularly noticeable.

The German Railroads Information Office sends weekly bulletins to some fifty thousand travel agencies, hotel executives, brokers, editors, military officers, bankers, civic leaders, "appeasers" . . . in an effort to show the successful operation of industrial life under Hitler. Behind this cloak of Direct Mail bulletins, Manager Ernst Schmitz entertains American Legion Officers, Army and Navy men, business leaders and Legislators—trying to win additional appeasers. In every country seized by Hitler so far, the German Railroads Information office has been the center of spy and disruptive "cultural" propaganda activities. No exception here.

The German Board of Trade operates as an American Corporation but the men at the top are known Hitler propagandists (such as Dr. Dresener, and Dr. Wuensche). They send their skillfully edited monthly magazines to big advertisers, business leaders, executives, exporters, financiers and colleges —in an effort to convince Americans that Hitler is bound to win and that "business better play ball."

The fifth division of internal propaganda activity is the most dangerous at present. The Germans have sponsored "patriotic organizations" in all defeated countries and duplicates of them are in full blast in the United States. In this category fall all the organized and unorganized mailing activities of individuals or groups who have been "sold" that "Hitler means no harm to America"—and who participate in carrying out Hitler's scheme of "Divide and Conquer."

EXHIBIT A—1

A Letter To

SENATOR BURTON K. WHEELER

Written by Henry Hoke in an answer to the Senator's inquiry of May 14th, 1941.

May 20th, 1941

Dear Senator Wheeler:

Never was a letter more welcome than yours of May 14th.

In every city where I have appeared before Civic Groups with the evidence of subversive activities in the mail, I have stated: "I hope Senator Wheeler ... some other member of Congress will register a complaint so that this whole mess can be thrashed out publicly."

You have answered my prayer by asking for evidence.

First: I submit exhibit marked "A" which outlines my work and my position briefly. You need that explanation in order to understand the background for my charges.

At the conclusion of Exhibit "A" you will see reference to the activities of individuals or groups within the United States. It is in this division of the Nazi scheme that the evidence you ask about appears.

I have claimed since May, 1940, that:

MEMBERS OF CONGRESS ARE AIDING THE NAZI PLAN BY ALLOWING THE USE OF THEIR FRANKING PRIVILEGE FOR THE DISSEMINATION OF DISRUPTIVE PROPAGANDA.

I make this claim constantly in my talks. I repeat it to you. And, I am sorry to say, Senator Wheeler, that all evidence collected forces me to include you in this wholesale unethical use of the franking privilege.

Before submitting this evidence concerning you and other members of Congress, let me emphasize that I do not care to argue with you concerning your political position. You, as an elected representative of the citizens of Montana, and you as a citizen of the United States, have a right to your own opinion (as we all have).

As I told Miss Clark in the letter she sent you, "I don't like what Senator Wheeler is doing because I think he closes his eyes to the facts." That thought still stands.

You and Senator Nye and the rest to be mentioned later, can try as you will to make this world situation sound like an old fashioned "border dispute": you can close your eyes to the world-wide scheme to disrupt our way of life; you can speak at meetings of the America First Committee and smilingly acknowledge the roars of the anti-American crowd in booing and hissing the President of the United States; you can stand uncomplainingly while the Nazi-packed auditorium cheers the Lindbergh line that Hitler cannot be licked. That is your privilege as an American citizen. You take your chances with the judgment of history.

Those of us on the other side of the fence simply think you are unwise and misguided in aiding the forces of disruption by openly sponsoring causes which Nazi propagandists have proclaimed so vigorously by mail.

You may have a legal right to allow the use of your franking privilege as part of the propaganda drive to divide our thinking—but there is something wrong with our laws when this franking privilege can be turned into a propagandists free-for-all at the expense of the taxpayer.

WHAT IS FRANKING PRIVILEGE?

What is the franking privilege? It was originally intended to provide members of Congress with a means of carrying on free correspondence with constituents. It is true that the franking privilege has been generally used around election time to win votes from constituents. Surely, the early legislators did not visualize that a day would come when a Representative from a Boston district, for example, would allow his frank to be used to disseminate foreign-inspired propaganda to a national mailing list. Neither did the originators of International Postal Treaties foresee the day when an unfriendly foreign government could get its disruptive propaganda carried free by the mail carriers of the United State Post Office.

Did you know, Senator, that the postal laws provide for no penalty in case of misuse of the franking privilege? Did you know, however, that a penalty of $300.00 is provided for each misuse of free penalty mail by the Executive Branches of the Government? Did you know that the Post Office has no recourse against members of Congress who misuse the franking privilege except to call the member personally and tell him, "please don't do it again?" Perhaps that is why members of Congress have been free and easy with the lending of their frank. No penalty!

Under the franking privilege regulations, a member of Congress may send bundles of unaddressed franked mail to one agent who may address and mail such material without payment of postage . . . but the Post Office frowns upon and usually prohibits (when discovered) the promiscuous distribution of franked mail to be addressed by unknown miscellaneous people.

And yet, we know that unaddressed franked mail under your signature and under that of former representative Nazi-minded Jacob Thorkelson of Montana has been distributed by your violent adherent Donald Shea at his anti-Semitic meetings and by Nazi-loving, Jew-baiting Joe McWilliams at Christian Front meetings. Recipients were instructed to address the franked envelopes and dump them into nearest postal box, without payment of postage.

Franked mail of other Senators and Representatives has been likewise bundled and passed out at meetings of the Bund, the America First Committee, the No Foreign War Committee and other groups of notorious reputation. This is against the letter and the spirit of the law.

How can this be possible! It is not done without the knowledge of these members of Congress—because you and every other member of Congress must sign a requisition before Public Printer Giegengack will deliver the printed franked envelopes to the designated one agent provided for in postal regulations. You cannot disclaim responsibility for the unauthorized use of your frank because you alone can order and it is up to you to protect the distribution of your signature.

This distribution of franked unaddressed propaganda mail has reached alarming proportions. Just before his death,

the late Senator Lundeen was allowing his franked mail to be distributed in bundles to re-addressers, who in some cases caused unaddressed envelopes to be placed secretly on the desks of prominent New York executives. (Evidence in our possession.)

Can you tell me why a Senator representing the people of Minnesota should be willing and anxious to have his strangely inspired divide-opinion propaganda delivered to the citizens of New York State? Who paid the bill for this? The taxpayers help pay for the carriage through the mail. The reprints are labelled "not printed at Government expense" but you have seen the price list for reprints, at a below cost rate. Who pays for the reprints even at the below cost rate? Surely, not the Senator . . . out of his salary.

HERE IS EVIDENCE!

Now, I'll show you specific evidence:

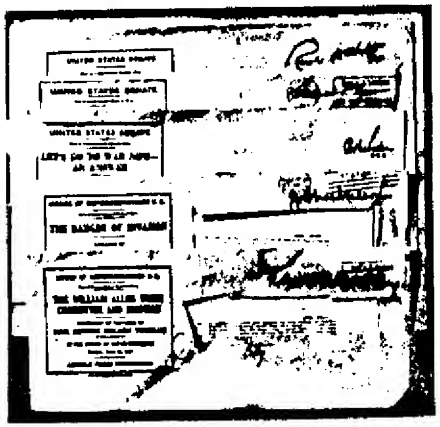


EXHIBIT B

I submit picture (marked Exhibit B) which shows the franked mail received by a German-American (the name and address style being identical with that on the mailing list from Munich) during the month of December, 1940. We remove his name because he has relatives in Germany. His name is spelled identically on the pieces received from Senators Nye and Wheeler and ex-Senator Holt; and on the pieces from George Holden Tinkham and ex-Representative Thorkelson. By a strange coincidence, the pieces from Holt, Nye, Tinkham, and Thorkelson are addressed in identically the same handwriting.

your case, the envelope is addressed with a strange old ...ioned type of stencil, which has been out of general use ...many years. Investigation among addressing machine manufacturers reveals that less than 25 firms in the city of New York still use this old fashioned addressing system. Less than three of those machines use the peculiar blue ink which appears on your franked envelope. So we have narrowed the search for your ...cent to one of the other of two. Understand that all five ... these pieces were mailed in New York to a New York G...rman-American list. Isn't that unwholesomely strange ... coming from Senators from West Virginia, North Dakot... Montana and Representatives from Massachusetts and Je...ntana? Why the use of the German list? And, why ...s the material within the envelopes reprinted from ses...ons of Congress dating June 12th, November 26th, Augu... 21st, June 22nd and June 31st (respectively . . . in order pictured from top down)? Could it be that this material was entered (staged) early and held for concerted action until just before the known period of the entry of legislation for the protection of Democracy against the inroads of Hitler?

What is the material in these envelopes? You know the answer. The same old inspired stuff . . . "no danger from Hitler . . . let's not get ourselves excited at the World going to pieces . . . let's do everything possible to block all help to the victims of Hitler's might, etc., etc., etc . . . " It is propaganda, of the Nazi inspired variety. It is the same kind of propaganda appearing in the German Library's "Facts in Review." It is the kind of propaganda which wins you and Senator Nye much space and praise in the German controlled press. It was carried free by the United States mail. It was mailed by some German organization or by some organization having access to and free use of THE NAZI MAILING LIST.

Do you consider this, Senator Wheeler, as a patriotic, truly American practice? Even though it may be legal, do you consider it ETHICAL for a man elected to represent the citizens of a district in Boston, George Holden Tinkham, to allow his frank to be used by some organization which also addresses mail for Holt, Nye and Thorkelson? Might it not be more appropriate to let the representatives of the people of New York do the circularizing (if necessary) to the people of their state? Do the people of the State of Montana know that you are allowing tons of propaganda to be mailed under frank free of charge, but at a definite cost to the tax paying citizens of the whole United States? These are questions for your own conscience. And, Senator, who is paying the bill for all of these reprints? Who . . . and WHY?

LOOK AT THE LAW?

Let's consider the LAW. One section of the Postal Laws and Regulations is written in plain language. See Chapter 4, Sec. 613 (1932) which reads as follows: "It shall be unlawful for any person entitled under the law to the use of a frank, to lend ... permit ... use by any committee, organization, or association, or permit its use by any person for the benefit or use of any committee, organization, or association. This provision shall not apply to any committee composed of members of Congress."

That law sounds clear but it doesn't mean what the average citizen would think that it means. That law means that a member of Congress cannot allow his signature (or frank) to be placed on the stationery of an outside organization containing material of that organization.

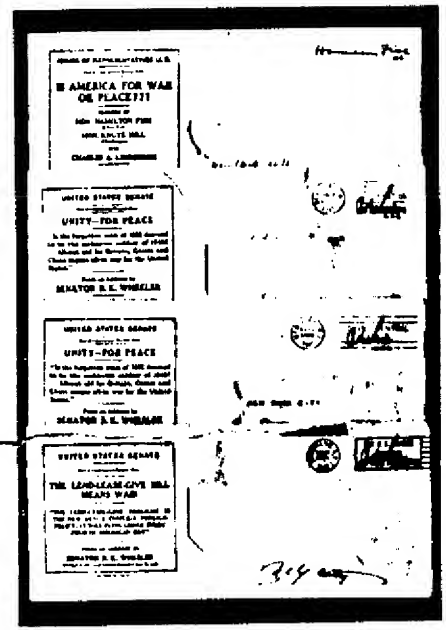
But, Senator, haven't we all arrived at a dangerous position where something should be done to clarify this law or to make it read so that it means what it sounds like? Isn't it true that the franking privilege is really being lent to outside committees or organizations under the guise of a legitimate use of the frank?

For example, I can submit an envelope bearing your frank post marked Washington, D. C., on May 10th, containing reprints of outside speeches made by you and Representative Roy Willis and introduced into the record by Senators Taft and Clark respectively. The envelope was received at a Long Island address by a "dummy name" placed on the list of American Coalition Society, who number among their members such important anti-Semites as John B. Trevor and James H. Patten and whose offices must have addressed the franked mail which you must have furnished.

The mailing was actually a mailing for the Society. It was within the law which allows you to appoint an agent, but it plainly is a propaganda mailing for the Society and your cause. Why should taxpayers pay the bill for the free use of your propaganda mail? Isn't that mailing an ethical violation of law which prohibits the lending of your frank to outside organizations, even though not a legal violation? Shouldn't something be done about all this?

We have other unusual cases (see Exhibit B-1). On March 15th an advertising manager of a magazine published in New York received for the first time franked mail from Representative Ham Fish. It contained the usual line from Fish, AND LINDBERGH (who is not yet a member of Congress). On April 17th, this same advertising manager who had not been receiving franked mail before, received one of your franked envelopes containing reprint of a speech you made on March 24th (same agent handling both yours

EXHIBIT B—1



and Fish's propaganda). Lo and behold, along on May 2nd, our German-American friend (previously mentioned in Exhibit B) received one of the same franked envelopes containing your March 24th speech addressed with the peculiar old fashioned blue stencil used during the big December appeasement drive.

Here is another case! On February 22nd (of this year) you allowed or caused to be mailed from Brooklyn, New York, under your free frank, an unknown number of letters to prominent Irish American names in New York City in an envelope which blared out the advertising that "Lend Lease Bill means War" and that "it will plow under every fourth American boy." (Later, slogan was picked up by Communists and distributed widely around many a college campus.)

Inside your franked envelope was a small slip containing remarks made by you in Senate on January 12th. You enclosed (or allowed to be enclosed) a form letter processed on the stationery of The Committee on Interstate Commerce. I am attaching a photostat of this letter. (Exhibit C.) It follows all the Direct Mail rules of technique. It is an appeal by a Senator from the State of Montana to certain citizens of the State of New York to bring pressure on duly elected representatives of New York citizens to vote against 1776. Understand, Senator Wheeler, I would charge you with the ethical misuse of the United States mail, even though you had been campaigning on the other side. Many of the people on this particular Irish mailing list resented your intrusion and presumption.

Will you answer these questions?

(1) Why does a Senator from Montana feel it necessary to usurp the prerogative of the Senators from New York in approaching their constituents?

(2) Why was a mailing with your frank made from Brooklyn? Could it be possible that the offices of the discredited Fascist-minded Christian Front handled the mailing? If not, who did?

(3) Why did you use the stationery of the Committee on Interstate Commerce to send out a purely personal appeal? (Which appeal was not about Interstate Commerce.)

Did the members of the Interstate Commerce Committee vote to allow you to use their Committee stationery to send out this personal appeal about a topic on which many of the members (listed on letterhead) disagreed with you (such as New York's Senator Wagner)?

Do you dare to reveal who or what organization paid for the printing and addressing of that meddling letter?

TIME FOR ANALYSIS!

Isn't it about high time that the tax paying citizens of this country find out what is going on within the Halls of Congress . . . and out just how far any member of Congress can go in spending the taxpayers money for deluging the country with propaganda?

I am a plain, ordinary citizen, Senator. I can't require you to answer questions. But I think you owe it to the country to make an explanation. Perhaps some patriotic citizens of Montana could demand that you explain.

You can not be unaware that all of this is going on . . . that this cancer of disruption is spreading into the structure of our mail system. You cannot disclaim responsibility or knowledge of the misuse of your frank. You alone are responsible. You have allowed widespread and promiscuous use of your frank for propaganda purposes. You know or should know that batches of your franked mail for promiscuous addressing have been passed around at meetings attended by Nazis, anti-Semites, Fascists and those who do not love America. You, in the material circulated nationally under your frank have helped to carry out the Nazi theory of "Divide and Conquer." You have helped in creating the wave of racial and religious intolerance sweeping the country by such statements as "Now we find these same international bankers with their friends the royal refugees and with the Sassoons of the Orient and with the Rothschilds and Warburgs of Europe in another theme song . . . Our investments in India, Africa, and Europe must be preserved. Save democracy!"

You know that these anti-Semitic statements sound very similar to Hitler's own phrasing, as: "The Jewish capitalistic warmongers, their hands stained with blood, saw their tangible pretext for realizing their diabolical plans vanish. Once again we witness a conspiracy of . . . money grabbing financial ma...nates for whom war was a welcome means for furthering ...eir aims."

Don't yo... know, Senator, that what we need in this country is ...mity of purpose, a desire to fight with words, money, str...gth, faith and tolerance the enemies of truth, kindness a... freedom?

What ha... caused you to become the leader of this gang of "divide ...d conquer" propagandists? Is it your deep personal ha... ed of the elected head of our country, who (at the very le... t) should be respected and upheld in the most crucial time... n our history? Politicians like you should stop for a mom... and read again and again and again Stephan Decatur's ... st of 1816. "My country! In her intercourses with foreig... nations, may she ever be right; but, right or wrong, my ...country." You, Senator Wheeler, are not the

man elected by the people to have "intercourse" with foreign nations. Party lines, personal grievances, should make no difference now when the head of this country is battling with enemy forces who want him discredited and ridiculed. Could it be possible that you are misguided by the plans for a Peace Party to be dominated by you, John L. Lewis, and Lindbergh? What do you and these other frank-using Congressmen want? Glory, power, defeat . . . or what?

I am not the only one who knows about the misuse of the franking privilege for propaganda purposes. You, no doubt, read the press release issued by the Overseas News Agency on April 27th. In case you missed it, here are verbatim quotes. You should have all the facts:

"WASHINGTON, April 25th (ONA)—The American public which is spending seven billion dollars for aid to embattled democracies, is also spending cash to send through the mails to mailing lists compiled by pro-Nazis, literature designed to kill aid for democracies.

Definite proof that defeatists and isolationist Congressional speeches are being distributed in enormous quantities through pro-Nazi, anti-Semitic mailing lists at the expense of the American public was obtained by this correspondent today.

In Omaha, Neb., Charles B. Hudson, violently anti-Semitic publisher, admitted to reporters that he had distributed isolationist speeches under the Congressional free mailing franks of Senators Worth Clark of Idaho, Bennett Champ Clark of Missouri and Burton K. Wheeler of Montana, and Representatives Oliver of Maine and Bolton of Ohio.

This last week in Washington, subscribers to Hudson's pamphlet, "America in Danger" received three speeches reprinted from the Congressional Record—speeches by Senators Clark of Idaho, LaFollette of Wisconsin and Brooks of Illinois. They were entitled respectively, "You are on your way to war," "Stop the march to war," and "Three steps to war."

None of the speeches were mailed from either Washington or the states the Senators represent in Congress. They all came from Omaha, Hudson's headquarters, and Hudson, whose pro-Nazi activities were exposed by the Dies Committee, has admitted sending them all.

The speeches were reprinted from the Congressional Record "not at government expense." This means only that they were reprinted at cost by the Government Printing Office.

In at least one case, the office of the Senator involved denied knowing through what mailing lists the speeches were distributed and in Omaha, Hudson told reporters that the Congressional speeches didn't come directly from the Congressional offices for distribution through him but "are sent to me from the East but I don't know who sends them."

The office of Senator Clark of Idaho involved Representative Hamilton Fish of New York in the matter. Clark's office said that the speeches were sent only to the Order of the Purple Heart under Clark's frank so far as the Idaho Senator knew, but copies were sent to the office of Representative Fish and the thousands of pamphlets distributed through pro-Nazi mailing lists were purchased through Fish's office.

Senator Clark's office denied that the Idaho Senator had given permission for Hudson to use Clark's free mailing frank."

MISUSE IS GENERAL

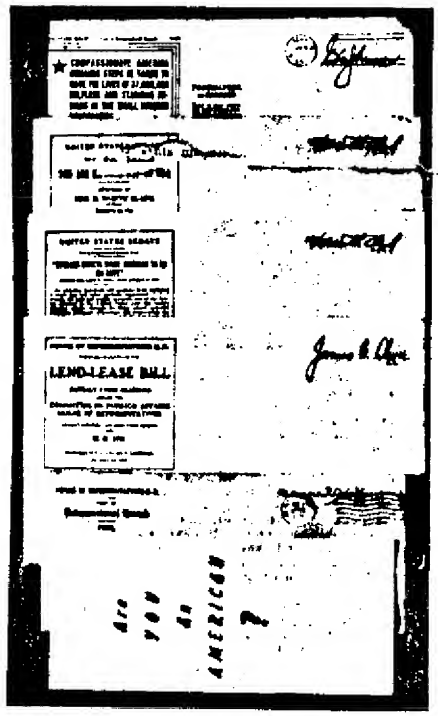
I attach photographs, Exhibit D, showing other examples of franked mail "allowed to be used" by E. C. Johnson of Colorado, D. Worth Clark of Idaho, James C. Oliver, Maine, and Clare E. Hoffman of Michigan.

Johnson of Idaho circularizes citizens of Texas asking them to feed the invaded countries (of course, that wouldn't help Hitler . . . much); the Honorable D. Worth Clark allows his franked mail to be used repeatedly by who-knows to spread the cause of disunity and apathy toward Hitler's conquests; Clare Hoffman really violates the Postal regulations because he reprints an insertion in Congressional Records booklet form with a cover bearing title "Are you an American?" It is against the law to "embellish" Congressional proceedings and mail under frank. (But why follow the law, when there is no penalty for a violation of it?)

James C. Oliver has been extraordinarily active in broadcasting tons of Nazi-decorated Lindbergh's statement inserted in the "record." A University professor in TEXAS received a franked Oliver (Maine) envelope post marked New York and bearing an address sticker obviously made from address plate of a trial subscription to Scribner's Commentator, the great appeasement and God-bless-Hitler journal. Investigation shows that these reprints of Lindbergh's statements inserted in Oliver's franked envelopes were ordered by the Washington Chapter of the America First Committee through Oliver's office under instructions received from the New York office of the America First Committee. These blank stuffed envelopes, bearing Oliver's frank, were distributed through Philadelphia, Chicago, New York and other areas for addressing by miscellaneous promiscuous unknown and unnumbered persons.

It is presumed logically that the America First Committee paid for these reprints. But they were delivered free under legal protection of Oliver's frank. Why should the America First Committee be permitted to send its propaganda through the mail free of charge? You have elected to be the spokesman for the America First Committee . . . when you well know that their meetings are packed with every breed of pro-Nazi and un-American agitators. You well know that the Nazi agents who ran the now defunct American Fellowship Forum have been and are now actively campaigning for the America First Committee. You cannot be unaware of the wave of strong-arm terrorism growing around America First meetings . . . resulting in the physical assault of "democratic" objectors. Ask me, Senator, about the beating received by a 60 year old American who objected to the un-American remarks of a speaker at an America First Committee Rally!! Is that YOUR IDEA OF DEMOCRACY?

EXHIBIT D



We could go along like this, Senator Wheeler, for a long time. We could tell you about a friend of ours who reported on March 12th by wire that he saw a sackful of franked plain propaganda mail from a certain Senator in Washington delivered to the Defender Magazine (edited by Gerald Winrod) at Wichita, Kansas for readdressing to their pro-Fascist, anti-Semitic, pro-Nazi list. (The Nazi World Wire Service recommends Winrod highly.)

That means that the franking privilege was prostituted by being loaned to an outside organization whose interests are far from American. All within the letter of the law perhaps . . . but tottering close to the hair line of TREASON.

WHAT CAN BE DONE?

I'll rest my case here, Senator. This plague of disruption . . . this insidious gnawing at the vitals of decency and of good statesmanship . . . is happening right here in America . . . in your and my America. Those who hear about it for the first time say "It can't be true." But, IT IS TRUE. A small clique of obstructionist members of Congress have prostituted their right to the franking privilege; they have turned over this right to bundists, crackpots, anti-Semites, anti-Americans; they have violated (in spirit at least) the laws and regulations governing the use of the frank. They have violated their oath to uphold the dignity of their high office. And these same members of Congress are the most loud spoken in their criticism and contempt for those who are trying to guide this country through trouble waters. They label all critics of their questionable actions . . . WAR-MONGERS.

I'm glad that you asked for an explanation of my charges. You forgot to mention that in the letter I wrote to your informer, Miss Clark, I said, "Don't think for a minute that I am a warmonger. I have three boys of my own (see letter to them, Exhibit E). I don't want to see them shot. But I believe the American people can stop Hitler if they will stop being appeasers." The time has come to get tough. You and Senator Nye have one common glaring inconsistency in all your speeches and propaganda mailings (I've read and listened carefully). You claim that "this is the same old kind of border disputes . . . that America is being bombarded by pressure to get us into war." Both of you have refused to keep in step with changes and to face the facts. This is a new kind of war of disruption . . . a war preceded by skillful mail propaganda used as a military weapon. I could prove to you and Senator Nye (if you would listen) by Post Office Records and by the minutes of the Direct Mail Advertising Association, that direct mail was only just beginning in 1914, 15, 16, 17. It was not used widely as a commercial advertising vehicle. It was not used to any extent by foreign governments.

Direct mail (see postal figures) did not start growing until the 20's. Until the advent of Communism, no foreign government used direct mail as a means of influencing the citizens of another country to accept or approve of a form of government inimical to their own. Hitler killed direct mail in Germany because he had used it to win Germany for Nazism. Hitler has built and operated the largest Direct Mail Campaign in the history of Advertising . . . a campaign designed to sell Disruption and Destruction. And, as in France, Belgium, Poland, Denmark, Holland, etc., Hitler has succeeded because he was able to get "Patriots" to participate in his unbelievably complete direct mail scheme. (Refer back to Chart marked Exhibit A-3.)

You and Senator Nye could become two of the biggest men in our history . . . by calmly reviewing the facts . . . by admitting without thought of personal pride or ambition that you were misguided or misinformed . . . and by using your prestige and new found faith in United States to help mould this country to the single dominant purpose of defeating the scourge of hate and power which is Hitler's Voice of Destruction.

Before concluding please add this pertinent information: I am acting solely as an individual citizen. I am interested professionally in the legitimate use of the United States mail. I have a logical right to uncover and print information about the fraudulent or questionable use of the mail, by business cheats, by foreign governments or . . . by members of the Congress of the United States. The dignity of your position deserves respect—and I respect it. But I cannot uncomplainingly respect the holder of the position . . . when he has used it, in my opinion, as a Voice of Disruption.

I represent no Association or propaganda group. I have been financed by no outside organization or individuals.

I am not a warmonger and I have yet to discover any evidence of so-called warmongering in the contacts I have had with business men or government officials.

For thirteen months I've waged a battle to uncover and destroy subversive activities in the mails. I've had threats and I've been taken "to the mountain top of attractive offers" . . . all sorts of efforts to make me stop. I WILL NOT stop until the wholesale misuse of the mails is stopped. I'm willing to step aside and put the finish of the fight in more capable and effective hands. I'd even be willing to turn the job over to you.

I repeat my accusation that you and other named members of Congress have misused, or allowed the misuse of, your franking privilege in the interests of the disrupters of the American Way of Life. (Knowingly or unwittingly.)

You have participated in a practice which in last fiscal year (according to Post Office Cost Ascertainment figures) cost the taxpayers $1,217,346.00. (The credit Post Office received for carrying franked mail. The amount will be much larger this fiscal year judging by your increased use of the frank.)

If you are sincere Senator in your much publicized patriotism, I will retract my charge on the day that you stand up in the Senate and propose:

(a) An Emergency Legislation Act . . . making it illegal for any foreign government (or its agents) to solicit or approach by mail or in person any resident of the United States for the purpose of influencing an acceptance of a form of government opposed to our own. Such an Act in legal and constitutional phraseology would close the German Library, the German Railroads, the German American Board of Trade and all Communist and Fascist breeches.

(b) A complete revision of the franking regulations making it illegal (with penalties) for any member of Congress to lend the use of the frank for propaganda purposes—or to use that frank FOR ANY PURPOSE except official business or for correspondence with constituents.

Until that day, Senator Wheeler, I'll keep watching, collecting and accusing.

The end of the fight may be up to you.

Sincerely,

(Signed) HENRY HOKE
Publisher.

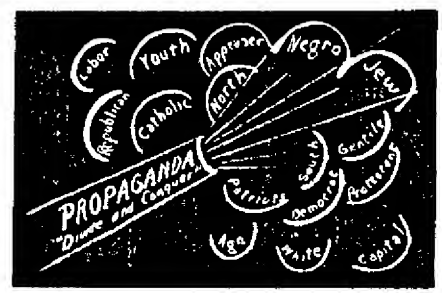


EXHIBIT "E"

— Excerpts from —

A LETTER TO THREE SONS

Originally printed in the June 1940 REPORTER and reprinted widely all over the world. It is inserted here to make this record complete.

Dear Boys:

It won't be for very long I can call you that. You have grown fast. It seems so short a time since we built the trains in the cellar . . . and packed them away to hold for little future-fellows. The world moves so fast these days . . . we've all had to grow up quickly . . . and you must look at your new world with eyes more mature than mine when I professed youth.

It's time for us four to have a "bull-session" and find out where we stand. I'll put my end of it in a letter.

Those mimeographed sheets you've been getting in school (stuck under your door, etc.) . . . and those doubtful doctrines discussed (sometimes approved) by teachers and newspapers and your elders . . . have mixed-up your thinking until it's no wonder you wonder what all the shoutin's about.

What are you going to BELIEVE? That is the real problem of youth. What is the one thing that most worries the fathers of fine sons? I'd say . . . the **Indifference of Youth** to the whole problem of this new world you face so calmly.

Maybe (and it is most plausible) Life has been too easy for all of us. Maybe youth has had too many busses to take them to school; too much hot water without chopping wood; too much "finger-tip" music and news without shoveling a path through the snow to the town hall or to the debators around the stove at the corner store. Too much freedom and leisure and vacation . . . without having to fight to keep the Indians away from the playground clearing. Too much solicitude for shorter hours of work . . . without realizing that work is fun and that leisure is satisfying only when truly earned. Maybe that is the cause of the **Indifference.** Is it? You answer. Maybe the blame falls on us fathers.

FOUR SUGGESTIONS

First: I don t believe there is a single father in this America who wants to see his sons forced into a war. I don't believe any American (official or plain citizen) wants fine, clean boys like you to be slaughtered. Weigh those rumors of war mongering carefully. **They smell . . . fishy.**

Second: I nominate you three boys as charter members of a new club to be composed of American Fathers and Sons. Let's call the new club: "The Hi-Timers." (It's **hightime** we're doing something about this America of ours.) Get it? Let's have many sober and serious sessions to find out what all the shouting is about. Let's weigh calmly and sincerely all these foreign claims that America is no good . . .

Third: I don't want to be sappy in this session. I don't want to do any flag-waving vaudeville stunt for you. We'll dispense with the reading or singing of "The Star Spangled Banner" . . . but Good God Almighty boys—do your share in **all your contacts** from this minute on to change the **Indifference of Youth** into a deep and sane love of this free country you inherit.

What do **you** think of America? Isn't it great? Are you going to let these foreign propagandists lull you and your friends to sleep or into thinking there is Utopia at the end of a bloody rainbow of lust and murder and regimentation? Or conversely, are you going to let some of the crackpots which exist and flourish in a DEMOCRACY flim-flam us with theories that we shouldn't work (and **regiment ourselves if necessary**) to protect this country of ours from the enemies of our peaceful pursuits?

Fourth: In these changing days—read **both sides** of all controversies. Be skeptical of obvious propaganda. Search for the motives behind the appeals you receive. Study the history of this country—not as you studied in school—but as an absorbing, personal guide to your future. Read, analyze, and look at this land of yours objectively and patriotically. If we all have to go to training camps to prepare ourselves for possible protection—**let's do it gladly.** Let's say it's Hi-Time we all are willing to get away from ease, and to work a little overtime to keep safe the land that has given us this **ease and work.**

It is **your** America, Boys. It belongs to you and your boy-and-girl friends. It belongs to you and the kids who may some day unpack and rebuild the old trains.

I've got to get back to work. I leave the rest of the session to you. Call the first meeting of **The Hi-Timers** to order. Organize it, promote it (by Direct Mail if necessary). But above all . . . **be a Hi-Timer,** and by your courage and example destroy the **INDIFFERENCE OF YOUTH.**

Change that Indifference to Fire and Faith and Hope for a Free America. You can do it . . . and the fellow who knows you can do it is [illegible]

Your Dad

SO WHAT?

What are we Americans going to do about this barrage of propaganda in the mails? A barrage which spills over into the Press, into the Schools, Churches, Homes, Factories, Offices—and into meetings of all kinds.

How can we stop it without wrecking the very freedom we are trying to protect—the freedom of speech, of press, of assembly?

Laws could be devised to limit the use of the mails—during the emergency at least—to Americans. Sedition laws possibly could be invoked against those trying to undermine love for America among the soldiers and students. Laws could be devised (see suggestions made to Senator Wheeler) to restrict the *misuse* of the mails by foreign interests—and to eliminate the misuse of franking privileges.

These are jobs for lawyers and lawmakers. In the meantime all of us can fight this propaganda with a concerted drive to expose it, explain it—and show it for what it really is—*a gigantic fraud.* All of us can individually become crusaders and fighters for Democracy.

We can refuse to be influenced by defeatism, by appeasement, by anti-democratic hokum. We can be *more tolerant*—and refuse to become part of the scheme to stir up racial, religious, political or group-against-group intolerance.

We can carry the story contained in this report to all of our contacts. We, as individuals and groups, can defeat Nazi, Fascist and Communist inspired fear—by refusing to be afraid, by refusing to be confused by the deluge of disruption.

Use this report as basic material for discussions at school and civic meetings. Use *your freedom of the mails* to let your wishes be known at Washington. Don't let the *disruptors* do all the writing!

America is worth fighting for. If this is to be a war of propaganda—of internal disruption—let's show the disruptors that American Advertising and Public Relations genius can stage an effective counter-action of its own.

The Reporter offices at 17 East 42nd Street, New York will be glad to furnish leaders of business or civic groups free of charge with reference lists of source material on this subject of propaganda in the mail. Reprints of this report will be available at a cost price for quantities.

FRIENDS OF DEMOCRACY, INC.
103 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK CITY

THE AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
The NAZI TRANSMISSION BELT

Whether They Know It Or Not —

The America First Committee, whether its members know it or not and whether they like it or not, is a Nazi front!

It is a transmission belt by means of which the apostles of Nazism are spreading their anti-democratic ideas into millions of American homes!

This is not to say that the America First Committee is a Nazi organization. On the contrary, the great majority of its officers and members are patriotic Americans who sincerely believe that this nation should pursue a policy of isolationism and appeasement.

But that is exactly what Adolf Hitler and his disciples in the United States believe, and they are using—or misusing—the America First Committee to spread those ideas.

We do not question the integrity of the leadership and membership of the America First Committee nor the sincerity of its program. But we do seriously question the wisdom of the policy-makers and the soundness of a policy which has the unqualified approval of Adolf Hitler, Benito Mussolini and their agents in the United States. It is no secret that the Axis wishes for and works toward the destruction of democracy throughout the world.

In its war upon democracy the Axis has no more effective ally in the United States than the America First Committee. This is true because the America First Committee denounces the Axis while it advocates a foreign policy favorable to the Axis. Thus, it is more effective than any Nazi agent or organization, for it does not bear the stigma of an alien loyalty.

Recognizing this basic fact, the American organizations committed to totalitarianism have rallied around the banner of the America First Committee. The following pages will show how they operate openly at meetings of the America First Committee; how they distribute the literature of the Committee and recruit members; how they publicize the Committee in the American Nazi press; how the propaganda ministries in Berlin and Rome publicize the Committee on an international scale.

Friends of Democracy has always opposed front organizations serving as transmission belts for both Communists and Nazis. To us it seems unfortunate that the America First Committee, whose members in times past have fought the transmission belts of the Communists, now finds itself functioning as a Nazi transmission belt.

And it is equally unfortunate that a group of American citizens, consciously or unconsciously, is giving aid and comfort to an enemy whose very existence has caused the United States to spend billions of dollars in a rearmament program.

HITLER'S ARGUMENTS THROUGH THE MOUTHS OF THE AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE SPOKESMEN

—*From Senator Wheeler by Radio, March 3, 1941:*

"Now we find these same international bankers with their friends the royal refugees and with the Sassoons of the Orient and with the Rothschilds and Warburgs of Europe in another theme song . . . 'Our investments in India, Africa and Europe must be preserved. Save democracy!'"

—*From Hitler, July 19, 1940:*

"The Jewish capitalistic warmongers, their hands stained with blood, saw their tangible pretext for realizing their diabolical plans vanish. Once again we witness a conspiracy of . . . money-grabbing financial magnates for whom war was a welcome means for furthering their aims."

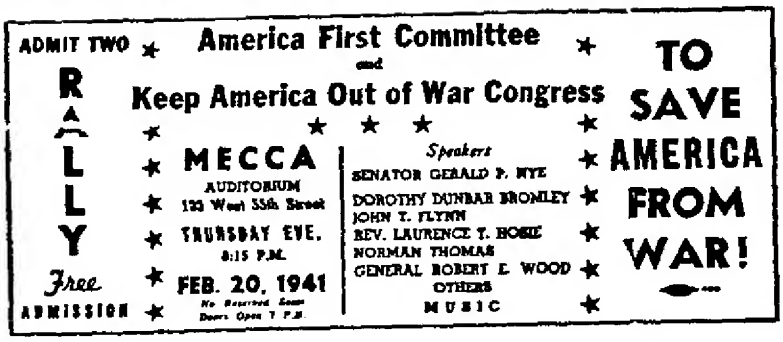
—*From Senator Nye to the Senate, March 4, 1941:*

"The greatest aggressor in all modern history has been the British Empire. . . . The Empire is the despotic, arbitrary and sometimes tyrannical rule over almost half a billion people. . . . It is this Empire that is calling us in the name of democracy."

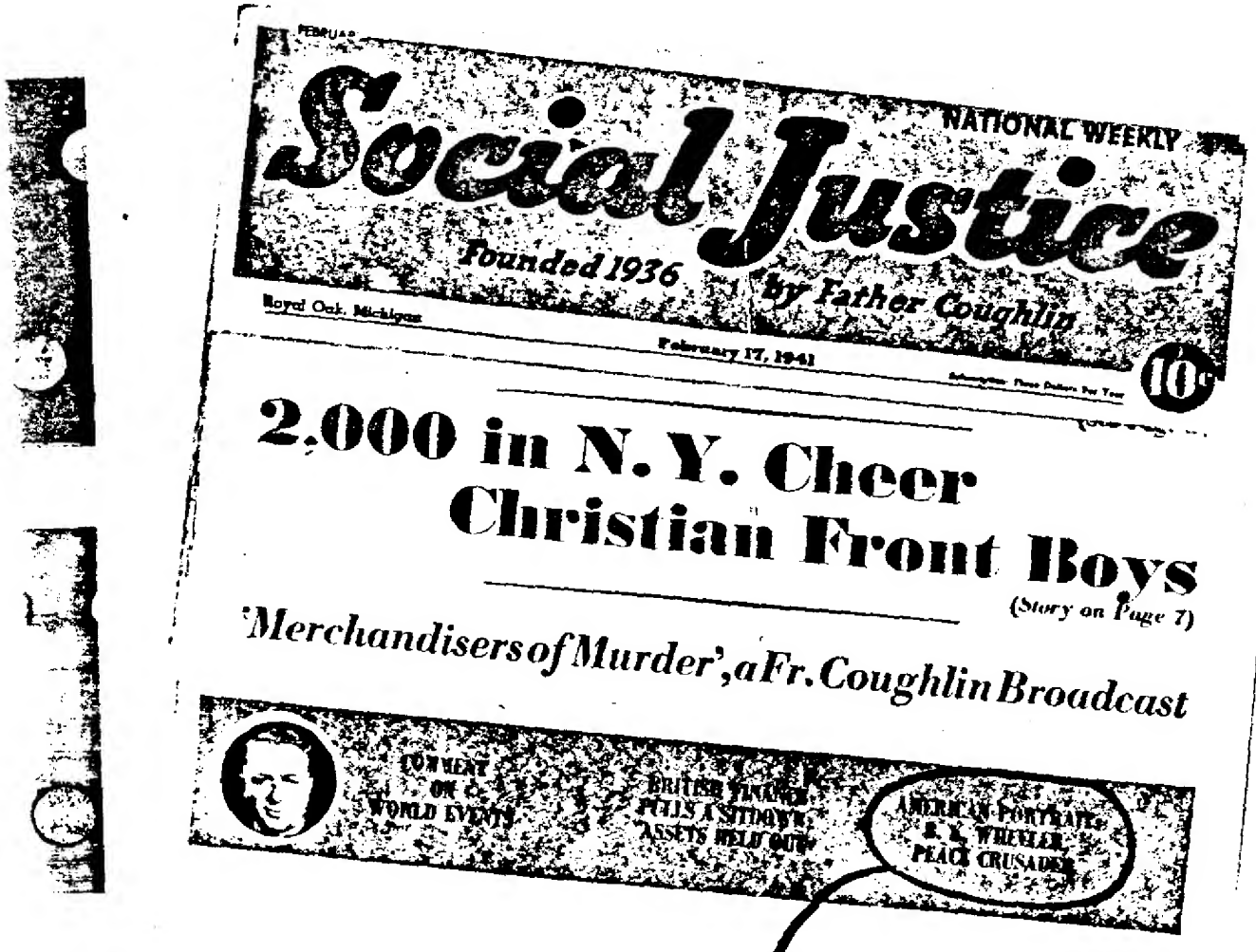
—*From Hitler to the German People, January 30, 1940:*

"England had gradually built up her so-called world empire by force. Nation after nation was crushed and the structure was created which was called the British Empire."

These two Senators, Burton K. Wheeler of Montana (Dem.) and Gerald P. Nye of North Dakota (Rep.), have served the America First Committee as spokesmen. The wife of the Montana Senator, Lulu M. White Wheeler, is extremely active in the affairs of the America First Committee. So is their son, John Leonard Wheeler, who is known to be one of the heads of the America First Committee in Los Angeles, California.

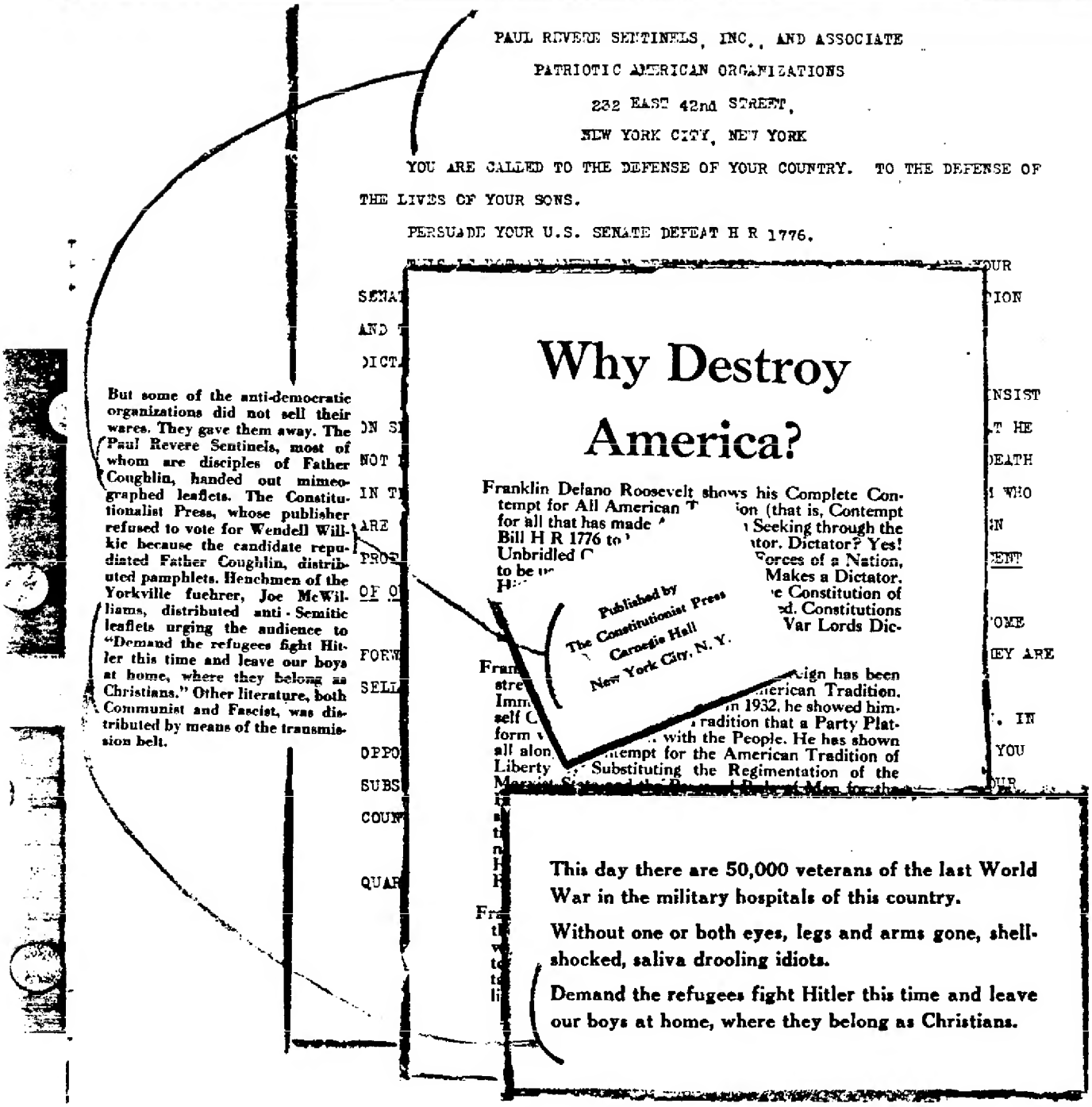


The biggest show of the America First Committee thus far was a mass meeting at Mecca Temple, New York City, on February 20th. The stage was occupied by spokesmen of the America First Committee, but a large part of the audience belonged to New York's petty fuehrers who desire not peace but a Nazi victory. Members of the Nazified American Destiny Party were there because their leader, Joe McWilliams, had said to them: "I want everyone of you who can to go to the important meeting at Mecca Temple." So were members of other pro-Nazi outfits—the Paul Revere Sentinels, the Christian Front, the American Nationalists, the German-American Bund and the Kyffhauser Bund. As always, the America First Committee served as a transmission belt to relay Adolf Hitler's propaganda to his American disciples.



Hawkers of Father Coughlin's anti-Semitic magazine, *Social Justice*, did a thriving business. This is understandable, because the issue on sale contained an article in praise of "B. K. Wheeler, Peace Crusader." Senator Wheeler, whose wife is a member of the national committee of the America First Committee, has become a hero not only of the anti-Semitic, fascist-minded radio priest but of all who would substitute totalitarianism for democracy in the United States.

. . . And Steal the Show



PAUL REVERE SENTINELS, INC., AND ASSOCIATE

PATRIOTIC AMERICAN ORGANIZATIONS

232 EAST 42nd STREET,

NEW YORK CITY, NEW YORK

YOU ARE CALLED TO THE DEFENSE OF YOUR COUNTRY. TO THE DEFENSE OF THE LIVES OF YOUR SONS.

PERSUADE YOUR U.S. SENATE DEFEAT H R 1776.

Why Destroy America?

Franklin Delano Roosevelt shows his Complete Contempt for All American T[radi]on (that is, Contempt for all that has made A[merica] Seeking through the Bill H R 1776 to [Dic]tator. Dictator? Yes! Unbridled C[oncentrated] Forces of a Nation, to be u[sed] Makes a Dictator. H[itler] e Constitution of ed. Constitutions Var Lords Dic-

Published by The Constitutionist Press Carnegie Hall New York City, N. Y.

Fran[klin] ign has been stre[ngthened] merican Tradition. Imm[igrants] n 1932, he showed himself C[hampion] radition that a Party Platform w[as] with the People. He has shown all alon[g] ntempt for the American Tradition of Liberty [by] Substituting the Regimentation of the

This day there are 50,000 veterans of the last World War in the military hospitals of this country.

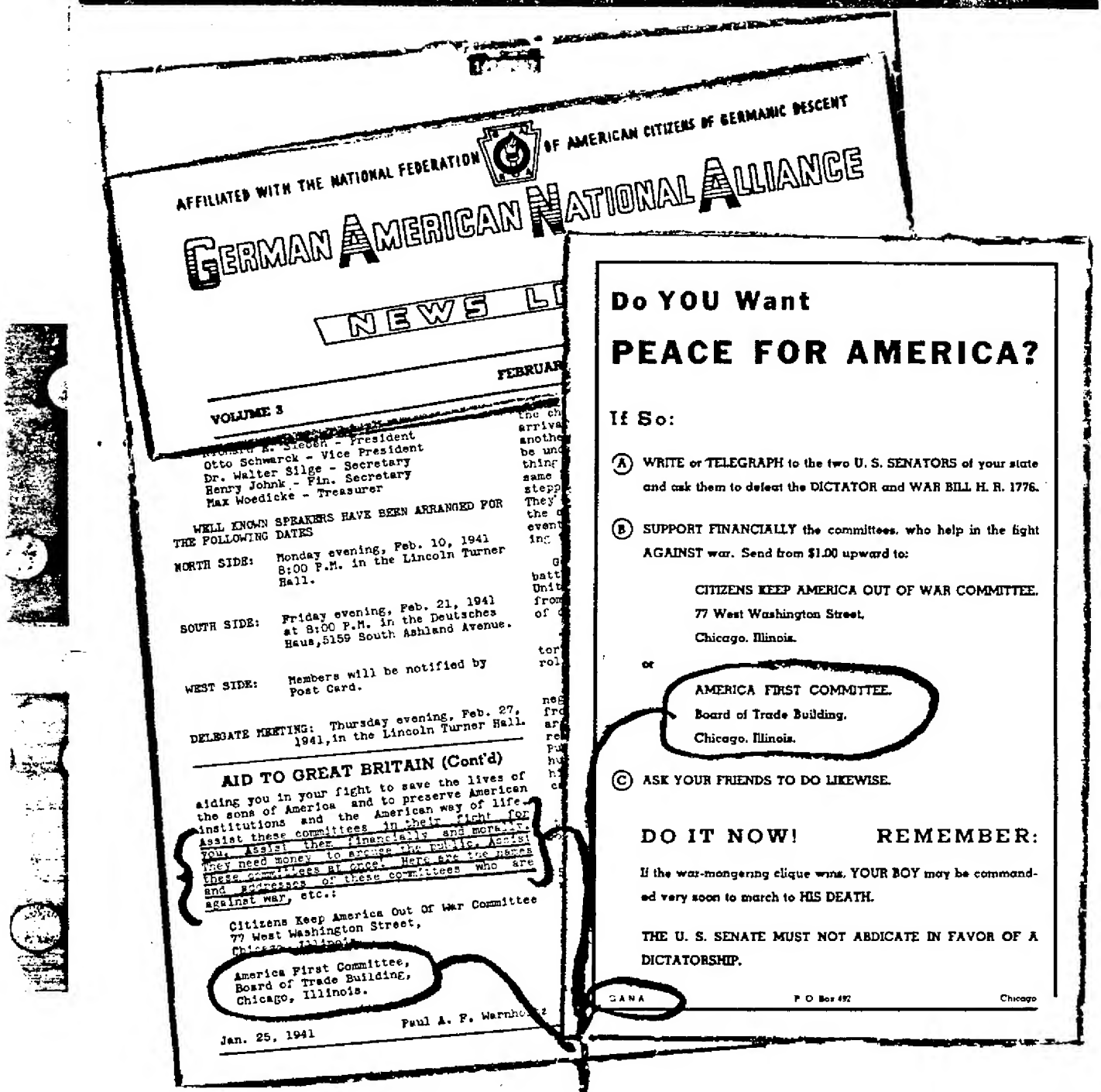
Without one or both eyes, legs and arms gone, shell-shocked, saliva drooling idiots.

Demand the refugees fight Hitler this time and leave our boys at home, where they belong as Christians.

But some of the anti-democratic organizations did not sell their wares. They gave them away. The Paul Revere Sentinels, most of whom are disciples of Father Coughlin, handed out mimeographed leaflets. The Constitutionalist Press, whose publisher refused to vote for Wendell Willkie because the candidate repudiated Father Coughlin, distributed pamphlets. Henchmen of the Yorkville fuehrer, Joe McWilliams, distributed anti-Semitic leaflets urging the audience to "Demand the refugees fight Hitler this time and leave our boys at home, where they belong as Christians." Other literature, both Communist and Fascist, was distributed by means of the transmission belt.

Yes, the Nazis stole the show. A newspaperman wrote: "They applauded violently as Senator Burton K. Wheeler, Senator Gerald P. Nye and Norman Thomas predicted that this country faced war and dictatorship if the lend-lease bill passed. With great heartiness they booed President Roosevelt, Wendell Willkie, Mayor LaGuardia, Walter Lippmann and the British Navy. Occasionally they shouted 'The Jews, the Jews!' and 'Morgenthau and Cohen' when speakers discussed public sentiment in favor of all-out aid to Britain." And when the meeting was over, it was not the leaders of the America First Committee who shook hands with the audience as it left, but Joe McWilliams — he who openly seeks to become the American Hitler.

Chicago Nazis Solicit Funds



AFFILIATED WITH THE NATIONAL FEDERATION OF AMERICAN CITIZENS OF GERMANIC DESCENT

GERMAN AMERICAN NATIONAL ALLIANCE

NEWS L

VOLUME 3 FEBRUAR

Otto Schwarck - Vice President
Dr. Walter Silge - Secretary
Henry Johnk - Fin. Secretary
Max Woedicke - Treasurer

WELL KNOWN SPEAKERS HAVE BEEN ARRANGED FOR THE FOLLOWING DATES

NORTH SIDE: Monday evening, Feb. 10, 1941 8:00 P.M. in the Lincoln Turner Hall.

SOUTH SIDE: Friday evening, Feb. 21, 1941 at 8:00 P.M. in the Deutschen Haus, 5159 South Ashland Avenue.

WEST SIDE: Members will be notified by Post Card.

DELEGATE MEETING: Thursday evening, Feb. 27, 1941, in the Lincoln Turner Hall.

AID TO GREAT BRITAIN (Cont'd)

aiding you in your fight to save the lives of the sons of America and to preserve American institutions and the American way of life. Assist these committees in their fight for you. Assist them financially and morally. Assist them immediately. They need money to arouse the public. Assist these committees at once. Here are the names and addresses of these co-mittees who are against war, etc.:

Citizens Keep America Out Of War Committee
77 West Washington Street,

America First Committee,
Board of Trade Building,
Chicago, Illinois.

Jan. 25, 1941

Do YOU Want

PEACE FOR AMERICA?

If So:

(A) WRITE or TELEGRAPH to the two U. S. SENATORS of your state and ask them to defeat the DICTATOR and WAR BILL H. R. 1776.

(B) SUPPORT FINANCIALLY the committees, who help in the fight AGAINST war. Send from $1.00 upward to:

CITIZENS KEEP AMERICA OUT OF WAR COMMITTEE.
77 West Washington Street,
Chicago, Illinois.

or

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE.
Board of Trade Building,
Chicago, Illinois.

(C) ASK YOUR FRIENDS TO DO LIKEWISE.

DO IT NOW! REMEMBER:

If the war-mongering clique wins, YOUR BOY may be commanded very soon to march to HIS DEATH.

THE U. S. SENATE MUST NOT ABDICATE IN FAVOR OF A DICTATORSHIP.

GANA P O Box 492 Chicago

The German American National Alliance of Chicago also calls itself the *Einheitsfront*, or "United Front." Its Nazi origin and connections are well known.

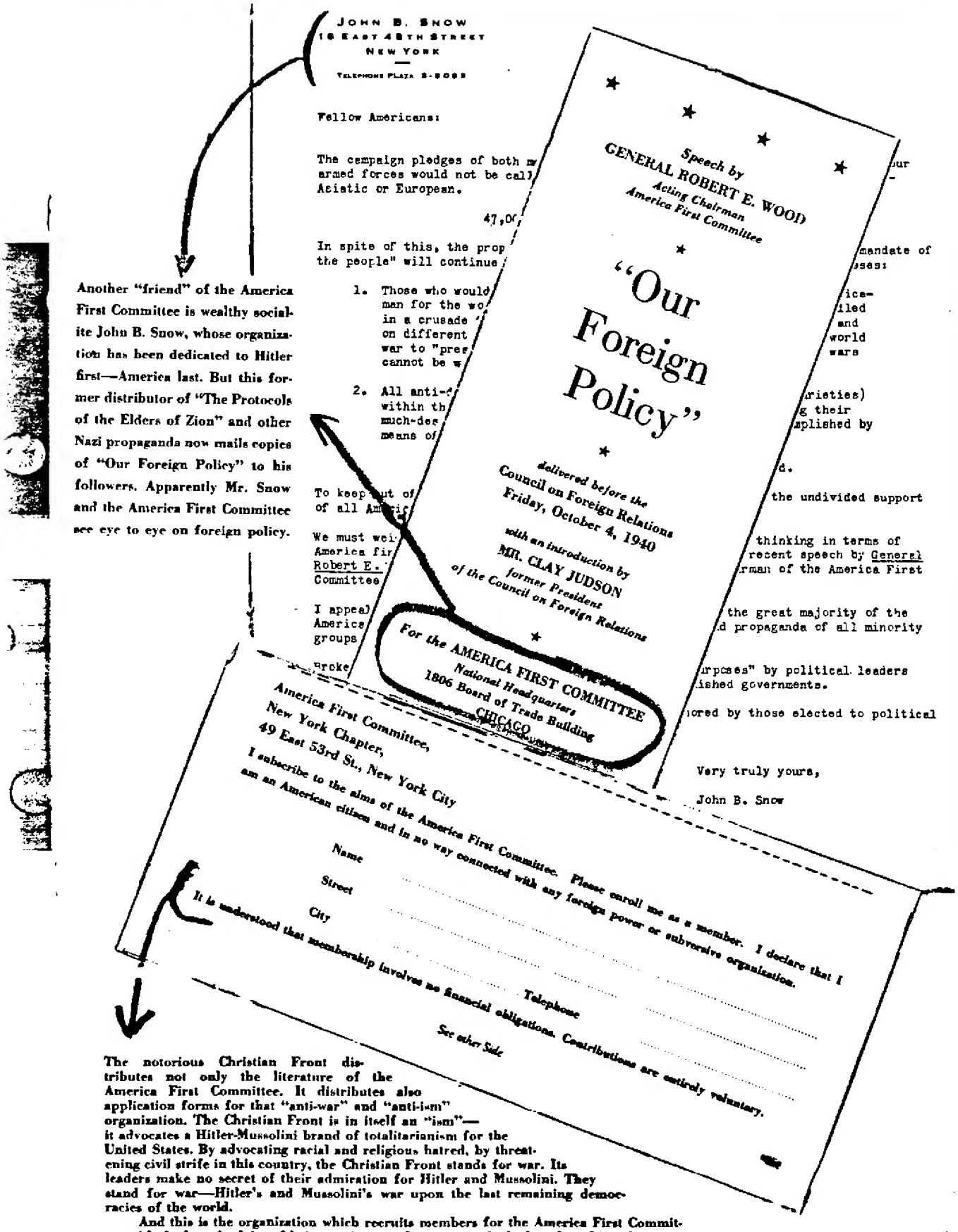
The German American National Alliance brazenly uses the transmission-belt technique. It calls upon its members to work through the America First Committee and the Citizens' Keep America Out of War Committee. The "United Front" is to be extended to include the two "anti-war" committees. "Assist them financially and morally. Assist these committees at once!" Such is the shrill command of the *Einheitsfront* to Hitler-lovers in the Middle West.

America First? Keep Out of War? Handy names and slogans for those who are neither patriots nor pacifists but mere handmaidens of the Axis!

America First? It is America First-Aid to the Nazis!

Keep Out of War? It is but a brown herring dragged across the trail of those who would harm this country's defense!

N.Y. Nazis Recruit Members



JOHN B. SNOW
18 EAST 48TH STREET
NEW YORK

TELEPHONE PLAZA 8-8088

Fellow Americans:

The campaign pledges of both m... armed forces would not be call... Asiatic or European.

47,0...

In spite of this, the prop... the people" will continue...

1. Those who would... man for the wo... in a crusade ... on different ... war to "pres... cannot be w...

2. All anti-... within th... much-des... means of...

To keep ...ut of ... of all Am...

We must wei... America fir... Robert E. ... Committee...

I appeal ... America... groups...

...roke...

...mandate of ...sses:

...ice- ...iled ...and ...world ...wars

...rieties) ...g their ...plished by

...d.

...the undivided support

...thinking in terms of ...recent speech by General ...rman of the America First

...the great majority of the ...d propaganda of all minority

...rposes" by political leaders ...ished governments.

...ored by those elected to political

Very truly yours,

John B. Snow

Speech by
GENERAL ROBERT E. WOOD
Acting Chairman
America First Committee

"Our Foreign Policy"

delivered before the
Council on Foreign Relations
Friday, October 4, 1940

with an introduction by
MR. CLAY JUDSON
former President
of the Council on Foreign Relations

For the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
National Headquarters
1806 Board of Trade Building
CHICAGO

America First Committee,
New York Chapter,
49 East 53rd St., New York City

I subscribe to the aims of the America First Committee. Please enroll me as a member. I declare that I am an American citizen and in no way connected with any foreign power or subversive organization.

Name .....

Street .....

City ..... Telephone .....

It is understood that membership involves no financial obligations. Contributions are entirely voluntary.

See other Side

Another "friend" of the America First Committee is wealthy socialite John B. Snow, whose organization has been dedicated to Hitler first—America last. But this former distributor of "The Protocols of the Elders of Zion" and other Nazi propaganda now mails copies of "Our Foreign Policy" to his followers. Apparently Mr. Snow and the America First Committee see eye to eye on foreign policy.

The notorious Christian Front distributes not only the literature of the America First Committee. It distributes also application forms for that "anti-war" and "anti-ism" organization. The Christian Front is in itself an "ism"—it advocates a Hitler-Mussolini brand of totalitarianism for the United States. By advocating racial and religious hatred, by threatening civil strife in this country, the Christian Front stands for war. Its leaders make no secret of their admiration for Hitler and Mussolini. They stand for war—Hitler's and Mussolini's war upon the last remaining democracies of the world.

And this is the organization which recruits members for the America First Committee with the latter's claim of being against war because war is the breeder of isms!

Poison at Nazi Conference

A few weeks ago several of the ranking leaders in the American Nazi hierarchy met in Chicago behind closed doors to discuss a course of joint action. Their number included Donald Shea, leader of the National Gentile League; Edward James Smythe, leader of the Protestant War Veterans, who arranged the recent joint meeting of the Ku Klux Klan and the German-American Bund at Camp Nordland; Colonel E. N. Sanctuary, leader of the American Christian Defenders, formerly known as the World Alliance Against Jewish Aggressiveness, and Olov Tietzov, leader of the admittedly fascist American Guard. For this important conference they had assembled great quantities of standard pieces of pro-Nazi, anti-British propaganda. With one exception this propaganda had been published by persons and organizations dedicated to the destruction of American democracy. That exception was the America First Committee whose literature was carefully read and later widely distributed by the Nazi leaders.

American Nazi Press Approves

Must America Fight?

THE LIVES of 12-million American boys, the wealth and resources of the America we have known, are being dragged each day closer to the brink of war.

Night and day, the American people are being subjected to a barrage of propaganda to enter the holocaust now devouring the people and the civilization of Europe.

In a recent address to the students and faculty of the University of Notre Dame, the Rev. John A. O'Brien, Ph.D., said:

"The propagandists for America's involvement in the feuds and hatreds of Europe at first centered their efforts to break down the barriers we had erected

ing out of American blood in Europe, Africa and Asia—and South America!

"Democracy took
Britain and Fra
authoritari
shape
enters
thing to

"An ir
every pha
the use of a
scription of
ance of demo
liberty, the iro

NATIONAL WEEKLY

Social Justice

Published by The Social Justice Publishing Co.
Founded 1936 by Father Coughlin

see Britain win. We
admirers of the English peop
unitely prefer Britain to Hitlerism.

"But the first duty of every true Ame
can is to America. Our first duty is to bu
up a mighty defense for America, not
police the ever-shifting boundaries of E
rope, much less Egypt or Indo-China.

"Our first duty is to clothe America w
the armor of an invincible defense, not
strip her naked to man the forts of Dak
Dover or Singapore.

"The *Defend America by Aiding Brit*
Committee—in spite of all their protes
tions to the contrary—should better
called the *'Drag-America-into-the War a*
Defend-the-British Empire Committee';
as one American mother wrote me,

"We prefer the *America First* organi
tion to which people throughout the co
try are now rallying—like the Minute M
of Paul Revere.

"Unless they rally to it fast, and in ov
whelming numbers, we are in danger
having America stripped of all her defens
For it is this *'Britain First and Amer*
Last Committee' which now seems to
shaping the nation's foreign policy.

"Unless the plain masses of the Ame
can people write to their Congressmen a
their Senators and thunder in their e
a protest against this betrayal of Americ
defense, and their determination to stay
of Europe's inferno, their sons will fi
their graves by the millions in Egypt, E
rope and Indo-China, and the America t

Seite 8

CATHOLIC TEACHER CONDEMNS BRITISH PROPAGANDA

Dr. O'Brian of Notre Dame Calls White's Committee a Threat to the U. S.

The Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies should be called "The Mass-Murder Committee," Dr. John A. O'Brien, of the University of Notre Dame, said as he called for a national crusade to "Defend America First" and "Arm America First."

"It's concern," said the Notre Dame graduate school apolog
ica professor as he
students and
ington

said that this country will "commi
national suicide if we repeat the mis
take of 1917."

"Shall we pour out our blood an
treasure to guarantee the ever shift
ing boundary lines in Europe and tr
to dictate to foreign nations the kin
of government they
asked

Seite 4

The Free American

Deutscher Weckruf und Beobachter

at Stake

O'Brien, 23 years director
Newman *foundation*, began
teaching at Notre Dame last Septem-
ber upon his return from a year in

from Europ
ent time.

Urges National Protest.

"The Committee to Defend Americ
by Aiding the Allies should be calle
the mass murder committee. The
concern is first with Great Britain
only secondly with America. To per
petuate Britain's hold on one-fifth

hysteria of the war spirit
d, by inflaming our emo-
ur capacity to think, let
selves:

advance the cause of de-
shing it from its one re-
?

help the stricken, hungry
by widening the conta-
g the food stuffs and in-
ine and the misery now

horten the period of mad-
he warring leaders to the
by abandoning our posi-
est moral power in the
g into the dirty business

France only hundreds
uld not aid Poland by so
a single plane, or firing a
an America, thousands of
pected to put the ever-

The Nazis in New York and Father Coughlin in Detroit unite in praising the Rev. John A. O'Brien for saying: "We prefer the America First organization."

Here is an article to that effect from *Deutscher Weckruf und Beobachter*, the official newspaper of the Nazi Bund in America with headquarters in New York. (To cover up its work the Nazi paper also calls itself *The Free American.*)

And here is another article to the same effect from *Social Justice*, published by Father Coughlin, who has in the past lifted for his writings whole paragraphs from the speeches of Dr. Goebbels, Hitler's Minister of Propaganda.

Such are the men and journals who praise the America First Committee! They are the ones who applaud those who praise the America First Committee!

BERLIN APPROVES.

On the evening of January 22nd a short-wave radio broadcast from Berlin placed the official Nazi seal of approval upon the America First Committee. According to the minions of Dr. Goebbels, this Committee represents "true Americanism and true patriotism." The radio speaker from Berlin resented the fact that the Committee "has been given less publicity" in the United States than it deserves in Nazi eyes. Approval by the Nazi regime should cause the America First Committee to re-examine its program of Americanism. It is difficult to believe that the Nazis would approve a program truly beneficial to a democracy which they fear and detest.

Short-Wave Broadcast, Berlin, January 22, 1941

"THE AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE HAPPENS TO OPPOSE THE NEFARIOUS INFLUENCE OF THE COMMITTEE TO DEFEND AMERICA, WHICH TRAVELED FAR ON THE PRESTIGE OF THE NAME OF WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE. HE LATER, OF COURSE, LEFT TO CHOOSE HIS OWN UNSAVORY JUICE. THE AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE IS KNOWN AS TRUE AMERICANISM AND TRUE PATRIOTISM, AS OPPOSED TO THE SYNTHETIC BRAND DISPLAYED BY THOSE AMERICANS ENROLLED UNDER THE WHITE COMMITTEE. THAT COMMITTEE HAS BEEN GIVEN LESS PUBLICITY THAN THE MARRIAGE OF A MOVIE STAR WHO HAS ONLY TWO DIVORCES TO HER NAME SO FAR."

. . . SO DOES ROME

According to the Italian Propaganda Ministry, the "honest voices, thoughtful for the future of America," belong to the members of the "America Innanzi Tutto"—the America First Committee. And according to Virginio Gayda, Il Duce's "man Friday," the Italian Fascists have friends in America. Who are those friends, according to Virginio Gayda? They are Brigadier General Robert Wood, retired, who is acting chairman of the America First Committee; Senator Burton Wheeler of Montana, the spearhead of isolationist forces in Washington; former Governor Philip La Follette of Wisconsin; Colonel Charles A. Lindbergh. Mussolini and Gayda like them. The Fascists say so themselves. They tell the Italian people that Wood, Wheeler, La Follette, and Lindbergh are "eminent personalities" worshipped by the American people. And while telling this, they arrange anti-American demonstrations in the streets of Rome!

Dispatches from Rome

On January 7, 1941, John T. Whitaker, one of the most reliable American correspondents in Europe, cabled from Rome to the *Chicago Daily News* that the Fascist press printed a short version of President Roosevelt's speech before Congress on January 6th:

"THIS BRIEF VERSION OF THE SPEECH IS PRINTED IN SECONDARY POSITION UNDER THE FOLLOWING HEADLINE:

"'HONEST VOICES, THOUGHTFUL FOR THE FUTURE OF AMERICA, CONTINUE TO BE RAISED AGAINST THE SPREADING BELLICISM OF ROOSEVELT.'

"THE HONEST AND THOUGHTFUL VOICES TURN OUT TO BE THOSE OF PHILIP LA FOLLETTE AND THE 'AMERICA INNANZI TUTTO' (America First) ORGANIZATION. WHAT THEY SAY IS TREATED AS MORE IMPORTANT THAN ROOSEVELT'S 'DEMAGOGIC HYPOCRISY,' AS THE NEWSPAPERS TERM THE MESSAGE TO CONGRESS."

And on February 6, 1941, a few weeks before Whitaker was expelled from Italy by Mussolini, he cabled this dispatch:

"AFTER DAYS OF PRESS ATTACKS AGAINST AMERICA, WHICH IS DESCRIBED AS A DICTATOR'S COUNTRY BEING LED TO WAR BY AN ALLIANCE OF THE ANGLO-SAXON ELEMENTS WITH THE JEWS, THE FASCIST UNIVERSITY STUDENTS WERE PUT INTO THE STREETS OF ROME THIS MORNING. IT WAS THE FIRST DEMONSTRATION OF THE SORT SINCE THE LATE NEVILLE CHAMBERLAIN'S UMBRELLA AND A COFFIN, LABELED FRANCE, WERE CARRIED THROUGH THE STREETS IN PREPARATION FOR ITALY'S ENTRY INTO THE WAR. . . . SOME SAID IT WAS ANTI-AMERICAN. OTHERS DENIED THAT AND SAID THAT THE STUDENTS CRIED OUT AGAINST ENGLAND. . . .

"THE PRESS CAMPAIGN, WHICH HAS BEEN WAGED FOR SOME DAYS, DIVIDES AMERICA INTO JEWS WHICH INCLUDE, ACCORDING TO VIRGINIO GAYDA, THE WHITE HOUSE, THE PRESS AND THE RADIO, ON THE ONE HAND, AND WHAT ARE TERMED 'EMINENT PERSONALITIES,' ON THE OTHER. THIS LATTER CATEGORY IS COMPRISED OF SENATOR BURTON K. WHEELER (DEM., MONT.), COL. CHARLES A. LINDBERGH, PHILIP LA FOLLETTE, FORMER PROGRESSIVE GOVERNOR OF WISCONSIN, AND BRIG. GEN. ROBERT WOOD, RETIRED. THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE DESCRIBED AS SHARING THE VIEWS OF THESE EMINENT PERSONALITIES."

ENCLOSURE 100-4712-166

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/8/86 BY SP6 Lyn/tcy

Friends of Democracy believes members of the America First Committee should re-examine the policies of the organization in the light of the fact that it is being used as a Nazi transmission belt. We believe they should consider the implications of these facts:

1. A large part of the audiences of many America First meetings are members of pro-Nazi organizations.
2. Nazi propaganda is distributed at many of these meetings.
3. Nazi organizations not only distribute the literature of the America First Committee but recruit members and raise money for the committee.
4. The Nazi press in the United States has stamped the program of the America First Committee with its approval.
5. The propaganda ministries of the democracy-hating Nazi and Fascist governments endorse the policies of the committee.

In view of these facts, we believe the America First Committee should reorganize on a basis which does not lend itself to misuse as a Nazi transmission belt.

FRIENDS OF DEMOCRACY, INC.

L. M. Birkhead, National Director

National Headquarters:
Fidelity Building
Kansas City, Missouri

Eastern Regional Office:
103 Park Avenue
New York, N. Y.

100-4712-166

[redacted] b7C

March 31, 1942

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Ethan A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Holloman
Mr. McGuire
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

Thought you might be interested in the article, "Our Fascist Enemies Within" on page 306 of the enclosed magazine.

With kind regards and best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

[redacted]

[redacted] b7C

ack Rec 4/9/42

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 5/8/86 BY Padgett b7C

1 Enclo. 16

RECORDED & INDEXED

100-4712-166

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
10 APR 13 1942
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

[redacted] b7C

62-18

APR 4 RECD

[redacted] b7C

RECORDED

100-4713-166

April 9, 1942

[redacted] b7C

Dear [redacted] b7C

I wish to acknowledge receipt of your letter dated March 31, 1942, and enclosure.

It was indeed thoughtful of you to call this information to my attention, and I can assure you that the article mentioned in your letter has been reviewed with considerable interest.

In the event you obtain any additional information that you believe to be of interest to me, please feel free to communicate directly with me or with the Special Agent in Charge of the Cincinnati Office of this Bureau, which is located at 637 United States Post Office and Court House Building, Cincinnati, Ohio.

With best wishes and kind regards,

Sincerely yours,

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 5/8/86 BY SP6 bja/tcg

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Holloman
Mr. McGuire
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

1 APR 21 '42

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED 3
APR 10 1942 P.M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

RECEIVED
APR 9 5 25 PM '42
DEPT OF JUSTICE

b7C

[redacted]

b7C

from: [redacted]

EXCLUSIVE TO: WALTER WINCHELL October 3, 1941

T. Hoover

b7C

A guy by the name of [redacted] (he's supposed to be a Baron) from [redacted] is one of the money men behind America First. He is also a member of the Steuben Society.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN is UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/8/86 BY SP-6 by afcy

sent to supt
10-18

8-

EX-8

RECORDED 100-4712-167

INDEXED

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
1 OCT 14 1941
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
[redacted] b7C

CH-18

[redacted] b7c

10-9-41

73397

FBI
Washington, D.C.

Gentlemen:- If you want to find out how Germany obtained Mr. Roosevelt's letter to Stalin, just shadow Wheeler. This is not the first time he has obtained inside information.

ack 10/21/41 WE

This is an opportunity you will never get again to connect the Nazi Nyc- Wheeler & Lindbergh with their Nazi masters.

I have long been convinced that FBI should find the men behind these false fronts.

I rec'd a speech in a franked envelope from Wheeler - unfortunately this information will be of no use to you, because

100-4712-16
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
5 Lindbergh
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
[redacted]

ENCLOSURE
INDEXED

I got so mad, I returned the speech + told them a. first C [redacted] I thought of their [redacted] reading [redacted] one rec'd no more A. F. literature. I also rec'd a 7 literature from Nye, which I destroyed.

FILES DIVISION FORWARDED OCT 16 6 26 PM '41 F.B.I. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

FILES DIVISION RECEIVED OCT 14, 8 42 AM '41 F.B.I. DEPT OF JUSTICE

(Franked)

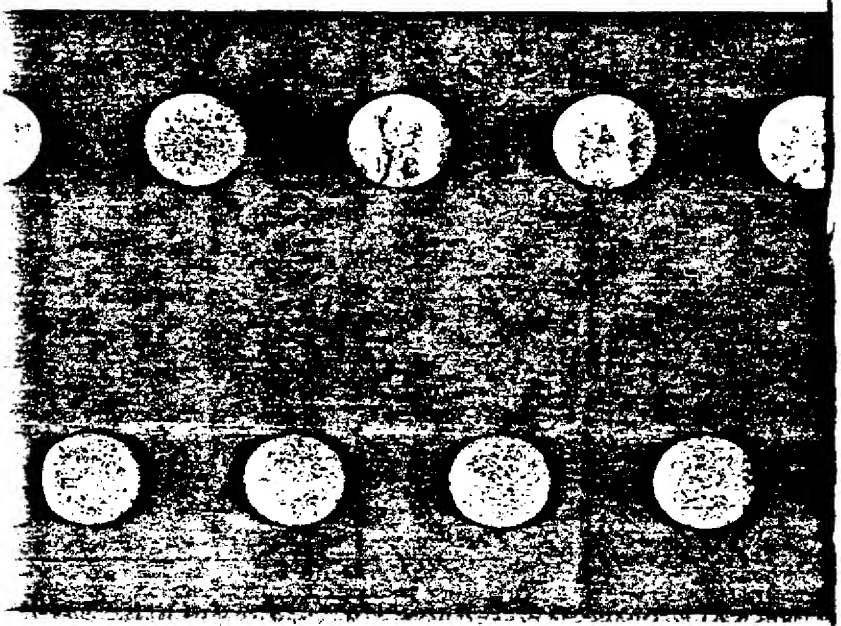
We have several thousand square miles of germans in N.D + it is to these germans that Nye owe his seat in the Senate.

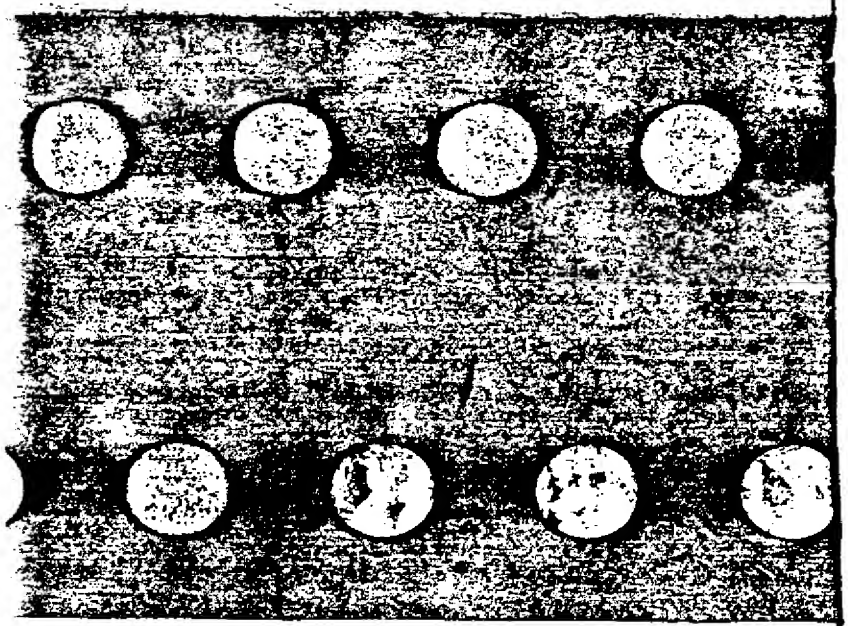
gentlemen, our time is short. get after these men + discredit them before the american people before it is too late + our turn to become slaves of Hitl is coming - sooner than we know The time is short.

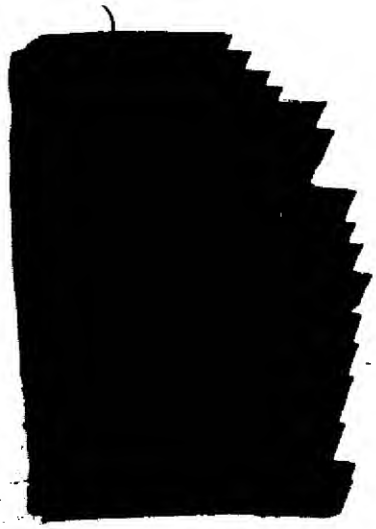
RECD NAT'L DEF DIVISION F.B.I. OCT 16 7 18 PM '41

The FBI is the finest organizat in all america - I thank you for your unceasing vigilance + am behi you 100 %. Sincerely

[redacted] b7C







73938

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/8/86 BY SP-6 Gaffney

J. B. J.
Washington
D. C.

b7C

[redacted]

100-4712-168

RECORDED

October 21, 1941

[redacted]

[redacted]

Dear [redacted]

I wish to acknowledge receipt of your letter dated October 9, 1941, which was also signed by [redacted]

Please be advised the content of your communication has been carefully noted and made a matter of permanent record in the official files of this Bureau.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Egan
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Gurley
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Hottelman
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED
OCT 21 1941
P.M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

CM 123
167

EX-13

4-750 (Rev. 4-17-85)

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXX

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

_____ Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

☐ Deleted under exemption(s) _____ with no segregable material available for release to you.

☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.

☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.

☐ Documents originated with another Government agency(ies). These documents were referred to that agency(ies) for review and direct response to you.

_____ Pages contain information furnished by another Government agency(ies). You will be advised by the FBI as to the releasability of this information following our consultation with the other agency(ies).

_____ Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):

_____

_____

☑ For your information: Although the stamps did not reproduce well, the indication is that this serial has been cancelled.

☑ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:
100-4712-169

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
X DELETED PAGE(S) X
X NO DUPLICATION FEE X
X FOR THIS PAGE X
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXX

FBI/DOJ

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/8/86 BY SP6 bjg ltcy

100-4712-169

...OOVER
DIRECTOR

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

[redacted]

September 27, 1941

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Harbo
Tele. Room
Tour Room
Mr. Nease
Mr. Tracy
Miss Beahm
Miss Gandy

b7C

MEMORANDUM FOR THE DIRECTOR

RE: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

This is to advise that on September 23, 1941, Special Agent in Charge, R. B. Hood, of the Los Angeles Office informed by letter that while recently with Attorney General Francis Biddle in Los Angeles it was requested by Mr. Biddle that arrangements be made to have a Special Agent of his office attend the America First rally to be held in Los Angeles, California, on either October 1 or 2, at which time Senator Burton K. Wheeler of Montana is to speak. The Attorney General stated that he would like to be advised as to the size of this group and its reactions to Senator Wheeler's statements.

Special Agent in Charge Hood advises that the matter will be handled in accordance with the Attorney General's request, and that the Bureau will be immediately notified concerning the same in order that a report may be furnished to the Attorney General.

Respectfully,

D. M. Ladd

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 5/8/86 BY SP-6 [illegible]

100-4712-170

RECORDED

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
6 OCT 3 1941
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

TAMM LADD FIVE

Deleted copy sent R.W. Steele
by 3-8-76
For [illegible] request

CI-17

Federal Bureau of Investiga
United States Department of Ju[illegible]e

Post Office Box #2344
Boston, Massachusetts

October 13, 1941

Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Re: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

Dear Sir:

As a matter of interest to the Bureau, I am incorporating below a report [redacted] b7D

[redacted]

INDEXED
EX-1[illegible] RECORDED

Very truly yours,

V. W. PETERSON
Special Agent in Charge

VWP/jf
100-770

100-4712-171
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
4 OCT 16 1941
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FIVE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/18/82 BY SP6 bja/kcy

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI

Chicago FILE NO. 100-5145

REPORT MADE AT	DATE WHEN MADE	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE	REPORT MADE BY
Chicago, Illinois	10/15/41	10/6/41	[redacted] b7C

TITLE	CHARACTER OF CASE
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE	INTERNAL SECURITY

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

Chicago Field Division indices reflect no information on [redacted] b7C

R U C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 3/8/86 BY SP6 Jakey b7C

REFERENCE: Report of Special Agent [redacted] dated at Kansas City, Missouri, 9/26/41.

DETAILS:

A check of the Chicago Field Division indices reflect no information concerning [redacted] b7C

REFERRED UPON COMPLETION TO THE OFFICE OF ORIGIN.

COPIES DESTROYED
3-28-58
NR 69

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: A. H. Johnson acting SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES

100-14712-172

RECORDED

OCT 17 1941

[redacted] b7C

COPIES OF THIS REPORT

5 - Bureau
2 - Kansas City
2 - Chicago

CH-2

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE 7—2034

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
OMAHA, NEBRASKA
October 18, 1941

Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

733383

CONFIDENTIAL

RE: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

Dear Sir:

The Evening World-Herald, Omaha, October 14, 1941, carried an item reflecting that the Omaha City Council on that date had taken under advisement a request from FRANK C. WARD, Chairman of the Omaha Chapter of the America First Committee, to use one of the municipal courtrooms in the city hall for the Committee's meetings one night a week. The motion to take the request under advisement was offered by Commissioner HARRY TRUSTIN. In the request of the Council, WARD said the Committee is "not a political organization, or anti-Semitic," but is a group of "patriotic Christian Americans whose only desire and hope" is to "keep America out of war."

For the Bureau's information, [redacted] b7C
[redacted] he telephonically inquired of me as to what the attitude of the FBI would be toward granting permission for the use of a municipal courtroom, or toward refusing permission. He was tactfully informed by me that the FBI did not desire to make any statement in the matter and that the decision should rest entirely with the Council.

[redacted] desired to know whether we had any b7C
information in our files indicating that FRANK C. WARD, Chairman of the Omaha Chapter, had subversive tendencies. I told him that if we had any such information, it would be confidential. [redacted] b7C
said he realized that, but he thought there would be no harm in inquiring about WARD. [redacted] b7C

[redacted] said that at this time the Council is undecided b7C
as to whether permission will be granted for the use of the courtroom, but that it would probably refuse to do so.

Very truly yours,

C. W. STEIN
Special Agent in Charge

CWS/GEP
100-233-12

100-4712-173

FILES

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
OCT 21 19[illegible]
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

100-29 [redacted]

b7C

October 28, 1941

RECORDED 100-4712-174

EX-11

The Honorable
The Postmaster General
Washington, D. C.

80439

My dear Mr. Postmaster General:

I am transmitting herewith a copy of a letter dated October 16, 1941, and its original enclosures, received in this Bureau from [redacted] which does not appear relevant to any matter within the investigative jurisdiction of this Bureau, but which may be of some interest to you.

b7C

The correspondent has been advised of this reference.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Nease
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Rendon
Mr. Hollaman
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

Enclosures (232)

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED
★ OCT 28 1941 ★
P M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 5/18/86 BY SP4 Lafayette

[redacted]

October 16, 1941.

b7c

John, E. Hoover, Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States, Dept. of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:—

I Inclosed find inclosure which I believe it is my duty as an American to place in your hands.

Robert A. Hoff

First I call your attention to the free franking priveledge of Robert A. Hoff. Notice the Post office stamp. Davenport, Iowa. The maker two of these free franking envelopes that I have received.

These are being circulated by Robt. A. Hoff 920, Grand Ave. Davenport Iowa, are any U. S. Senators allowed to

Respectfully yours

[redacted]

b7c

80136

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 5/8/86 BY SP6 bja/tkg

INDEXED RECORDED EX-16

100-4712-11

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
1 OCT 20
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

C
O
P
Y

CHICAGO CHAPTER OF AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
GEN. ROBT. E. WOOD, National Acting Chairman

122 South Michigan Avenue
Telephone Wabash 5473-5474
CHICAGO

OF ENCLOSURE

October 9, 1941 - 80437

[redacted] b7C

Dear [redacted] b7C

Mr. Robert N. Carson suggested that I send you the enclosed copy of John Flynn's bulletin "Can Hitler Invade America". I know that you will find it factual as well as interesting.

Sincerely,

[redacted] b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/8/86 BY Sabya Hcy

RECORDED 100-4712-174 [redacted] b7C

October 28, 1941

[redacted] 80475 b7C

Dear [redacted] b7C

The facts contained in your communication dated October 16, 1941, do not appear to constitute a violation of any Federal Statute coming within the investigative jurisdiction of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

These facts may, however, be of interest to The Honorable, The Postmaster General, Washington, D. C., and accordingly I have today referred your communication and its original enclosures to him for any attention deemed appropriate.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 2/18/86 BY [illegible]

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Hoffman
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED
★ OCT 28 1941 ★
P. M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

cc - Des Moines (with copy of incoming letter)

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

New York, N. Y.,

80434 October 18, 19[illegible]

"The Hour" reports:

The America First Committee is sending to its various branch chapters a confidential memorandum on "The Coming Elections." The memorandum advises that Committee men must maintain the fiction that the organization is a non-political body:

> "Any position taken by the America First Committee in partisan politics would only weaken our cause, not strengthen it. ... While no citizen can fail to be interested in the mayorality election going on in New York at the present time, we must be sure that no support of any candidate be interpreted as America First activity."

The following instructions remove the mask from the "non-political" work of the Committee, aimed at strengthening the appeasement forces:

> "In the important elections of this autumn and next year, every America First member should take pains to inform himself of the various candidates' position on foreign policy and be prepared as an enrolled voter to cast his vote for those non-interventionist candidates who are in other respects qualified for the offices they seek."

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 3/8/86 BY Rebgatley

RECORDED

100-4712-17

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
8 JAN 13 19 2
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

RECORDED

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
5 29 1941
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

1FEB 21 '42

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER
DIRECTOR

CC-161

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Boren
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Harbo
Tele. Room
Tour Room
Mr. Nease
Mr. Tracy
Miss Beahm
Miss Gandy

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.
October 1, 1941

LBN:DW

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. TOLSON

Henry Paynter of OPM called to advise that he had talked to you a few days ago with reference to Floyd Odlum's desire to secure a list of the members of the America First Committee to compare them against the employees in his office. You at that time told him that we did not have such a list.

He again raised the question as to whether we had any lists which could be made available. I said we did not. He then stated that he understood that if we did have it would be necessary to make a request in writing. I told him that naturally anything coming from the files of the Bureau would have to be officially requested. He stated that this would be satisfactory; that Odlum just doesn't know his way around as yet.

Respectfully,

L. B. Nichols

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 5/8/86 BY 8160 pg/dg

RECORDED

INDEXED

100-4712-175

FEDERAL BUREAU ... 1941
1 OCT 7
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF ...

TOLSON
LADD
CARSON

CH-23

2 (R)
Justice
F.B.I.

[redacted] b7C

Sep 20, -

Franklin D. Roosevelt,
President of the United States,
White House, Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President;

Out of curiosity, a friend of mine, [redacted] b7C and I went to a meeting of the America First Committee held at Mechanics Building in Boston, Thursday evening, Sept. 25, 1941. It was open to the public. It had large signs stating free admission, no charge, all welcome.

I am a believer in free speech and democracy such as you believe in. But, Mr. President, what I heard at that meeting is, I believe, a determined effort on the part of such men, as Senator Nye, Rush Holt and all their followers, to so abuse the privilege and freedom of free speech, that they are trying to force the issue out in the open to have you and the officials in Washington do something drastic to prevent free speech and then blame you.

There were wild statements made by Rush Holt and Senator N to an audience of about 9000 people. In my opinion, there were at least 8500 of that number of them of Irish descent, who booed wildly every time the names of Wendell Wilkie, Churchill, Halifax, Dorothy Thompson, Walter Winchell and others who are not in line with them, and your name, Mr. President, was also booed.

Senator Nye stated of the brutality of Joe Stalin and the British Empire, for which he received tremendous applause condemning their brutality. But, when Hitler's name was mentioned, there was hardly a ripple from the audience. Senator Nye stated that Hitler could never come over here - it was an idle dream of the interventionists.

RECORDED & INDEXED

100-4712-7

Senator Nye asked the audience if they approved everything that Charles Lindbergh said two weeks ago at Des Moines, Iowa; they yelled and applauded almost 100% and even stood on their seats to s Yes.

I believe Senator Nye found a perfect audience for his, fol ers in Boston. They are also the followers of Father Coughlin's so justice cause as they all seemed to have the back on social justice which is edited by him.

He stated you and your followers couldn't lick the depres so you found a good excuse for a lend-lease programme to get us int war. In fact, the speakers talked disgraceful and the audience wa the same category.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
OCT 11 1941
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

TOLSON TAMM LADD CARSON FIVE

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My main point in writing to you, Mr. President, is that i: our Congress and your officials in Washington could pass a law prohi iting the collection of money,such as I witnessed during the evening whereby thousands of dollars were collected from the poor suckers a: I would call them; for the America First Committee and that same mor is being paid out to such great patriots as Holt and Senator Nye fo: making unpatriotic speeches.

I am pretty sure there would be no more patriotic speeche: by these great patriots who represent the America First Committee. believe it is illegal to advertise free admission to all, then fool them by making collections. As long as collections will be made, t: so-called patriots will never stop talking. It is nothing but a ra

I also wish to state that the chairman of that meeting, w he asked for contributions, stated that the usual amount given by t people in the audiences everywhere is fifty cents each. The only o jection I have to this racket is that it is causing to incite race hatred and prejudice.

They were told by Senator Nye that Hitler being in Americ wouldn't be any worse than having it controlled by the British Empi:

Will be pleased to have you confirm this letter.

Respectfully yours,

[redacted]

b7C

176

[redacted]

b7C

Franklin D. Roosevelt,
President of the United States,
White House, Washington, D. C.

REGISTERED

RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED

302612

Return Receipt Requested
Fee Paid

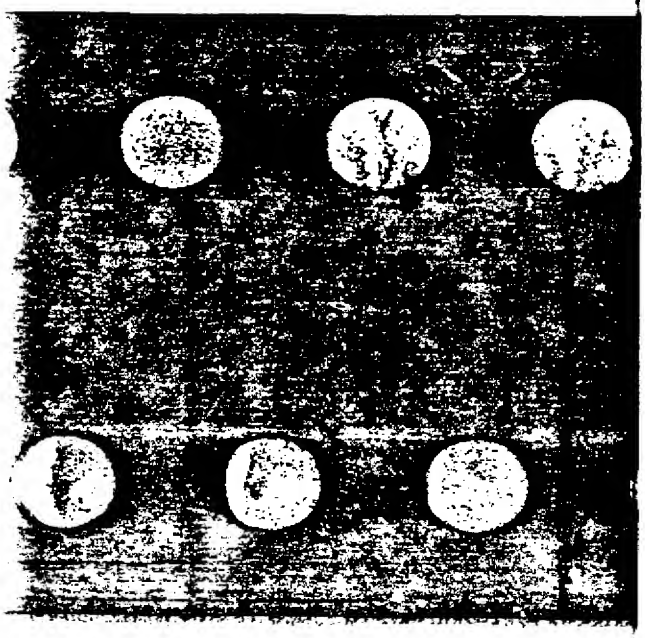
INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-8-86 BY SP4 bjaky

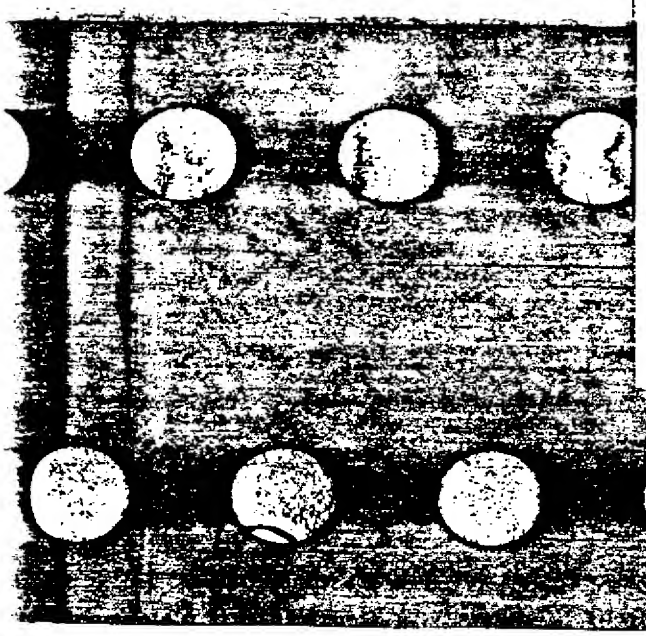
THE W..TE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

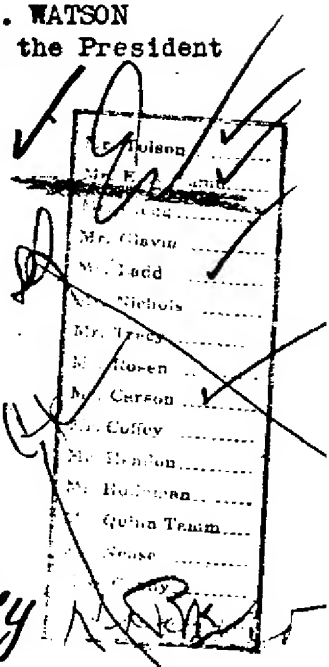
September 30, 1941.

Respectfully referred to the
Honorable J. Edgar Hoover, Director,
the Federal Bureau of Investigation,
for attention.

EDWIN M. WATSON
Secretary to the President







ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/8/86 BY SP-6 bjaltey

RECORDED [redacted]

b7C

October 6, 1941

100-4712-176

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. MATTHEW F. MCGUIRE
THE ASSISTANT TO THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

I am transmitting herewith for whatever consideration deemed appropriate copies of a letter dated September 26, 1941, addressed to this Bureau by [redacted] concerning a meeting of the America First Committee at Mechanics Building in Boston, September 25, 1941. The letter was referred to this Bureau by the White House and you are advised that the communication has not been acknowledged by me.

b7C

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Enclosure

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 5/8/86 BY S-6 by/tcy

Deleted Copy Sent R. W. Steele
by letter 3-8-76
For FOIA Request

CH-25

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED
★ OCT 6 1941 ★
P.M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Nolloman
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nenden
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

b7C [redacted]

12144

September 20, 1941

MEMORANDUM

The following information has been received from a confidential source concerning the America First Committee.

It is reported that the national headquarters of this organization are located at 141 West Jackson Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois; further, that the New York office of the same is located at 515 Madison Avenue, New York City. It is stated that this organization was originally planned by R. Douglas Stuart, Jr., a 24 year old law school senior in 1940 at Yale University. He is stated to be the son of the first vice president of the Quaker Oats Company. It is stated that the first person contacted when the committee was formed was Colonel Lindbergh and that another was Mayor Bowler. It is alleged such people as Stuart; General Robert Wood, head of Sears, Roebuck & Company; Edward L. Ryerson, Director of Inland Steel; Mrs. Jeanette Ayer Fairbanks, a wealthy woman; and Chesley Perkins, chairman of Benton and Bowles, an advertising agency, made up the original group. It is further stated that William Castle, Under-Secretary of State in the Hoover Cabinet, was later added, along with Senator Burton Wheeler and Senator Robert Taft. It is reported that at the start this organization had a tremendous amount of money despite the claim that they never accepted more than $1,000 from any one person.

It is alleged that Thomas J. McCarter, former chairman of the Public Service Company of New Jersey; Henry Ford; Jay C. Hormel, Minnesota meat packer; Kathryn Lewis, daughter of John L. Lewis; John T. Flynn; Father Coughlin; General Hugh S. Johnson; Alice Roosevelt Longworth; Amos R. Pinchot and Louis T. Faber are either members or interested in this committee.

INDEXED 16 RECORDED 100-4712-127

It is alleged until recently there was a tremendous Jewish group backing this committee. This Jewish group is reported to have had as its front the Guggenheim Foundation. It is stated that a few weeks ago the Jewish group withdrew all financial support from the committee; further that a number of the members of the committee quietly withdrew or became inactive due to three reasons:

ENCLOSURE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 2/18/86 BY SP6 bhg/kcg

Information from Army remains classified per their letter dtd 5/29/91 8123 mch/tkg 8/13/91

1. That the America First Committee was set up because of hatred of President Roosevelt and that the purpose was to do everything possible to embarrass him in any way possible;

2. The fact that Mrs. Wheeler, the wife of the Senator, Colonel McCormick, owner of the Tribune, and Harry Jung, head of the American Vigilante Intelligence Federation, are using the America First Committee as a sounding board for anti-Jewish propaganda;

3. The fact that the America First Committee has a lobby strictly anti-Roosevelt in Washington, D. C. This lobby is alleged to be composed of William Castle, Alice Longworth, John L. Lewis and General Hugh S. Johnson.

It is stated that this group has as its "base enemy" President Roosevelt and that as a consequence anything he attempts to undertake concerning war or Britain will be attacked by the America First Committee.

This group is stated to be cooperating with every branch of anti-war groups, such as the International Red Aid, Christian Front, anti-British groups, radical Catholic groups and every pacifist group in the country.

[redacted]

b7c

September 22, 1941 12143

~~PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL~~
BY SPECIAL MESSENGER

Major General Edwin M. Watson
Secretary to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear General Watson:

There is being transmitted herewith a memorandum of this date containing information received from a confidential source concerning the America First Committee. This material is being submitted to supplement the previous information concerning this group forwarded to Honorable Stephen Early, Secretary to the President, on March 1, 1941, in accordance with his request of February 21, 1941.

No attempt has been made to definitely substantiate the information contained in the attached memorandum.

These data are being made available to the President and you in order that you may be kept currently advised in matters of this kind.

With assurances of my highest regards,

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

RECORDED 16

23427

Enclosure

Deleted Copy Sent by Letter 3-2-76
Per FOIA Request

1 ENCL.

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Trotter
Miss Gandy

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED
SEP 22
P.M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

168

100-4712-177
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
5 SEP 29 1941
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

October 20, 1941

Federal Bureau of Investigations

Washington, D. C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/8/86 BY SP6 bjal

Gentlemen:

I have been hearing quite a lot about the American First Committee in our city and other places and I have been wondering just what it is all about. I have never seen any literature on it.

Would you advise one to join any of these peace movements? I have heard that many of them are backed by the Nazis. Is that true? I believe in working for peace, but I want to know really and truly that I am working for it and not being misled

Enclosed is a stamped, self-addressed envelope for your convenience. And thank you for a reply.

Yours very truly,

[redacted] b7c

ack 10/27/41

RECORDED
INDEXED
100-4712-1
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
OCT 22 19
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
[redacted] b7

ENCL. 0
Encl.

P. S. I want this information not only for myself but for a group of young people.

Federal Bureau of Investigations

Washington, D. C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/18/86 BY SP4 [illegible]

67C

[redacted]

October 27, 1941

b7C

100-4712-178

RECORDED

[redacted]

b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/18/86 BY SP6 bja/tcg

Dear [redacted]

b7C

I desire to acknowledge receipt of your communication dated October 20, 1941, with enclosure.

With respect to your inquiry I regret that I must advise that I am precluded from offering any suggestions by virtue of a well-established policy of the Department of Justice. I know you will appreciate my position in this matter.

I am returning herewith the self-addressed stamped envelope which you so thoughtfully provided.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Enclosure

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Holloman
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED
★ OCT 27 41 ★
P. M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

[redacted]

67

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER
DIRECTOR

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.
September 27, 1941

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nenden
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Harbo
Tele. Room
Tour Room
Mr. Nease
Mr. Tracy
Miss Beahm
Miss Gandy

[redacted] b7c

Time 11:25 A.M.

MEMORANDUM FOR *THE DIRECTOR*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/8/86 BY SP6 bja/tcg

[redacted] b7c

[redacted], called. [redacted] America First Committee, to explain to you that they are pro-American, not pro-German or anything else and that she wanted to go on record as being perfectly willing at any and all times to have us go through their records. She stated they have nothing whatever to conceal, that if it is ever necessary for their files to be looked into, she wanted someone who knows what this is all about to go through them rather than "some smart-alec young lawyer". She stated they feel it is to their best interest to be in the clear at all times and so conduct their business. She wants the FBI to feel perfectly free to call on them at any time for any information they may have and stated they desire to cooperate with the government in every way. I thanked [redacted] for calling and told her that I would convey her message to you. b7c

Respectfully,

D. M. Ladd

9/27/41
Dir. advised
L.A.D.

RECORDED
INDEXED

100-471 2-179

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
2 OCT 3 1941
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

TOLSON
TAMM
KISS GANDY

CH-5

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXX

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

_____ Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

☐ Deleted under exemption(s) _____ with no segregable material available for release to you.

☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.

☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.

☐ Documents originated with another Government agency(ies). These documents were referred to that agency(ies) for review and direct response to you.

_____ Pages contain information furnished by another Government agency(ies). You will be advised by the FBI as to the releasability of this information following our consultation with the other agency(ies).

1 Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):
This serial is a copy of the document located in 100-4712-160

☐ For your information: _____

_____

☑ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:
100-4712-180

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXX

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
X DELETED PAGE(S) X
X NO DUPLICATION FEE X
X FOR THIS PAGE X
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER
DIRECTOR

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

ETC:ael

October 6, 1941

80-139

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. D. M. LADD

At 10:10 P.M., October 3, 1941, [redacted] called by long distance telephone to inquire if the Bureau could not do something about Colonel Lindbergh. He had particular reference to a radio broadcast he had just heard made by Charles Lindbergh from Fort Wayne, Indiana, in which, [redacted] stated, several derogatory remarks about the President of the United States were made. [redacted] states he resented these remarks greatly and wanted to be "on record" as protesting against them. [redacted]

Inasmuch as the undersigned, in the regular pursuit of his duties as night supervisor, had not been listening to the radio and also ignorant of the text, circumstances or any details or any radio broadcast which Charles Lindbergh may have made on the night of October 3, 1941, the undersigned assured [redacted] that along the course of events, this speech would probably come to the Bureau's attention and that if it should involve any violation of Federal Law over which the Bureau had investigative jurisdiction, appropriate action would be taken. [redacted] stated he hoped to hear from the Bureau in this regard.

Attached hereto is a newspaper account of a radio broadcast made by Colonel Charles Lindbergh on the night of October 3, 1941, at Fort Wayne, Indiana, to which [redacted] doubtless had reference.

ENCLD

Respectfully,

E. T. Cannon

Attachment

CH-13

RECORDED
INDEXED
EX-16

100-47[illegible]-181
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
OCT 20 1941
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Harbo
Tele. Room
Your Room
Mr. Nease
Mr. Tracy
Miss Beahm
Miss Gandy

80437

Denial of Right To Vote Feared By Lindbergh

Even 1942 Election May Be Suspended, He Warns in Indiana

By the United Press

Fort Wayne, Ind., Oct. 3.—Charles A. Lindbergh charged tonight that President Roosevelt was moving toward suspension of the 1942 national elections.

He said that "one man" government already had plunged the country into undeclared warfare and deprived the people of their democratic heritage.

"I shall speak to you tonight as though this were my last address," Lindbergh told an America First rally and a national radio (NBC Blue Network) audience. "How much longer free speech will be possible in the United States, I do not know."

He said he feared that an administration which had thrown the Nation "into undeclared naval war" against the will of the people "can by similar means prevent freedom of speech among us."

Charges "Smear Campaigns"

"If the time comes when we can no longer meet face to face, as free men in a free country, we will meet together at the elections next year and, by our vote, clasp hands, though we be a thousand miles apart," he declared. "But what if there are no elections next year?"

Abrogation of the right to vote, Lindbergh asserted, "may not be many steps ahead" on the course pursued by President Roosevelt.

"The time has come," he said, "when we must consider even that."

ISOLATION. from Page 1.

...ws and the Roosevelt Administration" as major "agitators for ...since President Roosevelt on September 11 gave the American Navy orders to shoot on sight when Axis raiders were encountered.

...of his statements had been disproved.

"As a Nation, we have been led along like children with sugared ...the Fuehrer made an oblique and ...whatever of the United States, but There was no direct mention ...

Dorn Ann Street, Va. Says

Europe escaped bolshevism."

"We were not mistaken about anything except that we did not know how awfully big were the preparations against us and how closely

Wheeler Heckler Ejected

Associated Press WIREPHOTO

DRAGGED FROM AUDITORIUM—As his wife vigorously protested, a man who attempted to heckle Senator Burton K. Wheeler during the latter's address Thursday night at a rally of the Southern California America First Committee was ejected from the auditorium by a Los Angeles policeman

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

FILE NO. 100-2651 MKC

Form No. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT PHILADELPHIA, PA.

REPORT MADE AT	DATE WHEN MADE	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE	REPORT MADE BY	CHARACTER OF CASE
PHILADELPHIA, PA.	10/23/41	7/18; 8/20; 10/3/41	[redacted] b7C	INTERNAL SECURITY (R)

TITLE

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS: Principles, pledge, names of National and Philadelphia officers of Subject Committee set out, and sample questionnaire sponsored by America First Committee, together with resume of meetings held indicate instant organization to be pacifistic in nature.

- P -

CC TO USDA
REQ. REC'D 11-3
NOV 14 1968
ANC BY [redacted] b7

REFERENCE: Report of Special Agent [redacted] dated 5/23/41 at Philadelphia, Pa.

DETAILS: The reference report of Special Agent [redacted] set out a review of the files of the [redacted] relative to meetings which have been held in the city of Philadelphia by the America First Committee, and which had been attended by [redacted] This report reflects the speakers and activities of a meeting held on March 21, 1941 at the Walton Hotel, Broad and Locust Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

[redacted]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 5/8/86 BY Sp6 Jeh 1Hcy

DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES

182

4712-

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: J. T. Sears SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

OCT 14 1941

COPIES OF THIS REPORT

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b7C

11/13/

organization reflected the fact that on April 29, 1941 the America First Committee obtained a permit to conduct a meeting in the Walton Hotel, Broad and Locust Street, Philadelphia, Pa. [redacted] the meeting was attended by members of the Committee who had been invited by postal cards mailed out by the officers of the Committee. b7D

[redacted] the meeting was begun at 8 P. M. and opened by ISAAC PENNYPACKER and that the principal speaker of the evening was JOHN E. LISTER, both of whom, [redacted] are active in the Philadelphia Branch of the America First Committee. [redacted] the meeting was attended by approximately 300 persons, and he stated that both the speakers mentioned above spoke at length criticizing the President of the United States for his reference to CHARLES A. LINDBERGH as a "Copperhead". These speakers also advised their listeners that it was imperative that the Committee obtain more members to aid in the fight which they intended to wage against this country's convoying merchant ships to the war zone. b7D b7D

It was at this meeting that some member of the audience suggested that CHARLES A. LINDBERGH be brought to Philadelphia to address the Philadelphia Branch of the America First Committee.

The Bureau was advised by letter under date of June 10, 1941 that on the evening of May 29, 1941 COL. CHARLES A. LINDBERGH, along with United States Senator DAVID I. WALSH and novelist KATHLEEN NORRIS, were the principal speakers in a meeting of the America First Committee held at the Arena, 46th and Market Streets, Philadelphia, Pa. This meeting was attended by Special Agents of the Philadelphia Field Division, who reported that the Arena was filled to capacity and that there were about 500 people who could not gain admission to the Arena who were in the street adjoining the Arena, listening to the speakers through loudspeakers.

At this meeting the above speakers made quite a point of the fact that the National Radio Corporation had refused the facilities of their broadcasting systems for a nation-wide broadcast of the meeting, and stated that everything possible was being done to prevent the America First Committee from presenting their views to the American people.

Although there was much cheering of the talks given by LINDBERGH, WALSH and NORRIS, each time the President's name was mentioned a loud "Boo" went up from the crowd.

Relative to this same meeting held on May 29, 1941 at the Arena, the Philadelphia Field Division is in receipt of a communication [redacted] b7D

On August 20, 1941 the America First Committee held a rally in Town Hall, 150 N. Broad Street, Philadelphia, Pa., at which HAMILTON FISH, Congressman from New York, was the principal speaker. Representative FISH spoke for about an hour and five minutes, going into detail on numerous instances of his past activities and on world affairs, emphasizing particularly the fact that President Roosevelt's sons had been given commissions as officers in the armed forces of this country without any previous military training whatever.

Representative FISH stated that ELLIOTT ROOSEVELT, who holds a Captain's commission in the U. S. Marines was sent to Africa to look the situation over and had later assured the British full co-operation from the United States, with statements that this country is practically in the war now.

Representative FISH also brought up the subject of invasion of the United States by the Nazis and told how preposterous an idea this was.

[redacted] b7D

stated that the rally began about 8 P.M. with the singing of the "Star Spangled Banner". [redacted] b7D stated that after Congressman FISH had finished his talk, he was confronted with eleven questions propounded by the Philadelphia Unit of the "Fight for Freedom Committee" which questions covered his public affairs for the past four years.

The second speaker on this program was JOHN E. LISTER, a member of the Directing Committee of the America First Committee, who gave the result of a poll which had been taken in the Philadelphia area by the America First Committee. [redacted] stated that Mr. LISTER advised that approximately 6,090 people were interviewed for this poll, and there is being set out herein a copy of this poll. b7D

"To whom this may Concern:

"This poll was taken under the auspices of the Philadelphia America First Committee. The general membership was engaged as interviewers. The poll was taken among non-members and thus eliminated the group with the strongest bias in the area.

"The Committee feels that because of the care with which this poll was taken, the large sampling, and the more than adequate adjustment for error, it can be recommend the results as accurate.

Signed, John E. Lister
Pool Compiler.

" PUBLIC OPINION POLL FOR PHILADELPHIA AND VICINITY

PURPOSE

This poll was taken by the Philadelphia America First Directing Committee for the purpose of finding what the actual sentiment of the area was on the questions herein included. It was intended that results be used as an aid to the Directing Committee in deciding future policy and future courses of action. It was not taken with a view to publication.

RESULTS

It was the request of a great number of persons, both members and non-members, that brought about this publication.

SCOPE

This poll was conducted in the First to the Eight Congressional Districts of Pennsylvania inclusive and the Seventeenth Congressional District. Adult citizens over 21 years of age were the subjects. It covered in proportion all ages, sexes, races and economic classes in the area.

"6,090 adult persons were interviewed in the course of the investigation. The area represents an adult citizen population of approximately 800,000 persons.

METHOD

The interviews were made by the members of the America First Committee in the areas indicated, by Direct interview of the person answering. An additional 800 persons were interviewed by professional interviewers in order to check the differential between the professional sampling and the member sampling.

On the following page an exact copy of questions and answers can be found.

TABULATION AND CERTIFICATION

The poll was tabulated by John E. Lister, a member of the Directing Committee. All uncertified and irregular questionnaires were rejected.

Question No. 1

When you voted for Roosevelt or Willkie, in the 1940 election, did you expect your candidate to keep us out of the Foreign wars?

67 1/10% answered Yes
10 5/10% answered No
22 4/10% held no view.

Question No. 2

Do you think the President's moves since his election are apt to take us into a foreign war?

72% answered Yes
8% answered No
20% held no view.

Question No. 3.

Do you believe the American people could and would defend their country against attack by any Foreign power?

80 4/10% answered Yes
4 % answered No
15 6/10% held no view.

"Question No. 4

Do you think the United States should now make war against Germany.

7 1/10% answered Yes
75 1/10% answered No
17 8/10% held no view.

Question No. 5

Do you think the preservation of the British Empire and its fleet necessary to the welfare of the United States.

15 5/10% answered Yes
58 3/10% answered No
26 2/10% held no view.

Question No. 6

Do you think your own economic welfare or livelihood depends upon Britain's victory in the present war?

14 3/10% answered Yes
66 5/10% answered No
19 2/10% held no view."

b7D

[redacted] the third speaker of the evening was KERR DODGE, former Director of Public Safety of Philadelphia. Mr. DODGE spoke on the folly of aiding Russia in the present war when previous to her entry into the war, the United States had spent millions of dollars investigating the Communists. He stated that during the conflict between Russia and Finland nearly everyone sided with Finland who was fighting Communism, and he stated that now these same people are criticizing Finland because it is allied with Russia.

b7D

[redacted] there were approximately 2500 persons attending this rally, the majority of whom were German, and many of whom were conversing in their native tongue.

The Philadelphia Field Division, along with the above report was furnished with a copy of a pamphlet entitled "Can Hitler Cripple American Economy?" This pamphlet was stamped: America First Committee, Philadelphia, 34 S. 17th Street, Rittenhouse 9828. This pamphlet sets forth the principles of the America First Committee as follows:

PRINCIPLES OF AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

1. Our first aim is to keep America out of foreign wars. War would only destroy democracy, not save it. "The path to war is a false path to freedom."

2. Not by acts of war abroad but by preserving and extending democracy at home can we aid democracy and freedom in other lands.

3. In 1917 we sent ships into the war zone and this led us to war. In 1941 we must keep our naval convoys and merchant vessels on this side of the Atlantic.

4. We must build a defense, for our own shores, so strong that no foreign power or combination of powers can invade our country, by sea, air or land.

5. Humanitarian aid is the duty of a strong country at peade. With proper safeguard for the distribution of supplies, we should feed and clothe the suffering and needy people of England, the other democracies and the occupied countries.

The back of the above mentioned pamphlet sets out the membership pledge of the America First Committee, which is as follows:

"I hereby enroll as a member of the America First Committee in order to help keep our country out of foreign war. I am a patriotic American citizen. I am not affiliated in any way with any foreign power."

Philadelphia Field Division File No. 100-3731 entitled [redacted] advises that under date of June 24, 1941 Mr. P. E. FOXWORTH of the Bureau telephonically advised that the Vice President had directed a letter to the Attorney General, indicating [redacted] was active in the America First Committee in the City of Philadelphia [redacted] about the value of this Committee. b7C

Mr. FOXWORTH requested that a discreet investigation be conducted relative to this matter. Under date of June 27, 1941 Special Agent [redacted] Philadelphia Field Division submitted a report relative to [redacted] and his connection with the America First Committee. [redacted] subsequently furnished Agent [redacted] with a pamphlet giving b7C

the National officers of the America First Committee. These are as follows:

NATIONAL COMMITTEE
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

Gen. ROBERT E. WOOD	Chairman
JANET AYER FAIRBANK	Vice Chairman
HANFORD MacNIDER	Vice Chairman
R. DOUGLAS STUART, JR.	Director
J. SANFORD OTIS	Treasurer

CHESTER BOWLES
Advertising Executive, New York City
DR. ANTON J. CARLSON
Head of Department of Physiology,
University of Chicago
WILLIAM R. CASTLE
Former under-Secretary of State
Mrs. BENNETT C. CLARK
Of Missouri and Washington, D. C.
IRVIN S. COBB
Author
JOHN T. FLYNN
Author
LILLIAN GISH
Actress
BISHOP W. HAMAKER
Methodist, of Denver, Colorado
GEN. T. S. HAMMOND
Manufacturer
JAY C. HORMEL
Meat Packer
GEN. HUGH S. JOHNSON
Columnist
CLAY JUDSON
Lawyer
KATHRYN LEWIS
Labor Union Executive
CHARLES A. LINDBERGH
ALICE R. LONGWORTH
Civic Leader
FRANK O. LOWDEN
Former Governor of Illinois
Mrs. J. P. MARQUAND
of New York City

THOMAS N. McCARTER
Industrialist, N. J.
RAY McKAIG
Farm Leader, Idaho
STERLING MORTON
Industrialist
KATHLEEN NORRIS
Novelist
AMOS R. A. PINCHOT
Lawyer
WILLIAM L. REGNERY
Manufacturer and Philanthropist
E. L. RYERSON, JR.
Industrialist - Civic Leader
LOUIS J. TABER
Master of National Grange
MRS. B. K. WHEELER
of Montana and Washington, D. C.
DR. GEORGE H. WHIPPLE
Nobel Prize Winner in Medicine, 1934
MAJOR A. J. WILLIAMS
Aviation Expert

Under date of September 28, 1941 Special Agent [redacted] Philadelphia Field Division, ascertained [redacted] that the Philadelphia leaders of the America First Committee were as follows: b7C b7D

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
Philadelphia Branch

34 S. 17th Street
Philadelphia, Pa.

ISAAC A. PENNYPACKER	Chairman
MARY W. MORRIS	Vice Chairman
IRENE THORN MURPHY	Executive Secretary
CHARLES WILLING	Treasurer
Dr. ADOLPHUS W. ANDERSON	Mrs. J. WISTAR EVANS
JOSEPH F. N. BALDI, II	JOHN B. GUEST
W. RICHARDSON BLAIR	Mrs. FRANCIS V. GOWEN
Col. MILLARD D. BROWN	Mrs. WILLIAM E. GREGORY
Mrs. SHEDLEY D. BUTLER	EMILY G. HOPKINSON
JOSEPH N. CORCORAN	JOHN E. LISTER
KERN DODGE	THOMAS RIDGWAY

[redacted] Special Agent [redacted] obtained a form letter written on the America First Committee letterhead stationery signed by ISAAC A. PENNYPACKER, Chairman of the America First Committee. This letter is herein set out: b7D b7C

"Dear Fellow-American:

"...At least one of the three foremost speakers for the America First cause will come to Philadelphia for a large mass meeting at an early date.

"...Had hoped to hold such meeting in September, but Lindbergh, Nye and Wheeler, one of whom we wanted, were scheduled in other parts of the country.

"...Col. Lindbergh said the Phila. rally on May 29th was one of the best. The next public meeting must be equally impressive for the sake of its effect upon Congress and public opinion.

"...$5,000. to cover rent of hall, printing, advertising, clerical help, etc., is needed. As you know, the services of all our officers and workers, excepting two office stenographers, are freely given.

"...$5,000. must be raised within two weeks.

"...Contribute generously..."

Sincerely yours,

ISAAC A. PENNYPACKER
Chairman
Philadelphia Chapter "

[redacted] b7D

[redacted], advised that a meeting had been held by the America First Committee on the second floor of Energetic Hall, 1802 S. Broad Street, [redacted] b7D

[redacted] b7D

[redacted] He stated that the meeting was called to order at 8.40 P.M. by Mr. KELLY, who introduced W. RICHARDSON BLAIR, Southampton, Pa., who was the first speaker of the evening.

BLAIR stated during his speech that the America First Committee was not against aid to Britain, but against aid to Russia. He quoted Rear Admiral COOK, who had stated that the United States was absolutely safe from any invasion. Mr. BLAIR stated that the U. S. Navy was powerful enough now for any exigency and that if the Government would build up our air force instead of giving our goods away, we would have nothing to fear from invasion from anyone.

Mr. BLAIR stated that he was going to organize a "mail brigade", writing to congressmen to protest the Lend-Lease Bill getting out of hand and the present Governmental administration program in Lend-Lease matters. He stated that there was to be set up a Legal Defense Section in the Central Committee of the America First Committee for the defense of members who were afraid to write letters.

Mr. JOHN M. ALLISTER, 620 Manoa Road, Philadelphia, was the third speaker on the program.

[redacted] the meeting, which had been held in an orderly manner, adjourned at 9.30 P.M. b7D

UNDEVELOPED LEADS

THE PHILADELPHIA FIELD DIVISION

AT PHILADELPHIA, PA.

Will check the names of the Philadelphia America First Committee members as set out on Page 9 of this report, through the indices of the Philadelphia Field Division for information which might be obtained relative to any un-American sympathies reflected therein for these individuals.

Will report the activities of Special Agents in future meetings of this organization in Philadelphia.

P E N D I N G

LBN:DW October 17, 1941

Mr. Edward T. Austin
Editor-in-Chief
San Diego Union
San Diego, California

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/18/86 BY SP-6 byattcy

Dear Mr. Austin:

My attention has been called to the news items which appeared in the San Diego Union on October 6, and October 7, with reference to the allegations that the FBI has tapped the telephone wires of the America First Committee. I have also noted the statements of Mr. Frank O'Farrell which are quoted in the San Diego Union on October 7, to the effect that he did not refer to the America First Committee office in San Diego, and the statement by Mr. Abbey wherein he said, "I don't think the FBI office has been instructed to tap them." Mr. Abbey then goes on to state that "Earl C. Jeffery, national director of field operations, told us they had tapped wires and checked up on mail at Washington."

In this connection, I wish to advise that the FBI has not tapped the telephones of the America First Committee in San Diego or anywhere else and has not scrutinized membership lists and any statement to this effect is an unmitigated lie.

Very truly yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

CC - San Diego

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
Mr. Hendon
★ OCT 20 1941 ★
P. M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

RECORDED
INDEXED

100-4712-183

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
OCT 20 1941
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Federal Bureau of Investigation

United States Department of Justice

Chicago - Illinois

October 25, 1941

Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 5/8/86 BY SP6 bja/tc

Dear Sir:

There are being enclosed herewith for both the Bureau and the Omaha Field Division, two copies each of an anonymous chain letter addressed: "TO AMERICAN GENTILES" and signed "A 100% PRO-AMERICAN," which was furnished to this office by [redacted] Office of the Assistant Chief of Staff, G-2, Headquarters Sixth Corps Area, Chicago, Illinois. b7c

According to [redacted] this chain letter was being circulated in the Sixth Corps Area. b7c

Very truly yours,

A. H. Johnson

A. H. JOHNSON,
Acting Special Agent in Charge

[redacted] b7c

Enclosure
cc - Omaha (enc.)

1 ENCL.

RECORDED
INDEXED

100-4712-184

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
7 OCT 28 1941
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FIVE

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To American Gentiles:

The Jews are crucifying Colonel Lindbergh as they crucified Christ, and for the same reason - Speaking the Truth.

Lindbergh did not preach intolerance. He did not preach Anti-Semitism. He merely stated the Fact that the Jews are one of the main forces pushing Americans into the European War. He preached "Pro-Americanism."

Immediately, the paid Jewish "Gentile Fronts" like the hypocrite, Wilkie, and the paid Jewish "Gentile Front" press, radio, pulpit and movie leap to attack Lindbergh, screaming "religious intolerance."

None deny Lindbergh's stated fact. Instead they call names to create a smoke screen and to divert attention from the real issue.

It is time to WAKE UP AND LEARN THE FACTS about subversive un-American Jewish activities BEFORE TOO LATE.

Send Fifty Cents to Rev. Frank W. Johnson, 2304 Fontenelle Bove., Omaha, Nebr., for a copy of "The Octupus."

Write Congressman J. Thorkedson, House Office Building, Washington, D.C. for a copy of his speeches, "Steps Toward British Union; A World State; and International Strife."

These publications will OPEN YOUR EYES. Christian "tolerance" that refuses to fact facts ceases to be tolerance and becomes plain cowardice.

Send a copy of this entire letter to at least ten of your "Gentile friends. Maintain and extend the chain. DO IT NOW.

Don't sign your letters. To do so places you open to the same kind of "smear" campaign Lindbergh is receiving at the hands of Organized Jewry in this land of "Christian Tolerance" through their "Gentile Fronts."

If they don't know who you are, their paid "Gentile Fronts" can't scream at you and "smear" you. The Jews don't come out in the open, so beat them at their own game.

In the meantime, American Gentiles will learn the facts and stop the Jewish move to push Americans into the European War.

A 100% PRO-AMERICAN.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/8/86 BY SP6 Galley

F.B.I.

80430

Gentlemen: 9 packages of
diffusion pumps in a telephone
Booth in N.Y.C.

There may be three
of them lying around -

21 books Subversive

100-17172-185

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
OCT 27 19
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

RECORDED
INDEXED
EX-5

DATE 5/8/86 BY Sbja/teg

[redacted]

Nov

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Reprint from

Norristown Times Herald

Norristown, Pennsylvania

"An American Newspaper Since 1799"

'War Is England's; She Asked For It' Col. Kuznik Tells New York Audience

New Rochelle, N. Y., Sept. 30.—"This is England's war, she asked for it and it is definitely her war" and the United States should not only keep its manpower out of it but also refuse to pay for it, Colonel J. V. Kuznik, a retired U. S. Army officer, told a large and enthusiastic audience last evening at an America First rally held in the Knights of Columbus Hall here.

Pointing out that President Roosevelt has completely forgotten his campaign promises to keep us out of war and was rapidly pushing America into actual participation in the European struggle, Colonel Kuznik urged is hearers to raise their voices nd pens in protest to the National Administration, members f Congress and others in authority against further steps toward United States' involvement.

Colonel Kuznik declared England is spending daily nearly 50 million dollars of American taxpayers' money in its war campaign and also wants United States to finance Russia in its war program and all this enormous expense for a war that is purely England's and not ours.

Colonel Kuznik's speech was as follows:

The question as to whose war this is, has not yet been established to the entire satisfaction of some of the people, so let us take stock of what evidence we have, not circumstantial, or highly improbable, but, as befits the gravity of the situation and its possible effects upon, not merely the present, but many future generations of our people, evidence based upon reason and justice.

You, fellow Americans, are both the jury and judge in this tragic case of 80 per cent of the people versus the Administration and the 20 per cent minority. I mention the Administration advisedly, and want to draw your attention to the distinction between it and government. The latter is the permanent organization of National activities and is based upon the provisions of our Constitution, Bill of Rights and the laws of the land as established by acts of Congress. It [illegible] self-styled patriot, Swindle Willkie. Yes, my friends, this once barefooted country lad said this in his acceptance speech at Elwood, where he acquired the rugged American individualism he later so readily discarded in Wall Street. The messiah of unity who travels about the country, all expenses paid, braying forth his silly exhortation to follow the leader. Apparently he does not know that we have no leader, since the great majority of the flock are going in the opposite direction and until he makes himself our dictator, he will get from the patriotic Americans no support for his violently anglophile and entirely unAmerican schemes to bury his nine years of dismal domestic failures underneath the bleeding corpses of millions of our sons.

This testimonial against the head of the administration is interesting, because some one said a few days ago, that the Administration is one of three groups who are joint owners of this war, and there was an undignified scramble to deny the allegation: Unfortunately, this perfectly correct analysis did not reveal the reasons why, in sufficient detail, and I will attempt to give you facts, which this splendid American no doubt believed to be self-evident.

To begin with, always bear in mind, and never forget, that England declared war upon Germany in September 1939, dragging into this butchery an unready France and endangering the existence of the buffer countries of Norway, Belgium and Holland.

'Definitely England's War'

When the dogs of war were let loose, our administration immediately set about doing everything possible, legislatively and otherwise, to assure both belligerents of our strict neutrality. The occasional rumors of possible war encouragement given by our so-called diplomats to Poland and France, were most energetically denied. In short, we would have nothing to do with this foreign feud. The nation was definitely neutral. We were not afraid of "Mein Kampf" which had been in circulation for 16 years. We were not afraid of a Hitler invasion. Our general staff was not excited about the war which they knew would involve all of Europe and [illegible]

[illegible]ion, if he [illegible]sts.
[illegible]people cheerfully consented to [illegible]loose bill, had already shut [illegible]eyes to the illegal transfer of [illegible]na. craft by executive order, and reluctantly accepted the occupation [illegible]c Greenland. All because the administration declared these violations of international law to be measures to to secure peace to the people; however, since the President stated that convoys meant shooting and shooting means war, the New Deal jokers, for delivering to Britain of let loose articles, were removed from the stacked deck, by a few shrewd fair playing Congressmen, before that bill was finally accepted by the people. The attempt to secure Congressional sanction for delivery was frustrated and the bill passed under the guise of a defense measure.

Warns Against War Trend

Now returns Mr. Roosevelt from a fishing trip with Churchill, and with disarming frankness tells us, quote "we have a war to win"—also something about rubbing out Hitler. I don't want to waste time on this unintelligent so oft repeated Hitler romance, because it is so apparently absurd to believe that it is Hitler and not the 80 million German people that are fighting for what they believe to be their rights. But right or wrong, how come Mr. Roosevelt bought this interest in the bloody business for the people? They have a right to be informed, and if unconvinced, refuse to accept this New Deal gold brick. Considering the unconstitutional manner in which it was acquired, you should loose no time in doing just that if you would spare your people the horrors, miseries and tragedies of a war, that is not our war and that 80% of our people can only be forced into by a dictator and not by a constitutionally elected President.

To justify their unAmerican pro-British sympathies, even to the extremes of involving this country in a foreign war, which would then be our war, lock, stock and barrel; with the concomitant total obligation to pay for it in treasure and in blood, the silly wolf-wolf cry of invasion, the ridiculous threats of economic slavery and foreign trade losses, and many other unsubstantiated claims of inevitable disaster to this country, are blared through the air and headlined in the anglophile press.

You are not told however, that even if these contentions were correct, the effect upon this and future generations would be a mere inconvenience, compared to the terrible calamity, the assuming of the total burdens, of not only combat, but post war rehabilitation. That would be the fate of our people.

Can any healthy minded American, contemplate the daily progress of this Godless struggle for the domination [illegible] price we would have to pay if

mind us of the unselfish servi[illegible] dered us by an Englishman. must be significant, for why th[illegible] French, Polish, Hungarian, C[illegible] and other foreign patriots repr[illegible] in our halls of fame?

Belittles 'Mythical Friend[illegible]

Fellow Americans! Do not [illegible] ceived by the insincere avowa[illegible] mythical friendship. Many men of England have expres[illegible] more accurate sentiments. Churchill, for instance, only s[illegible] ago referring to the last w[illegible] "England would today be mu[illegible] ter off had the United States her own business and stayed a[illegible] Also we are still the Uncle of war debt adjustment [illegible] we are asked to forget it all, [illegible] believe the fairy tale that, s[illegible] fought the sanguinary battles ourselves from British tyran[illegible] land has been our guardian [illegible] that we owe our very existen[illegible] might of the Royal Navy. I[illegible] intelligent prattle! Unf[illegible] many of our people swallow s[illegible] sense, hook, line and sinker.

Then there are the worn[illegible] gans—"Fight to make the w[illegible] for democracy", "the war t[illegible] wars"; and others equally [illegible] of your utter contempt whi[illegible] tensified in those of us who h[illegible] sonal recollections of the h[illegible] the last war whic[illegible] glorified with just[illegible] by the internatior[illegible] filthy gold was tha[illegible] thousands of our [illegible]

Place Ame[illegible]

We must place [illegible] disregard all other

As for those M[illegible] British-Americans activities are paid American tax payer[illegible] tish embassy which propaganda activit[illegible] them with silent c[illegible] you, who are the f[illegible] mothers and fath[illegible] whether the real m[illegible] are any more Am[illegible] than those of the[illegible] let that famous Br[illegible] laire Belloc, aid you[illegible] by quoting from hi[illegible] 1925 on how the[illegible] fooled by propagan[illegible]

"The most comic[illegible] fair was the [illegible] America. We d[illegible] America, for we[illegible] keen on getting [illegible] is a drowning m[illegible] deck chair. In the[illegible] people came to k[illegible] the duty o[illegible] the [illegible] over and[illegible] astonish[illegible] to the[illegible] death, [illegible] ed it.

ministration. The Administration, of which our President is the head, is a political accident, changed from time to time, (until recently,) by the will of the people expressed at elections.

All members of Congress and the Administration, are in effect, the chosen servants of the people and unless the acts of governing and the formulation of policies both foreign and domestic, truly represent the desires of the majority as expressed in Congress, you, the people, should take appropriate measures to compel respect for your will. If the situation is of great moment, such as this, then the Constitution provides for making essential changes in the interest of the sovereign people, if public servants attempt to, or actually do, abuse their constitutional powers of administration, and act in opposition to the will of the people.

Campaign Promises Forgotten

So you need not have an exaggerated idea of loyalty for an Administration that has signally failed to carry out its solemn campaign promises with which they secured their election or appointments as the case may be. They are leaders, only if the majority follows and approves, and any attempt to push the people into commitments that are repugnant to our democratic concept, must be considered not only disloyal, but even traitorous, if the lives and fortunes of the people are imperiled by such totalitarian conduct.

Let me quote one case, to illustrate that even important Administration yes men had serious misgivings as to the motives of the head of our Administration. Quote:

"I cannot follow the President in his conduct of foreign affairs in this critical time. There have been occasions when many of us have wondered if he is deliberately inciting us to war. I trust that I have made it plain that in the defense of America and our liberties, I should not hesitate to stand for war. But like a great many Americans, I saw war at first hand in 1917. I know what war can do to demoralize civil liberties at home; and I believe it is the first duty of a president to try to maintain peace. The President's attacks on foreign powers have been useless and dangerous. He has courted a war, for which this country is hopelessly unprepared and which it emphatically does not want. He has secretly meddled in the affairs of Europe and he has even unscrupulously encouraged other countries to hope for more help than we are able to give."

Raps 'Swindle Willkie'

Is there any doubt in your minds, that this fellow also smelled a rat? Some of you probably recognize these hi[illegible] words, but I doubt if any of [illegible]w the real name of the author. I'll tell you! It is that great fllct could have but one result: Namely that our country, if it would only avoid becoming involved and not expect to be altogether saved the inconveniences that are the inevitable lot of innocent bystanders in such conflicts, would emerge the most powerful nation, both militarily and economically, and be in a position to enforce a just and lasting peace upon the war-torn world when all the belligerents will have exhausted themselves by years of butchery and destruction. It definitely was England's war!

But then someone had a brain storm, and conceived the ambitious idea to become a great peacemaker. With an olive branch in one hand and the Teddy big stick in the other, our administration in this role had, as you know, pathetic results. This evidently infuriated some one; for then it was decided to take an option on a large block of stock in this dirty business, in the guise of aid to Britain short of war. A complacent and confiding people, crooned into blissful surrender of their mental processes, by repeated fireside chats and solemn vows such as, quote "We will not participate or intervene in foreign wars. It is for peace I shall labor all the days of my life. Your boys are not going to be sent into any foreign wars. The first purpose of our foreign policy is to keep out of war. Ships flying the American flag must stay out of the war zone" unquote. This, spoken in fine campaign oratory style, installed this administration by electing Mr. Roosevelt for a third term, on the specious plea that he was the only man in our 130 million population who could safely pilot our ship of state through the approaching storm, and keep us at peace. An exaggerated and undemocratic honor which even the immortal George Washington declined, as being inconsistent with the principles of a Republican form of government.

Fine Phrases Are Buried

After the election, these fine phrases got an indecent burial and now never again shall we hear that verbal opiate "short of war," for the administration is also on the warpath. Why, remains a mystery, for no provocation or reason has been given us to go ashootin' at everything we see, other than the fact, that England has learned that war is not fought with feather dusters and now needs help to save her from being ruined. She asked for it, and it is therefore definitely her war.

By sending our ships and navy into the war zones in direct violation of the international laws of war, we are deliberately inviting disaster and the President, by completely ignoring his solemn word given to the people that he would especially not do this, must assume full responsibility for the terrible tra[illegible] is certain to engulf the administration succeeds in shooting us into this butchery? And why, I ask?—for this is definitely England's war. They asked for it.

Some people are not touched by war's horrors of men, wounded, dying in agony and killed, on the scorching sands of Africa, in the fever ridden jungles of the Far East and drowned like rats in the seven seas, [illegible] who, no doubt, are more interested in the business aspect of war.

England Spends U. S. Money

England is today spending nearly fifty million dollars of your money every day in staging this swan song act, and since we would surely make better and bigger war, our combined efforts would therefore cost at least one hundred millions, or three billions each month—more than the total yearly amount of our foreign trade. This calculation leaves out Russia whom Mr. Churchill also wants to finance, with our silly dollars of course. For once, I agree with that comic strip would-be political Napoleon, the Peppery Pepper, when he recently said in effect, patriots of America gird yourselves for a nice long show. This Roosevelt, Churchill, Stalin crusade to make this world safe for you, the four freedoms and Communism might last a whole generation. However, I prefer to be more conservative in my judgment and assume ten years as a more likely period for the limit of endurance of the war weary peoples. In that period therefore, three hundred billions will be spent on actual combat alone, but that is not all, for Uncle Sap would have a full partnership liability to both England and Russia to reconstruct destroyed cities, villages, railroads, docks, ships, etc., etc.,—this part will of course, be a loan of another two or three hundred billions to be repaid to Uncle Shylock, when and if, in plain words, this home made emergency if turned into total war, would cost the taxpayer of this and many future generations about five hundred billions of silly dollars; and by that time, you may be sure the dollar will indeed look awfully silly and our dentists will be filling our teeth with free Fort Knox gold, since that commodity will be even more worthless than the dollar.

If this were our war, we would all be willing to pay the price; but do we owe England so much that we can seriously contemplate following Mr. [illegible]oosevelt on his personally conducted t[illegible] of the bloody battle fields of Eur[illegible] and Asia? If we do owe England [illegible] debt of gratitude, for there can be [illegible] question of financial obligation s[illegible]e she still owes us ten billions from the last party she gave at our expense, I say, if we do owe her something, why are we not made conscious of such moral obligations—for we have not c[illegible] monument in this appreciative a[illegible] rous land to re-

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Fellow Americans!
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voice be heard; for t
military dictatorship
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that is today, still
birth-right. So write
and you congressmen
that you know this
but to defend your
are willing to give
and your last drop
Americans! Defend
let God save the K
take Bloody Joe.

RECORDED 100-4712-185

November 14, 1941

[redacted]

[redacted]

Dear [redacted]

I wish to acknowledge receipt of your letter received at the Bureau on October 27, 1941.

Your courtesy and interest in bringing this information to my attention are indeed appreciated, and you may be assured your letter will receive appropriate consideration.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 5/8/86 BY SP6 bjalkey

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED
★ NOV 14 1941 ★
P. M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Tolson
E. A. Tamm
Clegg
Glavin
Ladd
Nichols
Tracy
Rosen
Carnes
Coffey
Harbo
Hollomon
Quinn Tamm
Nease
Sandy

Federal Bureau of Investigation

United States Department of Justice

San Diego, California

October 7, 1941

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

AIR MAIL - SPECIAL DELIVERY

Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

On the night of Friday, October 3, 1941, Senator WHEELER delivered an address at the Ford Bowl in San Diego under the auspices of the America First organization. The following morning, October 4, 1941, there appeared in the San Diego Union and also reappeared in the afternoon paper the following:

> "Frank O'Farrell, of the America First committee, under auspices of which Wheeler spoke, charged the federal bureau of investigation had 'tapped our wires and looked over our membership lists looking for Communists.' "

There is attached hereto a copy of that portion of the issue containing the above-quoted statement of FRANK O'FARRELL.

As soon as he was available, I contacted JAMES ABBEY, head of the America First in San Diego, and stated that, of course, Mr. O'FARRELL'S statement was incorrect completely and entirely as far, at least, as the San Diego office of this Bureau was concerned, and that no wires had been tapped and no membership lists searched for Communists; that this office had at no time taken any action, directly or indirectly, into any matter pertaining to the America First organization. Mr. ABBEY stated that as far as he knew, my statement was correct; that he himself did not hear the statement made by O'FARRELL the previous night; that he was inside the shell on the platform and that it was difficult to hear there. He said that he regretted that O'FARRELL had made any such statement.

INDEXED

100-L-2-186

I think we should locate Jeffers & make him either put up or shut up. H.

He said that he would contact him relative thereto, Mr. O'FARRELL not being then available.

On Monday, October 6, 1941, I contacted Mr. ALFRED E. KURLOW, who is the local Secretary of the organization, and he expressed his regret that any such statement had been made. He stated that he thought that it was undesirable and that it was incorrect.

I finally succeeded on the same morning in locating FRANK O'FARRELL. He is an advertising agent and has been busy with radio broadcasts. He told me that the statement made by him did not apply in any manner to the San Diego office of the FBI. He said that just prior to making the statement he had been talking on the platform to EARL C. JEFFERY, the national director of field operations for America First. O'FARRELL stated that JEFFERY said that these or similar actions had been taken by the FBI in other places. He rather vaguely referred to the "other places" as the East. He said that JEFFERY stated that mail had been perused and that books had been scrutinized and that wires had been tapped. I was unable to secure anything more definite concerning the "other places" except that O'FARRELL said he had read in the paper of some such action being taken at Washington in connection with certain papers or certain lists.

The foregoing details I know are vague, but I was unable to get O'FARRELL or anyone else to be more specific. O'FARRELL first stated that he did not recall JEFFERY'S saying that wires had been tapped. When I called his attention to the fact that he, O'FARRELL, had referred to tapping wires, he thought that he did say it.

I contacted Mr. AUSTIN, the Editor-in-Chief of the San Diego papers, and called his attention to the quoted remarks and stated that they were absolutely, completely, and entirely incorrect;

Director
October 7, 1941

that the San Diego office had at no time tapped any wires or scrutinized any membership lists of America First, looking for Communists, or for any other reason; that no action had been taken by this office relative to America First, directly or indirectly, in any manner.

This morning's issue, October 7, 1941, of the San Diego Union covers a statement relative to this situation. A copy of this is attached hereto. It will be noted that this latter article quotes Mr. O'FARRELL and Mr. ABBEY. The Bureau's attention is particularly invited to the statement of Mr. ABBEY to the effect that EARL C. JEFFERY had "told us they had tapped wires and checked up on mail at Washington".

Very truly yours,

H. NATHAN
Special Agent in Charge

Enclosure
HN:jec

erman Armies Engaged in Huge nets Offensive, Hungary Claims

Oct. 3 (U.P.)—Axis ve launched an offensive th Russian front, between er river and the Donets basin that is sweeping army before it at all Hungarian communique tonight.

ffensive is developing on growing scale, according mmunique issued soon aft- Hitler had reported in a at the Berlin sports palace antic new operations which insure the defeat of Russia

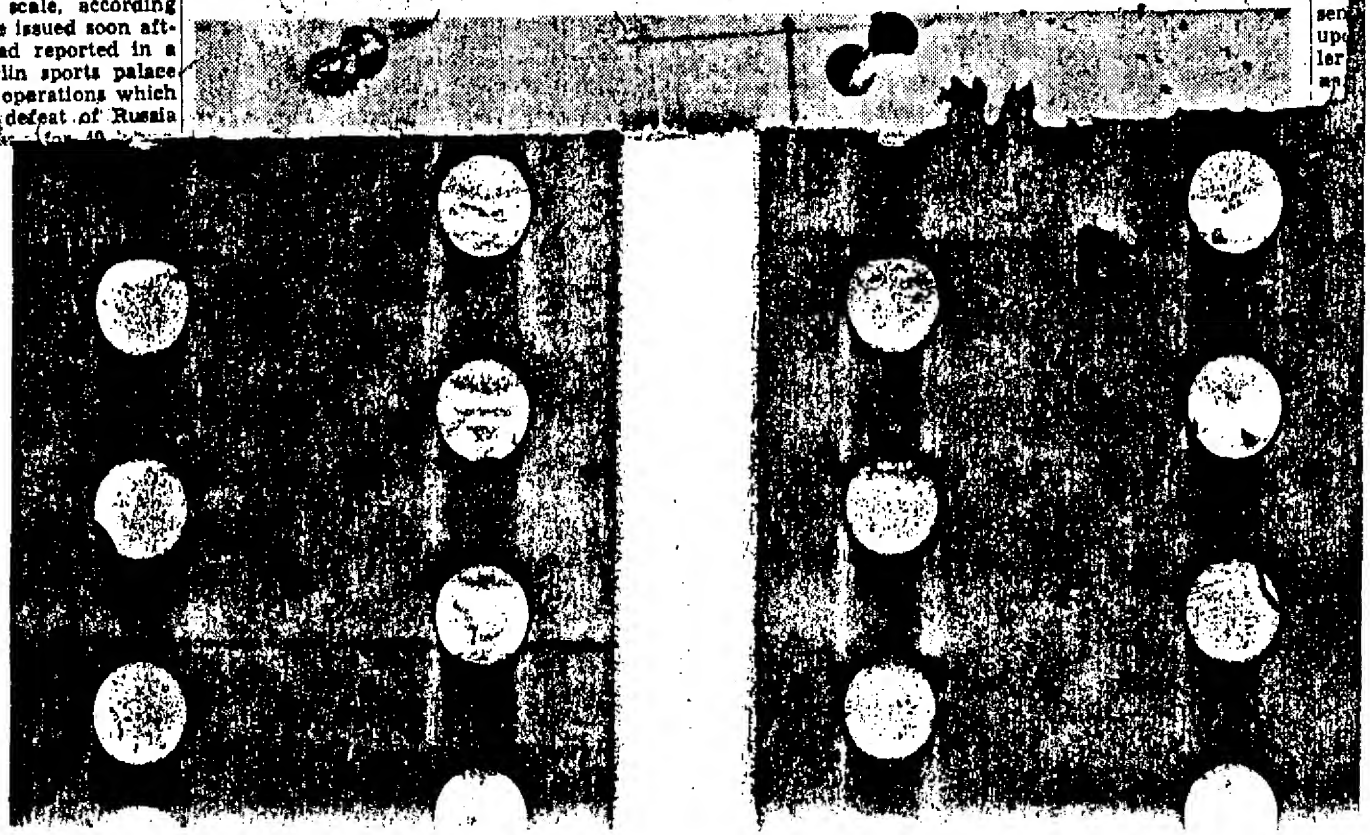
Thursday shot down 18 Russian bombers and five fighters when a strong formation attempted to penetrate the German lines about Leningrad, D.N.B. said.

Soviet troops in the "northern sector" attempted to dislodge two German divisions from their positions, D.N.B. said, but all attacks were said to have been repulsed with heavy Russian losses and the destruction of five tanks.

42 PLANES DOWNED

D.N.B. reported that the Russians lost 42 planes, including 37 in air battles, on Thursday. These included 14 shot down by the luftwaffe during Russian attempts to attack a German division in the southern sector, it was said.

German bombers Thursday night bombed military objectives in Moscow and important armament works southeast of Kharkov, the high command claimed.



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liego Union

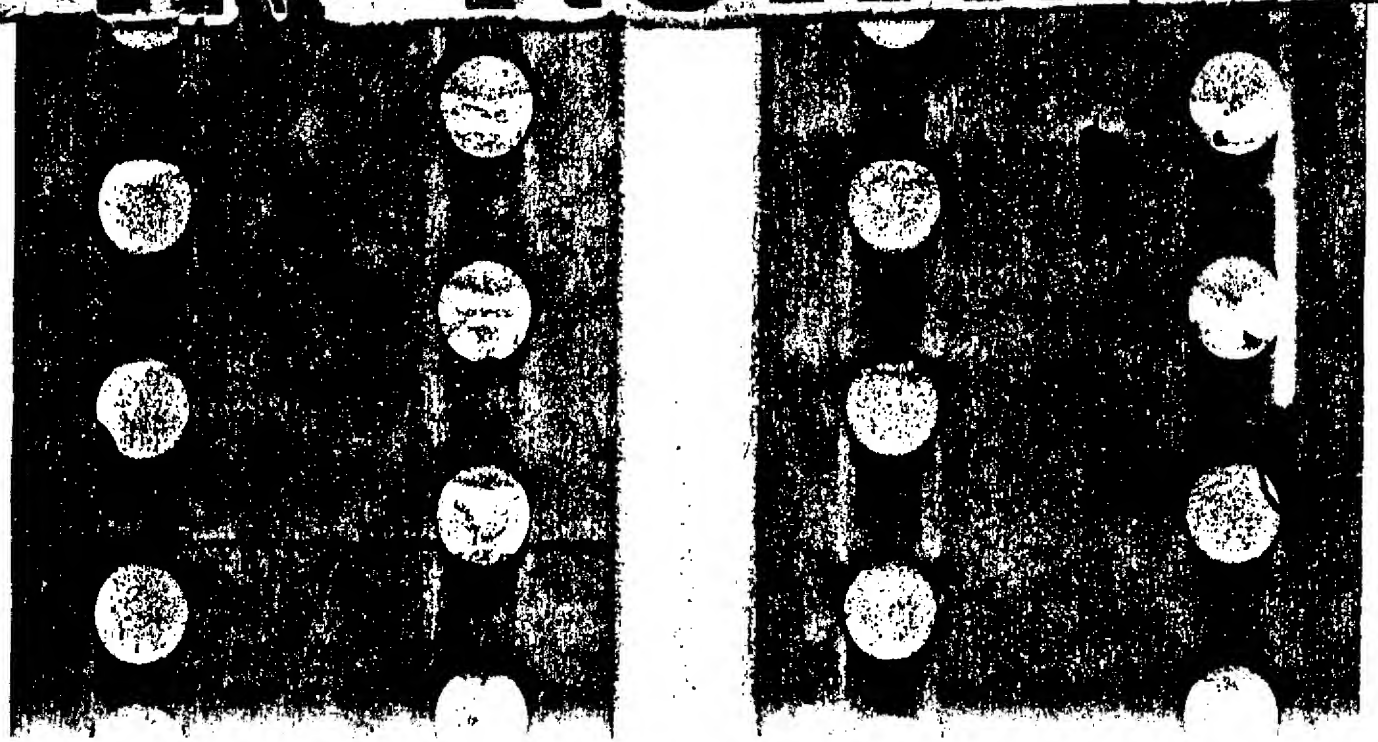
SUNRISE EDITION

Entered at San Diego, California, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

SATURDAY MORNING, OCT. 4, 1941

DAILY 5 CENTS—SUNDAY 10 CENTS

IN NORWAY



WEATHER

Clear today and tomorrow, with some low clouds tomorrow morning; little change in temperature with maximum about 75; gentle to moderate westerly winds.

Detailed U. S. weather bureau report will be found on Page 12, Section B.

The San D

Published daily and Sunday. Entered as second-class matter at the

BLISHED 1868—SEVENTY-THIRD YEAR | No. 28,431 | SAN DIEGO, CALIFORNIA,

IOTS FLARE

nsair Strike reat Ended y Mediation

Settlement Details Withheld Until Meeting Tomorrow

Settlement of demands that threatened a strike involving 37,000 workers at Consolidated Aircraft Corp. was announced last night by the defense mediation board in Washington, The Associated Press reported.

Details of the agreement were withheld until members of the International Association of Machinists local meet at 6 tomorrow afternoon in the Coliseum, Fifteenth and E sts.

NEGOTIATE TWO DAYS

En route to San Diego by plane to attend the session was W. J. Chadleigh, aircraft local president, who attended hearings before the mediation board.

Company, union and board representatives negotiated the dispute for two days.

The principal issue was the union demand for a blanket 15-cent-an-hour increase, based on a reported agreement by Consair to adopt any government-sanctioned wage standardization.

RAILWAY STRIKE SETTLED

The union had held that such a ruling was made by the government in the recent Lockheed-Vega wage increase. The company contended it had not been informed of the ruling.

The strike was voted Sept. 26, but the date was withheld at the request

London Street Scene Four Months After Bombing

Queen Victoria street still looks like the morning after, despite four months' salvage work following the great fire bomb attacks on London. Most are have been cleaned up, however, to erase war's sca

EIGHTH U.S. SHIP DESTROYED; 18 OF 37 CREWMEN PICKED UP

Tanker I. C. White Torpedoed 450 Miles Off Brazil, Inside American Neutrality Zone

RIO DE JANEIRO, Oct. 3 (U.P.)—The American-owned Panamanian tanker I. C. White, has been torpedoed and sunk and 18 survivors have been picked up 450 miles off Brazil inside the American neutrality zone, the navy announced today. It is the eighth American

Reds Recapture Many Villages

Victories Reported On All Fronts

MOSCOW, Oct. 4 (Saturday) (A.P.)—Russian troops have advanced through the German lines in a [illegible] counter-offensive on the [illegible]

Wheeler Pledges 'Fight to Last' Against War

Isolationist Draws 5000 Cheering Fans To Ford Bowl Talk

A fight to the last drop of his blood, to "keep America out of the hell of war in Europe and Asia," was pledged by Sen. Burton K. Wheeler, noted isolationist, before a cheering crowd of 5000 in the Ford bowl last night.

Scoring President Roosevelt's policies, which he charged were leading the country to war, the Montana Democrat rapped British imperialism, conceded the power of English propaganda, and spoke scornfully of the administration's apparent attempt to restore Red Russia to this country's good graces.

BRIDGES NAMED

"Deport Harry Bridges because he is a Communist!" cried the senator. "Why, the president ought to call him back to Washington and put him in his cabinet."

The crowd was with Wheeler with a few heckling exceptions, but the senator more than held his own in the few verbal exchanges that the throng permitted.

He warned San Diego that, before it goes riding off to war abroad for the four freedoms, it should look closely at its own situation. He referred to the votes of two San Diego city councilmen against permitting him to speak in Ford bowl.

...xs Huge Sum

HENRY MORGENTHAU JR.
. . . announces loan plan.

* * *

U.S. to Borrow Another Billion

Gigantic New Loan May Set Debt Record

WASHINGTON, Oct. 3 (A.P.)—Secy. Morgenthau today announced plans to borrow $1,000,000,000 or more next week in what may be the largest cash financing of the treasury since the World war era.

Morgenthau said he intended to sell between $1,000,000,000 and $1,250,000,000 worth of treasury securities, barring unforeseen disturbance of financial markets by international events over the weekend. If the sales reach the latter figure, the transaction will top all post-World war financing, surpassing the $1,106,000,000 borrowed in 1936 to pay the soldiers' bonus.

...ING TASK

...s are "completing their ... planned pression, but ...ould be published," ... capes." ...ial communique from Budapest ... It mentioned no specific le... but the Germans have ...d to be advancing ... Kharand the Crimea in that area. ...lumbia Broadcasting system in ...York heard the London radio ...rt a "terrific" tank battle in ...ness east of Dnepropetrovsk. ...is report emanated from Radio ...Helsinki. CBS also heard the ...Rigby radio report that German ...troops had forced a passage of the ...Perekop isthmus, the four-mile-wide stretch of land connecting the mainland with Crimea.)

Following Hitler's speech, German sources were unusually silent on the eastern front situation.

The only reference to the southern sector was a D.N.B. news agency report that German troops had thrown back a strong Russian counter-attack supported by tanks and armored train. The German ...tire ... diers ...ps destroyed nine Russian tanks turned, sentioned their advance, D.N.B. ...s Nad.

On the Leningrad front, D.N.B. ...ported, the Germans have cap... out ...ed Karpel castle, the "Versailles ... the east," southwest of the ... ...er czarist capital.

The ... ("Karpel castle" may be Dyr... ...kaya Sela, 15 miles south of Le... lay ... ...grad, formerly Tsarkoye Selo ... ...where the former imperial summer ... the palaces are situated. The palace ... since have been turned into ...

Prague Mayor Doomed

BERLIN, Oct. 3 (A.P.)—Gestapo dispatches reported tonight that mayor of Prague, Otakar Klapka, had been snared by the secret and sentenced to die as one of leaders of an elaborate foreign backed plot of sabotage, terror espionage and rebellion against reich's protection.

These dispatches were punctuated by the announcement that "seven more Czechs had been executed

With unofficial reports running far ahead of official figures, it

The mediation board also announced settlement of a strike at the Rahway, N. J., plant of the American Brake Shoe and Foundry Co. which had tied up delivery of shells and castings to the army.

R.A.F. Conducts Day, Night Raids

LONDON, Oct. 3 (A.P.)—British bombers struck hard tonight at the German-occupied French channel ports on the heels of a day assault on docks at Ostend in which several fires were started.

Residents on the Kent coast said the night bombing was heard first in the direction of Calais and then drifted toward Boulogne.

The air ministry reported a day attack by British fighters on a German supply ship escorted by anti-aircraft vessels. One of the anti-aircraft ships was said to have sunk.

WS MMARY

nd International

Clash With Guerrillas in ... Page 1-A.

Claims Russians Have Suf... Blow—Page 1-A.

Armies Start Huge Oc... oners Basis—Page 3-A.

to Float Record ... Monday—Page 1-A. ... Boss Suspension of ... Page 2-A.

Rage Over 65,000 ... rols—Page 1-A. ... in Two More S. F.

Fremont Bombed ... Page 1-A. ... Arraigned at Salin... Page 3-A.

Residents Urged to Sa... Fair—Page 6-A. ... ain's Policy Tripped France, ... Asserts—Page 1-A.

erial

torials: Hitler Talks Again; ... WPA "Drive;" Newspapership ... Page 2-B.

tman Illustrates Lectures, by ... Stinnett—Page 2-B. ... French Relations Now in ..., by Pertinax—Page 2-B.

epartments

About People—Page 9-A.
Churches—Pages 4, 5-A.
Comics—Page 6-B.
Editorials—Page 2-B.
Financial—Page 7-B.
Radio—Page 8-A.
Serial Story—Page 4-A.
Shipping Page—Page 11-B.
Society, Clubs—Page 6-A.
Sports—Pages 9, 4, 5-B.
Suburban—Page 12-B.
Theaters—Page 7-A.

Bomber Missing With Six Aboard

SACRAMENTO, Oct. 3 (U.P.)—A twin-motored Douglas B-18-A army bomber with six men aboard is missing and believed to have crashed somewhere between Needles, Calif., and Albuquerque, N. M., Lt. R. A. Butler, McClelland field adjutant, said here tonight.

Butler said the bomber took off here yesterday on a non-stop flight for Albuquerque at 5:30 p. m., and last reported by radio at 8:21 p. m. over Needles. Butler said as far as he could learn from Albuquerque, it was a routine position report.

LIST RELEASED

Butler released the following list of men who were aboard the bomber:

Pilot, Lt. A. T. King, Laramie, Wyo.

Co-Pilot, Lt. R. H. Conway, Wilbur, W. Va.

Corp. L. E. Gillem, Great Falls, Mont.

Pvt. 1st Class L. T. Merrifield, Springerville, Ariz.

King, Conway, Gillem and Merrifield were all from the Albuquerque air base. Butler said he did not have their home addresses.

There were two passengers. They were:

Lt. W. W. Kitsam and Lt. D. G. Boyd, both of the second airborne, Spokane, Wash.

PLAN AERIAL SEARCH

Officials at the Albuquerque air base said that a searching party would be dispatched by air as soon as the weather cleared. It has rained west of Albuquerque all day.

Butler said that it would not have been impossible for the ship to have made a safe landing in some remote spot where there were no communications, but he indicated the army held little hope of this.

Two Passersby Save Man's Life

Police last night credited two men with saving the life of Walter Merrill, 38, of 4183 Florida st.

Merrill attempted to commit suicide by attaching a hose to the exhaust of his car, parked in a garage at the rear of the house, police said. His mother, Mrs. Dorothea Merrill, said she saw the light in the garage and, guessing Merrill's intent, ran into the street, where she stopped the first passing car.

H. G. Birmingham, of 3845 Boundary st., and Barney Tyler, of 4845 Florida st., broke into the garage and removed the unconscious man from the car. While one applied artificial respiration, the other notified police.

Merrill was taken to the county hospital. Dr. Louis Strahlmann, police surgeon, said he probably would recover.

reported to the American consul at Pernambuco that he had picked up survivors of the tanker in a lifeboat and expected to land them at Rio de Janeiro tomorrow, the embassy said.

RESCUE REPORT MISTAKE

(A report circulated for a time that the Moore-MacCormack line's Mormacrey had picked up 16 other survivors of the White but this was attributed later to a mistake in the maritime police bureau in Rio de Janeiro. The Moore-MacCormack manager in the Brazilian capital said no information had been received directly or indirectly of the Mormacrey making such a rescue and that if it had done so he would have been notified. The U. S. embassy in Rio de Janeiro was without knowledge of the Mormacrey picking up any survivors).

(Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey said the I. C. White, a 7062-ton vessel, carried an all-American crew of 37, of whom 18 have been rescued. Standard formerly operated the tanker but it was one of 50 put in use carry supplies for the British war effort, company officers said. It was under Panamanian registry because of neutrality law restrictions on United States flag vessels.

UNDER BRITISH CONTROL

The Standard Oil said the ship sailed under British direction and that it was possible others were aboard in addition to the 37 regular crew members.

Apparently the I. C. White was engaged in the shuttle service carrying oil from Latin American ports

(Continued on Next Page, Col. 6)

through dozens of villages advancing "upwards of 12 miles," dispatches said today. A succe... engagement on the southern ... was announced by the high ... mand, which said that Red airpl... and infantrymen smashed a ... man mechanized assault there, ...stroying 25 tanks and armored ... and capturing 300 armored ... motorcycles.

The war dispatches concer... the central front said that MP... Semyon Timoshenko, comma... Russian forces in the center d... great battlelins from the Are... the Black sea, was continuing his "persistent" counter-offensive against the Nazis.

SETTLEMENTS RETAKEN

Troops under Maj. Gen. A. ... Yeremenko, in charge of the sector around Gomal, were reported to have recaptured "dozens" of settlements in the area.

(As transcribed at the United Press listening post in New York from a radio Moscow broadcast, the communique describing the southern front operation said 25 German tanks were "smashed" and 30 German tanks captured, indicating a gigantic tank battle.)

On the Leningrad front, where Russian marines are reported to have gained a foothold on strategic islands guarding the city's sea approaches, five German planes have been shot down the last two days, the communique said.

KILL 6000 GERMANS

Also near Leningrad, the communique said, a single Russian unit commanded by Col. Bondarev killed 6000 Germans in September and destroyed seven artillery batteries.

(Continued on Next Page Col. 3)

Fire Rages Over 65,000 Acres Of California Timber, Brush

Death, injury and ... property loss kept pace with wind-lashed flames which blackened an estimated 65,000 acres of brush and timber areas in autumn-dry California yesterday.

Temperatures in most ... were far above normal, and fo... officials held little hope—barring a sudden surcease in winds ranging up to 70 miles an hour—that the worst was over.

Almost 30,000 acres, some of invaluable pasturage, was burned over in Yuba county, north of Sacramento in the central part of the state, and County Fire Warden E. P. Briggs said the fire was not yet controlled.

TIMBER AREA ABLAZE

Another 9000 acres, some in valuable timber, was ablaze in Monterey county—5000 acres in and near the county. Los Padres national forest and 1000 on Bixby mountain to the north where several summer cabins were destroyed.

A 1300-acre blaze near Arch rock in Yosemite National park was believed under control. The flames approached within 200 feet of the

Associated Press

Arch rock ranger station before they were checked.

... other national forests—Lassen in the north, Stanislaus and Tahoe in the east and San Bernardino in the south.

MANY FIRES REPORTED

Small brush fires were reported in many parts of the state.

It was estimated around 7500 men were engaged in battling fires today. Damage, estimated earlier, at $1,000,000, was expected to exceed that amount considerably when all reports were in.

Joe F. Mastig, 55, employed at the Pickering Lumber Corp.'s Camp Grohl, died from exertion while a member of the crew fighting the Strawberry peak fire in Tuolumne county.

Three persons were hurt as a Nevada county rural fire truck overturned while aiding crews in Yuba county.

They were Robert Kistle, Nevada City, broken leg, and Raymond Lupero, Dobbins and Harlan Walker, Grass Valley, cuts and bruises.

collectivism earlier had been hailed and criticized by Judge Edward J. Kelly as men who would deny free speech in San Diego.

JOHNSON PRAISED

Wheeler opened his talk with a tribute to Sen. Hiram Johnson and then warned that there is an effort to "smear Lindbergh and others trying to keep this country ... of war."

"But you mustn't be surprised at ... hysteria," he said. "During the ...orld war they hanged old Bob ...Follette in effigy and then put ...m in the Hall of Fame. Those who have the courage to stand up in times like these are going to be the people who are remembered for their courage in the future."

The senator declared there is a fear psychosis in the country today, such like that which dictators spread promote among their subjects.

CITIZENS AFRAID

"People are afraid the administration at Washington will punish them if they speak out," he declared. "The president tells us there is freedom of religion in Russia. There is no freedom of speech, freedom of assemblage, or freedom of religion anywhere in Russia."

He read a list of killings he said Winston Churchill has charged to the Communist government of Russia as proof that the freedoms do not exist in the land of the soviets.

"There is only freedom from religion there," he said. "And yet they want to send American boys over there to fight a battle for freedom. The place to fight for the four

(Continued on Next Page Col. 5)

SPECIAL NOTICE

Sunday Union Classified Ads to run in ALL Sunday Editions hereafter will be Accepted up to 2 P. M. Saturday.

Ads Accepted from 2 to 5 P. M. Will run in Later Editions ONLY

Cancellations and corrections for Sunday also will be accepted up to 2 P.M. ONLY on Saturdays.

UNION and TRIBUNE-SUN Classified Want Ads

Main 2121

The borrowing will supplement new taxes in paying for rising defense costs and will foreshadow additional levies to come.

Morgenthau said yesterday the new taxes were just a "good start," and that next year's tax bill would have to be an "all-out" imposition on the public.

Next week's borrowing is scheduled from banks and other large investors. It is an addition to the regular sales of defense savings bonds to small investors and borrowing from the old-age reserve and other government trust funds. It will boost the federal debt to about $52,000,000,000—about double the peak in World war days.

BOND SALES SLUMP

Along with the financing plans, the treasury disclosed that sales of defense bonds in September slumped to $282,377,000, the smallest month since the program was inaugurated on May 1.

Treasury figures indicate that the huge borrowing will supply only enough cash to meet one month's deficit, at recent spending and revenue rates. In the three months since the present fiscal year started, the treasury has paid out $5,116,388,006 and has taken in $1,956,561,238. This created a deficit of $3,160,734,668, or an average shortage of more than $1,000,000,000 a month.

Condition of Brandeis Grave After Attack

WASHINGTON, Oct. 3 (A.P.)—The condition of Louis D. Brandeis, 84-year-old retired justice of the supreme court, was reported very grave tonight. Brandeis suffered a heart attack Wednesday.

Message From Berlin Halts Exchange of 3000 Prisoners

NE... VEN, Eng., Oct. 3 (A.P.)—British authorities called a sudden halt tonight to exchange under the protection of a merry tribe of blue 3000 G...man and British prisoners of w... though the crippled and b... Germans already had been c... or led aboard two hospital ships in this strangely brilliant harbor.

The war office announced postponement of the repatriation just as the second of the two ships was ready to sail and the first already had moved out of the lighted harbor to await a dawn escort.

BRITAIN PROVIDES SHIPS

Under the agreement 1500 Germans are to be exchanged at Dieppe, some five hours by sea from Newhaven, for 1500 wounded Tommies. The Tommies will be returned in the same ships, Dinard and St. Julien.

The war office announcement said merely that the delay was occasioned by a message from Berlin and added that "the government are in communication with the German government and it is to be hoped it will be possible to make further statement within 24 hours."

Thus the delay is expected to be only temporary, and the German prisoners will resume on board the two ships.

CLOSELY GUARDED

At nightfall the 12-coach tr... which brought them to this Sum... port eased out on the quay alo... side which the Dinard and St. Juli... were docked. The Red Cross q... blems on the ships and the floo... lights on the quay were sudden... turned on—the first blaze of li... in the port area at night since Se... 1, 1939.

Lines of British troops, th... bayonets glistening in the flo... lights, rimmed the quaysides.

Then the first group of prison... shuffled from the train toward ... ship—32 German officers. A you... Nazi pilot, his hand bandag... walked from the darkness into ... glare of the floodlights, his ... covered blond head thrown ba... defiantly. A limping infantry ...

(Continued on Next Page, Col. ...

offenses in Germany and the ... quered areas, since June 22 ... the war with Russia started.

CROATIA LEADS LIST

This total was compiled from ... ficial announcements and did ... include executions in Bohem... Moravia for the last two days ... could not be viewed as up-to-... for the remainder of the occup... nations. Even so, Croatia, forme... part of Yugoslavia, was credi... with 230 executions to lead the ...

Dienst aus Deutschland, which ... good official connections, quo... Prague sources as saying that ... mayor of Prague had been dra... into a rebellion plot by the airc... condemned premier of the pro... torate, Gen. Alois Eliaz, who ... was a loose on life by an appeal ... the mercy of Adolf Hitler.

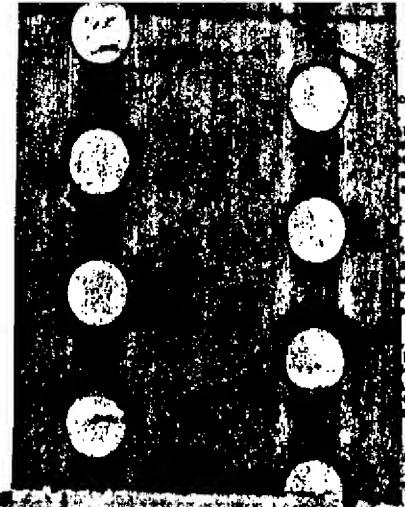
(A German radio broadcast of ... D.N.B. Prague dispatch said th... the condemned premier, Gen. Eli... was the secret head of a terrori...

(Continued on Next Page, Col. 1)

Mountbatten to Visit Navy Facilities Here

Lord Louis Mountbatten, com... mander of the British aircraft car... rier Illustrious, will visit San Dieg... today and inspect naval facilitie... in this area.

The naval hero of the battle o... Crete arrived in Los Angeles by... clipper plane from Honolulu yester... day after visiting the United State... fleet. Meeting him were Lad... Mountbatten and their daughte... Patricia, 17. They are house guest... of Mr. and Mrs. Douglas Fairbank... jr.



...heeler Pledges ...ight to Last' ...gainst War

(Continued from Page 1)

...dreds are in Oklahoma City, in ...ghis, in Atlanta, and—yes—in ...r own San Diego.

They used to say our meetings ...re filled with Communists, Nazis ...Fascists. Now the Communists ...mostly with Willkie."

...Hitler rules Germany by fear, the ...enator declared, as he cried shame ...on those who say he is for Hit... because he is for keeping this ...ion out of war.

...And speaking of freedom from ...[illegible]...Is there free... from "fear" in the slums of ...London? In Berlin? e in Hongkong? ...If we are going to fight for freedom ...from want, let us fight for it right ...here in the United States."

TREASON THREATENED

"The present administration and the "war mongers" are "trying to ...stamp out freedom of speech right ...here in the United States, but they ...are not going to stop me," he ...shouted. "I'm going to point out ...the deceit of those who say that ...every measure leading us down the ...road to war is a defense measure.

"I say to the war mongers: Why ...don't you have the courage to come ...before the congress and ask for war ...in the honest, American way pro...vided by the constitution? But they ...won't do it because the American ...people will refuse to vote for a ...declaration of war. The president ...knows this and the war mongers ...know it."

COLUMNIST RAPPED

He mentioned the name of ...Dorothy Thompson, newspaper col...umnist, as a war monger and when ...a wave of boos followed, he urged ...that audience not to boo those who ...were not present.

"Boo me if you want," he shouted, ...but he didn't get any boos.

"The war mongers, he said, are ...asking the president to carry on an ...undeclared war in violation of his ...oath of office. "They're trying to ...get him to violate the constitution ...just as he went on every promise he ...made when he was a candidate in ...1932 and again in 1940," Wheeler ...charged.

"I AM PROUD"

"I am proud," Wheeler shouted, ...to be the kind of isolationist the ...press said he was in 1936, when ...I said 'I hate war.'

BROKEN PROMISE

"To violate a promise to the people ...by a candidate for the presidency ...after solemnly binding a promise ...to be made. They sometimes ...[illegible]...ngly of someone by ...saying 'he'll pull a Wheeler.' I'm ...sure the president will pull a ...Wheeler.

"Speaking of the crowd in at... he said the "war mongers ...[illegible]...put glamour girls and

Isolationist Leader Visits S. D.

GEN. BURTON K. WHEELER

San Diegans are building winged security for the nation, noted isolationist says after tour of defense activities here.

LINDY MOST POPULAR MAN IN U.S., WHEELER DECLARES

Despite reports to the contrary, Col. Charles A. Lindbergh is the most popular man in America today, Sen. Burton K. Wheeler told a group of America First leaders at a luncheon yesterday.

"He gets the greatest crowds and the greatest enthusiasm is shown at his meetings," the senator said.

Wheeler charged that a "smear" campaign against leaders of the anti-interventionists is "coming out of New York at the instance of the president of the United States and some of his administration."

REFUGEES RAPPED

He rapped "royal refugees" who he said are being entertained now at Washington.

"They run away and take their gold, leaving the workers and peasants behind," the senator said. "Now they are asking mothers of America to send their boys over there to

American. Now it seem... to be Bath... ionable to be pro-Bri... h, or pro-French, or pro-Chinese ... ...ga about every other country."

COURT POMP CITED

Many of the Am... ...cans who "spent thousands" to ... put for presentation at ... court of St. James in London ... ...saw the White House or the ... ...tal of the United States, nor had ... the constitution of the United ... the Declaration of Independe... Wheeler said he was told by ... than Ambassador Dawes on a ... it to England years ago.

Wheeler, whose dis... of President Roosevelt is said to be one of the traditions of Washington, asserted that the chief executive has the congressional librarian busy daily checking up on ... ...sonal mail to ascertain public sentiment. The librarian, he said, ...

Eighth U.S. Ship Destroyed in South Atlantic

(Continued from Page 1)

to north Atlantic ports for trans... shipment to Britain.

(The Panama Transport Co., ... owned the tanker Charles Pra... sunk off Freetown, West Africa, ... Dec. 31, 1940. The I. C. White is ... Newport News, Va., Sept. 7 for C... reaso, Dutch West Indies, havi... put into Newport News for repa... after a cruise from Cartagena, ... Dumbia, to Halifax, where it ... rived Aug. 8.)

SUNK SEPT. 27

The ... ...curred, Sept. 27. ... authoritatively that ... were picked up at ... tude, 24.52 west longi... 450 miles east of Per... is in the American ...

(The New York Ma... ter said the I. C. Whi... for Capetown, Sept. 25 ... presumably with a car... lean. It was built in ... Bun Shipbuilding Co. ... The West Milus, 5455 ton... tered out of San Franci... owned by the Pacific, A... Brazil line.)

Vessels Listed

WASHINGTON, Oct. 3 ... The I. C. White was the ... American-owned ship sunk ... the outbreak of the war. ... were:

The American-flag City of ... ville which struck a mine and ... in Australian waters in 1940, ... death.

The Charles Pratt, a tanker own... by the Panama Transport Co., a su... sidiary of Standard Oil Co. (New ... Jersey), torpedoed and sunk Dec. ... 31, 1940 off west Africa. Two miss... ing in crew of 42.

The American-flag Robin Moor, ... torpedoed, shelled and sunk by a ... German submarine in the south At... lantic May 21. No loss of life.

The Sessa, former Danish ship ... operated by maritime commission ... under Panamanian flag, sunk Aug. ... 17 by torpedo 300 miles southwest ... of Iceland. Twenty-four members of ... crew, including one American, lost.

BOMBED AT SUEZ

The American-flag Steel Seafarer, ... bomber from the air and sunk in the ... Gulf of Suez, Sept. 5. No loss of life.

The Montana, former Danish ship ... operated by the maritime commis... sion under Panamanian flag, tor... pedoed and sunk Sept. 11 in waters ... off Iceland. Crew of 35 rescued.

The Pink Star, operated by mari... time commission under Panamanian ... registry, torpedoed and sunk Sept. ... 19 about 250 miles southwest of Ice... land. Twelve missing in crew of 36.

merton, Wash., for reconditioning. Here is a [illegible]

ish sailor sp[illegible]wagon. The officer places cheek on cop[illegible] sailor re[illegible]ap to receive [illegible] moron it and salutes. (Associated Press wirephoto.)

TURE DOZENS GOMEL FRONT

from Page 1)

while on an unidentified [illegible] the southern front the Red Army [illegible] to have defeated an axis attempt to split in two the Red forces.

The newspaper Izvestia that the marines had landed "German-occupied islands, at the end of the Finnish gulf at the approaches to Leningrad," but did not identify them further. It said the marines obtained a "vital foothold."

REDS CROSS RIVER

A 10-day battle along the river "V" was reported by the army organ Red Star. The engagement was climaxed by the forcing of the river by two Russian batallions which recaptured several villages in a five-hour battle, Red Star said.

Red Star said all German attempts to pierce Leningrad's main defenses had been repulsed.

A Baltic fleet dispatch to Izvestia said that a violent naval engagement was taking place in the Irben straits off the bay of R'ga, which the Russians are defending from the moon Archipelago.

Message Halts Prisoner Trade

(Continued from Page 1)

ficer came next, his head [illegible] low.

After the [illegible] prisoner-exchange officer with one [illegible] He was followed by two youths, each of whom had a wooden leg.

MANY WITH ARTIFICIAL LEGS

An airman swung along on crutches, his left leg off at the hip. A stiff-backed officer with one leg hobbled past. In the first group there were 18 with artificial legs.

Following the officers was a group of privates. Two comrades led a blind youth. Three of the officers entered the ship with their arms stretched high in Nazi salutes.

After the privates came stretcher cases—long lines of German soldiers under piles of blankets, all carried by British Tommies.

There was no noise and no talking. From the time the first German came from the train until the first ship was filled the dockside was as silent as a cave.

[illegible] is because 90 percent of [illegible]merican people are against in[illegible]ment in war," he shouted. [illegible] will repudiate any senator [illegible]ngressman who votes for in[illegible]tion.

[illegible]ONAGE CITED

[illegible]ey say: 'Why don't congress[illegible] the courage to stand up?' [illegible]ripsally because they to go [illegible]President for appropriations [illegible]districts."

[illegible]dit and Willkie had the [illegible]e before the last election, [illegible]charged.

"They have the same ideas now and they have deceived the American people," he declared. "Never before has the United States faced so serious a condition of affairs as exists in Washington today. I fear an American fuehrer here in this country. They have debauched some labor leaders, some veteran leaders and some farm organizations. But I think heaven they can't debauch the women."

He denied he hated Roosevelt.

HATE ON OTHER SIDE

"If there is any hate it is on the other side," he declared. "I hate things, not persons. "And if there has been intolerance it has been on the other side."

He read what he said were reports sent to England about American public men, in which it was stated that America is now the center of the war effort.

"Our American navy is the greatest in the world and can defend the the United States against any nation or combination of nations in the world," he said. "Bombers haven't narrowed the oceans, they've widened them. Any army or navy officer will tell you, if he dares speak, that the bombers you are turning out here in San Diego can make this country invulnerable to invasion. Remember that the British had to pull out of Norway because their navy was being bombed."

[illegible] SPEECHES CITED

He cited President Roosevelt's [illegible] speeches in which [illegible] of various cities being attacked.

"He didn't get up to Butte, Mont., but I'm sure as sure he wouldn't like to see it bombed if I were there," he added. "The trouble is the president is looking at yesterday, instead of at today or tomorrow."

Wheeler's jibes at Roosevelt drew appreciative laughter throughout the talk.

"I am told by navy officers that it would take an army of 2,000,000 men, landed at the same time, to make a successful invasion of this country," the senator asserted. "But navy man tell me there aren't enough ships to do this."

"Why are you for defense then?" cried someone in the audience.

"Every decent American ought to be for defense," Wheeler shouted back. "When we have an air force second to none alongside a navy second to none, no nation will dare attack us.

"If, instead of giving away our bombers to England and Russia, we [illegible]able for the United States to be keep them here for our down defense, there is no danger in the world of invasion.

"Is this our war over in Europe?" he asked.

"No, no, no!" cried the crowd.

URGES ENLISTMENT

"Well, if anyone thinks it is our war he can go up to Canada and enlist. The president says they'll have his blessing. They'll have mine, too. I'd like to see the president give his blessing and send Stimson and Knox over to England."

Wheeler asserted this is an economic war, and that he'd like to see England win it. He charged the story of 25 years ago is being repeated, and that waves of British propaganda are washing all over the nation.

"They've got us again right on the brink of war," he said. "But if you continue to stand firm no president nor congress will dare to go to war."

HUGE DEBT TO PAY

Speaking of the lease-lend expenditures, he said they are piling up a debt-load that the workers, the farmers and little business will have to pay off.

"And then we hear Churchill say that if we go to war with Japan, England will help us," he sneered. The crowd roared with laughter.

"Whenever you meet an Englishman he'll say 'I'm for England first'," Wheeler went on. "I hope more Americans will get to thinking of their country in that way. If people think there are better governments in England, Russia, Germany, Italy or any other country I say for God's sake go over there and stay."

RAPS AMERICAN GIFTS

Speaking of American gifts to aid the [illegible] he remarked:

"I [illegible]know how much England would give [illegible]under similar circumstances.

"It [illegible] these ships were sunk destroy what little [illegible] you've got [illegible]is country."

Wheeler was preceded by Judge Edward [illegible] Kelly, who said he wanted to "pay his respects to the four city councilmen who voted to permit the Wheeler speech in Ford bowl.

"And I'm going to pay my respects to the two who voted against the permit," the judge went on.

FLOWERS, SIMPSON HIT

"There is Al Flowers, the little czar. I don't know where he was born. Then there was Mr. Simpson—I don't know his first name—born, God help us, in Ireland."

Frank O'Farrell, of the America First committee, under auspices of which Wheeler spoke, charged the federal bureau of investigation had "tapped our wires and looked over our membership lists looking for Communists."

James Abbey, head of America First in San Diego, presided.

Children Missing After Clipper Crash

MIAMI, Fla., Oct. 3 (U.P.)—Pan American Airlines officers reported tonight that two children passengers were missing after a four-motored clipper seaplane crashed in the harbor at San Juan, Puerto Rico, and that 16 other passengers and six crew members were safe.

Officials here said the plane "[illegible]terlooped" while landing on a routine stop. The clipper had left Miami at 7:00 a.m. [illegible] on route to Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, [illegible] stops scheduled at several points, including San Juan.

Hillman to Confer With State Agents

SACRAMENTO, Oct. 3 (U.P.)—Sidney Hillman, labor coordinator in the office of production management, will attend a meeting of defense agencies with small business men here Monday, Gov. Olson announced today.

The meeting will be attended by representatives of the OPM, army, state departments and industry. Olson said a definite plan would be sought to enable even the smallest shops to obtain defense contracts which are now limited to major industrial plants.

OIL GROUP TO MEET

VISALIA, Oct. 3 (A.P.)—Speaker Gordon Garland, home for a brief visit, said tonight that the assembly interim oil committee, of which he is chairman, would meet for a three-day session at Los Angeles starting Thursday.

Right to Strike

SEATTLE, Oct. 3 (U.P.)—William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, today called for "understanding" and "persuasion" rather than denunciation of strikers in defense industries, and reiterated that labor will never surrender its right to strike.

Describing this right as labor's "gun," Green added:

"We will put it behind the door, but not surrender it. The right to strike is as fundamental as the rights of free press and free speech. To lose it would mean involuntary servitude and forced labor."

Green addressed the closing session of the building and construction trades department shortly after his arrival for the opening next week of the national A.F.L. convention.

ATTITUDE IMPORTANT

The official attitude of the federation against defense strikes, he said, was more important than the fact that some work stoppages did occur.

"It is too much for any man to expect that perfection could be attained," he said. "When local strikes occur—and they will occur—we must take into account the state of mind of those who participate in strikes. Try to understand them, persuade them of their devotion to the nation rather than denounce them for stopping work to redress a grievance."

C.I.O. Indorses FDR

OAKLAND, Oct. 3 (A.P.)—The California C.I.O. council today strongly indorsed the administration's foreign policy, an action interpreted as indicating the council's support may lie with Philip Murray, national C.I.O. president, in event his reelection is contested by John L. Lewis.

The convention also heard Culbert Olson call for elimination of "racketeers" from the labor movement and hint that he may soon [illegible] in the case of three former union leaders [illegible] penitentiary terms on murder.

CHALLENGES OLSON

Olson's remarks [illegible] Ramsay-Conner case, [illegible] gene Patton, of San [illegible] retary of the Longsh[illegible] Warehousemen's union.

"It is about time [illegible] quit dilly-dallying around [illegible] fills his campaign pockets," Olson declared.

"I do not respond at [illegible] threats," Olson said in a statement reply.

Convention approval of full-fledged aid to anti-Fascist forces came through adoption of a report by the state council's executive officers declaring "our destiny is indissolubly bound to the armed struggle of the people of England, the Soviet Union, Norway, France and all the other occupied countries."

5/8/ev sel by a/tcy #262359
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9/30/85 BY SP1 mcg
A241183

America First Speaker Clears San Diego F.B.I.

Frank O'Farrell, of the America First committee, who charged last Friday night in a meeting at the Ford bowl, that the F.B.I. had "investigated our organization, tapped our wires and looked into our books for Communists," yesterday explained that he did not refer to the committee's San Diego office.

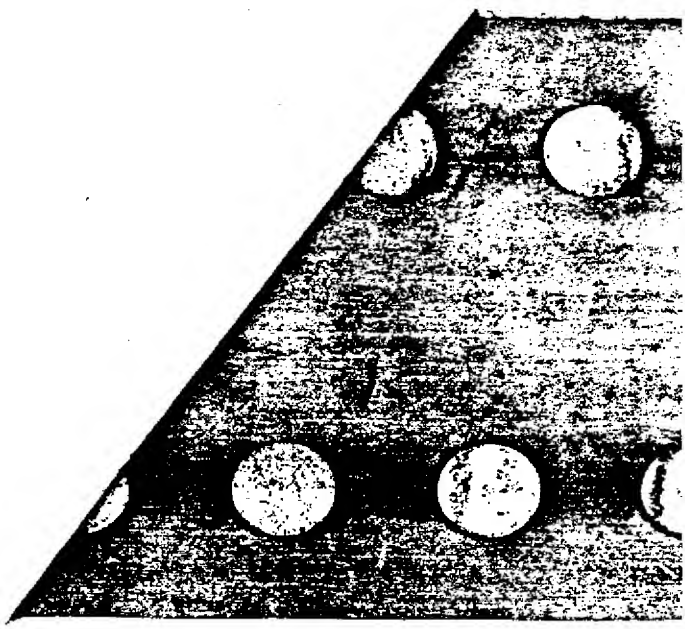
James B. Abbey, chairman of the local America First committee, said he did not believe O'Farrell intended to refer to the local F.B.I. as the wire-tapping agency.

"So far as we know, our wires have never been tapped here and I don't think the F.B.I. office has been instructed to tap them," Abbey said. "We understand that there was information that the F.B.I. checked up on the national organization, especially around Washington. Earl C. Jeffery, national director of field operations, told us they had tapped wires and checked up on mail at Washington."

O'Farrell's Friday night statement was made during preliminaries to a talk by Sen. Burton K. Wheeler under auspices of America First committee.

After asserting the F.B.I. had been investigating America First 'looking for Communists," he added, "those days are gone now that the Communists are on the other side." At the time he spoke he did not state specifically which of the America First offices he thought were being checked.

SAN DIEGO UNION
SAN DIEGO, CALIF.
OCT 7 1941



62-126

LBN:DW October 17, 1941

RECORDED 100-4712-186

5/8/86 SP6 by/ltr #262351
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 1/30/85 BY SP7 ltr
#24183

Brigadier General Robert E. Wood
Chairman
America First Committee
1803 Board of Trade Building
Chicago, Illinois

Dear General Wood:

The San Diego Union in a news story which appeared in its October 4, 1941 issue stated that "Frank O'Farrell, of the America First Committee, under auspices of which Wheeler spoke, charged the Federal Bureau of Investigation had 'tapped our wires and looked over our membership lists looking for Communists.'"

A subsequent story appeared in the October 9, 1941, issue of the San Diego Union stating that Mr. Frank O'Farrell in making the above-mentioned statement did not refer to the America First Committee's San Diego office. Mr. James L. Abbey, chairman of the San Diego America First Committee, is then quoted as follows:

"So far as we know, our wires have never been tapped here and I don't think the FBI office has been instructed to tap them." He then goes on to state, "We understand that there was information that the FBI checked up on the national organization, especially around Washington. Earl C. Jeffery, national director of field operations, told us they had tapped wires and checked up on mail at Washington."

I am calling this to your attention inasmuch as Mr. Jeffery is said to be the national director of field operations for the America First Committee and the statements which he has made pertaining to the FBI tapping the telephone wires of the America First Committee and checking membership lists are unmitigated lies. At no time has the Bureau directly or indirectly at any place in the United States tapped the wires of, interfered with the mail, or checked the membership lists of the America First Committee.

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED
★ OCT 20 1941 ★
P. M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

CC - San Diego

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

I do feel that as the responsible head of the America First Committee you would want to insure that Mr. Jeffery does not make such false and erroneous statements in the future.

With best wishes and kind regards,

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

DEC 4 1941

100-4712-187

Cancelled

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/8/86 BY SP-6 bja/tcg

214

231

Espionage Investigations
Allen Dulles

ARREST THESE CULPRITS

Charles A. Lindbergh (left) and Senator Gerald P. Nye.

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DATE 5/8/86 BY SP6 bjaltcy

RECORDED 100-4712-188
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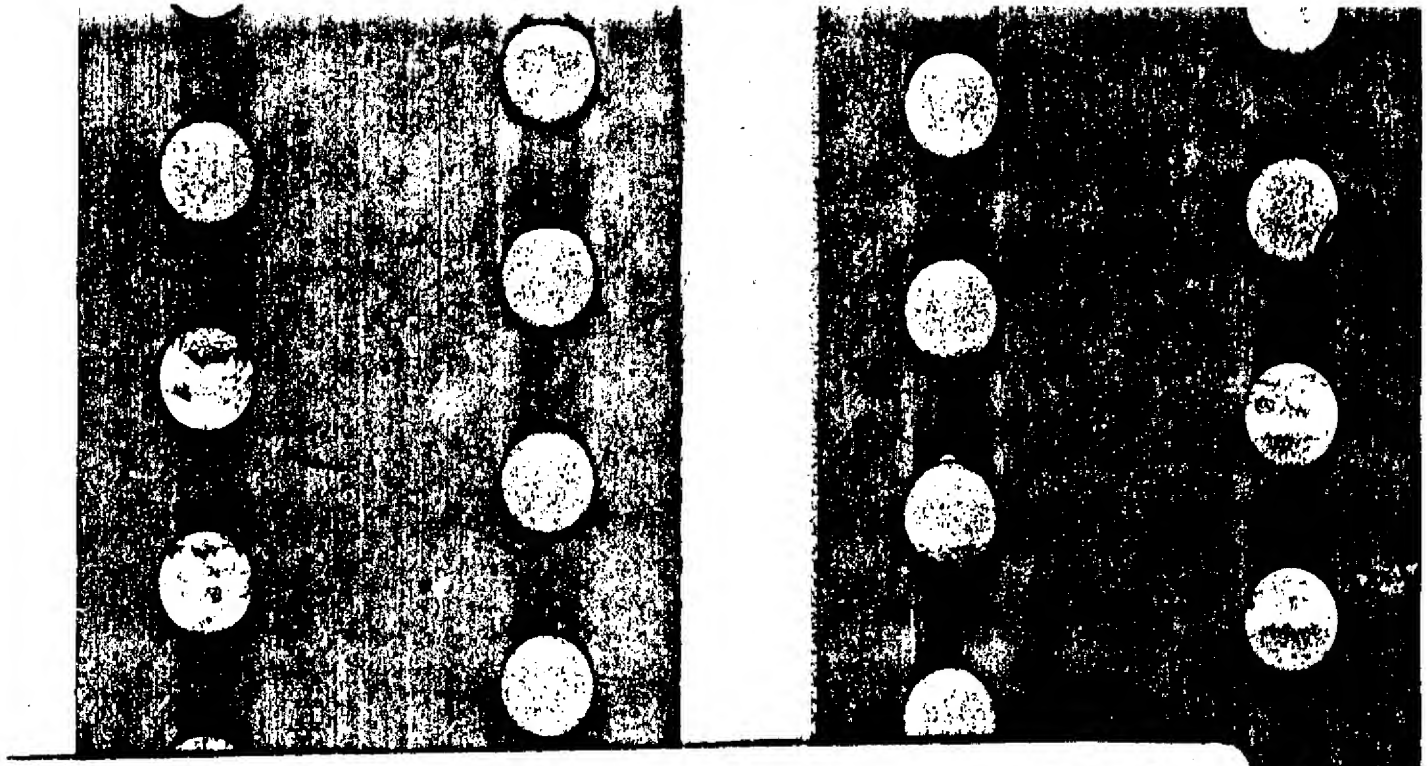
NOV 4



NEW YORK, N.Y.
NOV 1
4-PM
1941

BUY
DEFENSE SAVINGS
BONDS AND STAMPS

Federal Bureau Investigation
Washington
D.C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-8-86 BY S6bjp/ltcg

[redacted]

NEW YORK CITY

FED. BU. OF INV.
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
NOV 3 1941
DIVISION OF RECORDS
FED. BU. OF INV.

November 1st, 1941

URGENT

U. S. Attorney General Francis Biddle
Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Sir:

Tonight, at 10:15, Philip La Follette addressed a group of 135 chairmen of " America First " chapters, gathered at a dinner in a Washington Hotel. It was a most sinister vitriolic speech, threatening armed rebellion against our present administration. He did not mince his worlds- he openly called for an insurrection by " fearless red blooded Americans to overthrow the " War Party " government and bring to the bar of justice those responsible for our involvement in war." Although he tried to play safe by mentioning 1942 elections, he immediately followed this up by the challenge that " if the administration using a " rubber stamp Congress " tries to postpone elections we, the real " American Party " (he meant " America First "), will call upon all real Americans to fight for their freedom right here as their forefathers fought in the revolution."

You may think that these are empty words and idle [illegible] Unfortunately this is not the case. I am reliably informed from a source quite close to the " inner circle " of the America First Committee that there is a conspiracy on foot to overthtrow our government by a "coup d'etat." The conspirators are the powerful and wealthy backers of America First and a group of reserve officers and retired army generals who have succeeded to inveigle in their treasonable plot a number of active army and navy men. Their plan is to secretly mobilize and bring to Washington several thousand ex-service men, well equipped, surround Congress, Government Buildings and The White House, in a surprise move at dawn, thus taking possession of them. They calculate that a proclamation to the American people that their coup d'etat was staged to " save the lives of American boys " will receive their approval. With the President in their power, including Government Buildings and Congress, they feel satisfied that their act of treason will succeed. My informant further claims that the brains of the conspiracy are: Senators Nye, Wheeler, Wm. R. Castle, John T. Flynn, Col. McCormic (publisher of the Chicago Tribune, Philip La Follette, Father Coughlin, and above mentioned army men (reserve officers and retired army generals). I am sure that if you put the FBI on the job, they will probably soon get on the trail of all the men and groups of men engaged in this amazing, dastardly conspiracy, which aims to destroy constitutional government in this country. I know the whole story sounds incredible, and I myself would not have believed it if not for Lindbergh's repeated demands, in his public addresses, that the American people need " a new leadership " in Washington and Philip La Follette's open and frank invitation to forcibly overthrow the government. Mr. Lindbergh is, perhaps, slated to become our " dictator " if and when the plotters succeed.

[redacted]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 5/18/86 BY SP4 alw/kg

[redacted] b7C

100-4712-189

November 19, 1941

RECORDED 80437

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. LINTON M. COLLINS
ACTING ASSISTANT TO THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

There are transmitted herewith for whatever consideration and attention are deemed appropriate copies of a letter dated November 1, 1941, addressed to the Attorney General by [redacted] b7C

For your information the letter was routed to this Bureau and it has not been acknowledged.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Enclosure

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 3/8/86 BY SP2 bjc key

CH-11

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Nease
Mr. Hoffman
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED
NOV 19 1941
P. M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

[redacted] b7C

[redacted] b7C

Mr Edgar

Dear Sir

I am writing you this letter in regards to information concerning the Communist Party of AMERICA in my community and what I have done about it. I have also told them what I am willing to do for my country in any way I can. I feel that it is my duty as an American citizen to report any subversive activities that I may come in contact with. I do not want any publicity in this matter. I do not want them to know that I have given them any information. I do not want them to know that I am working with the FBI. I do not want them to know that I am working with the FBI. I do not want them to know that I am working with the FBI.

Yours truly,

[redacted] b7C

80126

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RECORDED 100-4012-19

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

NOV 5 1941

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

[redacted] b7C

November 24, 1941

b7C

RECORDED [redacted]

100-4712-190

[redacted]

b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/18/86 BY SP4 Gaby Kay

b7C

Dear [redacted]

I am in receipt of your letter dated November 2, 1941, with which you so thoughtfully enclosed a self-addressed stamped envelope.

With respect to your request, I regret that I must advise that by virtue of a well-established policy of the Department of Justice, I am precluded from commenting on matters of this sort. I know you will appreciate my position in this regard.

I am returning herewith the envelope which you forwarded.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Enclosure

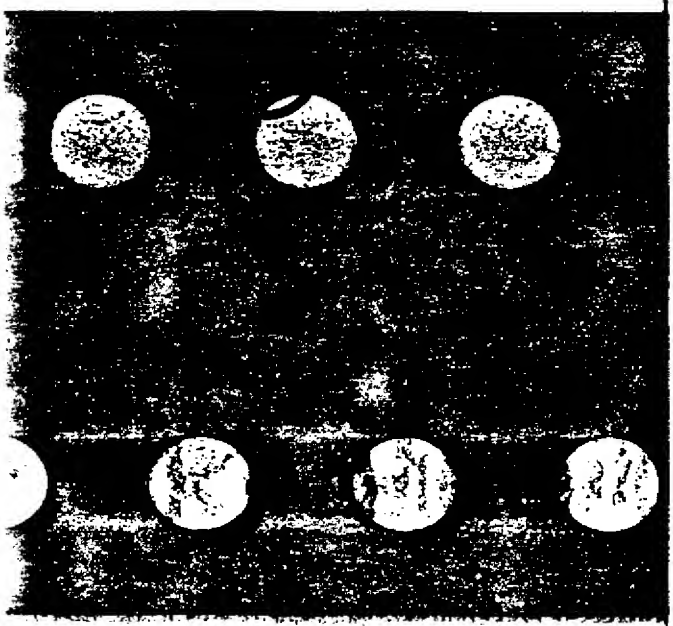
CH-1 235
(219)

[redacted]

b7C

Mr. Tamm
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Biggs
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Gesell
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Nease
Mr. Holloman
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED
NOV 24 1941
P. M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE



Nov. 1, 1941

Pres. Roosevelt
Wash. D.C.

Dear Mr. President,

I believe the
"America First Committee"
to be Nazi inspired &
financed. I wish
to investigate
of appeasers as soon as
possible.

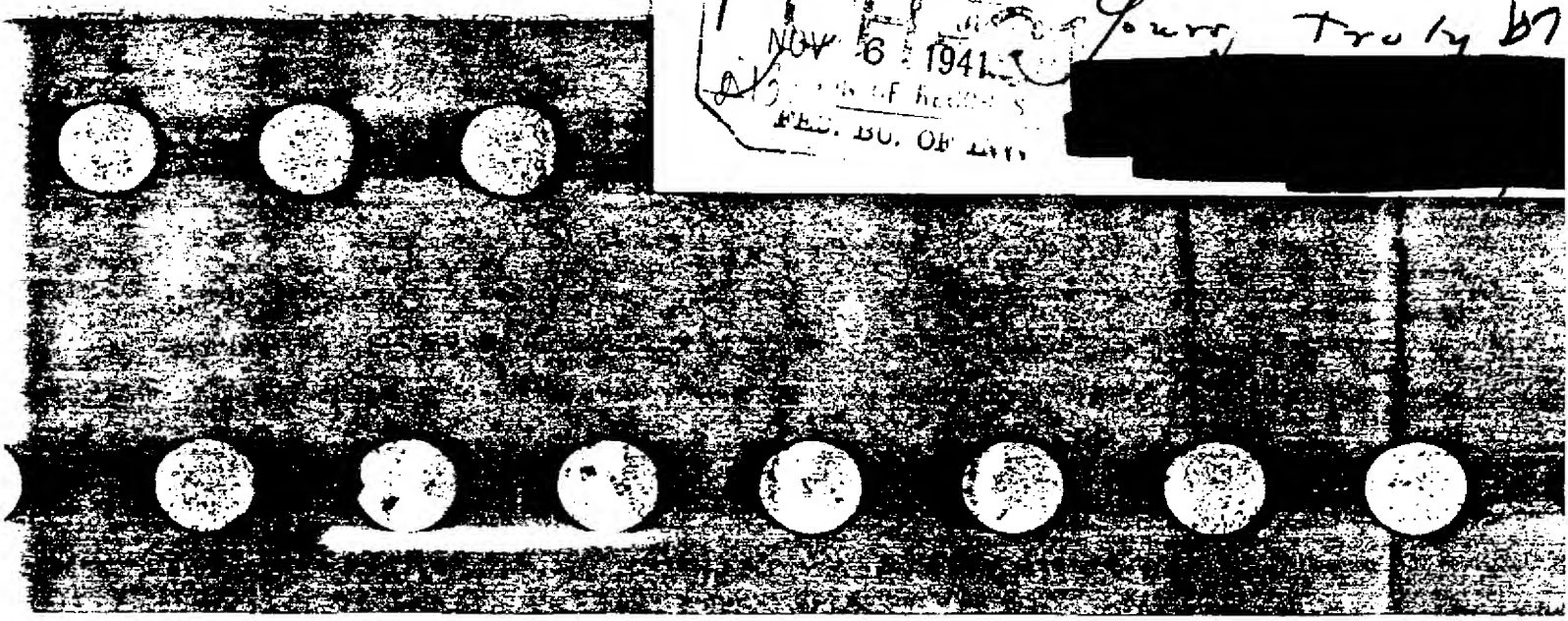
Yours Truly

[redacted]

166-4712-191
FEDERAL BUREAU
10 NOV 1941
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FBI

FED. BU. OF INVES.
NOV 6 1941
FED. BU. OF INVES.



Bklyn, N.Y. Nov. 1, 1941

Justice
F.B.I.

Pres. Roosevelt,

Dear Sir:-

It has become an open scandal that most subversive elements, both as individuals and organizations, are closely affiliated with the "America First" (last?) committee.

Therefore I urge you as chief magistrate of our nation to institute proceedings that will bring into the light the entire set-up comprising this group of obstructionists whose every word and act give aid and comfort to the enemies of our democratic institutions.

Yours truly,

[redacted]

b7C

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4 NOV 8 1941
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FIVE

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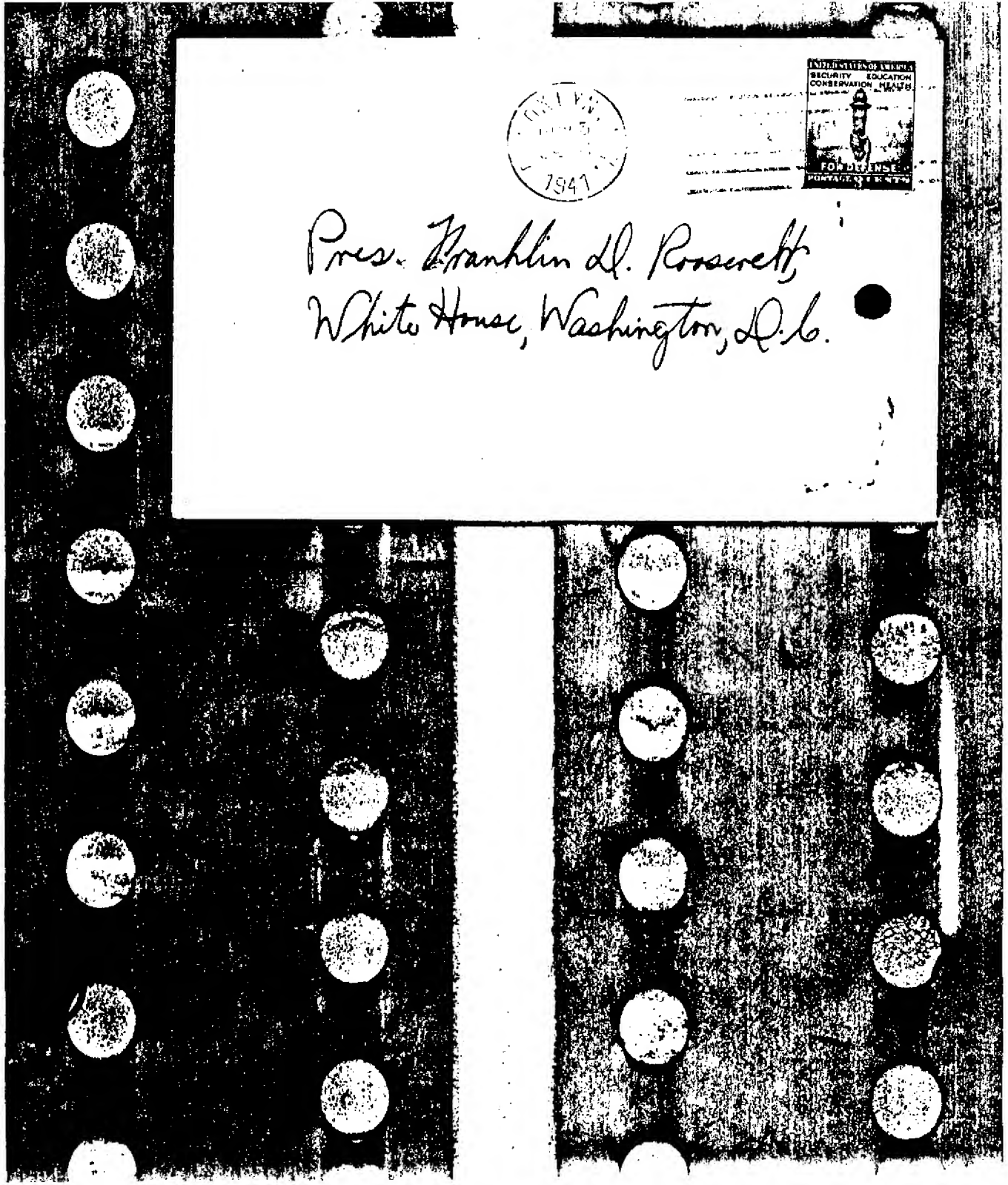
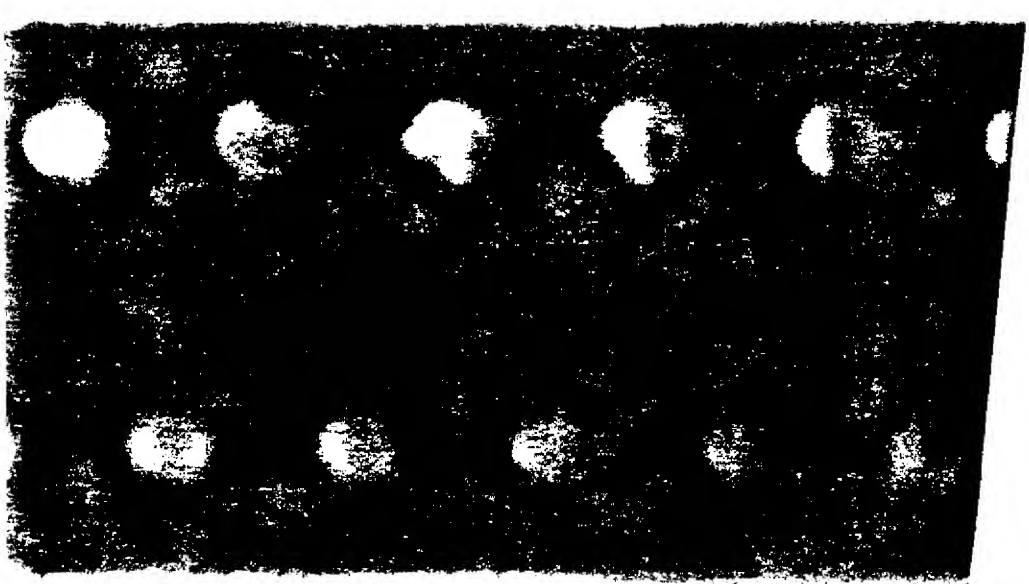
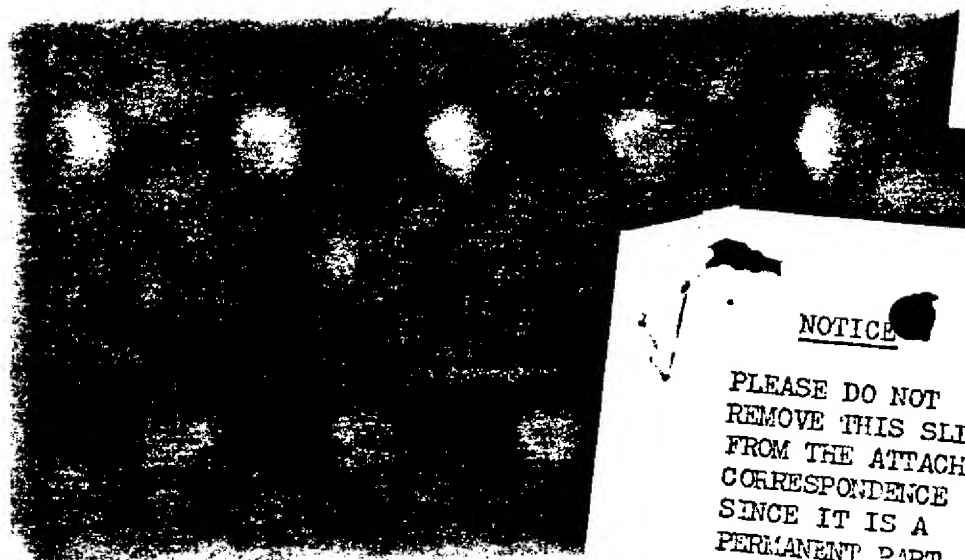

1941
SECURITY EDUCATION
CONSERVATION HEALTH
FOR DEFENSE
Pres. Franklin D. Roosevelt,
White House, Washington, D.C.



RESPECTFULLY REFERRED
FOR ACKNOWLEDGMENT
AND CONSIDERATION

Secretary to the President



NOTICE

PLEASE DO NOT
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PERMANENT PART
OF THE RECORD.

DIVISION OF RECORDS

FED. BU. OF INV.
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
NOV 6 1941 P.M.
DIVISION OF RECORDS
FED. BU. OF INV.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-8-86 BY SP6/a/tcg

Accusations from and against subject organization, as quoted in the press, have become so acrimonious that the activities of that society are rapidly assuming the importance of a battle front in the eyes of the public. Subject organization recently expressed bitter protests against the three major radio networks, charging discrimination and stating that inadequate facilities had been provided for subject's rally scheduled for the evening of October 31, to be held in the Madison Square Garden, New York City. The accusation stated that, of the three principal speakers, Senator Burton K. Wheeler had been accorded scanty time and that Charles A. Lindberg and former Ambassador to BELGIUM, John CUDAHY had been refused any time at all. James L. Fly, chairman of the Federal Communications Commission promised an investigation and called on the three networks to answer the charges.

A request for investigation of alleged partiality was signed, on behalf of subject, by John T. FLYNN, chairman of the committee, Mrs. John P. MARQUAND, Amos R. E. PINCHOT, H. Dudley SWIM and Edwin S. WEBSTER, Jr.

A police detail of 725 men has been promised for the rally, by the police department, as it had been reported that all the 7,000 reserved seats had been sold out.

Former Magistrate Joseph Goldstein informed Mayor

La Guardia that he would arrest any speaker who made slurring statements about the Jews. He also warned that, if the police failed to act, he would prefer charges against the Mayor and against Police Commissioner Valentine. He also stated that repetition of Lindbergh's Des Moines speech would mean rioting and bloodshed.

The Unknown Soldier Post 1124 of the American Legion protested to the Mayor, Oct. 28th, against the anti-war meeting. The United States Patriotic Society also protested against the meeting. Mayor La Guardia is reported to have dismissed a protest, a few days previously, stating that the protest had not been made by any patriotic organization or individual.

AMERICA FIRST (continued)

To: 3ND, FBI, MID
October 31,1941

B-7-F(M)

100-4212—193

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
5 NOV 4 1941
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Declassified per NAVY Letter dtd 7/25/91 8123 mcm/tcg 8/15/91

FY-

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI FILE NO. 100-1077

REPORT MADE AT	DATE WHEN MADE	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE	REPORT MADE BY
KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI	11-6-41	10-29-31-41	[redacted] b7C B

TITLE	CHARACTER OF CASE
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE	INTERNAL SECURITY

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

[redacted], advises [redacted] is a radical and a follower of Father COUGHLIN, [redacted] b7C b7D but has not been active in organizing America First Committee in Sheridan. [redacted] is somewhat radical but has no following and has not been active in organizing any group. [redacted] b7D

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 5/6/86 BY SP6 byl

REFERENCE: Report of Special Agent [redacted] Kansas City, Missouri, 9-26-41. b7C

DETAILS: - At Sheridan, Missouri -

[redacted] advised that [redacted] is a radical, believed to be [redacted] b7C b7D

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: [redacted] SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES

100-4712-194

RECORDED

NOV 10 1941

COPIES OF THIS REPORT

5 - City

FIVE

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE 7—2034

American born and is a follower of Father COUGHLIN. [redacted] somewhat cracked and stated, for example, that [redacted] He has argued in favor of an international system of banking.

[redacted] According to [redacted] has made no attempt to organize an America First Committee.

[redacted] stated that about the time Czechoslovakia had fallen he thought [redacted] had talked a little in favor of HITLER concerning the system of labor in Germany, etc., but he had heard no un-American statements attributed to [redacted]

b7C
b7D

- At Dawn, Missouri -

[redacted] She stated the cards contained nothing to indicate [redacted] was in favor of overthrowing the government but did contain strong talk against the present governmental policies. She stated she believed his activity in contacting her was suspicious and further that he did not send out any of the cards under his own name [redacted]

[redacted] was not of German extraction, is employed as a farmer and [redacted]

[redacted] advised [redacted] had been reportedly outspoken in sympathy for the Germans in every way. [redacted] regarded [redacted] as a peculiar genius and stated that his wife was a very bright woman and [redacted] That [redacted] had no following at Dawn and had made no attempt to organize any America First Committee. [redacted]

[redacted] considered [redacted] and radical in his criticism of the present government.

[redacted] which is quoted as follows:

b7C
b7D

"Airmail letters, telegrams and telephone calls to the White House should follow the President's speech last night in great volume, stating respectfully the candid opinion of his fellow citizens respecting its tone and content and the war-like policy it foreshadows. The President seemed to feel that he was speaking for us to the world. If his message was not what you would want him to say, tell him why.

"Heirs as we are of great traditions of freedom and fearless criticism of our public servants, we must keep constantly in mind Chief Justice Hughes' words that the President and the Congress are subject to the 'commands and instructions laid down' by their 'sovereign, the people of the United States.

"Washington, D. C. 10-28-41 [redacted]

[redacted]

b7
b7C

The file also reflects a clipping from the Springfield Leader, dated 9-28-41, concerning a letter from SESCO V. TIPTON, Chairman, Springfield Chapter, America First Committee, to the Editor of the paper answering a Washington Merry-Go-Round column.

PENDING

UNDEVELOPED LEADS:

KANSAS CITY FIELD DIVISION

* At Lees Summit, Missouri, will obtain information concerning the organization of the America First Committee [redacted] b7C

* [redacted] will obtain information as to the activities of [redacted] b7C

b7C

Chief _____

[redacted] Nov. 6, 1941.

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover,
F. B. I. Washington, D.C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/8/86 BY SP6 bjk

80432

My Dear Mr. Hoover;

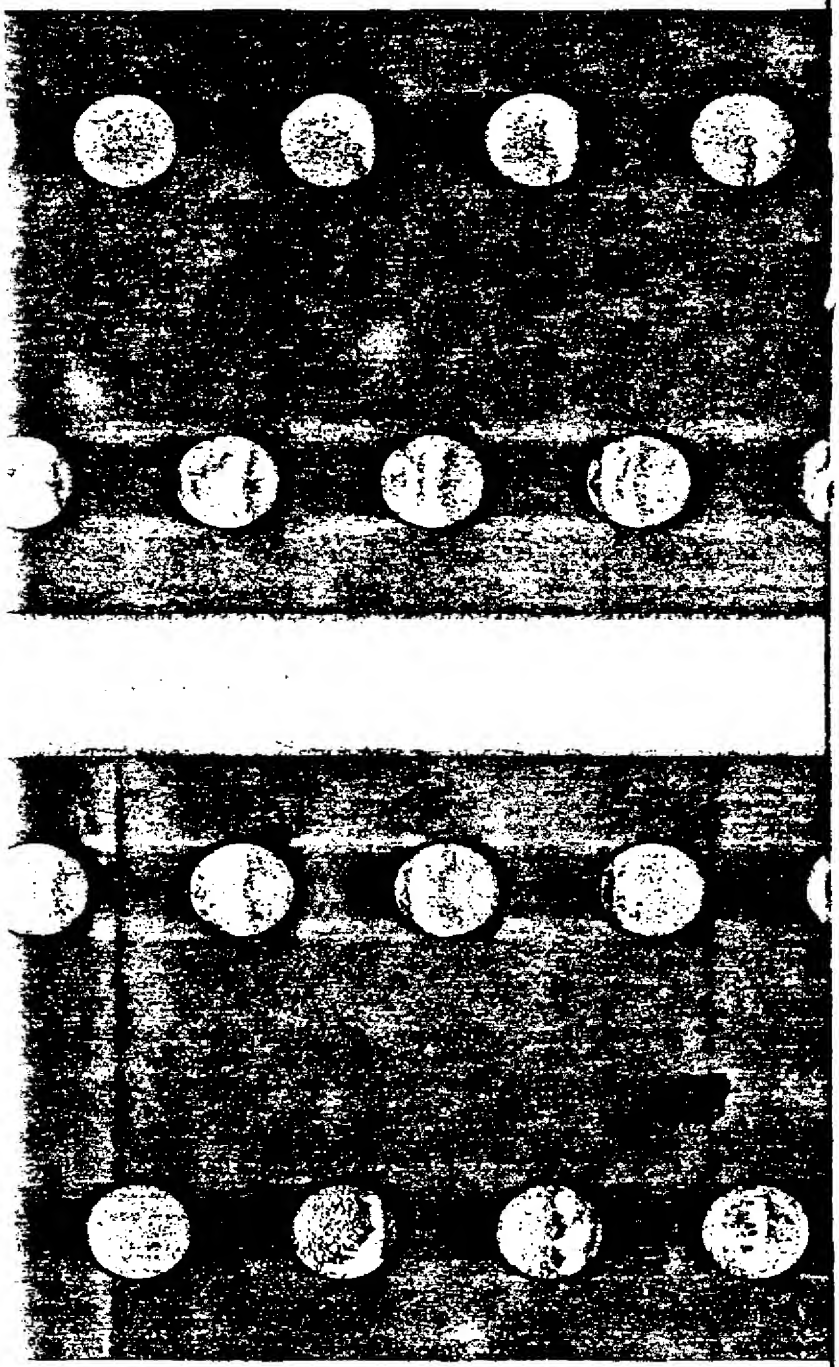
Just who is blocking your efforts to restrain that subversive group, the America First, particularly, Lindbergh and Cudahy: Lin a supporter of all Administrative measures Lin also back of the President, Mr. Roosevelt, and when a "Pat" like Cudahy says: "Roosevelt is a great man and may die," it is time for you to throw the your best brains into this case and permanently silence that group — it is malicious.

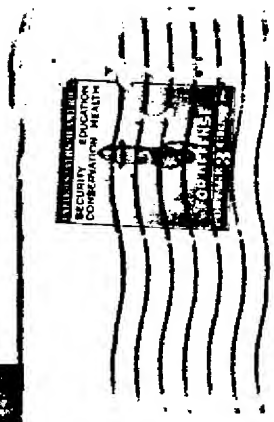
Our constitution grants no privileges to subversive agitators. The law provides that freedom be enjoyed by those who comply with our laws; hence those who seeks to overthrow the government, violate that law and should be dealt with accordingly.

RECORDED
INDEXED

100-4712-19
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
NOV 10 1941
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

I may be [illegible] delusion, and I may be also writing like a [illegible]





80423

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover,
Washington, D.C.

G.B.L.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/8/86 BY SP-6 bja/tcg

November 19, 1941

[redacted] b7C

100-4712-195

[redacted] b7C

Dear [redacted] b7C

I am in receipt of your communication of November 6, 1941, and desire to express my appreciation for your courtesy in communicating with me.

Please be advised that the content of your letter has been carefully noted and made a matter of permanent record in the official files of this Bureau.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

[redacted]

3/8/84 [redacted] byatty

CHI-11

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED
NOV 19 1941
P. M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Hoffman
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

[redacted] b7C

[redacted]

F.B.I. Headquarters
Washington, D.C.

b7c

Ed
I enclose a post card sent by mail to me to show how the America First Committee [redacted] AMERICA FIRST Committee
Air-11-25-41 P&L
this public. INDEXED
I am not a member of this Committee but probably took my name and address from the telephone directory or from some other list. Maybe they took it from my church membership book.
Don't be fooled by their claim to so many million members. this is the way they

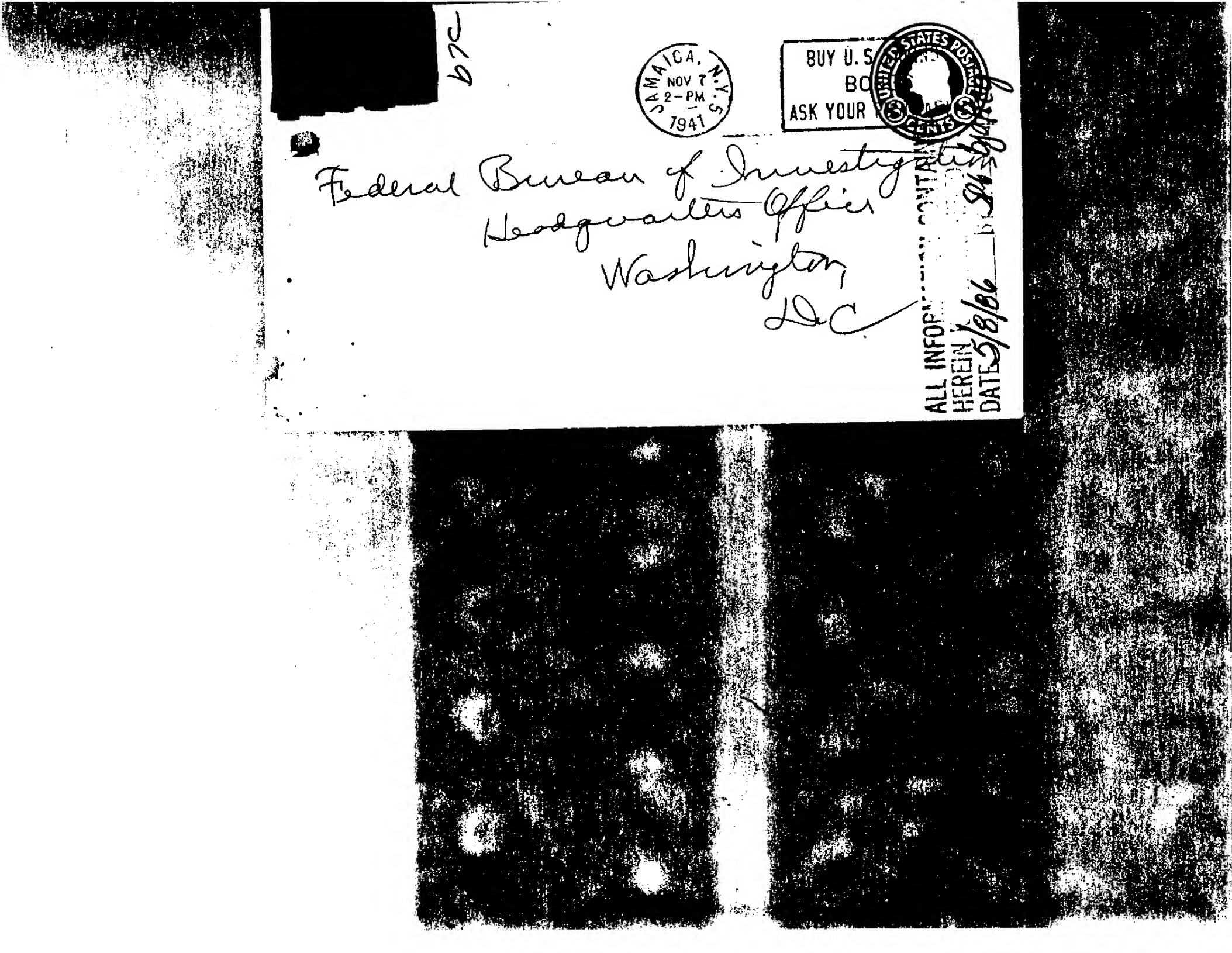
100-4712-196
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
NOV 10 1941
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
RECORDED

[redacted] b7c

EX-14

H.G. Fiscel

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/8/86 SPC by atty


JAMAICA, N.Y.
NOV 7
2-PM
1941
BUY U. S.
BO
ASK YOUR
CENTS
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Headquarters Office
Washington
DC
ALL INFO
HEREIN
DATE 5/8/86

100-4712-196 November 25, 1941

b7c

RECORDED [redacted]

[redacted] b7c

Dear [redacted] b7c

I wish to acknowledge receipt of your letter dated November 6, 1941, with enclosure.

Your courtesy and interest in bringing this information to my attention are indeed appreciated, and you may be assured your letter will receive appropriate consideration.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/8/86 BY SP6 gaffey

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Nease
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Nowlan
Mr. Holloman
Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED
NOV 25 1941
P. M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

b7c

[redacted]

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives

OFFICIAL BUSINESS—FREE

WASHINGTON, D.C.
NOV 10
7:30 PM
1941

M. C.

Hon. J. Edgar Hoover
Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
5 NOV 12 1941
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

100-4712-19

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/8/86 BY SP6 bja/tcg

Cleveland, Ohio; Nov. 8, 1941

Sir:

Arming merchantmen won't keep them safe! Naval ships are armed, and three of them have been torpedoed. The safe way is to keep them out of the war zone, and let Europe fight its own wars.

Uncle Shylock got sucked in once; there is yet time for you to hold back the President!

Yours truly

[redacted]

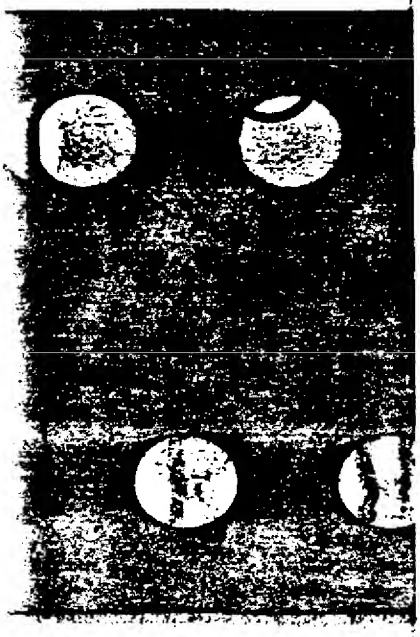
b7C

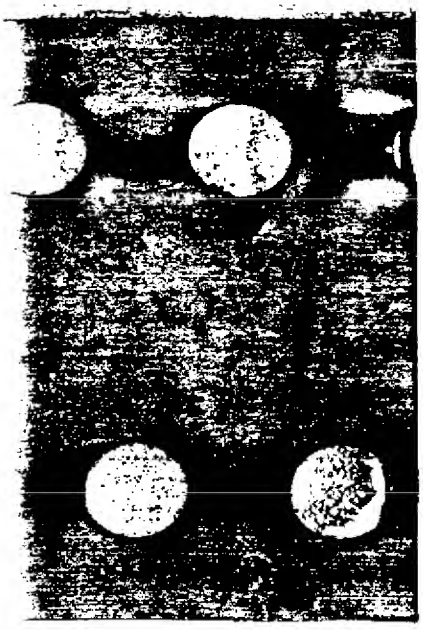
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/8/86 BY SP6 bja/tcg

100-4712-197

It is NOT England (nor Russia) That is

AMERICA'S FIRST LINE OF DEFENSE





but —

CONGRESS

How is that line holding!

Yours for preservation of a peaceful and CONSTITUTIONAL U. S. A.

NO WAR without DECLARATION OF CONGRESS

The whole country is upset - with non-American propaganda

AROUSED CITIZENS

Demand a National Referendum

STIR YOURSELF YE PATRIOTS

DOWN WITH TRAITORS

Let it not be said the United States fell, Rotted from within even before she was attacked

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

WEST CHESTER, PENNA.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 5/8/96 BY SP6 Glucklich

[redacted] November 17, 1941

EX - 20
RECORDED

100-4712-197

Honorable R. Ewing Thomason
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

My dear Congressman:

This will acknowledge receipt of a post card dated November 8, 1941, addressed to you by [redacted] of Cleveland, Ohio, and a circular entitled "It is not England (nor Russia) that is America's first line of defense" which you forwarded to me under cover postmarked November 10, 1941.

Please be advised that the above-mentioned communication and circular have been made a matter of permanent record in the files of this Bureau for such future reference as may be deemed appropriate.

With expressions of my highest esteem and best regards,

Sincerely yours,

NOV 17 3 55 PM 1941
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/6/86 BY SP6 Jatcg

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Roosm
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Holloman
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

CH-17

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED
NOV 17 1941
P. M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

b7C

b7C

b7C

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
OFFICIAL BUSINESS—FREE

Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

WASHINGTON, D.C.
NOV 13 3 PM
1941

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/18/82 BY SP2 [illegible]

b7C

11/21/41

100-4712-198

FEDERAL B
5 NOV 14 1941
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF

b7C

ENCL BEHIND FILE

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED

~~ENCLOSURE BEHIND FILE~~

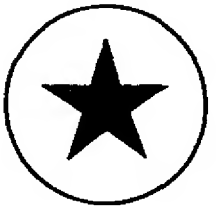
[redacted]

November 12, 1941

b1c

Dear Madam:

HERE ARE THE NAMES OF THREE OLDER MEN WHO ARE WILLING TO HAVE YOUR SON BE KILLED.



Senator John Doe, Democrat

"We will not participate in foreign wars and we will not send our Army, naval or air forces to fight in foreign lands----"
Democratic National 1940 Platform -- Senator Doe's party's promise to his electorate.

Congressman Richard Roe, Republican

"The Republican Party is firmly opposed to involving the nation in foreign war---"
Republican National 1940 Platform on which Richard Roe was elected.

(Will Your Name Be Here??)

And did you run on a war platform??

Madam, put this card in your mirror where you will see it every day. There will be a Congressional election this fall and a Senatorial election within five years. That will be YOUR chance - to tell these so-called "representatives" that you have no use [illegible] who DO NOT KEEP THEIR PLEDGED WORD.

Remember their names.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS [illegible]
DATE 5-8-86 BY SP6 bfa key

[redacted]

Nov. 12 - 1941. b7C

Hon. R. Ewing Thomason
House Office Building
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Thomason:

Perhaps you are able to convince yourself that the world will little note nor long remember what you do today or tomorrow on the floor of the House of Representatives. But let us assure you it will never forget what the sons of American families do on the great battlefields of this - not a civil, but a foreign war.

The enclosed message, with actual names to replace the "John Doe" and "Richard Roe," will go out, should the Neutrality Act be amended, to 4,000,000 American women. We hope your name will not be there and, like the women of your district, we expect you to live up to the platform on which you were, in large part by these women, elected to the House of Representatives.

If you violate that pledged word, how do you expect the women of your state to trust you again?

Sincerely yours,

Women's Division, America First Committee

J. F. R.

Women United

B B

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-8-86 BY SP6 bja Key

100-4712-14

November 11th, 1941

The Hon. R. Ewing Thomason,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

The future welfare - prosperity - happiness, and security of these United States of America lie right here at home, within our own grasp, and not abroad. We are dependent upon nobody but ourselves.

We never will be able to find happiness, prosperity and security by crusading abroad in foreign wars, and getting ourselves mixed up in Europe's various intrigues.

We must work out our own destination here in the U.S.A., not in Europe. We should attend strictly to our own affairs, put our own house in order, and make ourselves so strong in our own self defense that no one nation or combination of nations would dare attack us. We can do this if we will. So let us conduct ourselves in such a way that we will be respected the world over, and by so doing prove to the whole world that our democratic form of Government is beyond reproach, then we will be admired and respected by all peoples, but this cannot be accomplished by mixing ourselves up in other peoples wars in which we have no place, and no right.

If England decided to declare war against Germany for reasons best known to herself, that is England's and Germany's business, not ours, so please keep us out of Europe's wars and intrigues by opposing with your vote, any change in the present neutrality law.

Very truly yours,

[redacted]

b7c

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS
DATE 5-8-86 SP6 byalley

P. S. I am sending you this letter in multigraph form, because I find it impossible to write each representative personally as much as I would like to.

[redacted]

b7C

100-25376-6 November 21, 1941
100-4712-198

Honorable R. Ewing Thomason
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

My dear Congressman:

Acknowledgment is hereby made of the receipt of a mimeographed circular bearing the letterhead of Women United, Incorporated, which you forwarded under cover postmarked November 13, 1941. I am also in receipt of a multigraphed communication dated November 11, 1941, addressed to you by [redacted] and the mimeographed letter dated November 12, 1941, addressed to you by individuals [redacted]

b7C

Please accept my thanks for making this material available to the FBI. I know you will not hesitate to refer to me any data you deem of interest to our activities.

With expressions of my highest esteem and best regards,

Sincerely yours,

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/8/86 BY SP6bja/tcy

100-25376-5

Franklin D. Roosevelt,
President of U. S. A.

Honorable Sir:

We, the undersigned, ask you to use your influence to have a committee formed for the purpose of investigating the "America First Committee." Enough has been written to prove that [illegible] is Pro-fascist, Anti-Semitic and [illegible]

RECORDED
100-4712-199
2 NOV 1941
FED. BU. OF INV.
NOV 10 1941 P.M.
RECORDED
100-4712-199
2 NOV 1941
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 5/8/81 BY
FILES DIVISION FORWARDED
U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE F.B.I.
NOV 13 12.21 PM '41
NOV 13 3 33 PM '41

Hoping something will be done about this, we are

Sincerely,

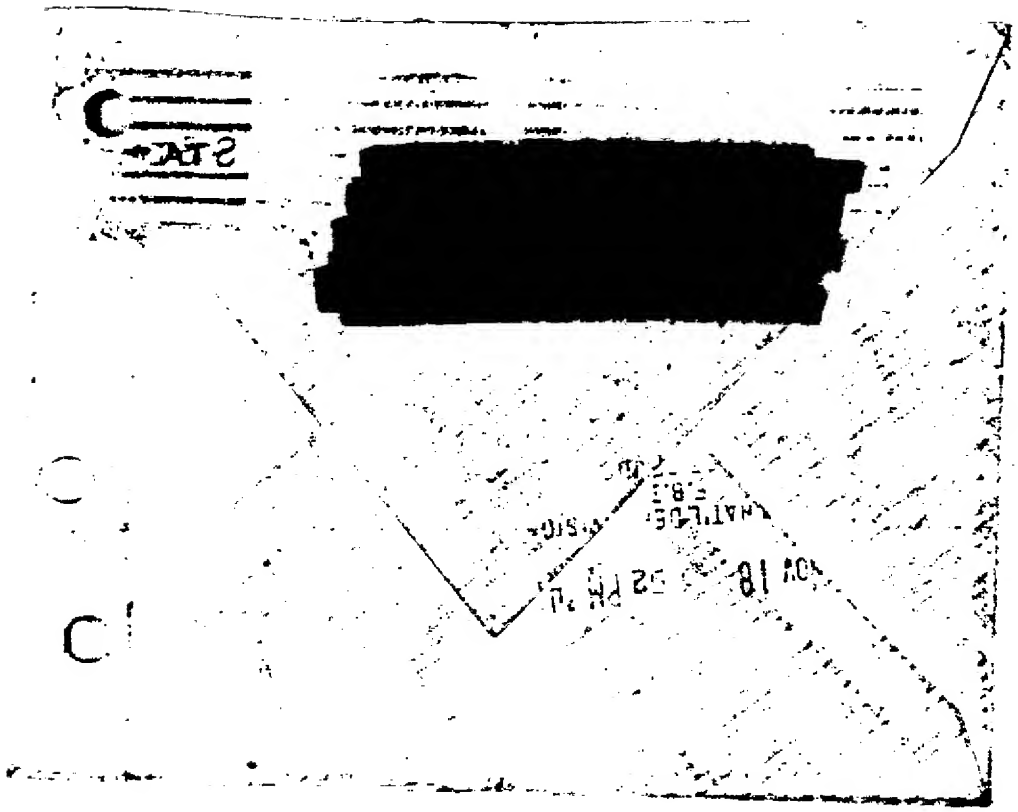
[redacted]

b7C

[redacted]

[redacted]

NOV 13 12
FBI
U.S. DEPT OF JUSTICE



b7c

President Franklin D. Roosevelt.
Washington
D. C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-8-86 BY SP2 [illegible]

November 25, 1941

[redacted]

100-4712-199

RECORDED

[redacted]

Dear [redacted]

Your letter of November 4, 1941, addressed to the President, signed by you, [redacted] has been referred to the FBI by the White House.

Please be assured that the content of your letter has been carefully noted and made a matter of permanent record in the official files of the FBI.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS [redacted]IFIED DATE 5/8/86 BY SP6 bgalley

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Lado
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Ronan
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Holloman
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED
NOV 25 1941
P.M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

[redacted]

[redacted]

b7c

[redacted]

b7c

FED. BU. OF INV.
NOV 10 1941

FED. BU. OF INV.

Hon. Franklyn D. Roosevelt
Washington D.C.

Dear Mr. President:—

As a builder I gladly accept the necessary curtail ment of my profession since it is necessary for defen

BH I am sure most of our people are ready for any sacri necessary to defeat the Nazi threat to our freedom.

National Defense, Mr. President, urgently needs th exposé of the so-called "America First" committee. Th are dividing and undermining our united strength. Sec Harold Ickes is correct in advocating an investigati lets find out who is behind that organization.

Such an investigation I'm sure would strike a severe blow at the enemies of our country. Our very safety demands it!

Respectfully Yours

[redacted]

b7

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/8/86 BY SP6 bja/tc

Ltr. 11-22-41

[redacted]

RECORDED & INDEXED

100-4712-200

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
2 NOV [redacted]
U.S. [redacted] STATE

b7c

[redacted]
100-4712-200

November 22, 1941

[redacted]

Dear [redacted]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS [illegible] DATE 5/8/86 BY S-6 by attcy

Your letter of recent date addressed to the President has been referred to this Bureau by the White House.

I want to thank you for your courtesy and interest in communicating with the Federal Government.

You may be assured that the content of your letter has been carefully noted and made a matter of permanent record in our official files.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED
★ NOV 22 1941 ★
P. M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Tolson
E. A. Tamm
Clegg
Glavin
Ladd
Nichols
Tracy
Beaon
Carson
Coffey
Gordon
Nellsman
Quinn Tamm
Keane
Candy

[redacted]

b7c

FREEDOM OF INFORMATION AND PRIVACY ACTS

SUBJECT: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

FILE NUMBER: 100-4712

PART: 5 OF 19

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

FILE DESCRIPTION

BUREAU FILE

SUBJECT America First Committee

FILE NO. 100-4712

SECTION NO. 5

SERIALS 201

thru

263

November 22, 1941

[redacted]

100-4712-201

[redacted]

b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 5/8/86 BY Sp6bja/ktg

b7C

Dear [redacted]

Your letter of November 4, 1941, addressed to the President of the United States, has been referred to this Bureau by the White House for appropriate consideration.

Please be assured that your letter has been carefully noted and made a matter of permanent record in our official files for such future reference as may be deemed appropriate.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Kolleman
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED
★ NOV 22 1941 ★
P. M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Deleted Copy Sent P. W. Steele
by letter 3-8-76
Per FOIA Request

[redacted]

b7C

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER
DIRECTOR

Federal Bureau of Investig.
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.
October 17, 1941

DML:AA

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. E. A. TAMM

RE: THE AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

11:50 AM

SAC Johnson at Chicago called to advise that the October 14th issue of the Daily Journal, Wheaton, Illinois, stated a Henry Rodamaker (phonetic) is temporary Chairman of the America First Committee at Wheaton. The article further stated that Rodamaker is an attorney in Wheaton, it told how the FBI had been invited by the Committee to examine its books, and advised that the FBI gave the books a "clean bill of health".

Johnson further advised that Smuthers (phonetic), a feature writer for the Daily News had been in to see him and would probably come out with an article quoting him. He informed Smuthers that the Bureau conducted no examinations of any books and that it is contrary to Bureau policy to comment one way or another regarding an organization.

In answer to my question as to whether or not the America First Committee had given him the invitation to examine their books, he read a portion of a letter from them dated March 13th, which is as follows: "Of course, our membership files are always open to you and we would like to have you go through them, if possible, so that you might advise us of any exceptions to our rulings that have escaped our strict scrutiny." The letter goes on to set out the purposes of the America First Committee and further says, "from time to time we have occasion to have advice from you and we may have occasion regarding the status or standing of individuals we are unable to readily check. Would it be possible to have your help in such instances?" Mr. Johnson answered this letter by saying that due to the confidential nature of the files of the Bureau, he would be unable to be of any assistance in this connection.

Mr. Johnson stated it was entirely possible that from time to time agents might have contacted the America First Committee to check on specific individuals, but by no stretch of the imagination could this be construed as checking their books.

Respectfully,

D. M. Ladd

RECORDED
INDEXED

100-4712-20

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
OCT 27 1941
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

[redacted] b7C

EX-17

CH-25 235 219

Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Nenden
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hottoman
Mr. Harbo
Tele. Room
Your Room
Mr. Nease
Miss Beahm
Miss Gandy

b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 3/18/86 BY SP4 Lbg/kg

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER
DIRECTOR

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

DAF:GAJ

October 13, 1941

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Harbo
Tele. Room
Tour Room
Mr. Nease
Mr. Tracy
Miss Beahm
Miss Gandy

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. KRAMER

Re: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE;
INTERNAL SECURITY

Information has been received from an unknown outside source under date of September 22, 1941, at New York City, that the international affairs of the captioned organization are in considerable turmoil. In Chicago, Illinois, the Fight for Freedom Committee has set up an organization to fight the America First Committee. Colonel McCormick of the Chicago Tribune, Harry Jung of the American Vigilante Association, and Elizabeth Dilling are carrying the burden for America First, while on the other side Professor Albert Parry is fronting for the Fight for Freedom Committee. The America First Committee is endeavoring to smear the Fight for Freedom Committee as being Communist and this action has caused the America First group to make a thorough search for any sort of evidence to belittle Parry and his cohorts.

In the New York area the situation is even worse because Lindbergh and Senator Nye have opened an attack on the Jews. All the Jewish money that was forthcoming to the America First Committee has practically stopped and the suspicion is that about the only funds they are getting from some big source possibly come from Colonel Pew, the executive head of the Sun Oil Company.

John T. Flynn, the New York leader among the Catholics and America First, has it is understood, served an ultimatum on the New York Committee that if Lindbergh does not resign, he will relinquish his chairmanship of the New York chapter. Norman Thomas reportedly has given the National Committee two weeks for Lindbergh to resign or he will cease his speaking tour. Every Jewish group in New York City has received instructions to "crack down" on America First. According to the informant this is going to cause some repercussions that may do more harm to the Lindbergh group than anything up to the present time.

It is further stated that Dorothy Dunbar Bromley, the noted

100-417-20
RECORDED
INDEXED
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
7 OCT 23 1941
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

#245238
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 1/29/85 BY SP6BCW/LS
3/8/86 SP6 by/ltr#262359

FIVE

liberal writer, has resigned from the America First Committee, and Kathryn Lewis and Mrs. Burton K. Wheeler are the motivating force behind the Committee at the present time. John T. Flynn reportedly flew to Chicago recently for a showdown with the National Committee but apparently the Committee has not changed its attitude with reference to Lindbergh.

On September 23, 1941, this same source reported that up until the present time the America First Committee has reportedly refused to divulge any information about its sources of funds or the size of contributions. This may be changed, however, in view of the recent Congressional election in the 1st Wisconsin District, where the Wisconsin branch of America First opposed Mr. Amlie for election. State Attorney General John E. Martin has announced his intention to order the chapter to file an official report upon its expenditures in the contest. The America First Committee in this particular district backed Lawrence H. Smith, who was successful in the election and the Wisconsin law requires all organizations participating in political campaigns to file a detailed expense account. The America First Committee has refused to comply with this law as of the present writing.

Respectfully,

D. A. Flinn

D. A. Flinn

ROBERT E. WOOD
925 SOUTH HOMAN AVENUE
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

Oct. 22, 1941.

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Director,
Federal Bureau of Investigation,
U. S. Department of Justice,
Washington, D. C.

100-4712-196

My dear Mr. Hoover:

I have just received your letter of October 17th, which was addressed to me at the national headquarters of the America First Committee in the Board of Trade Building.

It is needless to state how deeply I regret hearing that such a loose and untrue statement came from one of the members of the America First organization. Enclosed is copy of a letter that I have written to Mr. Jeffrey.

You can rest assured that I will see that no more such statements are made by any of our responsible members.

I desire to thank you for calling this matter to my attention and assure you of my esteem and appreciation. I have long been a great admirer of yours.

Sincerely yours,

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/9/86 BY SP6 bja/tcg

100-4712-204
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
11 NOV 17 1941
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

RECORDED
INDEXED

Oct. 22, 1941.

Mr. Earl C. Jeffrey,
America First Committee,
1822 Board of Trade Bldg.,
Chicago, Ill.

My dear Jeffrey:

I received a letter from J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the FBI, in which he quotes the following statement attributed to James B. Abbey, chairman of the San Diego America First Committee:

> "We understand that there was information that the FBI checked up on the national organization, especially around Washington. Earl C. Jeffery, national director of field operations, told us they had tapped wires and checked up on mail at Washington."

I desire to inquire as to whether or not you made such a statement. It is not true, and no member of our organization should make such loose statements, particularly pertaining to the FBI which is under the direction of J. Edgar Hoover who, as we all know, is a man of the highest character, integrity and ability.

Sincerely yours,

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/8/86 BY SP6 Bja/tkg

ROBERT E. WOOD
925 SOUTH HOMAN AVENUE
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

AIR MAIL

CHICAGO, ILL.
OCT 22
7:30 PM
1941
AIR MAIL

BUY
DEFENSE SAVINGS
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
BONDS AND STAMPS

10-23-41

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Director,
Federal Bureau of Investigation,
U. S. Department of Justice,
Washington, D. C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/16/86 BY SP6 bjf/lmj

[redacted]

b7C

November 14, 1941

RECORDED 100-4712-264

EX-19

Brigadier General Robert E. Wood
925 South Homan Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

Dear General Wood:

I have received your letter dated October 22, 1941, and enclosure, and appreciate your prompt response to my letter of October 17th. I wanted to bring the facts of this matter to your attention and am glad it has been entirely straightened out.

With best wishes and kind regards,

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 3/8/86 BY SP-6 bja/tcy

cc - San Diego (Under cover of letter to SAC Nathan)

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Holloman
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED
NOV 11 1941
P. M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

[redacted]

b7C

100-4712-204

November 14, 1941

RECORDED
X INDEXED

EX-10

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Mr. Harold Nathan
Federal Bureau of Investigation
U. S. Department of Justice
729 San Diego Trust and
Savings Bank Building
San Diego, California

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/8/86 BY Sp6bjaltcy

Dear Mr. Nathan:

With reference to your letter of October 7, 1941, concerning the misstatements attributed to Earl C. Jeffrey of the America First Committee in reference to the Bureau, I thought you would like to see the attached correspondence between Brigadier General Robert E. Wood, Chairman of that Committee, and me. A copy of my letter to General Wood dated October 17th has already been forwarded to you.

Sincerely yours,

UNCLASSIFIED
BY 60350 LED/kd
ON 2-11

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Nendon
Mr. Holloman
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

Enclosure

Copies of General Wood's letter to the Bureau dated 11/14/41. losure; copy of Bureau reply thereto

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED
★ NOV 11 1941 ★
P. M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE
RECEIVED
FBI
NOV 18 PM

ED. V. IZAC
TWENTIETH DISTRICT
CALIFORNIA

HOME ADDRESS:
SAN DIEGO

COMMITTEE:
NAVAL AFFAIRS

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

November 12th, 1941

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. E. A. Tamm	
Mr. Clegg	
Mr. Glavin	
Mr. Ladd	
Mr. Nichols	
Mr. Tracy	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Carson	
Mr. Coffey	
Mr. Hendon	
Mr. Helloman	
Mr. Quinn Tamm	
Mr. Nease	
Miss Gandy	
Files	

PERSONAL

Hon. J. Edgar Hoover, Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

I have just received the following telegram in the name of the persons whose names were affixed thereto. This list almost corresponds to the signers of the most denouncatory letters against our present foreign policy that I have been receiving for many months now.

I am further convinced it is at least a segment of the San Diego America First Committee. I thought perhaps this list in the hands of your San Diego office might be of some value.

With kind personal regards, I am,

Sincerely,

Ed. V. Izac

ED. V. IZAC, M.C.
20th Dist. Calif.

EVI:C:ec

Encl.

1 ENCLO. 4

RECORDED
INDEXED

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/8/86 BY SP-6 bja/tcg

100-4712-20

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
4 NOV 14 1941
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

[redacted] b7C

CHECK SERVICE DESIRED OTHERWISE MESSAGE WILL BE SENT AT FULL RATE			
DOMESTIC		FOREIGN	
FULL RATE		FULL RATE	
DAY LETTER		CDE RATE	
NIGHT LETTER		URGENT	
SERIAL		DEFERRED	
RESERVATION		NIGHT LETTER	
TOUR-RATE		SHIP RADIO	

COPY

POSTAL TELEGRAPH—CABLE CO.

TELEGRAM

N. SA25 574 NL 553 EXTRA SANDIEGO CALIF 10 NOV 11, AM 6 :16

HONORABLE ED V M IZAC
HOUSE OFFICE BLDG WASHINGTON DC

WE URGE YOU TO VOTE NO ON THE REVISION OF THE NEUTRALITY ACT. WE ALSO DEMAND A FULL AND UNLIMITED DEBATE.

ALBERT E FURLOW, FRANK O'FARRELL, LOUISE MARGO RICHARDSON, MAUD HOLMES MILLER, MRS J M. GREGG, MRS ELLA TUNNEY, MISS M BULLER, C LEON DE ARYAN, GEORGE BORST, ADOLPH KREISS, MRS MINNIE EYERMAN, AUGUST EINHAUS, EVELYN EINHAUS, L B OSKLEY, HAZEL FRATES, MRS J R DALL, W J PHILLIPS, EDWARD GAUT, MRS GRACE PERL, MRS H. BIDIGARE, A F LOUDEN, F L RICHARDSON, JIMMIE MEYERS, DICK PIERSON, DENE MCKENZIE, HELEN MCKENZIE, ETTA MAE SANDUS, EDDIE MYERS, MARGARET CUMMINGS, MR LONG, MRS LONG, MRS HENRY ZARSKY, WILMA H. BROWN, L LUTZ, KNIGHT W WHEELER, MAUDE GOLLING, MRS ZELMA E DURFEE, DEL W FREDERIC, MRS GEO. BUNCASEL, GEORGE BUNCASEL, CATHERINE E SMITH, MRS W I SCHWING, MRS R C LAWRENCE, E H HEATH, FREDLA HIRTH, MRS. C DOGGRELL, MRS HARRIOT WHEELIHAN, F A WHEELIHAN, E V WHITE, IDA T WHITE, H. H. PREIBISUIS, MARY C WOODWORTH, C N WOODWORTH, MRS FANNIE C LENNON, NINA HEWITT, T E SNELLMAN, WILLIAM VATTER,

100-4712-205

November 22, 1941

X

b7C

RECORDED 100-4712-205

Honorable Ed. V. Izac
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 5/8/86 BY SP6 ja/tcg

NOV 25 9 25 AM '41
RECEIVED-DIRECTOR
F B I
U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

My dear Congressman:

I wish to acknowledge with thanks your letter of November 12, 1941, with which you enclosed a telegram dated November 11, 1941, addressed to you by a number of individuals.

Your thoughtfulness in bringing this matter to my attention is indeed appreciated and in the event you obtain any additional information you deem of interest to the activities of the FBI, I know that you will not hesitate to refer it to me.

With expressions of my highest esteem and best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Hoffman
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

CH-1 (219)

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED
NOV 25 1941
P. M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Nov 25 9 01 AM '41
RECEIVED-ROOM 5640
F B I
U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

NOV 24 7 45 PM '41
RECEIVED-ROOM 5640
F B I
U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

The President of the U.S.A.

[redacted]

[redacted] b7C

Mr. F. D. Roosevelt,
White House, Washington DC

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/8/86 BY SP6 byleg [redacted] b7C

FED. BU. OF INVE.
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
NOV 10 1941 A.M.
DIVISION OF RECORDS
FED. BU. OF INVE.

Dear Mr. President:

I sincerely hope you will pardon my troubling you at this crucial time. You are the Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy. You are also our civilian President whom I voted for in '32-'36 and '40.

100-4712-20
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
NOV 15 1941
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

From [redacted] La Rowe 12/1/41

RECORDED
INDEXED

At the present time, you are facing a malicious isolation that's thwarting your defense effort, and don't you think you should draw a circle around this group — a sort of a cordon? And about those pickets? Why are they ousted? No one is entitled to any constitutional privilege detrimental to an accepted administration, such as speaking disparagingly of you, or asking to throw the nation into devastation, which Is the American Nazis aim. All those in Congress, Senate, White House, Navy, Army, Clerks etc., should be silenced for the duration of this crisis.

[redacted] b7C

(over)

[redacted] Nov. 6, 1941.

b7C

The President of the U. S. A.

Mr. F. D. Roosevelt
White House, Washington, D. C.

80420

Dear Mr. President:

I sincerely hope you will pardon my troubling you at this crucial time. You are the Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy. You are also our civilian President whom I voted for in '32 - '36 and '40.

At the present time, you are facing a malicious isolation that's threatening to break down your defense effort, and don't you think you should draw a circle around this group--a sort of a silencer? And about these pickets? Why aren't they custed? No one is entitled to any constitutional privileges detrimental to an accepted Administration; such as speaking disparagingly of you or seeking to throw the nation into revolution, which IS the America First's Aim. All these men, Cudahy, Lindberg, Wheeler, Nye, Fish, Clarks etc. should be silenced for the duration of this war. Thank you!

Yours,

/s/ [redacted]

b7C

P. S. If this procedure suggests dictatorial tendencies and is contrary to our democratic policies, then I shall agree unconditionally that our democracy is ready for the hospital.

[redacted]

b7C

TRUE COPY
MM

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/8/86 BY SP6bja Hey

December 8, 1941

[redacted] b7C

RECORDED 100-4712-206

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. JAMES H. ROWE, JR.
THE ASSISTANT TO THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

There are transmitted herewith for your information copies of a communication dated November 6, 1941, addressed to the President by [redacted] b7C

Please be advised that the letter has not been acknowledged.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Enclosure

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/8/86 BY SP6 Dyo/tdg

RECEIVED-ROOM 5640
FBI
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Harden
Mr. Hetteman
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Mr. Gandy

Related Copy Sent R. W. Steele
Letter 3-8-76
Request Mai

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED
DEC 8 1941
P. M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

[redacted] b7C

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXX

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

1 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

☑ Deleted under exemption(s) b7C b7D with no segregable material available for release to you.

☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.

☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.

☐ Documents originated with another Government agency(ies). These documents were referred to that agency(ies) for review and direct response to you.

_____ Pages contain information furnished by another Government agency(ies). You will be advised by the FBI as to the releasability of this information following our consultation with the other agency(ies).

_____ Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):

_____

_____

☐ For your information: _____

_____

☑ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:
100-4712-207 incoming

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
X DELETED PAGE(S) X
X NO DUPLICATION FEE X
X FOR THIS PAGE X
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

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XXXXXX
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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

1 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

☑ Deleted under exemption(s) b7C b7D with no segregable material available for release to you.

☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.

☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.

☐ Documents originated with another Government agency(ies). These documents were referred to that agency(ies) for review and direct response to you.

_____ Pages contain information furnished by another Government agency(ies). You will be advised by the FBI as to the releasability of this information following our consultation with the other agency(ies).

_____ Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):

_____

_____

☐ For your information: _____

_____

☑ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

100-4712-207 outgoing

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
X DELETED PAGE(S) X
X NO DUPLICATION FEE X
X FOR THIS PAGE X
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXX

[redacted]

[redacted]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/8/86 BY SP6 bjs/tcg

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. E. A. Tamm	
Mr. Clegg	
Mr. Glavin	
Mr. Ladd	
Mr. Nichols	
Mr. Tracy	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Carson	
Mr. Coffey	
Mr. Mendon	
Mr. Holloman	
Mr. Quinn Tamm	
Mr. Nease	
Miss Gandy	
Files	

Mr. Hoover
Federal Investigation Bureau -

RECORDED
INDEXED

100-4712-208

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
8 NOV 28 1941
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Dear Sir:

Reading the testimony of the [redacted] trial in progress relating to the [redacted] and [redacted] through New York harbor, suggests to my mind that the Headquarters of the latter helping "America First" which includes a block who are antagonistic to our country effort to smash Hitlerism located at a spot overlooking New York harbor at Jamestown, Long Island, should be checked up - just in case. I hope I'm wrong but a few hundreds and odd Students are in that roast -

Confidentially

America First Committee

[redacted]

[redacted]

b7c

[redacted]

Mr. Hoover
Federal Investigation Bureau-

Dear Sir:

Reading the testimony of the 8/29 trial in progress just now, the part relating to the ships coming and going through New York harbor, suggest to my mind that the Headquarters of the Hitler helping "America First" which includes a flock who are antagonistic to our country's effort to smack Hitlerism located at a spot overlooking New York harbor at Tompkinsville, 1 Stasson Terr. should be checked up--just in case. I hope I'm wrong. Quite a few Bundists and Nazi students are in that roost. --Confidentially.

Yours sincerely,

[redacted]

b7c

TRUE COPY:cgb

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/8/86 BY SP6bja/tcy

b7C

RECORD [redacted]
100-4712 -208

December 1, 1941

Special Agent in Charge
New York, New York

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/8/86 BY SP6bja/tcg

Dear Sir:

There are transmitted herewith for your attention, copies of a communication postmarked November 17, 1941, addressed to the Bureau by [redacted] b7C

[redacted]

together with copies of my reply thereto under date of December 1.

It is a desire of the Bureau that you ascertain whether the address to which the informant refers in his letter is an office of the America First Committee, or whether it has reference to the location of a subversive group. In the event that the address is that of the America First Committee, you should, of course, conduct no investigation. However, if the location is a meeting place of subversive groups, you should, of course, make appropriate inquiries in order to determine whether there is any violation of any statute within the Bureau's jurisdiction.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Enclosures

RECEIVED-ROOM 5640
DEC 2 10 10 AM '41
DEPT. OF JUSTICE

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Gesson
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Nellerman
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
FILED
DEC 2 1941 A
P. M
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

b7C

[redacted]

[redacted]

RECORDED 100-4712 - 208

December 1, 1941

[redacted]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 5/8/86 BY SP6bja tcg

Dear [redacted]

I am in receipt of your letter postmarked November 17, 1941, and desire to express my sincere appreciation for your courtesy and interest in communicating with me.

You may be assured that the content of your letter has been carefully noted and made a matter of permanent record in the official files of this Bureau. Should you obtain any further information you believe of interest to the activities of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, I urge you to communicate with me or Mr. P. E. Foxworth, Special Agent in Charge, Federal Bureau of Investigation, U. S. Department of Justice, 607 U. S. Court House, Foley Square, New York, New York.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

cc - New York-- with copies of incoming (by cover letter)

RECEIVED-ROOM 5640 F B I U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE DEC 2 10 10 AM '41

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Troy
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Nease
Mr. Hollomon
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED
DEC 2 1941
P.M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

[redacted]

[redacted] b7C

F.B.I.
Washington D.C.
Gentlemen:

I am giving this
letter very serious
thought before writing you
To begin with I am [redacted]-209

[redacted] b7C

I ENCLO. II

I ENCL

[redacted]

[redacted] CONTAINED
HEREIN IS [redacted] CLASSIFIED
DATE 5-8-86 BY SP-6 [redacted]

This year our Red Cross has been organized in an unusual way here — In interviewing the prominent citizens I spoke to [redacted] b7c He was the only one who refused to come —

The two women who are volunteer

[redacted] b7c

belongs to the America
First Group" and [redacted] b7c

very
active in the "Republican
Women's Study Club" —
Since the Commander
and Chief of the Red
Cross is our president
I am writing this
information - Some one
in the Community

[redacted] recently in
starting a plan upon
which we are getting
our leading citizens
to sponsor a patriotic
meeting ~~upon~~ at which
time the town would
march in a dignified
patriotic meeting to
protest against the
axis powers. Every one has
been invited regardless
of creed, politics etc.

b7C

has started the
rumor that I am
a member of the
America First
organization -
I have been [redacted] b7c
[redacted] of the
Rural district and
have had to correct
this wrong impression
in every case -
very likely for

Have agents here who know about these things — However, there is a situation here that should be quickly investigated

Very truly

[redacted]

b7C

b7C

[redacted]

Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington
D.C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/8/86 BY S. Lobyeltey

Red Cross Urges Public To View Toyland

In keeping with the open house plan of Anaheim stores with the introduction of toyland for the Christmas shopping season in Anaheim, will be the Red Cross headquarters at 129 West Center street. Invitation is extended to the public to visit the headquarters. Mrs. John W. Truxaw, chairman of the Anaheim chapter, Mrs. L. H. Loudon and Mrs. Mae Levecke will be hostesses during the evening.

H.
Upp's
B. F. K.
two room
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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-8-86 BY SP-6 byalty

100 4712-209

[redacted] b7C

RECORDED 100-4712-209

December 4, 1941

[redacted] b7C

Dear [redacted] b7C

I have for acknowledgment your letter postmarked November 12, 1941, with enclosure, and I wish to express my sincere appreciation for your courtesy in communicating with me.

Please be advised that the content of your letter has been carefully noted and made a matter of permanent record in the official files of this Bureau.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/8/86 BY S.E.Bjr/tcg

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Hollomon
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

CH-17

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED
★ DEC 4 1941 ★
P. M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

b7C

[redacted]

CONFIDENTIAL

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

November 22, 1941

MEMORANDUM

5/8/86 Classified by [redacted] Declassify on: OADR

Re: THE AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

The America First Committee was incorporated under the Not for Profit Laws of the State of Illinois on September 19, 1940. The purposes of the committee as outlined in its charter are to encourage and maintain in the United States of America:

1. Peace and the Democratic ideal.
2. A program of adequate defense.
3. A furtherance of peace in this continent, a policy of non-intervention in the affairs of other continents and to encourage the giving of help to refugees and the needy in other lands insofar as such help does not endanger the peace in the United States.

The America First Committee has advertised itself as being "non-partisan organization of loyal and patriotic men who believe:

1. The United States must build an unbreakable national defense.
2. No foreign power nor group of powers can ever successfully invade a prepared America.
3. Our Government sending men of its own, ships, planes and materials of war to a belligerent overseas dangerously weakens our defense at home and threatens to involve America in war abroad.
4. Our American Democratic liberties can only be preserved by keeping out of foreign wars in Europe or in Asia."

RECORDED Top - 47 12

The national headquarters of the America First Committee is located at 1806 Board of Trade Building, Chicago, Illinois. A local headquarters is maintained in Washington, D. C., at 1010 Vermont Avenue, N. W. There is a total of 500 local chapters and affiliated units of the America First Committee throughout the United States.

The following is a list of the officers and Directors of the America First Committee with the background as to each individual

CONFIDENTIAL

FOIPA # 462 359
APPEAL #
CIVIL ACT. #
E.O. #
DATE 9/8/86 INITIALS HEY

S-1 info only
S-2 info only HEY

S-1 information no duplication
per Army letter dtd 5/29/91
9/23 mem/ltr 9/13/91

S-2 information no duplication
per Army letter dtd 7/25/91
9/23 mem/ltr 9/13/91

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Egan
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Holloman
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

Acting Chairman - GENERAL ROBERT E. WOOD, 925 S. Homan Avenue, Chicago, Illinois; graduate of West Point and served many years as officer in the United States Army; presently Chairman of the Board of Directors of Sears Roebuck and Company.

National Director and Secretary - R. DOUGLAS STUART, JR.; 141 West Jackson Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois; graduate of Yale University and studied three years in the Yale Law School before terminating his study to become associated with the America First Committee; is the son of R. Douglas Stuart of the Quaker Oats Company.

Treasurer - J. STANFORD OTIS, Vice-President of the Central Republic Bank of Chicago.

Board of Directors

HANFORD MAC NIDER - Mason City, Iowa; presently a banker; former National Commander of the American Legion; former Assistant Secretary of War, 1925 to 1928; served with the United States Army in France during the World War and was promoted to Lieutenant Colonel on May 6, 1919; received Croix de Guerre - five citations; also connected with various civic organizations.

GENERAL THOMAS HAMMOND -
Retired United States Army Officer; president of Whiting Corporation, manufacturers of cranes and foundry equipment, Harvey, Illinois; served with United States Army in World War; chairman of Republican Party in Illinois.

J. C. HORMEL -
Formerly with George A. Hormel and Company Packers, Austin, Minnesota.

CLAY JUDSON -
Attorney, 120 West Adams Street, Chicago, Illinois; associated with the law firm of Wilson and McIlvaine; former president of Chicago Council of Foreign Relationships; member of Board of Trustees of United

Charities, Chicago, and president of Board of Trustees, Frances Parker School, Chicago, which is a well-known private school.

In addition to the above officers, the following are members of the America First Committee:

DR. ANTON JULIUS CARLSON -
Professor of University of Chicago; reported to be an international pacifist; has studied in Moscow, U.S.S.R.; considered an extreme liberal was a Lieutenant Colonel in the Sanitary Corps, United States Army in 1917 and was with the American Expeditionary Force from March to September, 1919.

WILLIAM R. CASTLE, JR. -
Former Assistant Secretary of State; former Ambassador to Japan.

IRVIN S. COBB - Nationally known speaker and author.

JANET AYER FAIRBANKS -
Active in cause of women suffrage and politics; former member of the Executive Committee of the Democratic National Committee; was a member of the Women's National Liberty Loan Committee during the World War; has written several books.

JOHN T. FLYNN - Noted economist and writer; wrote "Country Squire in the White House."

HENRY FORD - Automobile manufacturer.

GENERAL HUGH S. JOHNSON -
Nationally known retired Army officer.

ALICE ROOSEVELT LONGWORTH -
Daughter of the late President Theodore Roosevelt.

THOMAS N. MC CARTER -
Attorney General of New Jersey, 1902 to 1907, which post he resigned to become president of the Public Service Corporation of New Jersey, which operates and controls nearly all of the gas, electric and transportation utilities in New

CONFIDENTIAL

Jersey; director of Chase National Bank, New York City; Federal Union Trust Company; Newark, New Jersey; American Surety Company; American Super Power Corporation and United Gas Improvement Company.

CAPTAIN EDWARD RICKENBACKER - Nationally known aviation figure.

LOUIS J. TABER - Nationally known for his work in connection with agricultural developments.

DR. GEORGE H. WHIPPLE - Nationally known pathologist.

The following persons, who are nationally known, are also Members of this Committee:

Mrs. Bennett Champ Clark
Bishop W. E. Hammaker
Kathryn Lewis
Sterling Morton
Edward L. Ryerson, Jr.
Mrs. Burton K. Wheeler

The America First Committee is reported to be financed solely by voluntary contributions by those interested in the organization. The Committee conducted a radio broadcast on October 21, 1940, at which time the radio announcer requested his listeners to send anything from dimes to dollars to the America First Committee, Board of Trade Building, Chicago, Illinois, and this same request was made following numerous other broadcasts.

The financial support of the America First Committee seemingly evolves from voluntary contributions and in connection with the financing of this Committee attention is directed to the financial positions held by:

General Robert E. Wood
R. Douglas Stuart, Jr.
J. Sanford Otis
Hanford MacNider
General Thomas Hammond
J. C. Hormel
Clay Judson
Wm. R. Castle
Henry Ford
Alice Roosevelt Longworth
Thomas N. McCarter

(100-4712-18)

CONFIDENTIAL

On October 21, 1940, Boake Carter was sponsored in a transcription program of Station WNAC, Chicago, Illinois, by the America First Committee. In this broadcast Carter explained that the Committee was dedicated to aid America first and later to aid Britain. Following the transcription, the announcer suggested that the listeners write their congressmen and senators demanding that they prevent the United States' intervention into the war and that they arm America before aiding Britain and also requesting the audience to send in anything from dimes to dollars to the America First Committee, Board of Trade Building, Chicago, Illinois.

A confidential informant stated that the America First Committee was started by General Wood in cooperation with the other members of the Committee and that although the Committee's viewpoints in connection with the United States' present policy in foreign affairs is different from that of the administration, he is of the opinion that the Committee originally had a few persons in it who were what he termed "left-wingers" and according to him are not to be considered Communistic.

[redacted] b7D b7E

[redacted] advised that on January 16, 1941, the office of the America First Committee was opened on Wilshire Boulevard, Los Angeles, California, and it was observed that the automobile of Doctor Georg Gyssling, German Consul was parked in front of the building during that day. The informant related that this car had never been seen there previously and has not been seen there since that time.

The America First Committee has published an enormous amount of propaganda literature concerning the aims of the Committee and has circulated this literature throughout the United States. The apparent object of the literature is to crystallize American opinion to prevent the entrance of the United States into European wars and to villify the foreign affairs program of President Roosevelt. The numerous pamphlets published by the Committee state that 86% of the people of the United States are opposed to the United States intervening in foreign wars. These pamphlets fail to make any explanation as to how the figure of 86% was arrived at. This literature also makes an appeal to American mothers to aid the Committee for the purpose of preventing their sons from being embroiled in another European war. The foreign program of President Roosevelt is termed "the road to war" by the literature emanating from this committee.

(100-4712-41-56)

Friends of Democracy, Incorporated, L. M. Birkhead, National Director, with National headquarters in Kansas City, Missouri, published a pamphlet entitled the "America First Committee, the Nazi Transmission Belt." This pamphlet alleges the America First Committee whether its members know it or not and whether they like it or not is a Nazi front organization and is a transmission belt by means of which the apostles of Nazism are spreading their anti-Democratic ideas into millions of American homes. This pamphlet also charges that Adolf Hitler and his disciples in the United States are using the America First Committee to spread Fascist and Nazi propaganda.

Information received from the office of Naval Intelligence discloses that on February 4, 1941, Paul von Gontard entertained John Wheeler and his wife Helene Albright Wheeler, the son and daughter-in-law of Senator Wheeler. During the course of the conversation at the party, Mrs. Wheeler stated while attacking the contemplated Land Lease Bill, also opposed by the America First Committee, that the "only way we can be safe is to see the pins knocked out from under Britain." The informant who furnished this information stated that such a remark indicated that she had become imbued with pro-German sentiment because of her association with various individuals, including Doctor Adolph Spreckles, Miss Josephine Alderman, and one Hans Wolfram, all of whom are suspected of German espionage. It will be noted that Hans Wolfram has done publicity work for the German Embassy.

CONFIDENTIAL

[redacted] 100-4712-7X).

[redacted]

(100-4712-5X).

[redacted]

(100-4712-17X).

[redacted]

Information received from Edwin S. Webster, General Secretary of America First Committee, 49 East 53 Street, New York City discloses that a New York Chapter of this Committee has between 15,000 and 20,000 members. Webster claims that none but an American citizen can become a member of this Committee.

(100-4712-21).

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

[redacted] (C) b1

(65-8857-181)

Information received from the office of Military Intelligence, indicates that the America First Committee, in the opinion of the Communists, is a dangerous movement launched by "big open-shop industrialists," and the political bureau of the Communist Party is of the belief that in the event that the United States gets into the war, the America First Committee will support the war regardless of its present opposition; and further that when this country is ready to plunge into war the "General Woods, Eyersons, Fords, McCormicks," etc., would declare that they no longer opposed war because the country is engaged with a foreign foe. (Conf. Source G-1) (C)

G-2, 61-7553-11557)

A leaflet distributed in February, 1941, by the German American National Alliance urged the recipient of the leaflet to write to two senators advocating the defeat of the Land Lease Bill and to send financial contributions to the America First Committee.

(61-10498-444)

On February 25, 1941, the Chicago Tribune carried an article relating that the America First Committee had assigned speakers to cover down-state communities in Illinois for the purpose of creating opposition to the Administration Bill. It was stated that Walter P. Boye who, during the summer of 1938, had toured the German Reich and who had returned to the United States with glowing accounts of Nazi accomplishments and praise of

CONFIDENTIAL

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Hitler's ideology was one of those speakers. It was indicated that Nye's line of argument in his speaking tour would take the form of "placing such terrific power in the President's hands." (100-0-5003)

The Philadelphia Ledger for April 22, 1941, carried an article stating that the National Legion of Mothers and Women of America contemplated inviting women associated with the Bundfuehrer Bund into its membership. Mrs. Edith Scott of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, whose organization is affiliated with the America First Committee, said the invitation was under consideration by her group. (100-4712-A)

In the April 14, 1941 issue of the Staten Island Advance an article appeared stating that Howard I. Jump, son of Mrs. Lila Jump, head of the Staten Island unit of the America First Committee, had failed to report for induction as ordered by the local draft board and had been given a formal notice giving him five days in which to change his mind. Jump, twice before, was refused deferment by his local draft board; once on a medical deficiency claim and again on an occupational claim. (100-4712-30X1)

Information received from the office of Naval Intelligence on April 23, 1941, discloses that [redacted], a member of the crew of the U.S.S. Simms, a United States destroyer, had been active aboard the ship and had obtained the signatures of twelve enlisted men to join the America First Committee. (Conf. Source ONI, 100-4712-33) b7c

The News Letter of Los Angeles, California for April 9, 1941, carried an article concerning the America First Committee meeting held at Los Angeles, California, which was addressed by Mrs. Catherine Curtis and Senator Gerald P. Nye of North Dakota. This article related that Mrs. Curtis' experience in rabble rousing is so comprehensive that she might easily qualify as "the top notcher of the petticoat platoon." It was she who founded the Women's National Committee for Hands Off the Supreme Court." She also was active in organizing the Women Investors in America, Incorporated, which organizations make their headquarters at 535 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York. (100-4712-38)

Information received from the office of Military Intelligence on May 6, 1941, reveals that the German American War Veterans of Portland, Oregon had contributed funds to the America First Committee, and that the America First Committee had received funds from other German organizations. (Conf. Source G-2, 100-36444-1)

(G-1)(A)

CONFIDENTIAL

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Information emanating from the office of Military Intelligence on May 9, 1941, reports that the Nazis have instructed the naturalized members of the German-American population to join the America First Committee and to use it as an avenue of anti-British and anti-war propaganda. (conf. source G-2, 100-4712-6

(5-1)(g)

The same source advised that on May 21, 1941, the America First Committee in the Ninth Corps Area of the United States Army had fallen under the control of radicals seeking to undermine the morale of the soldiers by means of anti-war propaganda. (conf. source G-2, 61-7559-11760)

(5-1)(g)

The Washington Times Herald for May 26, 1941, reported that the America First Committee together with the Committee Against War and the Keep America Out of War Congress had made plans for a three-day rally commencing May 30, 1941. The two latter groups are reported to contain a number of Socialists in their ranks. (100-10689-A)

Information received from a confidential source on May 26, 1941, reveals that United German Societies held a meeting on May 26, 1941, at the New York Turn Hall at which time the meeting was addressed by Dr. Fleischman, a member of the America First Committee. (61-9879-268)

The activity of the America First Committee reached its peak during the period when it exerted its complete effort to the end of blocking the Lend Lease Bill sponsored by the administration. Thousands of pieces of literature were distributed; numerous meetings were held in the metropolitan areas and the people all over the nation were incited to petition their national representatives to block the passage of this legislation. (100-4712-16)

Two of the largest meetings sponsored by this Committee during that period were held at New York City on May 23, 1941, and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania on May 29, 1941, at which meetings approximately 20,000 people attended. Senator Burton Wheeler of Montana, Charles A. Lindbergh, Kathleen Norris and Norman Thomas were the headline speakers at these meetings. The texts of the speeches delivered were concerned with deriding the administration's foreign policy, especially the Lend Lease Bill, which they emphatically criticised as an active step towards entrance of the United States into the European conflict. (100-4712-58-71)

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

[redacted] (C) b1 b7D

(100-4712-72)(61-7566-2558)

Information has been received from the office of Military Intelligence that a young lady employed at the America First Committee headquarters in New Rochelle, New York, had advised an enlisted man that it was permissible for him to petition the authorities in Washington in regard to the proposed national foreign policy and expressed the opinion that she would not blame the enlisted man in going A.W.O.L., in case war was declared by the United States. (G-2, 100-4712-107)

(S-1)(C)

An anonymous communication received on July 28, 1941, enclosed a clipping from the New York Evening Post. This clipping disclosed that Newton Dillaway of Reading, Massachusetts received numerous communications from the German Library of Information addressed to him as Newton Dillaway, and that after this organization was closed he began to receive literature from the America First Committee addressed to him in the same manner, that is the same mistake with the spelling of his name, and the stencil printing on the literature received from the America First Committee was identical with that received from the German Library of Information. (100-4712-

Information received from an outside unknown source on August 7, 1941, disclosed that the America First Committee has a Colored Section headed by J. Finley Wilson, Chairman, and Perry W. Howard, Secretary, with national headquarters at 613 F Street, North West, Washington, D. C. This organization is reported to have distributed literature in colored circles requesting the colored population to petition their national representatives to discourage the United States from entering the European war. (100-4712-112)

CONFIDENTIAL

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Other nationally known figures who have affiliated themselves with the America First Committee are Senator David I. Walsh, Congressman Hamilton Fish, Congressman James Francis O'Connor, Congressman Henry Ellsworth Short, former Governor Philip LaFollette, and Robert Hutchins, President of the University of Chicago. (100-4712)

[redacted] b2 b7C b7D

On July 30, 1941, a confidential source made available a summary of information furnished by an informant who was believed to be reliable. This informant alleged that the America First Committee had recently formed in New York City an "Investigation Unit", under the direction of one George Wrangell. Wrangell, who is alleged to be a White Russian and influential among the Russian emigres and French refugee groups, was said to be openly pro-German and pro-Nazi and has been connected with German Bund and German Government circles. This informant further stated that the Bundists are operating as volunteer workers in the dissemination of anti-interventionist literature published by the America First Committee. The "Investigation Unit" referred to above is said to be the creation of Mr. Breasan Batchelor. This informant also mentioned the fact that the America First Committee has been operating with certain Bund agents in a campaign of contacting the parents of draftees and enlistees with the view toward agitating against the national defense program and the extension of the period of military service. (S-1)(X)

It is to be noted that several sources have submitted information charging that the America First Committee has been instrumental either directly or indirectly in arousing dissatisfaction among the men in the United States armed forces. (100-4712-122;G-2 Governors Island, NY - 100-39863, Unknown Source) (S-1)(X)

A confidential informant submitted a report dated August 8, 1941, on the America First Committee which had been submitted by an anonymous source. This report alleged that the America First

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Committee was the creation of one R. Douglas Stuart, Jr., a law graduate of Yale University in 1940. Stuart was said to have first contacted Colonel Lindbergh and then Earl Brewster concerning the formation of such an organization. Later General Robert Wood and others entered the picture. This informant stated that there is an influential Jewish group backing the America First Committee, which group has as its front the Guggenheim Foundation. This Committee was said to have been set up because of hatred for President Roosevelt and his foreign policy. The informant further mentions that the Committee was also founded as a sounding board for anti-Jewish propaganda, and in this connection, he mentioned the fact that Father Coughlin of Detroit and the Christian Front Organizations had been officially welcomed into the America First Committee by General Wood. He also stated that in Washington the Committee has a strong anti-Roosevelt lobby composed of William Castle, Alice Longworth, John L. Lewis and General Hugh S. Johnson, all bitter enemies of the President. This informant further mentioned the fact that assisting William Castle in Washington is William Senger, a former Communist. It is to be noted that the information contained in this summary report has been submitted to the Bureau from numerous sources located in different sections of the country. (100-4712-138; [redacted] Denver, Colorado; 100-4712-140X, NYC, Unknown Source; 100-4712-149, [redacted]

b2

On August 30, 1941, a confidential informant submitted information which had been received from a "highly confidential and reliable source", which told of a movement instituted by notorious anti-Semites for the formation of a Nationalist Party. This movement, already actively begun in Detroit and Chicago, was said to be centered around the America First Committee. According to the informant, this so-called anti-Semitic movement is backed by Henry Ford and professes to have Charles Lindbergh as its national leader. The informant told of an alleged meeting sponsored by this Nationalist Party held in Detroit on July 30, 1941, at which a vigorous anti-Jewish campaign platform was adopted. (100-4712-139, Informant, G-2, Governors Island, NY)

[redacted]

b7D

[redacted] b7D

With reference to the America First meeting held at the Olympic Auditorium in Los Angeles on October 2, 1941, it is to be noted that Senator Wheeler, the principal speaker, after launching an attack upon President Roosevelt's broken promises regarding his war stand, his ordering the American Navy to shoot, and to occupy Iceland, stated that it might well be assumed that soon American soldiers would be fighting side by side with Communists for the protection and preservation of Communist Russia. He referred to the present cooperation between England and Russia as an "unholy alliance." The Senator then launched into an attack upon the motion picture industry charging them with the spreading of war propaganda and placing upon them the responsibility of inviting the United States in another foreign war. He then charged the Jews with being responsible for the propaganda pictures presently circulating in this country and referred to the fact that Jewish refugees are presently being feted by the United States citizens while attempting to have the United States fight the war for them and their cause. (100-4712-158; Letter from R. B. Hood dated October 3, 1941)

In October of 1941 information was received that the America First Committee held a meeting in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, on May 29, 1941, and that on the speaker's stand inside the arena there were several representatives of the German-American Bund of Pennsylvania, among them Gerhard F. Kunzel, president of the Philadelphia section of that Bund, and Leopold Ayre. Also in attendance was a member of the German Consulate in Philadelphia. (100-4712-184; Source: 892, Chicago, Ill.)

(5-1)

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Lester
Mr. Quinn
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Gandy

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With reference to this Jewish question, Frank Gaethers in the Chicago Daily News pointed out that the Free American and Deutsche Weekruf und Beobachter of September 25 carried an editorial by William Kunze of the Bund which hailed Lindbergh, Nye, and Wheeler as "courageous men" and concluded with the usual charge that the present war was brought on by the machinations of the International Jew. (100-4712-A)

In a speech before the America First Committee in Brooklyn on September 22, Senator Nye accused Wendell L. Willkie and the Interventionists of "dragging into this war controversy that cheap, wholly un-American issue called anti-Semitism." (100-4712-A; Washington Star Sept. 23, 1941)

A confidential source recently called attention to the fact that the America First Committee had recently expressed bitter protests against the three major radio networks, charging them with discrimination, and stating that inadequate facilities had been provided for the America First rally scheduled for the evening of October 31st at Madison Square Garden. A request for an investigation of the alleged discrimination was signed by John T. Flynn, Amos R. E. Pinchot and others. (100-4712-193; Source: ONI)

(5-28-42)

On November 1 a group of 125 chairmen of the America First Committee were addressed by former Governor Phillip LaFollette of Wisconsin at a dinner held in Washington, D. C. LaFollette was said to have openly called for an insurrection by "fearless red blooded Americans to overthrow the 'War Party' government . . ." and to have stated that " . . if the administration using a 'rubber stamp Congress' tries to postpone elections, we, the real 'American Party', will call upon all real Americans to fight for their freedom right here as their forefathers fought in the revolution." (100-4712-189

[redacted]

b7C

CONFIDENTIAL

[redacted] November 22, 1941

b7C

RECORDED 100-4712-210

EX-11

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

There is being submitted herewith a memorandum containing information in the Bureau files concerning the America First Committee.

Respectfully,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Enclosure

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 5/8/86 BY SP6 bga/tcg

SENT FROM D. O.
TIME 5:30 P.M.
DATE 11/22/41

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Traw
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Holloman
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Keese
Miss Gandy

CH-25

Dept. R. W. Steele
3-8-76

Federal Bureau of Investigation

United States Department of Justice
Kansas City, Missouri
November 17, 1941

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

RE: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
INTERNAL SECURITY

[redacted] b7C b7D

[redacted] requested that his name not be used in connection with any investigation which might be conducted.

No further investigation is being conducted in this case unless instructions to the contrary are received from the Bureau.

Very truly yours,

~~SAC~~

Dwight Brantley

DWIGHT BRANTLEY Gen.
Special Agent in Charge

[redacted]
100-1077

100-4712-211

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
4 NOV 21 1941
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FIVE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 3/8/96 BY 60324/uiw

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP(S) OF declassification

DATE 8-10-77 LED/mb

Mr. E. A. Tamm	
Mr. Clegg	
Mr. Glavin	
Mr. Ladd	
Mr. Nichols	
Mr. Tracy	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Carson	
Mr. Coffey	
Mr. Hendon	
Mr. Holloman	
Mr. Quinn Tamm	
Mr. Nease	
Miss Gandy	
Files	

CONFIDENTIAL

020099

WAR DEPARTMENT
WAR DEPARTMENT GENERAL STAFF
MILITARY INTELLIGENCE DIVISION, G-2
WASHINGTON, D. C.

NOV 19 1941

Subject: Letter of Transmittal.

To: Lt. Col. J. Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation

The attached communications are forwarded for your information and such action as you consider advisable.

Sherman Miles

SHERMAN MILES,
Brigadier General, U. S. Army,
Acting Assistant Chief of Staff, G-2

1 Enclosures:

RECORDED

100-4712-212

CONFIDENTIAL

Declassified per
Army letter dtd 5/29/91
8123 mch/ltr 8/9/91

CONFIDENTIAL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

COPY

[redacted]

[redacted] 220100

SUBJECT: AMERICAN FIRST COMMITTEE

1. The anti-British activities of the American First Committee are being increased, both in volume and intensity of attack, and in all sectional headquarters of the A.F.C. in Greater New York other subversive slogans, "Impeach the President" and "Free Washington of British Influence" are promoted with the regular A.F.C. anti-war propaganda.

2. In New York City, the same small clique of fanatical workers, with a direct tie-up with the Bund and Japanese propaganda circles, are active and have practically intimidated the other workers who believe it is their loyal duty to prevent this country from entering war, but are opposed to the issue.

3. In Queens and Brooklyn, these groups are turning their particular attention to religious communities as the best means to influence foreign born or foreign language groups, with marked success. The real leaders are not in evidence, as they operate through a large number of shabby, but fanatical agents, whom they are able to recruit without great financial expense, and who, from a psychological standpoint, are open to the powers of suggestion and as such conform practically to an unknown quantity and force.

4. Any attempt to control this movement by trying to develop legal cases against individuals fall short of purpose, as the loss of the known surface leaders would not stop the movement, there being ample replacements available. A large enough staff of sympathisers, boiling over with the desire to serve in a more active capacity, are ready and waiting to be called.

Add'l Chief
FBI
Ord
Lib

Sense: Reliable
Dupe: Credible

11-18-41

Mail from

Declassified per Army letter dated 5/29/91 8123 mch/Hag 8/9/91

CONFIDENTIAL

Federal Bureau of Investigation

United States Department of Justice
601 Richmond Trust Building
Richmond, Virginia

November 18, 1941

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN UNCLASSIFIED DATE 5/8/86 BY SP6 bja/tcy

Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Re: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

Dear Sir:

Enclosed herewith is a pamphlet, copies of which were widely distributed throughout the down town buildings in Roanoke, Virginia.

On November 13, 1941 this matter was called to the attention of Special Agent [redacted] b7C b7D

No investigative action has been taken regarding this matter and the pamphlet is being submitted simply for purposes of information.

Very truly yours,

C. A. HENNRICH
Special Agent in Charge

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED

Enclosure

[redacted]
62-0

b7C

RECORDED
INDEXED

100 - 4712 - 213
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
7 NOV 22 1941
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FIVE

ENCLS. 7

32

Neutrality—or War?

"Controversies which would involve the United States are far more likely to arise from the entrance of American ships or American citizens in the danger zone, or through the sinking on the high seas of American vessels."

—Cordell Hull and Franklin D. Roosevelt, July 4, 1939

Those who seek revision of the Neutrality Law know full well that it means:

American ships will be sunk . . .
American seamen will be drowned . . .
The American people will be swept into war on a wave of hysteria—just as in 1917.

The war party is demanding a one way passage to Davy Jones' Locker for American seamen—a one way passage to the battlefields of Europe for a huge new AEF.

What Are You Going to Do About It?

> ***"This government will insist that American citizens and American ships will keep away from the immediate perils of the actual zones of conflict."***
>
> —Franklin D. Roosevelt, September 21, 1939

The war party now seeks repeal of the section of the Neutrality Act which keeps our ships and our seamen out of the war zones.

They do so knowing that **repeal will mean:**

The sinking of American ships.

The drowning of American seamen.

A series of inflammatory "incidents" which will drag us into war.

They deliberately seek repeal knowing the certainty of these consequences—which the President foresaw in 1939—**and knowing further:**

1. **That there is no practical need for repeal—England needs our shipping less than at any time since the war began.** **(See Page 5)**
2. **That we will not enter the war while the Neutrality Law stands intact.** **(See Page 6)**
3. **That the purpose of the Lend-Lease Law is to prevent our ships from entering the war zones.** **(See Page 7)**

The proposed repeal is the war party's last desperate gamble—they are betting we will go to war if enough American seamen are drowned. This time they go too far—they shall go no further.

On this issue we stand our ground. Read what the true facts are. Learn what you can do—what you must do—to stop this threat here and now.

Why Was the Neutrality Act Passed?

"By the Neutrality Act . . . we made it clear to every American, and to every foreign nation, that we would avoid becoming entangled through some episode beyond our borders."

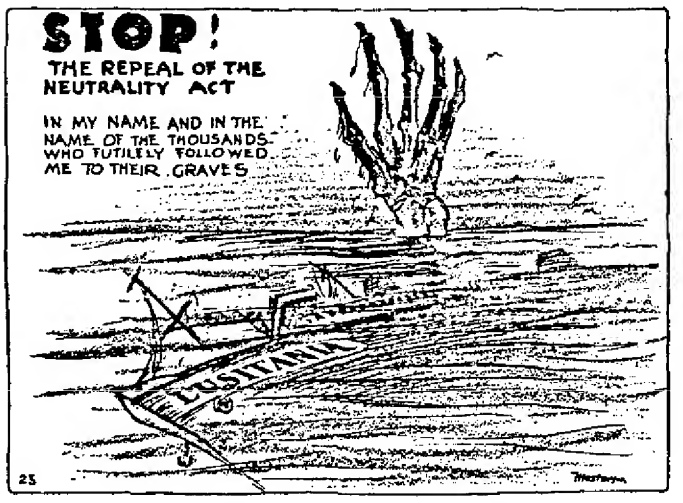
—Franklin D. Roosevelt, October 24, 1940

The Neutrality Act was a guarantee by Congress that we would not be drawn into another war. Its purpose was to eliminate the causes. Its purpose was to prevent a grim repetition of 1917.

In the period of 1935 to 1939 America was cool and collected. There was no pressure—no propaganda—for war. Congress carefully studied the history of 1914-1918. It held hearings which were complete and thorough—they were not limited to two days. And Congress learned what everybody now knows.

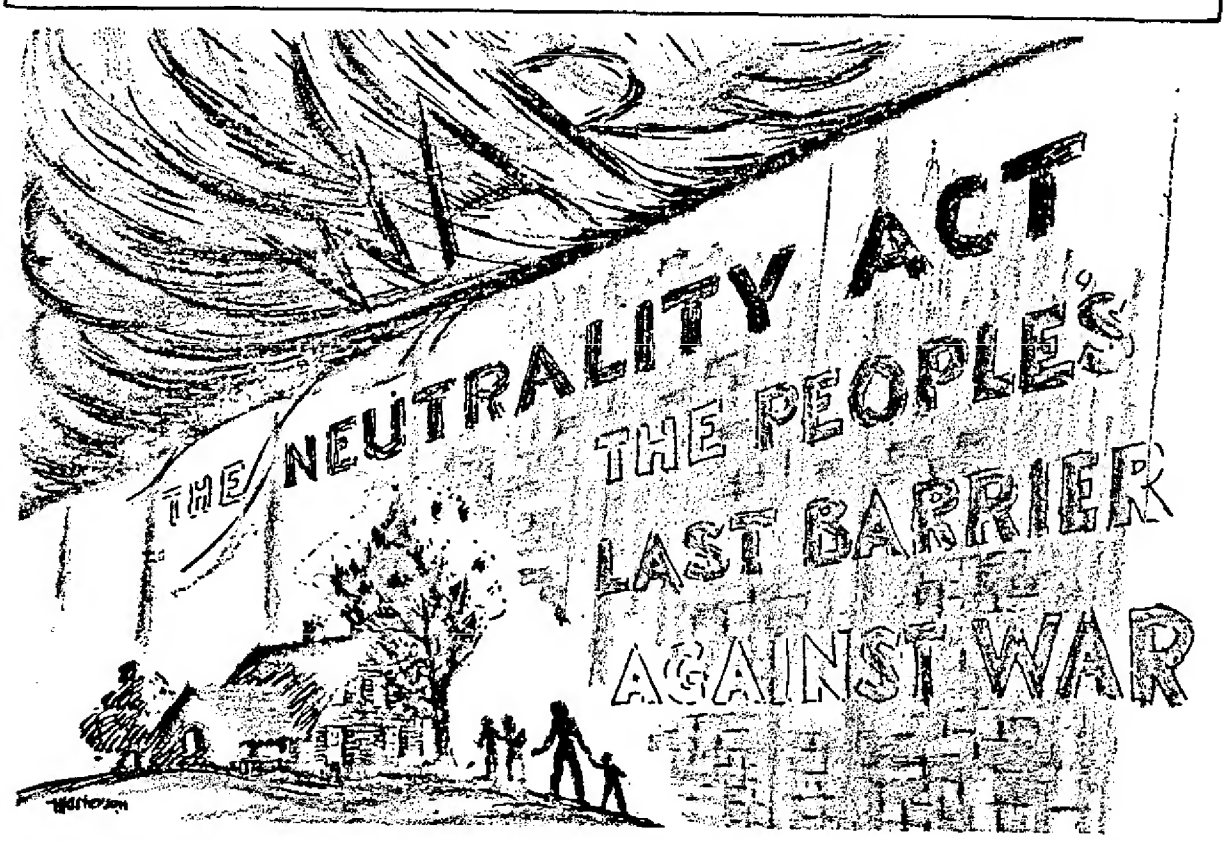
We would not have been drawn into the World War if we had had a Neutrality Act in 1917.

So Congress passed—and the President signed—a wise and prudent law—a law to prevent another series of tragic incidents which would cause a blind hysteria for war. Today that law keeps our ships away from certain destruction—away from the submarine-infested waters off the coast of Europe.



Congress knew then and knows now that ships which carry contraband of war to one belligerent are fair targets for the other. Those ships will be sunk. This is what the war party longingly looks forward to. The American people must give them their answer.

What Has the Neutrality Law Done?



"The adoption of these recommendations offered greater safeguards than we had before, to protect American lives and property from destruction, and in that way tended to avoid the incidents and controversies likely to draw us into the conflict, as they had done in the last World War."

—Franklin D. Roosevelt. October 4, 1941.

The Neutrality Law has accomplished its purpose. It has kept us out of war.

To date not one American ship has been sunk, not one American life lost, in the war zones.

Secretary of Navy Knox testified on **October 13, 1941:**

> "In this sense, it may be said with justification that the act has been successful—the United States has not gone to war over incidents."

Until we make those incidents possible we will not go to war. That is why the Neutrality Law is the people's last barrier. That is why the war party is trying so desperately to tear it down. That is why the people must insist:

No drowning of American seamen—no tampering with American lives—**no repeal of the People's no-war law.**

THERE ARE VARIOUS KINDS OF "INCIDENTS"

American merchant ships should not be confused with American war vessels. The United States Destroyers GREER and KEARNY were both engaged in "incidents" while in pursuit of German submarines.

The Greer, according to the official Navy Department report, pursued a submerged submarine for three hours, and cooperated with an English war plane which dropped four depth bombs on the submarine. Not until after this attack did the sub fire a torpedo across the Greer's wake. The Greer then dropped eight depth charges and the submarine thereupon fired another torpedo, which missed. These actual facts were not made public until long after the President's shoot-on-sight speech, which gave a different account of the incident.

The Secretary of the Navy has reported that the Kearny was engaged in convoy duty and had searched out and attacked a submarine. After the Kearny had dropped depth charges on the submarine, the sub fired three torpedoes.

The Destroyer REUBEN JAMES was also on convoy duty. These incidents did not occur in the war zones—but they indicate what we may properly expect if our armed merchant ships and naval vessels try to deliver contraband directly to belligerent ports. Such ships, of course, will be legitimate targets, according to international law.

Is Repeal Really Necessary?

"Losses by enemy action of British, Allied and neutral ships during the quarter of July, August and September have been only one-third of those losses during the quarter of April, May and June . . . Very few important ships carrying munitions have been lost on the way . . . Our reserves of food stand higher than at the outbreak of the war." *—Winston Churchill, House of Commons, October 1, 1941*

THE QUESTION THEY CANNOT ANSWER

Q. If the true purpose of repeal is to increase deliveries to England, why can't this be accomplished **immediately** by transferring American ships to England in accordance with the Lend-Lease Law?

A. It can, of course, but this won't produce the attacks on the **American Flag** which the war party so desperately needs. This question exposes the proposed repeal for the sham and hypocrisy that it is.

(See below amazing letter from Moore-McCormack Steamship Lines.[1])

The blunt truth is this—there is no practical need for repeal. The facts tell the story:

1. England has more shipping today than she had when the war began. In September, 1939, England had 21,000,000 tons, or 31% of the world's shipping. Today, despite losses, she has 25,767,000 tons, or 45% of the world's shipping.[2]

2. Shipping losses in the Atlantic have become almost negligible. See Churchill speech quoted above. Less than 4% of cargoes of all flags leaving our shores have failed to reach England—even last winter when the battle of the Atlantic was at its height.[3] England has just released forty of our tankers which she does not need.[4]

3. Our own ship yards and the ship yards of Great Britain are turning out new ships at an unprecedented rate that exceeds by many times the combined rate of losses.[5]

AUTHORITIES

1"From a strictly commercial point of view there is no reason at all why all of the goods carried to Great Britain cannot be carried under British registry, thus removing the dangers of an international incident as far as the United States is concerned, if one of these vessels should be sunk." Letter from Robert C. Lee, Executive Vice-President of the Moore-McCormack Steamship Lines, page 8186 of the Congressional Record, October 16, 1941.

2Washington Times Herald, October 5, 1941, citing U. S. Maritime Commission, British Shipping Mission, Lloyd's of London, British Press Service, American Bureau of Shipping. New York Times, September 28, 1941.

3Admiral Emory S. Land, Chairman, U. S. Maritime Commission, letter to Senator Vandenberg, Washington Star, May 7, 1941.

4Announcement by Secretary Ickes, October 23, 1941.

5*London Economist, November 23, 1940; testimony of Admiral* Land before the House Foreign Affairs Committee, September 26, 1941.

We Will Not Go to War While This Law Stands

"I believe that American vessels should, as far as possible, be restricted from entering the danger zones. . . . This means less likelihood of incidents and controversies which tend to draw us into the conflict as they did in the World War."

—Franklin D. Roosevelt, September 21, 1939

The President made the above recommendation in his message to the special session of Congress which approved the present Neutrality Law.

Congress recognized the wisdom of this measure, and loudest in their support were the men who shout for repeal now. What they said then, however, has been proven even truer today.

Read how their past utterances belie what they say today. Let their own words state the true case for retention of the Neutrality Law.

Senator Tom Connally (Texas) Chairman, Senate Foreign Relations Committee, October 14, 1939.

"Although under international law you have a right to go about your vocation and travel the high seas, as a domestic regulation we forbid you to do so at this time, in order, not alone to protect your lives, but to protect the lives of all the millions of Americans and help keep them out of this devastating and desolating war."

(This man's radio speech opened the drive for repeal.)

Senator Alben W. Barkley (Kentucky), Senate Majority Leader, October 19, 1939.

"The law which we are now proposing would have prevented these attacks upon property and lives (in 1916-17) because both property and lives would have been withheld from regions of danger resulting in their destruction or their attack upon them. The law we are proposing will keep American ships and American cargoes and American sailors and American travelers out of the regions of danger."

(This man leads the fight for repeal in the Senate.)

Senator Lister Hill (Alabama), October 25, 1939.

"What we want to do is to keep American ships out of the danger zones, so they will not be subject to seizure, or any interference or action by Britain or Germany or any other country."

Senator Josh Lee (Oklahoma), October 27, 1939.

"The purpose of this law is to prevent war; it is a preventive measure."

Senator Kenneth McKellar (Mississippi), October 20, 1939.

"I believe the safeguards in the joint resolution constitute many steps to keep us out of war."

(This is the man who introduced the first resolution calling for repeal.)

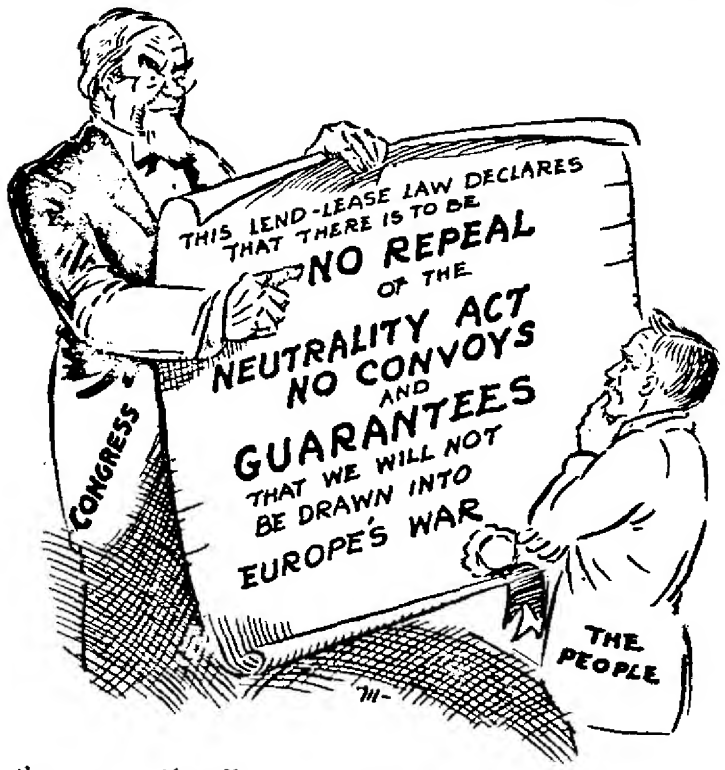
"Changing the Neutrality Act to send our ships to belligerent ports would mean war." —Senator George W. Norris (Nebraska), September 24, 1941.

"Let Us Be Consistent"—President Roosevelt

"Nothing in this Act shall be construed to authorize or to permit the authorization of the entry of any American vessel into a combat area in violation of Section 3 of the Neutrality Act of 1939."

—Lend-Lease Law, Section 3, Subsection 5 (e).

In his message to Congress of October 9, 1941, President Roosevelt said: "I earnestly trust that the Congress will carry out the true intent of the Lend-Lease Act. . . . In other words, I ask for Congressional action to implement Congressional policy. Let us be consistent."



The President says the Law means one thing; the provisions of the Law state the opposite.

The only way to be consistent with the policy of the Lend-Lease Law is to retain the Neutrality Act as it is.

The Lend-Lease Law was introduced, sponsored, and passed as a means of keeping America out of war. Secretary Stimson, Secretary Knox, Wendell Willkie and every member of the Senate who supported the Bill so stated for the Record.

So strongly did Congress feel that the Lend-Lease Law should keep us out of war—not take us in—that they specifically excluded from the Bill measures which might lead toward war.

They **reaffirmed** the Neutrality Act. They refused to allow convoys and they outlawed the suggestion that we "deliver the goods." In short the Lend-Lease Law says: Let England's great fleet come and get all the goods it needs —but keep our ships and our seamen out of the war zones.

•

"Let us be consistent." Let us "implement Congressional policy" by preserving the no-war Law now.

Congress Took No Chances

When Congress passed the Lend-Lease Law, they went to extraordinary limits to make sure that the Bill would not permit the fatal step of "delivering the goods." Every word in the Bill was analyzed and all possible insurance was taken.

For instance, the original bill authorized the President to "transfer" any defense article. In his testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, former Governor Landon cited Webster's Dictionary which defines the word "transfer" as follows: "to convey from one place to another; to transport, remove, to another place."

He pointed out that this word might possibly be interpreted as authority to deliver Lend-Lease material to England. This seems far fetched, perhaps, but the Senate was taking no chances—it went out of its way to amend the Bill to make it clear that transfer means only to transfer ownership of goods right here on the shores of the United States.

Repeal Means Convoys and Convoys Mean War

If we were to send our merchant ships into the English Channel, naturally we would want to protect them with our naval vessels —our convoys, as the President indicated in his Navy Day address. But to quote the President himself, — "Convoys mean shooting and shooting means war."

That is why the Lend-Lease Law provides: "Nothing in this Act shall be construed to authorize or to permit the authorization of convoying by naval vessels of the United States."—Section 3, Subsection 5 (e).

Notwithstanding this provision, the U. S. Destroyers Kearny and Reuben James were on convoy duty.

How America Will Win the Battle of Neutrality

Here's What You Must Do

Whatever you do, do it now. It is a matter of days or hours before Congress votes on the issue which will mean certain war. Act at once—whatever the sacrifice, whatever the effort. Do these things immediately:

1. **Write or telegraph your two Senators and Congressman today.** These men are faced with the most solemn decision of their lives. They know their vote means peace or war. They are waiting to hear from you. Sit down and write—at once. To hesitate is to lose by default.

2. **Make a telephone call today to your Congressman or Senator.** Call him person to person at National 3120. If he is not in his office, ask the operator to put the call through to the House or Senate Floor or to his home. **Let's make the wires hum.**

3. **Join the America First Committee.** If you are already a member, call at your local chapter and enlist in the fighting forces of the Neutrality Brigade.

4. **Send us your check today.** We are in urgent need of funds. Contribute all you can immediately. One dollar will carry this pamphlet to twenty others. Ten dollars will carry it to two hundred.

America First Committee
141 West Jackson Blvd.
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Sir:
I am a patriotic American who believes that we should build an impregnable defense and stay out of the European war. Please enroll me as a member of the America First Committee. I enclose $_____ to further our work.

NAME_____

ADDRESS_____

CITY_____ STATE_____

"By the Neutrality Act . . . we made it clear that ships flying the American flag could not carry munitions to a belligerent, and that they must stay out of the war zones. Was that right?"

—Franklin D. Roosevelt, October 24, 1940
(When running for re-election)

Write—Telegraph—Telephone, NOW.

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DATE 5/18/86 BY SP4 by Hay

New York City

October 28,1941.,

Mr.Walter Winchell

New York City,

Dear Sir:

[redacted]-I feel that I can divulge some information supplied by one of those who thinks "Hitler the greatest man born since Christ."

There is a wealthy man's estate in Danbury Conn., that has a complete arsenal,which is to be used by those America-First-Bund members, for fiot and revolutionary purposes here in N.Y. in the event this country declares war.

This information is authentic and do hope you will not disregard it;so many are plotting for our over throw, that as a 100% American, I can't help but feel, these so called German-American citizens should be investigated.

May I take this means of commending your staunch stand for Real Americanism.

Signed.Purely American.

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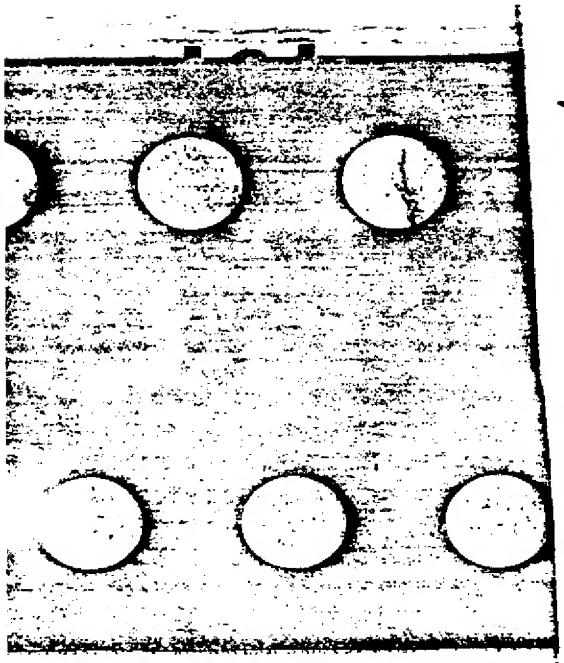

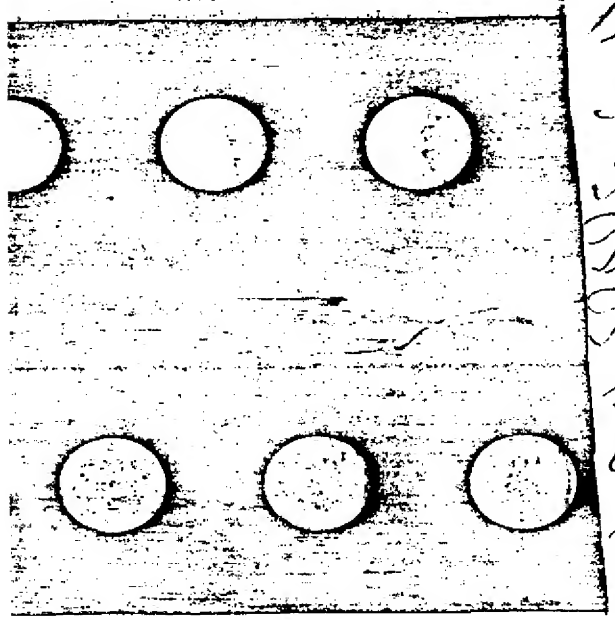

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
8 NOV 24 1941
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

b7C

ANONYMOUS COMMUNICATION
ENVELOPE ATTACHED

Sirs :

Don't You

The time is ripe for this

Nazi - paid Lindbergh - Nye - John L. Lewis

and all others, who belong to the

Klevenden - set ? They want to

bring about a revolution and

set up their regime. Hamilton

Fish, George Hill, W. Reynolds

Henry Ford, J. W. Cameron,

Tinkham, Tarleton, Brooks, Rankin

Taft, Rush Holt, Holman, Schaefer

G. Sylvester Viereck, Pelley, Winrod

Coughlin of Royal Oaks Mich. they

are ready to misrule America!

Wake up America!

ENCL

SR-10

Department of Justice
Washington, D.C.

NEW YORK N.Y.
NOV 5 5-PM
1941

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Oklahoma:

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Nov. 4 (AP).—
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SUNDAY NEWS, NOVEMBER 23, 1941

'STORM AHEAD, DIG IN,' WARNS 'ALFALFA BILL'

Oklahoma City, Nov. 22 (AP).—William H. (Alfalfa Bill) Murray adgises city dwellers to get three acres in the country and a storm cellar—there's inflation ahead "and that means dictatorship."

Thus spoke Oklahoma's former Governor as he turned his 72d year, still vigorous, still critical of the New Deal he has fought so long.

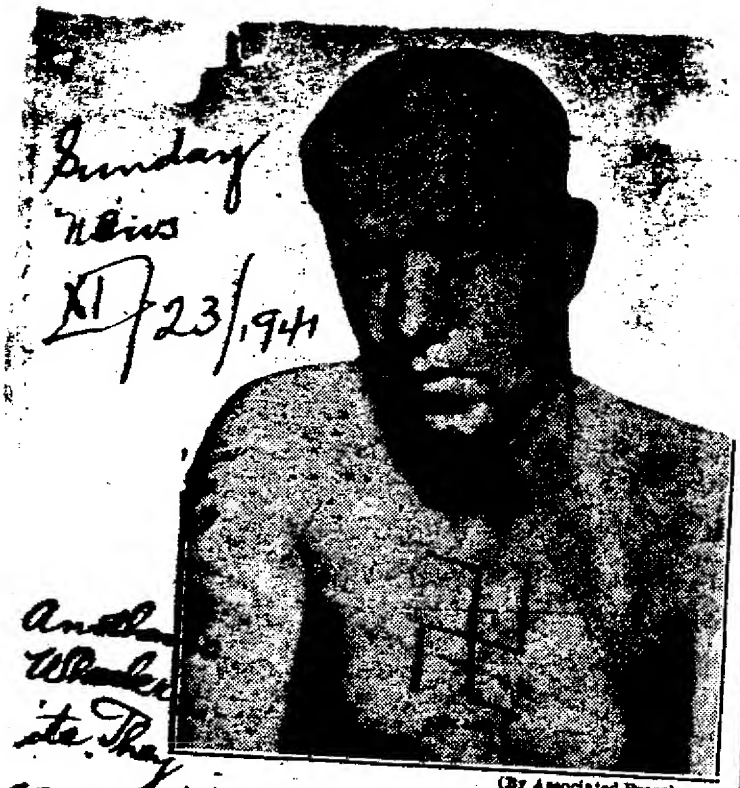
Murray, a Democrat, told an interviewer:

"Now, if I were a city dweller I'd get about three acres somewhere out in the country, away from a main highway. I'd have a cellar and I'd begin to can vegetables and fruit.

"I'd get all the specie I could. Paper money won't be worth anything.

"I'd put those canned vegetables in a hole in the ground, bury them, so I'd have something to eat when the trouble comes."

Down in the southeastern Oklahoma mountains, Murray has a farm on Yashau Creek, and when and if the storm gathers that's where he will be. He thinks he'll be using his cellar in four or five years.



(By Associated Press)

MARKED. Picked up in Gulfport, Miss., and charged with violating the Selective Service Act, Odell Dowdy was found to have this device tattoed on his chest. Note that the swastika is reversed. Dowdy says he is a German citizen, though born in the U. S.

Washington Merry-Go-Round

By DREW PEARSON and ROBERT S. ALLEN

(The authors of the columns in this space below are given the widest latitude. Their viewpoints do not necessarily always reflect those of the Sunday Mirror.)

WASHINGTON.—Averell Harriman's confidential report on Russian requests for aid was far different from British requests after Dunkirk. Russian orders seemed a mere driblet.

In the Lowlands debacle the British lost practically all their armored equipment and most of their field artillery. The Russians lost tremendous quantities of material, but from their relatively modest requests they must have a lot left.

One of the chief things they want is 75 and 105 mm. guns, which we can supply. Figures are a military secret, but these cannon are rolling off in quantity. The Russians asked for machine guns, which also we can furnish in large numbers, since production is high.

One big, pleasant surprise to Harriman was that the Russians do not need machine tools, at least now. The U. S. and Britain have few tools to spare.

NOTE: U. S. experts consider lack of coordination between the three Russian armies one principal reason for the break-through against Moscow. Despite a shift of Russian generals, doubt remains about coordinating the armies under one command.

Wrong Orchid

GOP House Floor Leader Joe Martin had difficulty understanding Argentine Deputies in their visit, but didn't need an interpreter to decipher one statement.

An Argentine legislator said: "You have a great country and a great President—si. Also a great party. The Democrats have done wonders for the United States."

The Congressman had no idea he was talking to the Republican National Chairman. Martin, always the gentleman, nodded and appeared to agree. Later, Martin laughingly admitted: "It was the only thing I clearly understood in the entire talk."

Biggest U. S. Tank

THE giant new 60-ton U. S. tank is completed, but may never see service. This tank is so enormous that, like the gigantic B-19 bomber, it may be the latest white elephant of national defense.

Built in Eddystone, Pa., by Baldwin Locomotive Works, it is being sent to the Aberdeen, Md., Proving Grounds. Though less than 100 miles, the tank cannot make the run on its own power; highway bridges are not strong enough to hold it, so it has to be loaded on a special flat car.

Critics ask: "What good is a tank so big it can't get around?" It cost $500,000 to build this single armored Behemoth.

Nazi Sabotage

THE man to watch in Europe—next to Hitler—is a slick diplomat in Turkey, Franz von Papen. It is significant when Hitler sends Von Papen to a country. It means he has designs on that area.

Von Papen went to Austria as Ambassador to soften it for Nazi occupation. Von Papen, 26 years ago, tried the same thing here. Now, with weather cold in Russia and Hitler running low on oil, a Nazi squeeze on Turkey becomes almost inevitable. And, Von Papen has been working overtime there.

Von Papen's operations here indicate the lengths to which he may go in Turkey. In 1915 he was military attache in Washington when Count von Bernstorff returned from England with a satchel containing $150,000,000 in German money. Von Papen, in Mexico City, hurried North and began organizing a network of spies.

Invasion via Canada

Selecting his agents carefully, he laid these plans:

1. To invade Canada through British Columbia with aid of German warships and German reservists. Von Bernstorff said no.

2. To blow up the Welland Canal. This likewise was abandoned, as the Canal was well guarded.

3. To blow up Canadian railroads and to prevent transportation of Japanese troops through Canada. (The Japs were Allies.)

4. To blow up the International Bridge at Vanceboro, Maine. This was accomplished.

Von Papen was so busy and unscrupulous, he over-reached himself and Wilson demanded his recall. When he reached home, he and Bernstorff were awarded decorations and promoted.

Von Papen became chancellor of Germany and finagled conspiracies which brought Hitler to power.

Wheeler's Pals

AS chairman of the Interstate Commerce committee, Senator Wheeler wields a cudgel over every radio station; also over the Federal Communications Commission, which regulates them. And he has not hesitated to use this power.

When a Philadelphia station allegedly refused to broadcast a Lindbergh speech, Wheeler let out a roar. But when three Montana stations, owned by several of his political henchmen, barred Walter Winchell and other commentators, Sen. Wheeler refused to lift a voice or a finger.

Now his Montana radio pals are laying groundwork for a super-powered station giving them dominance of Montana ether waves.

Front man of the plan is Ed Craney, general manager of Station KGIR, Butte, one of three that banned anti-isolationist commentators. Craney is a political intimate of Wheeler; also has as radio partner Wheeler's former secretary, Barclay Craighead. Craney applied to the FCC to increase KGIR's power from 5,000 to the maximum of 50,000 kw.

If that is granted, KGIR, in isolated Montana, would become one of our most powerful stations.

Craney and Craighead apparently are so confident they purchased new equipment. This came to light when some of the equipment, stored in a barn, was stolen, later recovered by the sheriff.

This is a great help to Hitler & Co.,

Defense Sparks

TO A British production expert who just completed a survey of U. S. defense plants, OPM boss William Knudsen said, "What impressed you least"...Results of Army's quiet shakeup: 15 generals bounced or shifted, more than 130 colonels slated for the axe.

(Copyright, 1941, by United Feature Syn.)

November 24, 1941

JEH:JRC
TIME: 12:37 PM

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. TOLSON
MR. TAMM

At this time I called Mr. L. M. C. Smith and advised him that I had had word from New York that [redacted] would be unable to meet with us this afternoon, and that [redacted] would like to arrange to see us Wednesday afternoon. b7D

Mr. Smith stated he might be appearing before a hearing on the Foreign Agents Act at that time; but he would be in New York tomorrow and could see [redacted] anytime. b7D

I told Mr. Smith I would contact Mr. Foxworth to arrange this appointment, and that I would call him, Mr. Smith, later today.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Madden
Miss Gandy

SENT FROM D. O.
TIME 4:15 PM
DATE 11-24

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
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U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

November 22, 1941

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 5/8/86 BY SP-6 bjg/kg

JEH:WM
TIME: 9:52 AM.

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. TOLSON
MR. TAMM

At this time I called Mr. L. M. C. Smith and advised him that I had contacted [redacted] who b7C
indicated he would be glad to come to Washington for an appointment with Mr. Smith and myself at 10:00AM on Monday, November 24th. However, I told Mr. Smith that since he expected to be in New York on Tuesday it would probably be more convenient for everyone concerned if the appointment were made in New York for Tuesday. Mr. Smith said that an appointment before 10:00 AM or after 5:00 PM would be most agreeable to him. I told him I would try to arrange this appointment.

TIME: 9:56 AM.

I called Mr. Foxworth at New York and asked him to try to make an appointment with [redacted] for Mr. Smith at b7C
the New York Office, the time to be about 9:00 or 9:15 AM, Tuesday. I told Mr. Foxworth I would like him to act as my representative; that if the Tuesday appointment was not convenient, we would stick to the Monday appointment.

TIME: 10:57 AM.

Mr. Foxworth called to advise that [redacted] was b7C
out of his office and it was not known where he could be reached; that as soon as he could be contacted, an attempt to arrange the Tuesday appointment would be made.

TIME 3:19 PM
DATE 11-22-41
BY

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carlson
Mr. Crayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

TIME: 12:50 PM.

(2:19 PM) Mr. Foxworth called again and advised that he had contacted [redacted] that he very much preferred to come b7C
to Washington and talk to me on Monday at 2:30PM. Mr. Foxworth said that [redacted] told him he felt that he just could not proceed until he had talked to me. I told Mr. Foxworth to confirm the appointment.

RECORDED
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TIME: 12:53 PM.

I called Mr. Smith and told him I had contacted [redacted] b7C
and found he could not be available on Tuesday; that he would be at my office at 2:30 PM on Monday and I would like Mr. Smith to be here at that time. Mr. Smith said this would be

entirely agreeable to him and he would be at my office at the appointed time.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. E. A. Tamm _____
Mr. Clegg _____
Mr. Foxworth _____
Mr. Glavin _____
Mr. Ladd _____
Mr. Nichols _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Carson _____
Mr. Drayton _____
Mr. Quinn Tamm _____
Mr. Hendon _____
Mr. Tracy _____
Miss Gandy _____

[redacted] b7C

Nov. 21st, 1941.

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tam
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Hollo
Mr. Nea
Miss Gan
Mrs.

Hon. J. E. Hoover.
Dep't of Justice.
Washington. D. C.

[redacted] b7C

My Dear Mr Hoover;-

As a loyal and devoted American Citizen, with the sole interest and welfare of our country at heart, I am writing in order to request an investigation of the "America Foist" Committee with Lindbergh as its head and the other affiliated officers of this Nazi Organization, of which we have Gen. Woods, J. F. Flynn etc. Whonis behind this un-American Organization? where does it derive its funds? who is preaching its damnable un-American principle of rabid anti-Semitism? racial and religious hatred and discrimination, thereby playing their Fuehrers(Hitler)theories of dividing our country and ruling from within.

Hitler and his Nazi stooges and Gauleiters here have boasted when they are ready they will take over our country without any bloodshed, and if necessary our streets will flow with blood if their will and demands are opposed, that he already has 10.000.000 S. S. men agents and Quislings here who will do his bidding and if necessary he will build this army up to 25.000.000 of his 5th columnists, spies,underlings. treasonists, betrayers, and traitors. The actions of the Nyes. Lindberghs. Clarks, Johnsons, Wheelers, Woods, Flynns, Days, Danahers, Sheas, Van Nuys, Hoffmans, Vorys, Sweeneys, Fishes, Willis's,etc, are Hitler's answer. Here are the men doing Hitler's bidding.

Former Ambassador JosephKennedy. to Great Britaih and John Cudahy, former Ambassador to Belgium, both devout adherants to the Pope, and its Irish Roman Catholicism, are creating great unrest here with their anti-British. pro-Nazi propaganda speeches and others Associations connected with the "America Foist" Committee and affiliatied "Firstapo"Crganizations. They are hampering our country at every turn, and creating ill will between Britishers and ourselves with their despicable anti-British propaganda and speeches, and sinister, ulterior, active subversivism, they belittle our own and Britain's efforts and gloats in the highest terms of Nazi efficiency and power and impossibility of losing the war, or being defeated.

RECORDED INDEXED

100-4112-218

It is such punks that kill and destroy the morale of our masses, the Army, Navy, Aifforce and draftees, and our entire country. as well as placing doubts in the minds of the Latin American Republics. the most vociferous and venomous speaker of the "Foist" [redacted] another Foine Irishman, John T. Flynn, Chairman of the"America Firstapo" and John J.Tohaney, another of his ilk, director of the California division of the "America Be Damned" branch. b7C

Cudahy, who as an ambassador is an A. I meat packer. demands that we knuckle down and cravenly humiliate ourselves by pacifying and appeasing Hitler and Japan and seek peace at any price, and suggests Fascist treacherous Vichy France, as an Ally with Britain and the U. S. to put this through. the same France which delightedly enjoyed being so inhumanly enslaved,and who is so extraordinarily happy at remaing so and is gratified to do its master's (Hitler's) bidding.

Meanwhile America's chief rat, the arch snake and copper head,the poisonous Cobra, within our midst, the Hitler Fuehrer standing

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 5/18/82 BY SP6 Sp4/dgy

by for orders when [illegible] take over our country, at HITLER'S bidding. The great inflated Lindbergh refers to and calls our President a dictator as well as his reference to our Administration as resorting to subterfuge, lies, and distortion of the truth.

While the whites are being killed, slashed and robbed in Harlem and other parts of our City and country by negroes, who have run out beyond all control, with even our police afraid to enter these districts and unable to cope with the situation, this punk Lindbergh, speaking at "America Foist" rallies, is heavily guarded and protected by police who are there to protect and preserve his worthless life, and yet these police are unable to cope with the colored crime wave here, yet with mobs of people inside of Madison Square Garden, and more than 12.000 overflow, listeners, crowded throughout the streets, tying up traffic, all anxious to hear this lousy traitor and betrayer of our country speak, he was supported by his fellow louses, Gerald F. Nye, Burton K. Wheeler, John J. Flynn, etal,

Lindberghs speech was the most vitriolic and vicious we have ever heard, he called upon all the people to unite behind his demands, Cudahy managed to be there and throw his three cents worth of idiocy in, J. T. Flynn, was as vicious as the American Fuehrer, Lindbergh, in his remarks and suggested the washed out washwoman, Herb. Hoover, be put "to work" on a plan for peace and feeding Europe so Hitler's army can obtain this food to give them sufficient stamina and carry on this murderous war until doomsday, Poor Herbie, hasn't he made any profits since he was last named food administrator to Belgium during the last war? why does this old sow continue to poke his unwanted mug into the internal and integral affairs of our country? he is a has-been, and the masses are sick of him, We still remember President Depression Hoover, we have been unable to get out of it since.

Why hasn't our government made an investigation of the sinister activities behind Lindbergh, Flynn, Kennedy, Cudahy, Nye, Wheeler, the Clarks, Fish, Tobey Johnsons, Day, Sweeney, Dahaher etal.? of their ilk, if appears as if the Irish have seized control of our country with the support of their Vatican and Romen Catholic Church, they are undermining our country and are intent on keeping us helpless and defenseless and easy pickings for the sadistic Hitler hordes of 5th column experts and vermin within our midst.

Wheeler, Lindbergh and Nye, ought to be in Germany and in German uniforms because they are winning more battles and victories for Germany than the Nazi Generals themselves, with Wheeler, Nye and Fish placing all the conquered countries on Germany's side.

Any one who read "Mein Kampf must see that our destruction or subjugation at least, is on Hitlerls time table, and John L. Lewis, the American defi and dictator, having gained full control of our government and its institutions, so it would seem, has been continually tying up our defense program, with strikes and walkouts and threats of further violence in evert State, City and town in our country, and his daughter, elephantine Katherine is an American Firstapo, has been placed in a job paying $7500 by her American Dictator father John, as his secretary, another son-in-law also has been placed at the same salary and his brother Denny the gangster and thug has been placed as head of one of the Unions at $10.000 annually, With John L.'s salaery of $25.000 as President the family is drawing down almost $50.000 or more of the Unions funds of which the members are taxed and charged initiation fees, and other charges to support this damnable racket, God knowswhat other monies and funds this man and his family, relatives and inlaws have been drawing down and hiding. he is exploiting the great mass of members of his unionsto threaten and force his

will on the government and people, and we see wondering when he is going to unionize our Army, Navy and Airforces and the Draftees Union. It is no joke to see these vicious isolationist, obstructionist, oppositionist, and Hitler stooges sitting in our House of Representatives yelling their heads off that Lewis is seriously hampering and hurting our defense, since when have these treasonable vermin become interested in our defense? they have continually aided and abetted the obstructionists in throwing monkey wrenches into the safety of America.

Who were the delagation of 250 or more women representing "America Foist" from Brooklyn, Queens, New Jersey, New York and Connecticut who took a special train to Washington to deliver 12 letters protesting the Administration foreign policy, one to our President, one for Chairman Tom. Connolly of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and one eachfor New Yorks two Senators and Brooklyns 8 representatives, they were profusely welcome by Hitler's most loyal stooge and adherant, the Great Nye, but luckily only found two of their representatives with this delagation, on leaving it yelled it had been high hatted and that Senator Nye, the Great American Fuehrer, was the only understanding gentleman, We know of the mass of Nazi's populating New Jersey, and Queens and parts of New York and Brooklyn, Who were these women? those hundreds picketing the White House against our Administration's policies? in conjunction with this mass delegation, were they the wives, sisters, daughters, Nieces, aunts, mothers, in-laws, stepdaughters and half sisters, and sweethearts and girl friends, grandmothers, and other relatives of the Fascist-Bundist "American Foisters" or "Lasters" coughlinites, Pelleyites, Fronters, Mobolizers, Solver Shirts, jew-baiters, and our own Senatorial and Congressional isolationists, appeasers, obstructionists, and oppositionists? the pro Nazi-Fascist, anti-British, anti-Semitic, un-American misrepresentatives? or were they the Irish Roman Catholic rabble backed by the Church to create disturbances and hamper our defense program because Mussolini has been winning so many colossal victories, at the hands of his most indomitable, intrepid, indefatigable, gallant and heroic tin soldiers and the great part his paper mache fleet has played in the Mediterranean, with the destruction of the British fleet and Empire and the return of Mare Nostrum to the great Roman Empi

What really lies behind the activities of the Dies Committee? and its new charges? what are they worth? of what further use is the Dies Committee? it has constantly picked only on Communism, yet has continually protected the Nazi-Fascist group in our Country, and appears to be a concentrated effort by Dies himself to embarrass the Administration. One Jay T. Tiffany, of the "America Last" Committee boasts that it has a membership of 15.000.000, I am one who would very much like to know why such assertions are sent to press and published therein, many articles of late have been signed Jay T. Tiffany it is so obviously a rotten piece of 5th column propagabda, titled "Obsessi Defended as typical for most Christians" it is this sort of damnable lie the Nazi's have made as part of their technique, "The bigger the lie, the more easily people will swallow it", First there ar no 15.000.000 members of the "America First" Committee, if there were? how would this Jay F. Tiffany know whether any of them were Jews or not? did this punk meet them all? the fact remains that there were many Jews in the Organization like Rosenwald etc, until this despicable arch traitor and betrayer of our country, Lindbergh, and other officials by their vicious hatred and anti-Semitic platforms forced them out, this Tiffany forgets, too, when Herr Lindberghs son was murdered by Herr Hauptmann, he aroused the whole country to fever pitch to get the murder and execute him, but when other people are being cold-bloodedly butchered and slaughtered and maimed as wellas their children, mothers, sisters, father etc, we are supposed to do nothing about it, especially when the perils close nearer our own shores each day, all because the Gauleiter Hindbergh plans on being a big shot and Hitler's first American Fuehrer, who in hell gave this ignorant dumb headed Swede the authority to dictate policies in our Country?

This overrated gan ng angling lout with absc ely no military experience, was this Hitle stooge voted in by the pe ple? or is he just forcing himself in like the common low life sadistic dictator he is imitating?

Senator Josh Lee ofOkla, hit the nail squarely on the head when he called Wheeler a Quisling, no truer word was ever said, glory be to Lee.

We are still at some loss to understand accurately why and what arethe motivating human factors behind the vicious isolationist sentiment which is creating so much discord , dissontent and disunity in the United States, what percentage of these phonies is patriotically sincere? what great proportion of this is hired by the enemy? and the Axis collaborators? what great perwentage is so sympathetically inclined to all Nazi-Fascist movements?How much of it is anti-British? anti-Semitic? anti-Roosevelt? un-American and political minded by ambition et? what is behind this isolationist, oppositionists, obstructionist setup behind this one opaque lineup? Hitler is your answer.

This punk Lindbergh has always held himself in such inflated and holy aloftness from his fellow countrymen that itis surprising that he has gained such a sudden knowledge of what American Jews are doing and have done. His vast military knowledge of world wide affairs, of which he boasts, since when has he become such a famous general and authority on military and naval movements?

He and his "America Foist" Committee has refused information about its source of funds, or the size of contributions, and I hope that the recent special Congressional election will cause the Wisconsin branch and others o this famous phony Nazi Committee to open its books, and State Attorney Gen. J. E. Martin has announced his intentions to order an official report on expenditures in this suspicious and peculiar contest. The "America Lasters" took an active part in the campaign for Lawrence H. Smith, the successful Republican, who ran as an isolationist, and Wisconsin law requires an orga ization participating in campaigns to file detailed expense accounts. I am hoping they will be able to smoke out these America Firstapo rats,

Lindbergh and his "Firsters" introduced a technique of terror against the Jews into his vicious and damnable anti-Semitic speech in Des Moines, Iowa, a speech of this threat of terror held over the heads of the Jews implies a threat of wholesale murder, Will our Government let thid maniacal inflated punk get away with it? the lone eagle has turned into a little cuckoo, taking orders from the Satanic black eagle of Germany. he has become a green feathered parrot, imitating his masters voice. another of this ilk, Gen. Rob E. Wood of Chicago, is a disgrace to our army and uniform; and as Chairman of the Firsters Committee, he accuses Pres. Roosevelt of urging us into war who has purposely sent American ships into war zones where incidents are in evitable, and who willm radio messages to our people to whip up fears and hatreds to urge them still closer to war. How can there be unity when propaganda makers of the Lindbergh, Wheeler, Nye, Clarks et ilk point a finger of hatred and suspision at 5.000.000 loyal, law abiding American Jews? The America Foisters, have certainly overstepped their bounds when they pas out un-American literature to our own American soldiers, and military force destroying the morale of our draftees and creating uncertainty as to why they were called, and a good slogan for our country would be "Nip Nye, Wheel and Lindy now" it would be a fitting tribute to these budding Fascists

How can our country expect the morale of our Army, Navy and Airforce to b high and strong units of our government when we have our own Senators inves igating anti-Nazi propaganda in our country, when our struggle is against

Hitler's idealogy and all it stands for, On what basis does our Government expect our South American Republic neighbors to stamp out Nazism and Fascism in their countries when many of our own so called Senators and Congressmen clogg with other influential elements in high offices, in our Gov't, are waging Hitler's own propegahda war?

Louis Taber, a prominent member of the America First Committee has threatened to resign as he claims he made a sad misteke by becoming a member. He disagrees fully with this organizations stand against Britain and critical of the Committees failure to repudiate Lindberghs venomous anti-Semitism and racial policy.

Dr. W. H. Feldman of the Mayo Foundation, Rochester, Minn, recently wrote Hitler's stooge, Senator Nye, asking by what authority he had to mail out vicious Nazi propaganda at taxpayers expense. the loyal Hitler stooge, replied "he could obtain this information from the Post Office Department. The Taxpayers are not aware that they are being tapped for for $6000 to Frank out a speech of ex-Pres. Herb. Hoover, the has-been, urging shipments of food to Nazi occupied Europe, Herb. evidently feels that the Nazi's will not have enough food to carry them through the war and as a great humanitarian as far as his pocketbook is concerned, he insists that they be fed so that they can gain their much needed victory over the democracies, Hoover's generous frahking benefactor- at taxpayers expense-isNebraska's rookie isolationist, Sen. Hugh a Butler, On Oct. 20th, this Butler inserted Hoovers radio address in the Congressional Record, which opened the way for large quantity reprints by the Government Printing Office,-at cost-and as was to be expected, a few days later, this rookie of Hitler's ordered 300.000 copies. The charge was some $900. which rookie Butler paid in advance,, and when asked whether he or humanitarian Herb Hoover put up the money, Butler stated he paid for this out of his own pocket.

According to one Printing Office official, Butler paid the $900 in cureen which is a most unusual proceedure, since members of Congress customarily pa receipt receipt of bills by check, after receipt of bill. Another official later stated that Butler paid "either by cash or check".

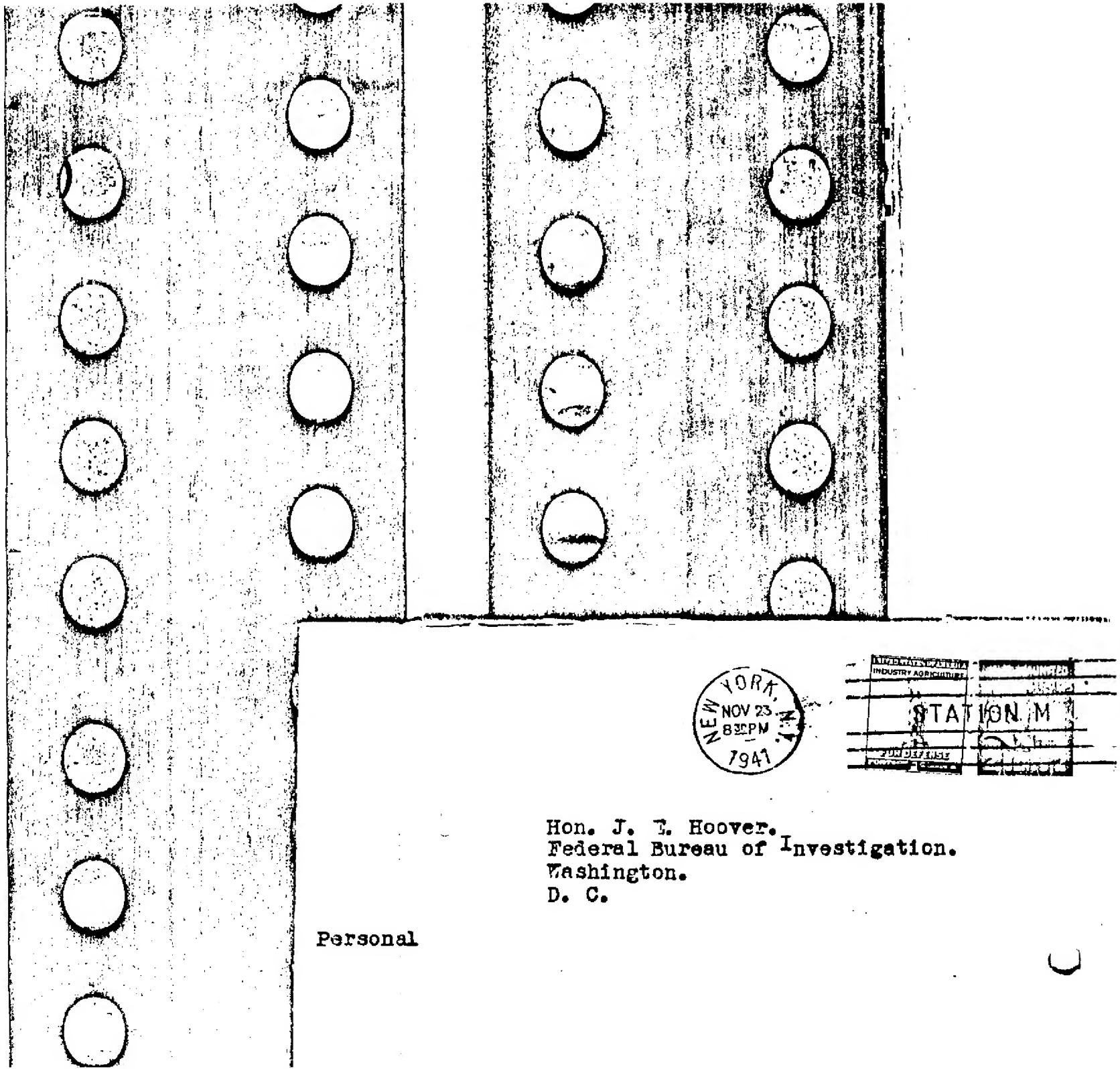
The 300.000 reprints have been mailed out all over the country by the Senate Folding Room, at a cost estimated by the Post Office of $5.640 to taxpayers, but they will also fork over $417 for the franked envelopes, furnish the emancipator, Hoover, via rookie Butler, free, will these stooges of Hitler be permitted to get away with this?

Senator Nye, Hitler's best bet here, enjoys nothing more than inserting into the Congressional Record, anything that is written about his enemies..And so, here is the Governments opportunity to rub his nose into his own dung.The Bismarck Capital, a newspaper published in the North Dakota capital, on Sep 30th, 1941, front-paged the following;- "The lecture fee Senator Gerald P. Nye, received for addressing the annual dinner of the Hitler Steuben Society at the Biltmore Hotel, N. Y. is not the first money mercenary Nye has receiv from this great Nazi Organization, IT also contributed to his cempaign for re election in 1938. Donations came from branches outsiden-North Dakota--They came from Detroit, Hempstead, N. Y. and Union City, N. J. well known Nazi strongholds, The Steuben Society was sufficiently interested in Nye's re-election and political career to assist him financially even before the war started". Federal Grand Jury investigating the use of Nazi funds, will please t heed.

Very truly yours,

[redacted]

b7



NEW YORK, N.Y. NOV 23 8:30PM 1941

STATION M

Hon. J. E. Hoover.
Federal Bureau of Investigation.
Washington.
D. C.

Personal

5:31 PM November 21, 1941

JEH:JM

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. TOLSON
MR. TAMM

I called the Attorney General in response to his earlier request. He advised me that [redacted] b7C because they were afraid that there might be an action for libel. Mr. Biddle pointed out that [redacted] formerly connected with [redacted] b7D According to the Attorney General, [redacted] is working with the [redacted] and his home telephone number is [redacted]

Mr. Biddle advised me that [redacted] told him that there is very little evidence of any money in the matter but that there is a good deal of evidence of interlocking management which might be the basis of registering under the Registration Act. Mr. Biddle suggested to [redacted] that it might be advisable for someone in the Department to talk to [redacted] Mr. Biddle advised me that he personally knows [redacted] and that he is a very decent person. b7C b7D

The Attorney General requested that Mr. L. M. Smith of the Department and I make arrangements to see [redacted] Mr. Biddle asked me to call [redacted] to see if he would be willing to come to Washington for an interview. Mr. Biddle also asked that I contact Mr. Smith and advise him of the situation. I told him that I would call both of them immediately. b7D

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Mendon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 5-8-86 BY SP6 bja/tcy

100-4712-219

5:37 PM

November 21, 1941

JEH:JM

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. TOLSON
MR. TAMM

At the request of the Attorney General, I called Mr. L. M. C. Smith of the Department. I advised him that the Attorney General was very interested in the America First matter and that as a consequence the Attorney General earlier today asked me to contact [redacted] to determine what information they have [redacted] relative to the America First Committee. I told Mr. Smith that this action was initiated and in the meantime the Attorney General discovered that [redacted] was [redacted] I further advised Mr. Smith that the Attorney General requested that I contact [redacted] to ask him if he would be willing to come to Washington to discuss the matter with Smith and myself. b7D

I also informed Mr. Smith that [redacted] of the America First Committee and contains information as to their financial resources. I advised him the Attorney General has received a request from the President suggesting a Grand Jury proceeding into their activities to determine where they are obtaining their money. b7D

I told Mr. Smith that I would advise him of the results of my conversation with [redacted] as to whether or not he is willing to come to Washington to be interviewed. In this connection, Mr. Smith pointed out that he will be in New York on Tuesday of the coming week and in the event [redacted] is reluctant to come to Washington he will be very glad to interview [redacted] at that time if I would designate one of the FBI men in New York to represent me. b7C

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tran
Mr. Baugh

100-4712-22

ENCLOSURE CONTAINED
NOT RECORDED
5/6/06 SP6 bjalley

JLP:ECS

November 22, 1941

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

In compliance with your instruction for me to [redacted] b7D
arrange for an interview with [redacted] who
is reported to be [redacted]
[redacted] of the America First Committee, I have arranged b7D
for [redacted] to meet with Mr. L. M. C. Smith and
me at 2:30 p.m. on Monday, November 24th, at my office.
I will of course report to you promptly the result of b7D
the interview with [redacted]

Respectfully

John Edgar Hoover
Director

[redacted]
DATE 5/8/86 BY 326 bja/tcg

3 SEP FBI

100-4712-221

1 NOV 28

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Clegg
Foxworth
Glavin
Ladd
Nichols

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXX

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

3 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

☑ Deleted under exemption(s) b7C b7D with no segregable material available for release to you.

☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.

☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.

☐ Documents originated with another Government agency(ies). These documents were referred to that agency(ies) for review and direct response to you.

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X FOR THIS PAGE X
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4-750 (Rev. 4-17-85)

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
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X NO DUPLICATION FEE X
X FOR THIS PAGE X
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XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXX

FBI/DOJ

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER
DIRECTOR

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Harbo
Tele. Room
Tour Room
Mr. Nease
Mr. Tracy
Miss Beahm
Miss Gandy

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

DAF:DLK November 7, 1941

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. R. P. [redacted]

Re: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

Information has been received from an unknown source dated October 14, 1941, that a large number of new recruits to the National Committee had been secured and that a great many other groups are doing everything they possibly can to support the activities of America First. These groups are listed as follows:

Christian Front
Christian Mobilizers
American Destiny Party
Paul Revere's Sentinals
A.V.I.F.
German-American Bund
Women Determined
National Workers League, Detroit, Michigan
Ku Klux Klan
Committee of One Million
G. Allison Phelps Group, Los Angeles, California
Pelly's Silver Shirts

Information was also received from the same source that a new women's organization, namely, Women Determined, is nothing more than a subsidiary of the America First Committee, although they have denied any affiliation. Mrs. Rose DeLuca, who is one of the America First leaders is also the leader of Women Determined.

Respectfully,

[redacted]
D. A. Flinn

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 5/18/82 BY [redacted]

100-4712-22
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
10 NOV 14 1941
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FIVE

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER
DIRECTOR

eral Bureau of Investigati
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

GCB:ef

November 5, 1941

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Harbo
Tele. Room
Tour Room
Mr. Keane
Mr. Tracy
Miss Beahm
Miss Kramer

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. LADD

On the above dat[redacted] called to furnish the following information which he said was dated November 1st but had just come to his attention.

[redacted] and General Wood of the America First Committee attended a meeting yesterday (November 4th) at an unknown Naval Officer's home at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and left immediately for Washington, D. C., where they are to contact a [redacted] of C.P.M. some time today, November 5, 1941."

Respectfully,

G. C. Burton

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 3/9/82 BY SP6 Bja/kmy

CH-25

RECEIVED
RECORDED
INDEXED

100-47-2-224

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
10 NOV 25 1941
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

NOV 13 ANSD

CONFIDENTIAL

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. E. A. Tamm	
Mr. Clegg	
Mr. Glavin	
Mr. Ladd	
Mr. Nichols	
Mr. Tracy	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Carson	
Mr. Coffey	
Mr. Hendon	
Mr. Holloman	
Mr. Quinn Tamm	
Mr. Nease	
Miss Gandy	
Files	

CONFIDENTIAL

WAR DEPARTMENT
WAR DEPARTMENT GENERAL STAFF
MILITARY INTELLIGENCE DIVISION, G-2
WASHINGTON, D. C.

NOV 26 1941

Subject: Letter of Transmittal.

To: Lt. Col. J. Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation

The attached communications are forwarded for your information and such action as you consider advisable.

Sherman Miles

SHERMAN MILES,
Brigadier General, U. S. Army,
Acting Assistant Chief of Staff, G-2

1 Enclosures:

1 ENCLO. 4

100-4712-225
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
4 NOV 26 1941
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FIVE

DEC 1 1941

CONFIDENTIAL

Declassified per Army letter dtd 5/29/91 8123-mch/ltr 5/9/91

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~WAR DEPARTMENT~~
M. I. D.

MID 201. America First Committee
11-6-41

G2/CI
[redacted]

November 25, 1941
(Date)

D

Subject: America First Committee

Summary of Information:

It was reliably reported to the Commanding Officer of Lowry Field, Denver, Colorado, that subject headquarters was distributing literature and buttons to soldiers of that command.

Neither literature nor buttons have as yet been noticed on the reservation and copies are not yet available.

Subject headquarters are declared off limits October 28, 1941 per memorandum headquarters Lowry Field.

Distribution:
FBI
ONI
7th CA
9th CA
File

Evaluation
-of source -of information
X Reliable X

fm

100-4[illegible]-[illegible]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassified per Army letter dtd 5/29/91 8123 mch/tcf 8/9/91

b7c

[redacted] 100-4712-226 January 8, 1942

RECORDED

Special Agent in Charge
New Haven, Connecticut

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/8/86 BY SP6bja/tcg

Re: [redacted] b7c
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Dear Sir:

For your information, I am transmitting herewith copies of an anonymous communication dated November 15, 1941 received at the Bureau in an envelope postmarked November 23, 1941 at Waterbury, Connecticut.

Very truly yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Enclosures

2 JAN 30 1942

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED
★ JAN 9 1942 ★
P. M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

b7c [redacted]

b7c [redacted]

Waterbury Conn.
Nov. 15. 1941

ANONYMOUS COMMUNICATION
ENVELOPE ATTACHED

Gentlemen.

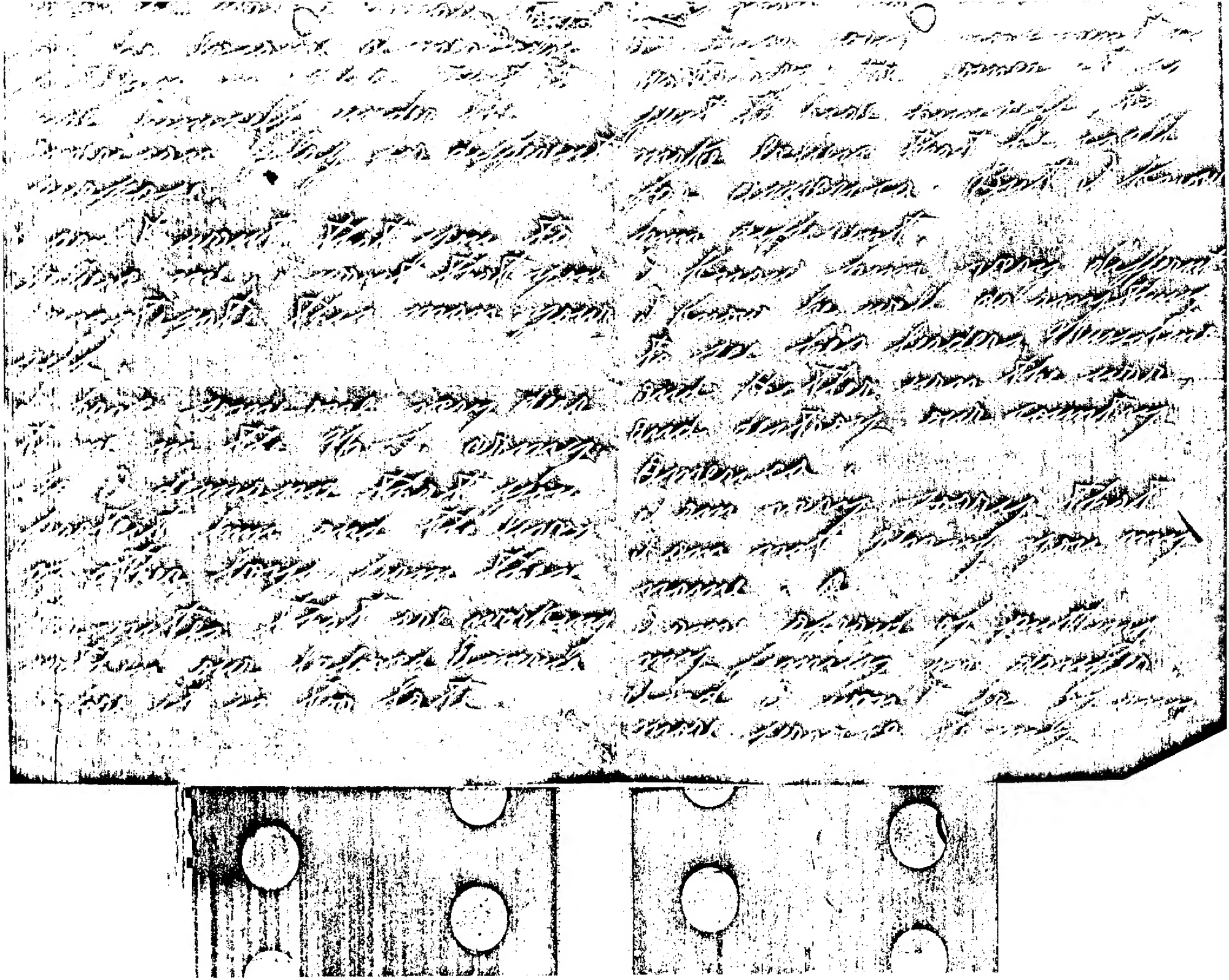
This man John Festa
that poses himself as
president, for America first.
I can assure you that he
is, and has been for Ameri-
ca last.
But for Mussolino and Hitler
first. He has been a black
fascist and nazist since
the first days of their birth.
Whatever is done, laws or
act, in this nation, is
criticized by this man.
Nothing sodes him, but
Murderers Mussolino and
Hitler.
This man John Festa
are [illegible]

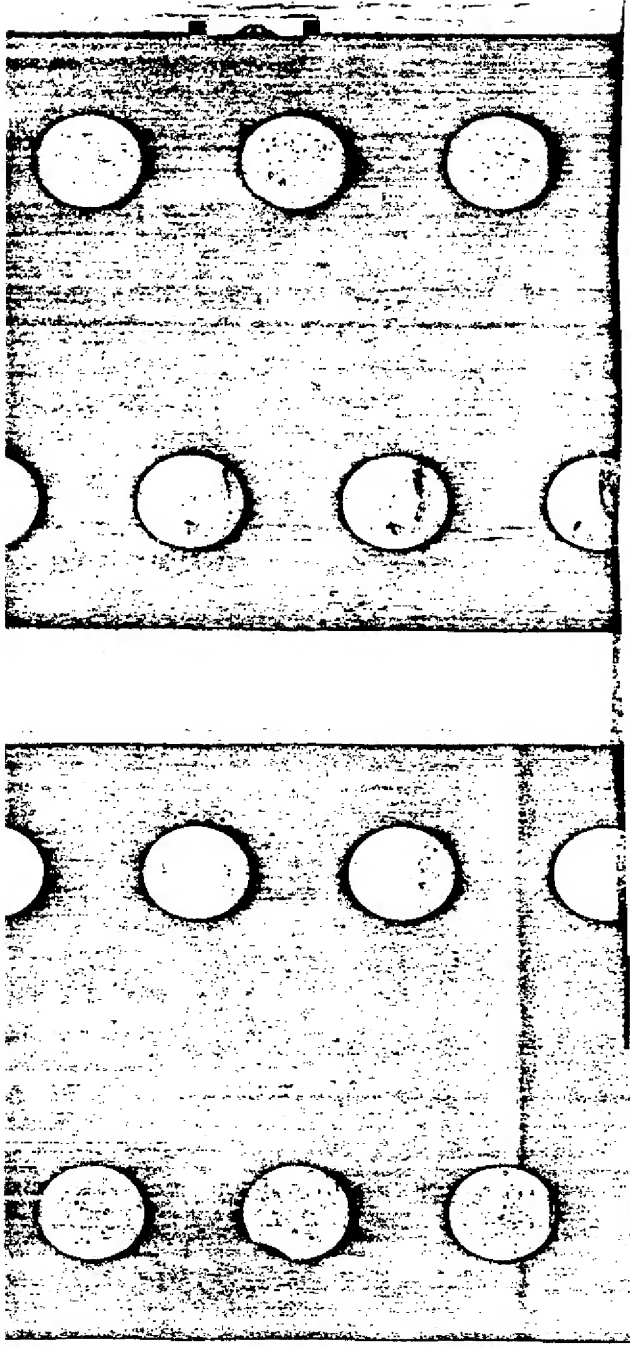
100-471-226

NOV 25 1941

COPY IN FILE

b7c





Country America.
I believe that 95% of the
America First committee
are all Egyptians and
Israelites. They all should
be investigated

Hurry and save
our Country America
before it's too late

FBI - 2 NOV 28 PM 12
FBI/DOJ
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Please deliver

To: [illegible]

Washington

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/8/86 BY [illegible]

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. E. A. Tamm	
Mr. Clegg	
Mr. Glavin	
Mr. Ladd	
Mr. Nichols	
Mr. Tracy	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Carson	
Mr. Coffey	
Mr. Hendon	
Mr. Lichtman	
Mr. Quinn Tamm	
Mr. Nease	
Miss Gandy	
File	

CONFIDENTIAL

WAR DEPARTMENT 020117
WAR DEPARTMENT GENERAL STAFF
MILITARY INTELLIGENCE DIVISION, G-2
WASHINGTON, D. C.

NOV 19 1941

Subject: Letter of Transmittal.

To: Lt. Col. J. Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation

The attached communications are forwarded for your information and such action as you consider advisable.

Sherman Miles

SHERMAN MILES,
Brigadier General, U. S. Army,
Acting Assistant Chief of Staff, G-2

1 Enclosures:

ENCLOSURE

RECORDED 100-4712-227
INDEXED

3 JAN 14 1942

CONFIDENTIAL

Declassified per Army letter ltd 5/29/91 8123 mch/ltr 8/9/91

CONFIDENTIAL

WAR DEPARTMENT
M. I. D. 950113

File XXX/430

(Station)

October 29, 1941
(Date)

Subject: America First Committee

Summary of Information:

1. The America First Committee is sending to its various branch chapters a confidential memorandum on "The Coming Elections". The memorandum advises that Committee members must maintain the fiction that the organization is a non-political body:

a. "Any position taken by the America First Committee in partisan politics would only weaken our cause, not strengthen it. . . . While no citizen can fail to be interested in the mayorality election going on in New York at the present time, we must be sure that no support of any candidate be interpreted as America First activity."

2. The following instructions remove the mask from the "non-political" work of the Committee, aimed at strengthening the appeasement forces:

a. "In the important elections of this autumn and year, every America First member should take pains to inform himself next various candidates' position on foreign policy and be prepared as an of the voter to cast his vote for those non-interventionist candidates who enrolled other respects qualified for the offices they seek." ve in

Source:

Evaluation

-of source		-of information
X	Reliable	X
	Credible	
	Questionable	
	Undetermined	

Distribution:

G-2, W.I., 3 copies
G-2, W. C.A., 1 copy
File - 1 copy
Initial dist:
HHJ
G-2 Gen File
4-15-41
Inv/lm

CONFIDENTIAL

Declassified per Army letter dtd 5/29/91 8123 mch/tar 8/21/91

Encl. #1

File XIX/130

CONFIDENTIAL

ASSISTANT CHIEF OF STAFF, G-2
HEADQUARTERS THIRD CORPS AREA
[illegible] STANDARD OIL BUILDING

[illegible]

November 6, 1941

Subject: American First Mass Meeting

RECEIVED
NOV 7 1941
3rd Corps Area
G-2

Summary of Information:

1. About two hundred persons attended a mass meeting held under the auspices of the America First Committee at the Central Auditorium, 325 W. Boardman Street, Youngstown, Ohio, Wednesday, October 22.

2. The meeting was called to order by chairman and local organizer of the America First Committee, namely Frank T. Sheridan, 457 W. Judson Avenue, Youngstown, Ohio, owner of the Sheridan Electric and Engineering Company, a small company of no community standing. Sheridan made a few remarks and then introduced the first speaker named Arthur Hoyt, Cleveland, Ohio, who spoke for about thirty to forty minutes during which time he attacked the foreign policy of the United States Government, condemned aid to Russia and lauded Lindbergh and Wheeler, etc.

3. The next speaker introduced by the chairman was a preacher named Garland A. Bricker, 12 E. Ravenwood Avenue, Youngstown, Ohio, who is known as a "lecturer". He stated that he is a cousin of Governor Bricker. He granted about his "Americanism" and stated that both President Roosevelt and Wendell Wilkie had "betrayed" the American people. After speaking for twenty minutes he made the collection appeal and four young persons from the Cleveland, Ohio branch of the America First Committee took up the collection.

4. Following this the principal speaker of the evening, Reverend Walter E. Klein, West End Evangelical Church, Cleveland, Ohio, was introduced by the chairman who stated that Klein is a veteran of the World War and is post department chaplain of the American Legion of Ohio. Klein condemned "godless communistic Russia", condemned the meeting of President Roosevelt and Churchill, stated that both Roosevelt and Wilkie betrayed the people after promising they would keep the country out of war. Referred to Wilkie as a "corporation flunkie, faker, etc.". Klein belittled the ability of any foreign aggressor from Europe to cross the Atlantic Ocean and attack the United States . . . called it "bunk". He condemned the land-lease policy. The speaker ridiculed the idea that a small nation like Germany could invade the United States. He appealed to his listeners to speak out against any effort on the part of the United States to take part in the European war, to oppose sending troops. He stated that the war would cost three hundred billions of dollars.

Declassified per Army letter dtd 5/29/91
8/23 mcp/ltr 8/9/91

Distribution:
G-2, W.D., 3 copies
G-2, V C.A., 1 copy
File - 1 copy

CONFIDENTIAL

Encl 2

Evaluation
of source — of info
X Reliable

CONFIDENTIAL

Subject: America First Mass Meeting 11/4/41

5. The Chairman stated that the local committee would hold a meeting at the Townsend Hall, W. Indianola Avenue, October 29, at 8:00 p.m. to organize its local work. Application cards were passed out soliciting members. About twenty of these cards, filled out, were returned to the Chairman. It was also announced that Congressman Hill would address a mass meeting in Warren, Ohio, at the Harding High School, Sunday, October 26, at 2:30 p.m. under the auspices of the Warren Committee.

6. The literature counter located at the entrance was in charge of a committee of women from the Cleveland Committee of the America First Organization. They passed out copies of the recent Lindberg speech and an address by former President Hoover. "America First" buttons were passed out.

7. All present were urged to wire or write to their Senator or Congressman demanding that he oppose any changes in the neutrality act.

8. No questions were asked at the close of the meeting as the meeting adjourned very suddenly. No American flag was displayed anywhere in the hall. There was no singing of the national anthem. A Reverend Kirkpatrick from Warren, Ohio said the opening and closing prayer. The makeup of this meeting was pro-Nazi with the few exceptions of women - mothers who had sons in the service or called for service. Reverend Ludwig Fritsch, Monteras Lutheran Church, well known local Nazi, was checked "slipping" into the meeting. He was seen placing a five dollar bill in the contribution basket located on the literature desk. Fritsch went over to the east side of the hall. It was noted that a group of pro-Nazi German war veterans were in the front row. John Murphy, a local Coughlin agitator, was in the audience wearing a committee badge.

9. As stated, over half of the audience were from out of town, mostly Warren, Salem and Cleveland. The meeting was staged on the first floor of the auditorium in the small meeting hall which has a capacity of four hundred seats. About half of the seats were used. There is no question that the Nazis from Cleveland combined with the Coughlin groups are directing this agitation. It was stated by Bricker that Henry Ford is going to take over the America First movement and finance it. There was loud applause when President Roosevelt and Wilkie were assailed by Klein and Bricker. If the out of town elements had not attended the meeting, it would have been a "flop". Several of the women stated that the local people "were afraid to attend the meeting".

CONFIDENTIAL

November 24, 1941

JEH:JRC
TIME: 4:04 PM

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. TOLSON
MR. TAMM

At this time Mr. Foxworth called me to state that [redacted] would be glad to see him and Mr. L. M. C. Smith in New York anytime tomorrow afternoon. b7D

Mr. Foxworth stated that [redacted] was a little reluctant to see Mr. Smith because he feels the only two people who can help him are the Attorney General and myself. I told Mr. Foxworth to tell [redacted] after he talks to Mr. Smith that if he, [redacted] still wishes to see me I will be glad to arrange an appointment for him the next time he comes to Washington. b7D b7D

4:07 pm

I called Mr. L. M. C. Smith and he stated he would be glad to see [redacted] tomorrow afternoon at 5:00 PM. I told Mr. Smith that both [redacted] and Mr. Foxworth would be at the FBI office at that time. b7D

4:10 pm

I called Mr. Foxworth and advised him of my conversation with Mr. Smith. Mr. Foxworth said he would arrange everything.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Lead
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Reese
Mr. Carson
Mr. Clayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Egan
Mr. Gandy

100-4112-22

5/8/86 SP6 bja/ley

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X
01

D
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
(Mass Meeting)

ONI

A mass meeting was held under the auspices of Subject Organization at the Central Auditorium, 225 West Boardman Street, Youngstown, Ohio, on Wednesday, October 22, 1941. The meeting was attended mostly by persons from Warren, Salem and Cleveland, Ohio of pro-German sympathies. There were several speakers on the program who attacked the foreign policy of the United States Government, condemned aid to Russia and the lease-lend policy, and stated that Roosevelt had betrayed the people. Among the speakers were Arthur GOETZ, Cleveland, Ohio; Frank P. SHERIDAN, 457 West Judson Avenue,

CONFIDENTIAL

RECORDED

INDEXED

100-4912-229
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
4 NOV 26 1941
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FIVE

Declassified per Navy letter dtd 7/25/91 823 mcr/tas 8/15/91

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER
DIRECTOR

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.
November 21, 1941

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Mendon
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Holloman
Mr. Harbo
Tele. Room
Tour Room
Mr. Nease
Miss Beahm
Miss Gandy

EAT:WWW

Time: 11:25 p.m.

MEMORANDUM FOR ~~THE DIRECTOR~~ Mr. Ladd

In a telephonic conversation with SAC Foxworth I advised him that the President has sent a memorandum to the Attorney General suggesting that a Grand Jury inquiry be made of the America First Committee

I told Foxworth that we are preparing a summary of what we have in our files on the America First Committee and are bringing up to date the summary.

I informed Foxworth that the Attorney General says the [redacted] *America First has been receiving money from Germany to finance its activities. I told Foxworth that you wanted him to get some appropriate contact and see if we can verify this statement as soon as possible.* ~~*I told Foxworth to start this investigation immediately.*~~ b2D

~~*Respectfully,*~~

Edward A. Tamm

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DATE 5/8/86 BY S-6bja/tcy

RECORDED 100-4712-230
INDEXED
2 NOV 25 1941
FBI

Delated Copy Sent R. W. Steele
3-5-76
mrs

4 JAN 26 1942

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER
DIRECTOR

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

EAT:GEG

November 21, 1941

Time: 3:00 P.M.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE DIRECTOR

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

Classified by [illegible]
Declassify on: OADR

In connection with the inquiry which is to be made at the Harper Publishing Company relative to the statement in a book being published by them that the America First Committee has been receiving money from Germany to finance its activities, Mr. Foxworth advised that Mr. Canfield, the President of Harper's, is out of the city until Monday and he inquired if it would be all right to wait until that time to make the necessary inquiry since more information could undoubtedly be obtained from the President of the organization than anyone else. I told him this would be satisfactory and that he should endeavor to obtain an appointment as early Monday morning as possible. (S-1)

Respectfully,

Edward A. Tamm

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Mason
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Gandon
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nathanson
Mr. Morbo
Tele. Room
Your Room
Mr. Nease
Miss Beahm
Miss Gandy

FOI/PA # 462359
APPEAL #
CIVIL ACT. #
E.O. # 462356
DATE 1982

Called Foxworth 11/25/41 and he advised that Mr. Canfield is out of the city until Monday and he inquired if it would be all right to wait until that time to make the necessary inquiry since more information could undoubtedly be obtained from the President of the organization than anyone else. I told him this would be satisfactory and that he should endeavor to obtain an appointment as early Monday morning as possible. K.P.K.

1 JAN 24 1942

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INDEXED

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

2 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

☑ Deleted under exemption(s) b7C b7D with no segregable material available for release to you.

☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.

☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.

☐ Documents originated with another Government agency(ies). These documents were referred to that agency(ies) for review and direct response to you.

_____ Pages contain information furnished by another Government agency(ies). You will be advised by the FBI as to the releasability of this information following our consultation with the other agency(ies).

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☐ For your information: _____

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☑ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

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____ Pages contain information furnished by another Government agency(ies). You will be advised by the FBI as to the releasability of this information following our consultation with the other agency(ies).

____ Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):

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☐ For your information: _____

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☑ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

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FBI/DOJ

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice

[redacted]

New York, New York

b7C

62-111

December 1, 1941

Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 5/8/86 BY SP6 by/key

Dear Sir:

RE: AMERICAN FIRST COMMITTEE

There are enclosed herewith photographic copies of AMERICAN FIRST COMMITTEE pamphlets, which were furnished this office by the office of Military Intelligence, Governor's Island, New York, under date of November 17, 1941.

These copies are being furnished to the Bureau for information purposes.

Very truly yours,

P E Foxworth

P. E. FOXWORTH
Assistant Director

ENCL BEHIND FILE

Enclosures

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED

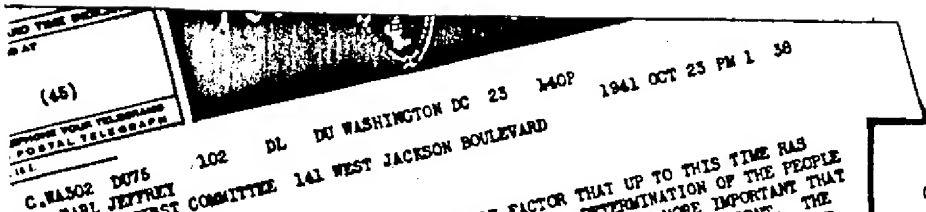
[redacted]

RECORDED 100-4712-234
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
7 DEC 4 1941
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FIVE

1 ENCLO.

JAN 5 1942



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MR. EARL JEFFREY
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE 141 WEST JACKSON BOULEVARD

CHICAGO ILLINOIS

THERE IS NO DOUBT THAT THE MOST POWERFUL SINGLE FACTOR THAT UP TO THIS TIME HAS SLOWED THE RUSH TOWARD WAR IS THE CONSTANTLY EXPRESSED DETERMINATION OF THE PEOPLE 'NST OUR ACTIVE PARTICIPATION. NOW OF ALL TIMES IT IS EVEN MORE IMPORTANT THAT MEMBERS OF BOTH HOUSES OF CONGRESS HEAR FROM THE PEOPLE THEY REPRESENT. THE PRO-WAR PRESSURES IN WASHINGTON ARE GREAT. FREQUENT WORD FROM THE PEOPLE TO THE MEN WHO ARE OPPOSING THE WAR DRIVE STRENGTHENS THEIR HANDS AND HEARTS IMMEASURABLY

D. WORTH CLARK

October 23, 1941

Dear Mr. Jeffrey:

Had it not been for the letters and postal cards written to the members of Congress we would have been in war a year ago. Even if Congressmen do not read their letters, they weigh them and realize that the writers of those letters are the voters of tomorrow. There is nothing more important in this fight today than to keep the letters going in to Washington at ever increasing speed.

Rush D. Holt

Rush D. Holt

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FINANCE

October 2[illegible], 1941.

Mr. Earl C. Jeffrey,
National Director of Field Operations,
America First Committee,
141 West Jackson Boulevard,

III.

Office Detail: You should maintain in the office a constantly growing file of members of the 'phone brigade. We suggest that you put each General's name on a 3x5" salmon colored filing card. It would be well to place each Colonel's name on a blue filing card, and each Captain's on a light green filing card and each Lieutenant's name on a white filing card. Thus, you will have a card for each person on your 'phone brigade. The card should have the full name and address, the 'phone number, and the name of his or her immediate superior. That is, if a Lieutenant; notation should be made that her immediate superior officer is Captain _____.

File the ten white cards immediately back of the light green card giving the Captain's name, then file ten sets of these cards, one for each Captain, back of the Colonel who is responsible for them, and file the ten Colonels with their accompanying Captains and Lieutenants back of the General responsible for them. In this way you will have your complete organization at your fingertips.

Every message we receive from the men on Capitol Hill emphasizes one thing—Congress needs more and more mail. These men think our rallies are swell, they like our pamphlets and they admire the work that all the members in our chapters are doing, but the whole point of our program in the past year has been to build an organization which can produce one million, five million or ten million letters at this strategic time. That moment has arrived.

Richard A. Moore

Richard A. Moore
National Director
Public Relations
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

I know nothing save your writing has kept us out of war these past few months—your letter writing obviously infuriates the war party. Don't please them by letting up. If you think letter writing is tiresome stop—and in ten years see how easy it was compared to driving the Germans out of Europe, the Japs out of Asia and then forcing what was left to adopt the four freedoms!

Page Hufty

Page Hufty
National Director
of Organization
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

I am with America First because I took the time to read the mail of several Senators and Congressmen at the time of the Lend-Lease battle. I know how they, our fighters, depend on you; how our opposition fears you; how for a whole year you have, by your pens, so far, kept us out of war. Put the plan into action and we may yet win. We must.

Earl Jeffrey

Earl C. Jeffrey

Dear Mr. Jeffrey:

I have your letter of [illegible]

I believe that it is well worth the time and effort of American citizens [illegible] beliefs on public issues to write [illegible] and Congressmen. It may or may not influence them in their opinion, but inevitably their personal attitude on the whole issue is swayed somewhat by the knowledge of the views of their constituents. It is worth writing even to those whose minds are made up against the views presented, because letters may at least abate the energy of their opposition.

Sincerely yours,

[signature]

[illegible] this great American debate, the real vote comes [illegible] and sentiment is two years away. It is important, therefore, to observe that at different periods, as the constituent reacted, and that vote was slackened, the war moves grew proportionately bolder and the opposition less certain. When the mail flowed in, the votes against war measures were always in hearty volume. Specifically, on a recent issue, we were informed of five Congressmen who had "wavered" and were planning to vote in favor of a war measure. Chapters in their districts were advised to "take to the mails". Four of the five voted against the measure.

[signature]

H. J. Schmitte
Assistant National
Director of Organization
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

National Director
Field Operations
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

More people will attend America First Rallies during November than in any previous month. All meetings should pass a resolution to Congress, but if Congress is to know how you stand, every meeting should pledge everyone present to write individually. One letter from you to your Congressman or Senator may be more important in his eyes than a rally attended by five thousand. Think of that, and write.

[signature]

William S. Foulis
National Chairman
Speakers' Bureau
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

You can't underestimate the power of the Pen. The Pen of the Evangelists destroyed a mighty Roman Empire and built on its ashes the tremendous bulwark of Christianity; the Pen of Voltaire consolidated a vast French Empire; the Pen of Rousseau began the volcanic eruptions of the French Revolution; the Pen of Luther split Christianity almost in half; the Pen of Aquinas and Descartes and Berkeley built ponderous edifices of thought; the Pen of Dumas and Hugo and Oscar Wilde and Margaret Mitchell made a million people sad; the Pen of William Shakespeare and Dr. Johnson and P. G. Wodehouse made them happy again; the Pen of the war agitators is writing us into this foreign conflict; this same Pen can save our liberties, our democracy, our Constitution, our Neutrality Law - if we, the American people, use its power.

James L. Fellon
National Chairman
Colleges for
America First

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON INTERSTATE COMMERCE

October 21, 1941.

Mr. Earl C. Jeffery,
National Director,
Field Operations, America First Committee
Chicago, Illinois

My dear Jeff:-

I hope that the correspondence certain about to be launched by the America First Committee against war, will prove very successful.

In my opinion, it is most important that the American people exercise their constitutional right of petition to keep this Nation at peace, and out of the foreign war. The American people who are opposed to America's entry into a disastrous foreign war, should write their Congressmen, and their Senators immediately, and demand that they vote against repeal of the Neutrality act, and against each step that will drag this Nation into war.

With my very kindest regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

[signature]

BKK:m

WESTERN UNION

BA036 21 XC=TLNB VINEYARDHAVEN MASS 23 907P EST OCT 23 PM 8 33

EARL C JEFFREY, AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE=
141 WEST JACKSON BLVD CHGO=

I BELIEVE THE PROJECTED AMERICA FIRST MAIL CAMPAIGN IS OF VITAL IMPORTANCE STOP CONGRESS IS THE LAST STRONGHOLD OF OUR TRADITIONAL AMERICAN FORM OF GOVERNMENT. STOP IT IS THE PLACE WHERE OPPOSITION TO INTERVENTION CAN MAKE ITSELF FELT MOST EFFECTIVELY STOP UNTIL THE NEXT ELECTIONS WE MUST RELY PRIMARILY ON LETTERS AND TELEGRAMS TO INFORM OUR CONGRESSMEN AND SENATORS OF OUR OPPOSITION TO WAR STOP THESE COMMUNICATIONS HAVE GREAT EFFECT IN WASHINGTON FOR THEY REPRESENT A VOTE WHICH MANY MEMBERS OF CONGRESS WILL PROBABLY HAVE TO FACE IN THE NEAR FUTURE=

CHARLES A LINDBERGH.

REMEMBER~
GENERAL WOOD
REQUESTS YOU
TO WRITE
PLEDGING
YOUR
COOPERATION
IMMEDIATELY

(1)

II.

It is essential you utilize immediately the membership you have to do the work above described. This paragraph deals with methods of increasing your personnel.

(a) Mail out to every name you have or can secure of friendly persons the following postcard to be returned to you. This card should be enclosed in an envelope with a letter (Appended A).

MY FULL SHARE

'Because the only way to keep our country out of war is to let Congress know that a vast majority of Americans oppose our entrance into war:

___ 'I shall get ten persons to write when they are requested to by me, and will send their names, addresses and telephone numbers immediately.

___I shall write personally when requested.

My full name is _____

My residence address is _____

My telephone is _____I may be best reached at ___ o'clock.

(b) Form a telephone brigade. Have the members call as many persons (from their homes or offices) as they can asking them to become members of the Mail Brigade. In some cities every name in the 'phone book will be called. In others, members of the 'phone brigade will call members or personal friends. When you have secured a member of the mail brigade, mail the above card to him with a personal letter.

(c) Survey your membership lists and be sure to get as many outlying members (farms, villages, etc.) to serve as either Generals, Colonels, or Captains for their communities.

(d) Make--if you have the man-power--a house to house canvass for writers. This is a hard, arduous task, and less productive than the telephone solicitations.(b).

(1)

America First Committee

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS ★ 141 WEST JACKSON BOULEVARD ★ CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
TELEPHONE WABASH 6000

ROBERT E WOOD CHAIRMAN

Chicago, Illinois
October 25, 1941

To All Members of America First:

The Crisis is here. The next few days, or weeks at most, will decide whether we will be plunged into war or remain at peace.

All that you have done thus far will be of no avail unless every chapter puts the plan outlined herewith into immediate action.

Read this plan, understand it, write to us pledging your chapter to carry it out, and then do it—and war may yet pass us by.

Thank you for all that you have done, you must not fail our country now.

Yours truly,

Robert E. Wood

Robert E. Wood,
Chairman,
America First Committee

EMERGENCY BULLETIN #1

(2)

America First Committee

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS • 141 WEST JACKSON BOULEVARD • CHICAGO ILLINOIS

TELEPHONE WABASH 6000

R. DOUGLAS STUART, JR.
NATIONAL DIRECTOR

October 25, 1941

To All Members of America First:

President Roosevelt's proposal that American ships be sent into the submarine-infested war zones cannot be disguised as a step away from war. It will mean that American ships will be sunk, American lives lost and that the country will be led into war on a wave of hysteria just as it was in 1917. Once in the war, the British Generals have told us, we will have to send a huge new AEF.

From a calm survey of our resources, our membership, our means and all possible methods--and after consultation with the men who can stop this last step to war, we have decided that only one thing can keep Congress from repealing the Neutrality Act.

That one thing is briefly, yet fully, set forth herein. All other appeals we have made to you for help sink into nothingness compared to this appeal. The moment for which we have been preparing for one year has arrived. We are counting on you.

Sincerely,

R. Douglas Stuart, Jr.

THE PURPOSE OF THIS PLAN is to defeat the repeal of the Neutrality Act. We may defeat the repeal of the Neutrality Act and keep out of war by showing Congress that the great majority of the American People do not want to go to war.

We can do this only by a volume of mail directed to Congress which has never been approached in our history. Therefore, this plan is designed to get you and your chapter to do its fair share in writing to your elected servants in Washington. The Plan follows on pages 3, 4, and 5.

I.

Select from your membership the maximum number of workers whom you know you can depend on to work. Commission these workers as "Generals". Each General's assignment is to get ten "Colonels" who, in turn, will get ten "Captains" who, in turn, will get ten "Lieutenants". Of course, many of these workers should be new workers but use every name you have on file. No one, who is without a 'phone, should serve in any rank about that of "Lieutenant".

If for any reason ten of any rank of workers cannot be obtained, use the number you can secure.

Under this plan of action, you or the Mail Marshall appointed by you, should be able to 'phone each General, each General in turn, her ten Colonels, each Colonel her ten Captains, and each Captain her ten Lieutenants, all in one day's time.

If you have only two Generals you will have the following letter writers: Marshall-1, Generals-2, Colonels-20, Captains-200, Lieutenants-2,000, Total-2,223.

Bear in mind none of these letter writers are just to write letters. They are to follow instructions.

National Headquarters will decide when, to whom and, in general, what to write, and notify the state and chapter chairmen. The Mail Marshall will call the Colonels and say "Colonel, please call you Captains immediately. We want a letter to go today to Senator X about as follows--and give specifically the idea not the words of the desired letter.

The Mail Marshall will receive direct word on whom to write and about what either directly from the Chapter or State Chairman. The Mail Marshall shall call the Colonels the next day and determine how well her orders have been carried out and each Colonel shall check her Captains and in turn the Captain his Lieutenants.

Remember this is not a problem of writing every day, it is a problem of getting a specific number of letters to a specific person on a specific subject. It may be only one letter a month may be required. It may be much more fre-

C

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020112

WAR DEPARTMENT
M.I. DEPARTMENT GENERAL STAFF
MILITARY INTELLIGENCE DIVISION, G-2
WASHINGTON, D. C.

NOV 8 1941

Subject: Letter of transmittal.

To: Lt. Col. J. Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation

The attached communications are forwarded for your information and such as you consider advisable.

S. Sherman Miles

SHERMAN MILES,
Brigadier General, U. S. Army,
Acting Assistant Chief of Staff, G-2

1 Enclosures:

100-4712-235

Declassified per Army letter dtd 5/29/91 8123 mch/ltr 8/9/91

P
y ram
MID 201 America First Committee
10-28-41

COPY G-2/CI
DGS

HEADQUARTERS SECOND CORPS AREA
Office of Assistant Chief of Staff, G-2
Governors Island, New York MCG/td

020113

October 28, 1941.

Subject: WAR RESITERS LEAGUE AND THE AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE.

To: Assistant Chief of Staff, G-2
War Department
Washington D. C.

1. From a confidential source, considered highly reliable, it has been learned that the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE is now preparing for its most serious effort to change public opinion from its present "war" attitude.

2. Inside sources available to informant believe that if this effort does not meet with a fair measure of success, GENERAL WOOD will attempt to dissolve the AMERICA FIRST movement, and, if this fails, he will sever his relations with this group.

3. It has been fairly well established, according to these same sources, that GENERAL WOOD is concerned over the fact that some of the local AMERICA FIRST committees have gotten a little out of control and that some have fallen into the hands of persons of questionable character.

4. It is reported that in case of an actual declaration of war, or of an undeclared involvement, that GENERAL WOOD will back up the Foreign Policy of the present Government.

5. Should this occur, it is expected by the WAR RESITERS LEAGUE that numbers of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITEE members who refuse to change their attitude will join forces with the WAR RESISTERS LEAGUE, which does not intend to change its policy of opposition to war in the slightest.

6. This if transmitted for your information.

For the Assistant Chief of Staff, G-2

/s/ F. J. Pearson
F. J. PEARSON,
Lt. Col., GSC
Executive Officer, G-2

Distribution:
FBI
ONI
State
File

Source & Info: Reliable

10-28-41

fs

JEH:DAJ

December 4, 1941

TIME: 12:47 p.m.

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. TAMM

While talking to Mr. L. M. C. Smith in regard to another matter he stated his man Crocker would be in New York City at 10 o'clock Monday morning in connection with [redacted] matter. I told him that we were ready to proceed just as soon as his man arrived. b7D

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

American Fund Committee

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 5/8/86 BY SP6 bja/tcy

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Glegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

SENT FROM D. J.
TIME 5:20
DATE 12/4/41
BY

RECORDED 100-4712-236

INDEXED

DEC 4 1941

CH-25

4-750 (Rev. 4-17-85)

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

1 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

☑ Deleted under exemption(s) b7C b7D with no segregable material available for release to you.

☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.

☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.

☐ Documents originated with another Government agency(ies). These documents were referred to that agency(ies) for review and direct response to you.

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_____ Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):

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100-4712-237

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FBI/DOJ

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER
DIRECTOR

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

DAF:DMM

November 25, 1941

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. R. P. KRAMER

RE: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

Information has been received from an unknown outside source dated October 21 and 23, 1941, at Youngstown, Ohio, that the America First Committee held a mass meeting at the Central Auditorium, 225 West Boardman Street, Youngstown, Ohio, on October 22, 1941. Reverend Walter K. Klein, Cleveland, Ohio, pastor of the West Side Evangelical Church, was the principal speaker.

It was estimated that approximately 200 persons attended this meeting and it was called to order by Frank P. Sheridan, 457 West Judson Avenue, Youngstown, Ohio, owner of the Sheridan Electric and Engineering Company. Sheridan presided as Chairman during the entire meeting and introduced the first speaker, Arthur Goetz, Cleveland, Ohio. His speech dealt primarily with the content of the foreign policy of the United States Government, aid to Russia, and a commendation of Lindbergh and Wheeler.

The next speaker introduced was Garland A. Bricker, 12 East Ravenwood Avenue, Youngstown, Ohio, who is described as "a broken-down preacher." His general line was that President Roosevelt and Willkie had betrayed the American people. He then made the collection appeal to the audience. At this time Reverend Walter K. Klein was introduced as a principal speaker and described as a veteran of the World War and past chaplain of the American Legion of Ohio. Klein condemned Godless Russia, President Roosevelt, Winston Churchill, and others favorable to this country's foreign policy. He ridiculed the idea of an invasion of the Western Hemisphere, and made a plea to keep America out of war.

100-4712-2

An announcement was made that a meeting was to be held on October 29, 1941, at Townsend Hall, Youngstown, Ohio, and on October 26, 1941, at the Harding High School, Warren, Ohio. Congressman Hill was to address the latter meeting. Literature in the form of Lindbergh's speeches, and America First Buttons, were distributed at this gathering. All those present were urged to wire or write

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Harden
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Harbo
Tele. Room
Tour Room
Mr. Nease
Mr. Tracy
Miss Beahm
Miss Gandy

[redacted] 67C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 5/18/86 BY Sp4 Ltr/Key

3/26/53 R-46

their Congressman demanding that he oppose any change in the Neutrality Act. The informant commented that no American flag was displayed anywhere in the hall and that the National Anthem was not sung. It was the opinion that the general makeup for the program was pro-Nazi with a few exceptions of women who were mothers having sons in the service at the present time.

b7C
b7D

[redacted] Our informant stated also that several pro-Nazi German war veterans were in attendance. A major portion of the audience was made up of persons from Cleveland, Warren, and Salem, Ohio.

No action is contemplated with reference to the above information.

Respectfully,

D. A. Flinn

D. A. Flinn

ADDRESS REPLY TO
"THE ATTORNEY GENERAL"
AND REFER TO
INITIALS AND NUMBER

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

WASHINGTON, D. C.

November 22, 1941

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Ringdon
Mr. Hollomon
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. J. EDGAR HOOVER, DIRECTOR, FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Re: America First Committee

For your information, I am enclosing herewith a photostatic copy of a report entitled "Subversive Activities in America First Committee in California", which report was sent in to us in connection with the administration of the Voorhis Act.

Lawrence M. C. Smith
Chief, Special Defense Unit

1 ENCLO.
ENCLOSURE BEHIND FILE

100-4712-238X
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
4 DEC 9 1941
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

NOV 9 1942

Declassified per DOJ
Memo dtd 6/25/91
8123 mch/tcy 8/16/91

Report No. 1

SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES

IN

America First Committee

IN CALIFORNIA

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-19-86 BY SP6 bgy/tcg

AMERICANISM COMMITTEE

17TH DISTRICT : THE AMERICAN LEGION : DEPARTMENT OF CALIFORNIA

INDEXED 100-4712-[illegible]

October 10, 1941

To: Commander Harold F. Bergan,
17th District, The American Legion,
Department of California.

This Committee has investigated the infiltration of subversive and un-American influences in the America First Committee in California. We present to you the following report which we trust will be of assistance in correcting the evils it calls attention to.

Respectfully submitted

Americanism Committee,
17th District, The American Legion,
Department of California.

Ben S. Beery, *Chairman*

Dee Holder	Wm. B. Johnston	Samuel H. Robinson
H. C. Heinritz	Henry Mayers	Russell W. Starr

I

Purpose and Procedure of Investigation

That the striking similarity between Nazi propaganda technique and America First methods of operation can be no mere coincidence has been repeatedly pointed out by observers in various sections of the United States.

Realization by California Legionnaires that the America First Committee of this state was permeated with Nazi agents and Nazi sympathizers, led to the passage of the following resolution at the 1941 Convention of the California American Legion at Sacramento:

> "WHEREAS throughout California Nazi agents have insinuated themselves into the top circle of the America First Committee of California, contrary to the spirit and intent of its accredited leaders, and
>
> "WHEREAS these elements threaten to misuse what is otherwise a sincere effort to express an honest point of view,
>
> "BE IT THEREFORE RESOLVED: That this convention of The American Legion petition General Robert E. Wood, National Chairman of America First, to conduct an investigation of all local committees in California, removing from office any person affiliated with a Nazi, Communist or Fascist organization."

Because this petition to General Robert E. Wood brought no noticeable change in the situation it called attention to, Commander Harold F. Bergan, 17th District, The American Legion, Department of California, instructed the Americanism Committee of the 17th District to make a thorough investigation and detailed report.

This report is not an attack or a reflection upon those sincere Americans who honestly believe in the isolationist theory. No comment is made in this report as to the merits or demerits of the recommendation by the America First Committee of isolation as the best United States defense. The America First Committee has an undoubted right, which no member of The American Legion or other loyal citizen of this country would seek to impair, to freely and openly present its isolationist contentions to the American people.

This report is presented for the purpose of preventing the misuse of sincere Americans by Nazis or other subversive persons operating through the America First Committee.

This committee is aware that some attempts have been made by America First to stifle the participation of subversive groups in its affairs. Months ago, Mr. John T. Flynn, a member of the America First National Committee, sent the following letter to the Free American and Deutscher Weckruf und

Beobachter, a German American Bund newspaper:

"May 2, 1941

Editor
Free American and Deutscher und Weekruf Beobachter
175 East 85th Street
New York City

Dear Sir:

"A copy of your newspaper has been mailed to me and my attention called to an article in which you ask your readers to join the America First Committee. Let me say to you that not only does the America First Committee not solicit their membership, but that they are not eligible for membership. The America First Committee is against America's entry into the war not because it approves of the philosophy, the government, the aggression or the methods of Hitler's Germany, but because it wishes to protect this nation from involvement in Europe's wars. We do not want in our organization men who support the philosophy of Hitler's government because we do not believe them to be good Americans. The very first and one of the indispensable qualifications for membership in our organization, as stated in all our literature, is that it is not open to those who are members of the communist or fascist parties or the German bunds in this country or those representing any foreign power which desires to involve us in this war.

"May I suggest that you give this letter the same publicity in your newspaper as you gave to the article to which I referred.

Yours very truly,

JOHN T. FLYNN"

PASADENA INDEPENDENT

Office, 24 North Raymond Avenue — L. A. Phone, FY. 1-1484 — Telephone SY. 3-6111

Dedicated to Truth, Fair Play and Community Betterment — 3¢ Per Copy

VOL. 9—NO. 72 — PASADENA, CALIFORNIA, MONDAY, JUNE 16, 1941 — *An Interpretive Newspaper*

MASS MEETING BOOS PRESIDENT

TO GET THE HAMMER

PASADENA MEMBERS OF 'AMERICA FIRST' CHEER AXIS IDEAS

Cheers for Colonel Lindbergh, silence for Adolph Hitler, boos for President Roosevelt and Wendell Willkie. . . .

Thus 250 members of the America First committee registered their reactions to these individuals at a meeting in the McKinley Junior High School auditorium addressed by Charles Cobb, acting chairman of the group, and Dr. Herbert Francis Dillon, of the faculty at U. C. L. A.

The audience booed vigorously whenever the names of Churchill, Mrs. Roosevelt, Attorney General Robert H. Jackson, Senator Claude Pepper and Mayor Fiorello LaGuardia of New York City were mentioned by the speakers.

Doubts British Victory

Cobb told the audience that he does not believe a British victory either possible or desirable.

Money Shows Hot Hate

"Why should the taxpayers throw $7,000,000,000 down the rat hole of Britain's [illegible]?" he asked. "We should campaign to spend the land lease bill."

He read at length from an interview in Life magazine given to former Ambassador Cudahy by Hitler, in which the Fuehrer said that at no time had his intentions toward this country been inimical. Cobb then quoted portions of a New York Times editorial concerning Hitler, in which it was pointed out that declarations of friendship preceded most of Hitler's invasions.

Raising his head to look at the audience and sparing his words to permit booing for each name, Cobb then asked "And who are the owners of the New York Times? Ochs—Adler—Sulzberger?"

Cheers For Hitler

Cobb said that most Americans regard Hitler as a liar and criminal, and added "I am not here to eulogize or defend Hitler. He seems able to do that himself." The audience cheered.

Cobb went on to say that the Germans were forced to sign the treaty of Versailles at the "point of a gun."

"There still is such a thing as retribution," he said. "England and France are paying for their perfidy in blood, sweat and tears."

Save Public Shortsod

He then mentioned the names of the President and several others who have expressed strong opposition to the Nazi aims, and declared that the people of the United States had not been told the truth about Germany.

"Did these people tell you the truth about Czechoslovakia?" he inquired. "The fact is that Czechoslovakia was a dagger pointed at the heart of Germany. But they would have to the latter and to save Palestine and the British empire."

Dillon scoffed at the idea that Germany had invaded democracies, listing each of the overrun countries and commenting that none of them were democracies. He pictured England as an autocracy, as "Old Man of the Seas" clinging to the backs of subject peoples.

Eulogizes Lindbergh

Referring to Lindbergh as a great patriot he asked "Who is the Copperhead, Lindbergh or the President?" The audience roared back "Roosevelt!"

"American Quisling"

He referred to the Federal Bureau of Investigation as an "American Gestapo" persecuting patriotic minorities, and called the Dies committee an un-American activities a "tool of the F. B. I."

"Roosevelt knows that he cannot defeat Fascism by the sword," Dillon said. The audience cheered wildly.

In closing the meeting, Cobb said that if the President got the country into war, "I for one will not lift a hand. If this be treason make the most of it."

Organ of Social Justice, Father Coughlin's pro-Nazi weekly magazine were sold to the [illegible] as they left the auditorium.

The editor's reply, clearly indicating that the Bund intended to continue the "fight," was as follows:

> "We print in full the above letter as per request of the writer thereof. We are American citizens of German origin, fighting only to be allowed the usual privilege of enjoying our rights as free men and women.
>
> "Because it is not the fault of the 'America First Committee' that a false, slanderous, un-American stigma has been put on the German American Bund, we have no desire to see the 'America First Committee' suffer from the undeserved reflection cast on the Bund by the chosen minority, who denounce the America First Committee as a pro-Nazi agency with the same degree of injustice that the Bund has had to endure in the past.
>
> "Nevertheless, we shall continue our fight against those who persecute American citizens of German stock in order to create a war fervor.
>
> Editor."

Loyal Americans frequently have been concerned because of published reports that America First audiences boo and hiss the President of the United States and such outstanding Americans as Cordell Hull and Wendell Willkie, and at the same time show no condemnation of Hitler and Mussolini.

Apparently there have been some attempts to stop this regrettable practice in California. However, the sincerity of such attempts can be judged by the following announcement, made at a recent meeting of one of the California chapters of America First:

> "Our enemies are misinterpreting statements made by our speakers. Therefore, we have rigged up a recording device so that we can protect ourselves against these liars . . . the recording machine is operating today, so will you please refrain from booing and hissing the names of our national leaders and show them the proper respect."

Other attempts are said to have been made by John Wheeler, son of the Montana Senator and chairman of the America First Committee in Southern California, to eliminate subversive or un-American elements within the organization. That any efforts he made have been unavailing will be shown by this report.

The investigation upon which this report is based does not cover every community in California, or every subversive factor in the communities covered. There are many persons whose activities indicated they should be investigated, but because of lack of time they were disregarded in compiling this report. However, the activities of those individuals who are mentioned in this report were thoroughly investigated. Scores of persons were interviewed. A vast amount of photographic and documentary evidence was obtained. In addition, extensive study of the files of various California and United States courts was made.

A detailed presentation of all the material upon which this report is based would require a volume many times this size. The following pages present an exceedingly condensed summary of only a sufficient number of the activities investigated to support the conclusions of the committee.

As a basis for its investigations, the committee has sought to obtain the answers to the following four specific questions:

a. What are typical channels of subversive propaganda in California?

b. What individuals are identified with these subversive channels?

c. To what extent are the same individuals identified with the America First Committee?

d. What effect have these individuals had on the America First Committee?

Each of the following sections of this report attempts to answer one of the foregoing questions.

DEFINITIONS

The Committee feels that certain words or terms used in this report should be clearly defined. The following definitions may be considered as applying to such words or terms, whenever used in this report:

1. *Un-American or subversive persons or organizations:* Persons or organizations whose activities tend to undermine our form of government, to foment racial or class hatreds or to otherwise weaken the defense morale of our people in accordance with the propaganda program of Nazi Germany.

2. *Bundist:* A person who is believed to have formerly been a member of the German-American Bund and who is now believed to be a member of, or in sympathy with, the policies of any other un-American or subversive organization.

3. *Racial or class hatreds:* Hatred, ill-will, suspicions or accusations leveled at entire races, religions or other minorities, such as Negroes, Jews, Catholics, Jehovah's Witnesses, British, Mexican and other foreign-language groups in the United States.

4. *America First:* Designates the America First Committee or one of its chapters. [Not to be confused with the "League to Save America First," frequently referred to in this report.]

II

What Are Typical Channels of Subversive Propaganda in California?

In identifying subversive channels in California—channels which later will be shown to flow directly into the America First Committee—consideration must be given to the fact that pro-Nazi individuals and groups no longer openly show their sympathies and their connections. Until 1940, Herman Max Schwinn, together with other members of Hitler's Bund, had no hesitancy in parading in Stormtrooper uniforms and in displaying the Swastika flag. Recently, however, a change occurred. Overnight the German-American Bund became very secretive. On orders of the "National Fuehrer," it destroyed its membership lists, correspondence and other records. Its members' activities in California must now be observed under various guises. These include:

DEUTSCHES HAUS MAENNERCHOR: In Los Angeles, the former German-American Bund continues to gather at the Deutsches Haus, 634 W. 15th Street. But its members now go under the name of the Deutsches Haus Maennerchor—which means "German House Male Choir." However, change of name brought no change in the members' aims, policies or activities. The Bundists still seek to breed racial hatreds and dissensions in this country. They still praise Nazi-ism and Adolph Hitler.

On Sundays many of the Maennerchor Bundists get together regularly at the Deutsches Haus. After these informal gatherings, many of them adjourn to the Embassy Auditorium where they attend the meetings of the "League to Save America First."

LEAGUE TO SAVE AMERICA FIRST: As nearly as the committee can determine, there is little basic difference between the aims and policies of this organization and those of the Bund. At its meetings the Bund-re-enforced audiences regularly boo and hiss the names of the President of the United States and outstanding Americans, but never show any condemnation when Adolph Hitler or Benito Mussolini are mentioned. Many of its speakers adhere closely to the Nazi propaganda line.

THE NATIONAL COPPERHEADS is an organization operating primarily to cause citizens of this country to lose confidence in our government. It actively disseminates disunity and hatred of American principles.

G. WILHELM KUNZE *(left), former National Vice-Leader of the German-American Bund, is shown here with* HERMAN SCHWINN, *Pacific Coast Bund "Fuehrer," during a conference at the latter's Los Angeles office early in 1939. Both are attired in Bund uniform which has since been outlawed. Photos on wall are of Goebbels (left) and Horst Wessel.*

THE AMERICAN GUARDS has its headquarters in Los Angeles, and sponsors a "platform" that has great similarity to Nazi teachings, promulgating the abolition of Labor Unions and the substitution of the "government union," such as exists in Germany today. This group also preaches other routine totalitarian doctrines.

THE ANTI-COMMUNIST FEDERATION is a typical subversive blind. Its "secretary" is Paquita Louise De Shishmareff, also known as Mrs. Leslie Fry or Louise Fry, mysterious international figure who fled the country when sought by government agencies. Last year this Federation called a convention to be held at the "committee headquarters," which was none other than the Bund's own Deutsches Haus, 634 W. 15th Street, Los Angeles. This convention, according to the report of the Special Committee on un-American Activities of the 76th Congress, "was in no real sense an anti-Communist convention, but rather another of a series of attempts to unite some of the various forces of intolerance, racial hatred, Naziism and Fascism in order to achieve greater influence in the United States."

THE MILITANT CHRISTIAN PATRIOTS is another "front" organization, headed by the same group that sponsored the Anti-Communist Federation.

THE AMERICAN LEAGUE OF CHRISTIAN WOMEN is still another organization closely associated with the Militant Christian Patriots and formed by close associates of Shishmareff, alias Fry.

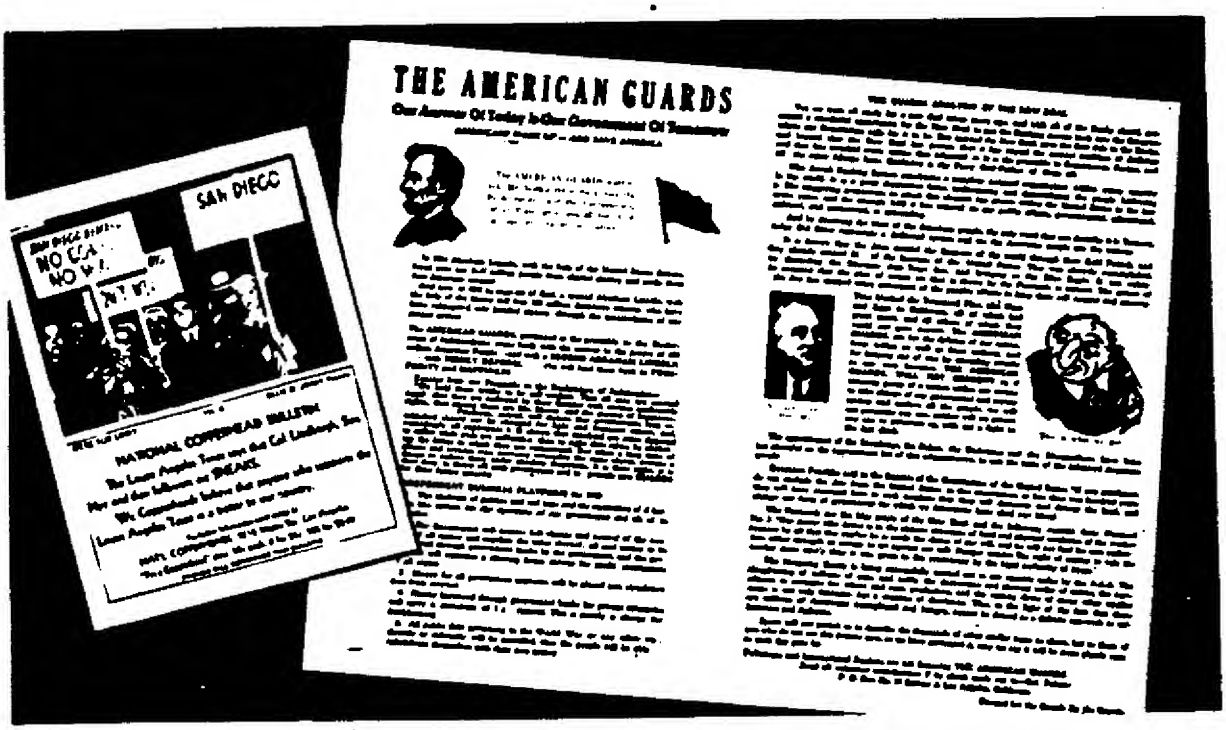
THE ARYAN BOOK STORE, operated in the Deutsches Haus, is one of the chief sources of printed propaganda material in the west. It distributes a vast variety of German and English language books and articles designed to create racial hatreds and dissensions among all classes of society, in accordance with Hitler's basic "divide and rule" principle.

THE NATIONAL BOOK MART, located at 1625 Fifth Avenue, Los Angeles, sells many of the same books and pamphlets advocating and expounding Nazi doctrines and inviting racial hatreds as are sold by the Aryan Book Store.

THE CONTINENTAL BOOK SHOP, 2509 West 7th Street, Los Angeles, is likewise a center for the distribution of un-American subversive literature and books.

• • •

The foregoing are a few of the channels of subversive activity found by The American Legion committee in California. The manner in which these channels direct their propaganda poisons directly into the heart of the America First Committee will be revealed in the following pages, after brief attention has been given to the individuals who operate or function through the above channels.



Reproductions of a Copperhead bulletin and of one of many American Guards folders designed to stir up racial hatreds and ridicule our national leaders. Photograph of President Roosevelt is captioned "We voted for this . . ." Caricature purporting to be a Jew is captioned "This is what we got."

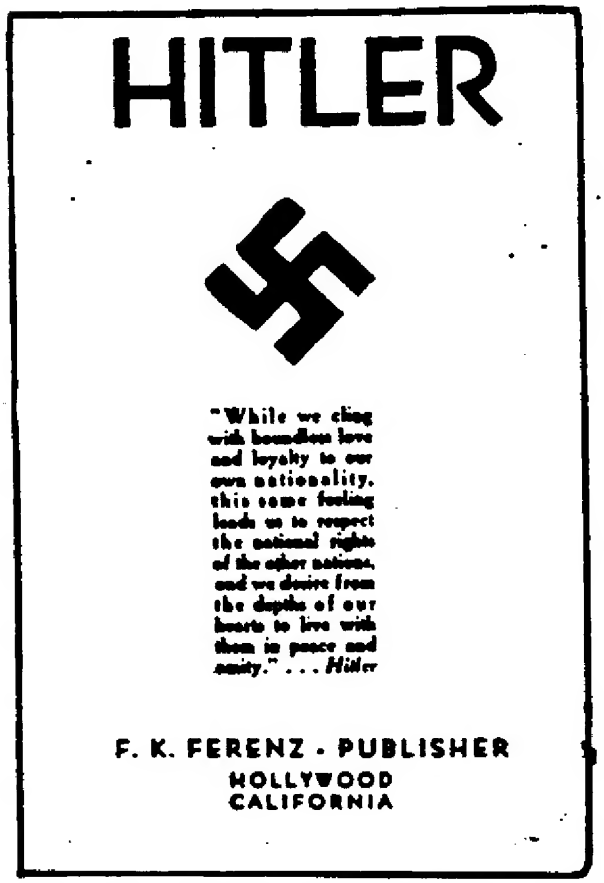
III

What Individuals Are Identified with the Subversive Channels?

The number of men and women who are active in subversive channels in California is large. However, most of the activities are conceived and supervised by a rather small group, most of whom appear to be well skilled in propaganda and organization work. They include:

1. **F. K. Ferenz** operates the Continental Book Shop at 2509 West 7th Street, Los Angeles, one of the channels of Nazi printed propaganda referred to in the previous chapter. On his own account, he is the publisher of a swastika-decorated volume of essays entitled "Hitler." Ferenz has been, and still is, an exhibitor of German propaganda films in Los Angeles. He also distributes German language records. His motion picture shows,

F. K. Ferenz, noted Nazi operator, usually tries to avoid being photographed at America First meetings, and habitually covers his face with a newspaper, as in upper left photo (right edge). Right photo shows him (second from left) among the small group of America Firsters who waited for the conclusion of Senator Wheeler's interview in the press room at Los Angeles Union Station on September 2?, 1941, so they might shake hands with their leader.



HITLER

"While we cling with boundless love and loyalty to our own nationality, this same feeling leads us to respect the national rights of the other nations, and we desire from the depths of our hearts to live with them in peace and amity." . . . *Hitler*

F. K. FERENZ - PUBLISHER
HOLLYWOOD
CALIFORNIA

CONTENTS

Introduction	4
Historical Account of the Rise of Adolf Hitler and the N. S. D. A. P.	9
The 25 Points of the N. S. D. A. P. Program	10
The Program Requirements in Detail (As formulated by Gottfried Feder)	12
From Nucleus of Seven Men to Reichs-Leadership	15
The Achievements of National Socialism (Excerpts from Dr. Dietrich's Speech at Nuremberg Party Day)	19
What is the Secret of Hitler's Power? (By Helen Appleton Read)	22
The Resurrection of the Unknown Soldier (By Prelate Bela Tusi)	25
The Truth About Germany (By Lt. Colonel Sosa Hutchens)	26
Cultural Currents in the Third Reich (By Robert T. Clark)	29
National Socialism and the Church	33
The Statement of a German Worker About Chancellor Hitler	34
The Woman in the New Germany (By Douglas Brinkley)	36
The Race Law of the Third Reich (Speech of Reichs-Minister Dr. Frick)	38
Address by Geo. Sylvester Viereck	45
A Voice for the New Germany	50
One Year of National Socialism in Germany (Speech of Adolf Hitler)	54
Chancellor Hitler's Speech Defending Execution of Four	72

Reproduction of the title page and table of contents from FERENZ' *laudatory Hitler symposium.*

sometimes accompanied by talks by such persons as Herman Max Schwinn, have been shown in many California theatres, including the Mason Opera House in Los Angeles. Here, however, he was ousted by his landlords, who charged him with being a "propaganda agent for the German government." This was brought out in the Superior Court in Los Angeles where Ferenz unsuccessfully sought to regain possession of the Opera House lease.

2. Herman Max Schwinn, Western Director of the former German-American Bund, has been closely associated with many of the subversive channels mentioned in the foregoing chapter. Born in Hamburg, Germany, he came to the United States and applied for citizenship which was subsequently granted to him. In 1939 his citizenship was cancelled because of false affidavits supporting the petition for final papers.

3. T. W. Hughes, who founded the "League To Save America First," conducts its regular meetings at the Embassy Auditorium in Los Angeles, largely directed to inciting intolerance and class dissensions along particularly bitter lines. He has written a pamphlet en-

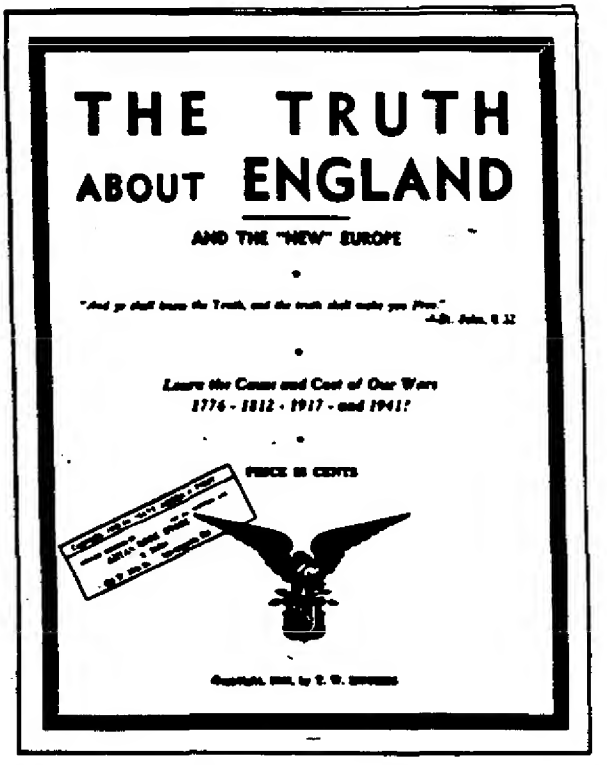
titled, "The Truth About England," which is distributed by the National Book Mart, the Aryan Book Store and other subversive channels.

4. Ellis O. Jones is the organizer of the National Copperheads, described in Section II. His propaganda closely parallels the Nazi technique. He regularly writes for and sells a paper bearing the title "Publicity." The following quotation from the issue of August 7, 1941, is typical of his style:

> "He (Lindbergh) is a man more feared and therefore more hated and more recklessly maligned than all others by the perfidious Roosevelt, the vituperative Ickes, the guttersnipe Winchell, the babbling Dorothy Thompson and all the rest."

5. Benjamin Franklin Ballard is organizer and active leader of the American Guards, sponsoring Hitler-style abolition of Labor Unions. He is a frequent participant in meetings of the "League To Save America First" conducted by T. W. Hughes. He issues anti-Semitic literature and follows other general propaganda policies of the Nazis.

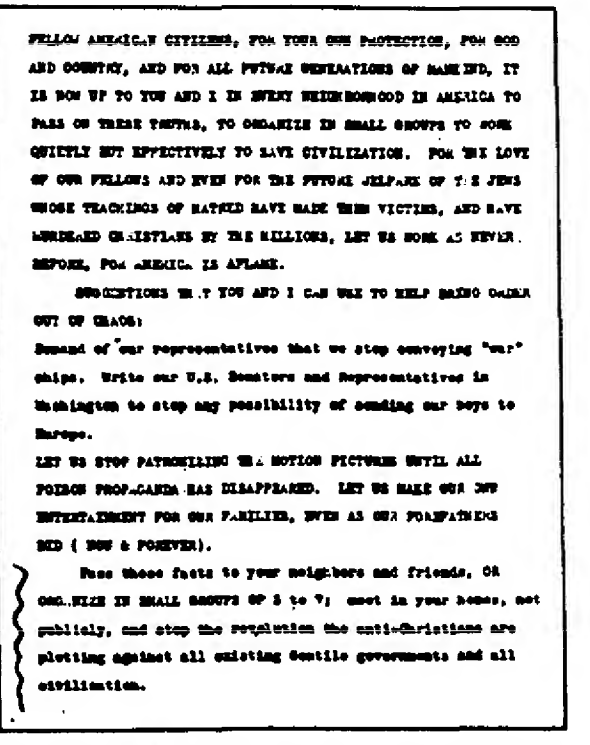
6. William P. Williams has published and distributed a number of subversive propaganda leaflets, advocating the well-known underground technique generally called the "secret cell" organization. He urges the formation of cells of from three to seven persons, no one of whom, except the leader, is


THE TRUTH
ABOUT ENGLAND
AND THE "NEW" EUROPE

Learn the Cause and Cost of Our Wars
1776 - 1812 - 1917 - and 1941!

PRICE 25 CENTS

Reproduction of T. W. Hughes' anti-British book, showing distribution stamp of the Aryan Book Store, located on the premises of former Bund headquarters.


FELLOW AMERICAN CITIZENS, FOR YOUR OWN PROTECTION, FOR GOD AND COUNTRY, AND FOR ALL FUTURE GENERATIONS OF MANKIND, IT IS NOW UP TO YOU AND I IN EVERY NEIGHBORHOOD IN AMERICA TO PASS ON THESE TRUTHS, TO ORGANIZE IN SMALL GROUPS TO WORK QUIETLY BUT EFFECTIVELY TO SAVE CIVILIZATION. FOR THE LOVE OF OUR FELLOWS AND EVEN FOR THE FUTURE WELFARE OF THE JEWS WHOSE TEACHINGS OF HATRED HAVE MADE THEM VICTIMS, AND HAVE MURDERED CHRISTIANS BY THE MILLIONS, LET US WORK AS NEVER BEFORE, FOR AMERICA IS AFLAME.

SUGGESTIONS WHAT YOU AND I CAN DO TO HELP BRING ORDER OUT OF CHAOS:

Demand of our representatives that we stop convoying "war" ships. Write our U.S. Senators and Representatives in Washington to stop any possibility of sending our boys to Europe.

LET US STOP PATRONIZING THE MOTION PICTURES UNTIL ALL FOREIGN PROPAGANDA HAS DISAPPEARED. LET US MAKE OUR OWN ENTERTAINMENT FOR OUR FAMILIES, EVEN AS OUR FOREFATHERS DID (DOG & FOREVER).

Pass these facts to your neighbors and friends, OR ORGANIZE IN SMALL GROUPS OF 5 to 7; meet in your homes, not publicly, and stop the revolution the anti-Christians are plotting against all existing Gentile governments and all civilization.

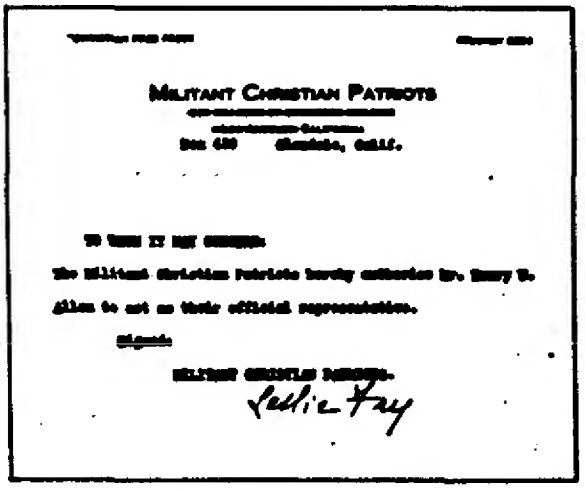
The above extract from WILLIAM P. WILLIAMS' mimeographed sheet entitled "Questions, Please" is typical of underground plotting technique that is characteristic of Williams' approach. The "secret cell" is widely used by the Nazi Party in Germany.

MRS. FAITH MCCULLOUGH *(left center, wearing white hat and glasses), alias Frances Maxey, former secretary of Mrs. Leslie Fry (fugitive from the government investigators) at an America First meeting in Hollywood.*

acquainted with the members of any other cells. They meet secretly in homes. Williams was recently prevented from finishing a speech to an American Legion Post because it was considered pro-Nazi.

7. Mrs. Faith McCullough, who is also known as Mrs. Frances Maxey, organized the American League of Christian Women. She has long been closely associated with Paquita Louise De Shishmareff, also known as Mrs. Leslie Fry, founder of the Anti-Communist Federation, who fled from the United States when sought by the government. Despite her long and close association with the fugitive Mrs. Fry, Mrs. Faith McCullough is still active in California subversive channels.

8. Henry D. Allen, who has been convicted of various crimes in the State of California, is referred to in the report of the U. S. Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities as the head of the American White Guards which "took part in some way or another in this attempt to create a unified Fascist movement."



MILITANT CHRISTIAN PATRIOTS

[redacted]

[redacted] Glendale, Calif.

[redacted]

[redacted] authorize Mr. Henry D. Allen to act as their official representative.

[redacted]

[redacted]

Leslie Fry

This letter of authorization was given to HENRY ALLEN *by* MRS. LESLIE FRY. *It amounted to a "safe conduct" guarantee for Allen through national subversive circles.*

Allen also testified, according to the same report, that he was one time a Silver Shirt leader and had been authorized by Mrs. Leslie Fry to make a tour of the country at her expense, wherein he visited some of the heads of outstanding subversive organizations.

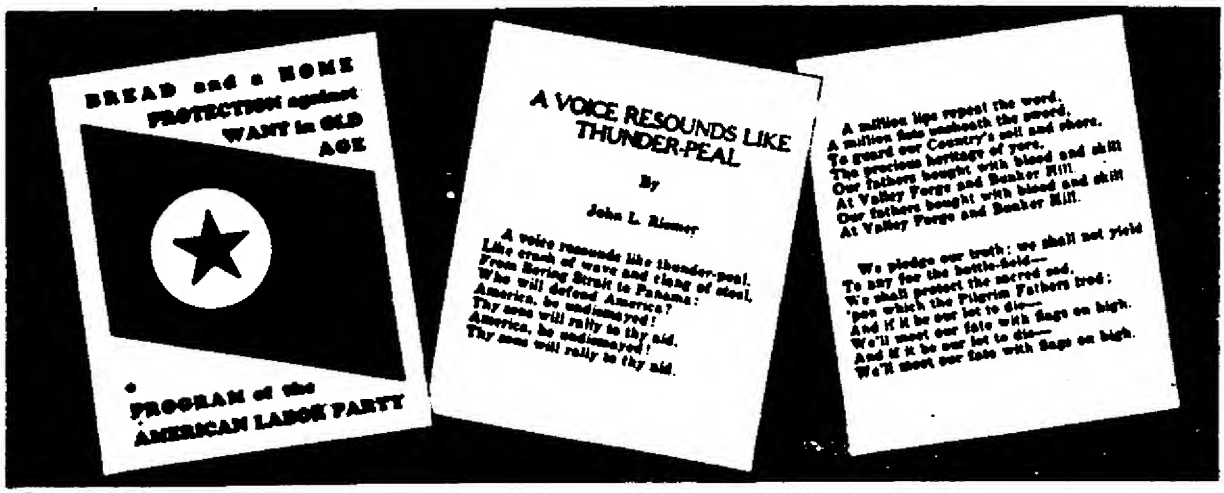
9. John L. Riemer operates the National Book Mart, distributor of subversive propaganda literature. He testified before the McCormack Committee that he had organized the "American Labor Party" [not to be confused with the large organization in New York of the same name]. The literature of Riemer's "Labor" organization consists in part of an anthem entitled "A Voice Resounds Like Thunder Peal," by John L. Riemer. With the exception of the substitution of American names for German names, this anthem is a direct translation of "Die Wacht am Rhein." Riemer's testimony to the McCormack Committee indicated that a German consulate had paid $215 for printing part of the literature he has been sending out from Los Angeles during the year 1941.

10. Arthur Burnett, sometimes called Roy Chase, is frequently a participant in meetings of Hughes' "League To Save America First." His activities have included preparation of anti-Semitic posters and the dissemination of other subversive literature.

11. William Hunt has been a frequent visitor at Deutsches Haus, notably on an occasion when Fritz Kuhn was present. He has also been associated with the activities of Faith McCullough, secretary to fugitive Mrs. Leslie Fry.

12. James McBride is a member of the Bund and a "stormtrooper." His wife, Joan, has likewise been engaged in Bund activities, and is a waitress at the Tavern of the Deutsches Haus.

13. The Van Meter Brothers, James, Daniel, Baron and William. One of these is a photographer for the Bund. Another is



Front cover of RIEMER'S *"American Labor Party" Platform (which advocated abolition of Labor Unions), and anthem of the Party, which is a word for word translation of German Patriotic Hymn, except for substitution of American names for German ones.*

a printer for the Bund. They are all active in the subversive "League To Save America First."

14. Bruce Tarkington Dowden, a frequent speaker before the subversive "Save America First" meetings, is particularly violent in inciting racial hatreds. He cooperates with distributor of Nazi propaganda, F. K. Ferenz. He advocates flooding Washington with demands for annexation of Canada for the sole purpose of "embarrassing the government." Other typical teachings:

> "I believe in fighting fire with fire and there is only one way to combat this vicious pro-British doctrine in our schools and that's the whispering campaign . . . gossip, our grandmothers would have called it. Our educational system through the years has been built upon a high standard of personal morals . . . the first hint that the morals of a teacher or professor were irregular have called for immediate dismissal. This is your method of attack. If the eighty or so people here tonight would make up their minds to go out of here tonight and start a whispering campaign attacking the morals of the offending teachers and professors, I am sure it wouldn't take long to eliminate them."

15. G. Allison Phelps, also known as G. Allison, has for years been broadcasting over various California radio stations along particularly vicious anti-British and anti-Jewish lines. He advertises for sale the book "We Must Save the Republic," announced by *Flanders Hall*, a Nazi-front publishing house financed by George Sylvester Vierick, who in turn is listed under the McCormack Act as a German propaganda agent. On September 24, 1941, Pearson and Allen described G. Allison Phelps as a front-man for Russell Mack, a former scenario writer, who visited Germany in 1939 and returned to Hollywood to collaborate with Phelps in scathing attacks on the motion picture industry.

The foregoing pages have listed fifteen individuals who are especially active in subversive channels in California. The following section reveals the extent to which these same individuals are identified with the America First Committee in California.

Two of the Van Meter Brothers, prominent in subversivist society as members, printers and photographers for the German-American Bund. (*Left*, Baron Van Meter; right, William Van Meter.)

Bruce Tarkington Dowden advocates annexation of Canada and "whispering campaigns" to slur morals of teachers who support Defense Program.

IV

To What Extent Are the Same Individuals Identified with America First?

It is found that all of the fifteen individuals previously mentioned are very active in the America First Committee in California. Some of them are outright leaders. Others are working in more humble capacities or in more indirect ways. For easy reference the names of these persons are numbered in the same order as in the previous chapter.

1. F. K. Ferenz, distributor of subversive books, Hitler essayist and Nazi film exhibitor, is one of the most active workers in the America First movement in California. Between March 6 and August 23, 1941, he attended twenty-one America First meetings. He participated in the management of the Alhambra motor parade conducted by the America First Committee. He assisted in the operation of the picket line at the Willkie Hollywood Bowl meeting, entering into discussions with by-standers or persons entering the Bowl. It is reported to the investigators that Ferenz also participated in the making of the vicious posters and banners which were used by both America Firsters and Bundists on this occasion.

2. Herman Max Schwinn, West Coast Bund Fuehrer, has openly cooperated and aided in the operation of the America First-sponsored picket line at the Hollywood Bowl when Wendell Willkie spoke in behalf of National Unity, on July 23, 1941. Schwinn did not carry a banner or poster but devoted his time to encouraging pickets and otherwise assisting F. K. Ferenz.

3. T. W. Hughes, who conducts the Bund-reenforced "League To Save America First," (see page 5), has attracted many America First speakers to his platform.*

Hughes is reported to participate in policy meetings of America First Committee leaders. Typical example of how the two organizations function along parallel lines is seen in the fact that the bulletin board at Hughes' meeting on July 20, 1941, displayed a poster very similar to the one which appeared on the bulletin board at America First headquarters in Los Angeles at the same time.

The Hughes anti-British book, "The Truth About England," which is distributed

*Among these are Louise Ward Watkins, Verne Marshall, John F. Sinclair, Bruce Tarkington Dowden, Albert W. Carlson, Frank J. Barry Sr., Frank J. Barry Jr., James D'Orsey Murray, Patrick Calhoun, and Michael Dillon.

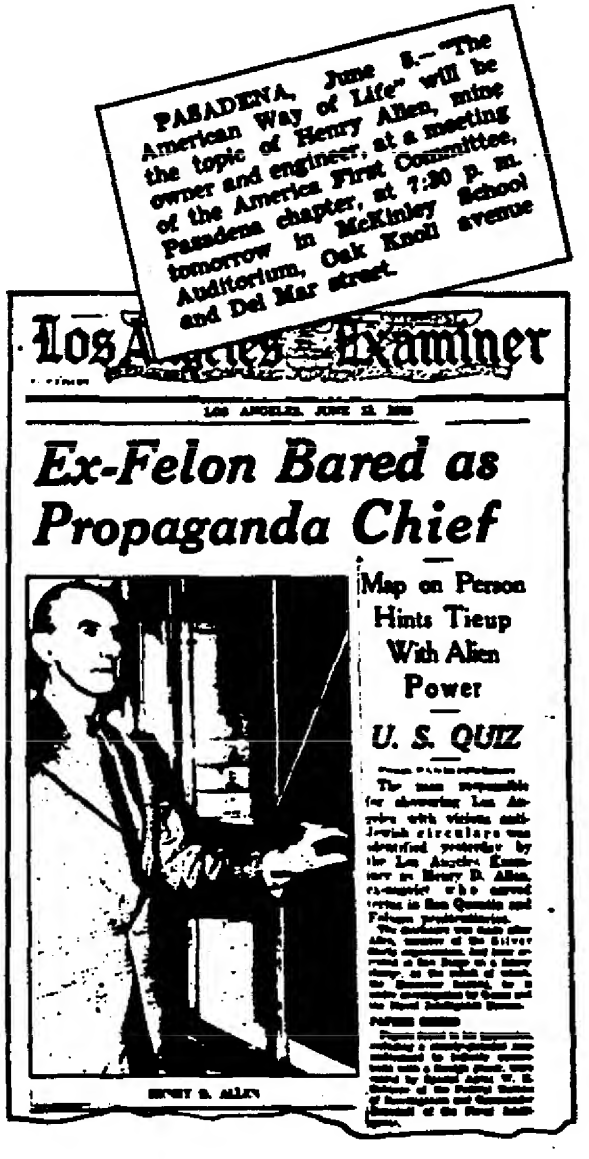
through the Aryan Book Store and other subversive channels is also recommended at America First Committee meetings in California.

4. Ellis O. Jones, organizer of the subversive National Copperheads, has attended forty-three America First meetings since January, 1941. These meetings have been in Los Angeles, Pasadena, Glendale and Santa Monica. During the same period he has attended twenty-three Hughes Save America First Meetings. He has participated in America First Motorcades and has cooperated in various ways with the America First "Youth Group."

5. Benjamin Franklin Ballard, organizer of the subversive American Guards and regular attendant at meetings of the "League to Save America First," is chairman of the Downtown chapter of the America First Committee. His talks to America First meetings are out-spokenly anti-Semitic. He compares the President of the United States to Benedict Arnold and urges impeachment proceedings. At America First meetings, he frequently recommends the book, "We Must Save The Republic," issued by Flanders Hall, Nazi-sponsored publishing house. (See G. Allison Phelps, page 13).

6. William P. Williams, publisher and distributor of subversive pamphlets, advocate of "secret cell" organizations who is regarded by Legionnaires as an out-spoken pro-Nazi, is head of the North Hollywood Chapter of America First.

7. Mrs. Faith McCullough, also known as Frances Maxey, organizer of the subversive "American League of Christian Women," and secretary to the fugitive Mrs. Leslie Fry (see page 11), is active in the Glendale and Pasadena, California, chapters of America First, and an America First speaker. She appeared before the Board of Education in the City of Pasadena in behalf of America First to fight the cancellation of its permit for use of school buildings.



PASADENA, June 5.—"The American Way of Life" will be the topic of Henry Allen, mine owner and engineer, at a meeting of the America First Committee, Pasadena chapter, at 7:30 p. m. tomorrow in McKinley School Auditorium, Oak Knoll avenue and Del Mar street.

Los Angeles Examiner

LOS ANGELES, JUNE 12, 1939

Ex-Felon Bared as Propaganda Chief

Map on Person Hints Tieup With Alien Power

U. S. QUIZ

HENRY B. ALLEN

8. Henry Allen, ex-convict, founder of the subversive American White Guards and Silver Shirt leader (see page 11), has worked his way into the confidence of the Pasadena chapter of the America First Committee. However, when he was scheduled to speak at one of their meetings on June 6, 1941, the people of Pasadena made such loud protest because of his known record that America First cancelled the address.

9. John L. Riemer, distributor of T. W. Hughes' anti-British pamphlet, and F. K. Ferenz' laudatory book on Hitler, advertises America First in connection with his mailings of Nazi propaganda, that are paid for in part by a German Consul. (See page 12.)

10. Arthur Burnett, sometimes called Roy Chase, active participant in "Save America First" meetings and disseminator of subversive posters and pamphlets, has attended at least thirty America First meetings in the last few months. At some of these meetings he distributed literature tending to create racial hatred. It is reported to The American Legion that Burnett has prepared bulletin board announcements for the America First Committee headquarters in Los Angeles and has also aided in the decoration of automobiles used by the America First Committee in parades.

11. William Hunt, whose activities are closely allied with those of Mrs. Faith McCullough and the fugitive Mrs. Leslie Fry, is Chairman of the Glendale Chapter of the America First Committee. Hunt has been seen frequently at Bund headquarters. His Glendale Chapter has often been cited as one of the worst offenders in booing national leaders while omitting all condemnation of Hitler and Naziism.

12. James McBride, Bund stormtrooper, and his wife Joan McBride, Deutsches Haus-waitress, have attended twenty-three America First Committee meetings within the last few months. Both of these persons served as America First pickets at the Willkie Hollywood Bowl meeting, and also participated in America First motor parades.

13. The Van Meter Brothers, Bund printers and photographers, have been very active in America First, particularly in its "Youth Group." From March 6 to August 24, 1941, they attended twenty-two meetings.

14. Bruce Tarkington Dowden, who recommends the spreading of malicious rumor concerning the morals of schoolteachers opposed to America First, has spoken at least four times at America First meetings. The character-assassination teachings attributed

Bund Members JOAN (center) and JAMES (right) MCBRIDE picket with MRS. DUNN, America First member, at the Hollywood Bowl.

to him on page 13 were voiced at an America First meeting in Pasadena on September 19, 1941. The photograph of him on page 13 was taken at that meeting.

15. G. Allison Phelps, also known as G. Allison, radio hate-inciter and advertiser of a publication announced by Nazi-financed Flanders Hall, is an America First speaker whose intimacy with the organization may be judged from the fact that he regularly advertises America First meetings over his radio programs.

This report has thus far revealed:

(A) A number of the subversive propaganda channels operating in California;

(B) Who are the organizers and workers in these channels;

(C) The extent to which the same organizers and workers are active in America First Committee chapters in California.

The result of their activities in the America First movement will be enlarged upon in the next section.

AMERICANISM COMMITTEE: 17th District, American Legion
Patriotic Hall, 1816 South Figueroa St., Los Angeles, California

CONTENTS NOT COPYRIGHTED

V

What Effect Do These Individuals Have on America First Committee?

If the persons referred to in previous sections of this report confined their activities in the America First movement to the mere development of the isolationist point of view on U. S. defense, their coincidental activities through subversive channels would not necessarily reflect upon the America First Committee.

However, The American Legion finds that there is practically no difference between the activities of these persons when functioning on behalf of the America First Committee and when functioning on behalf of the subversive channels with which they are identified. *There is every indication that they have joined the America First movement for the express purpose of presenting their subversive propaganda to those sincere isolationists who have been attracted to meetings of America First.*

The result of this taking over of America First meetings by the subversivists has been a gradual but complete switching of the organization's policy from one that merely encourages the theory of defense through isolation, to a policy of sponsoring the indiscriminate spread of hatred, confusion, dissension, defeatism, and various other elements of the propaganda line set down by the Nazi government for its agents in the United States.

Innumerable speeches at meetings of America First in California have been analyzed by The American Legion. These uniformly ignore all constructive discussion of U. S. defense from the isolationist point of view. One might spend weeks attending America First meetings, listening to America First radio addresses and reading America First literature, and still find no definite statement as to the point on the map at which that Committee proposes that our country start defending itself from aggression, or whether it believes the United States should attempt to defend itself at all.

The good California citizen who sincerely believes that strict isolationism may be a practical course for the United States, turns in vain to the America First Committee for constructive information or inspiration. He finds that, while carefully avoiding giving any hint of a consistent defense policy for this country, many America First speakers apparently stop at nothing that will further confuse the defense issue, weaken our morale, or otherwise embarrass our government.

The continuous incitement and embitter-

ment of sincere California citizens against their government, the poisoning of their minds with Hitler's three hatreds (hatred of Britain, hatred of Jews and hatred of the American Way of Life), the providing of a respectable sounding board for professional organizers of crackpot, "lunacy-fringe" groups—these are the obvious results of the present subversive infiltration of the America First movement in California.

The American Legion Committee finds that in meetings of America First, processes are at work whereby a person attending merely to seek information, may unwittingly be transformed into a Nazi sympathizer, and even into a potential traitor to his country.

This Committee further finds that subversive infiltration into America First in California has not only confused the minds of the people in the audiences it attracts, but also has poisoned the minds of persons of outstanding community reputation who have participated in its activities.

It is obvious to this committee that subversive and un-American persons are tolerated by America First because such persons favor the isolationist America First doctrine. The American Legion, however, submits that acquiescence by leaders of America First in such subversive conduct permits the people to be deceived into believing that insidious doctrines and pernicious ideologies of un-American elements express the ideals and have the approval of the leaders of America First.

The responsibility for the loyalty and integrity of all those who are active in America First rests squarely upon the shoulders of its leaders.

The entire leadership of the America First Committee is now at the crossroads. General Robert E. Wood and his National Committee associates must make one of three decisions:

(1) Publicly disown and publicly denounce America First chapters in California and in all other states where conditions exist similar to those revealed by this report.

(2) Openly accept leadership of subversive and "lunacy fringe" elements in the United States.

(3) Ignore conditions disclosed by this report.

★

WHAT NOW?

If General Robert E. Wood and his National Committee adopt the first course, America First will cease to be a sounding-board for un-American doctrines and the people will know precisely where it stands.

If they accept leadership of the subversive elements (2), or if they ignore conditions disclosed by this report (3), [in effect the same] any resulting disunity of our people, any ensuing class hatred—attempting thus to strike at the very heart of our national defense—rests solely with America First. Such an eventuality loyal Americans must not and will not tolerate.

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE (Continued)

Dec.11, 1941: Chicago, Ill.-Dr. Clarence MANION
Dec.15, 1941: Rockford, Ill.-Sen. NYE
Tulsa, Okla.-William H. MURRAY

To: ND's 1,3,4,8,9,FBI,MID. B-7-F(M)
December 5, 1941.

CONFIDENTIAL

JAN 28 1941

RECORDED 100 - 4712-239

Declassified per Navy letter ltd 7/25/91 8123 mch/ltr 8/15/91

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

ONI

Ref: ONI card, same subject, November 21, 1941.

CONFIDENTIAL

Subject organization has announced, from its National Headquarters in Chicago, Dec. 3, 1941, that it would take an active part in politics and would support Representatives and Senators, regardless of party lines, who voted against the war. Whether or not we are already at war may be debatable, from a technical point of view, but subject's stand will result in the formation of a political block to oppose all defense effort. With this in view, subject announced a schedule of meetings in the East and Mid-West during December.

The list of speakers is headed by Charles A. LINDBERGH, Senator Gerald P. NYE, of North Dakota, and John CUDAHY,

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE (Continued)

former Ambassador to Belgium. Other speakers will be: Senator D. Worth CLARK, of Idaho; William H. MURRAY, former Governor of Oklahoma; Representative Jeannette RANKIN of Montana; Mrs. Irene Castle McLAUGHLIN.

Dr. Clarence MANION, Dean of the Notre Dame Law School, will make his first appearance as a speaker for subject at a rally in Chicago, Dec. 14. Also undertaking speaking tours for the first time will be Representatives Fred A. HARTLEY, Jr., of New Jersey, Harry SAUTHOFF, of Wisconsin, and Fred BRADLEY of Michigan.

The schedule of meetings, announced by National Chairman, General Robert E. WOOD, follows:

CONFIDENTIAL

Dec. 4, 1941: Richmond Hill, L.I., N.Y.-Rep. HARTLEY
Eau Claire, Wis.-William H. MURRAY

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE (Continued)

CONFIDENTIAL

Springfield, Mass.-John CUDAHY
Hartford, Conn.-Senator NYE
The Bronx, N.Y.-Representative Dewey SHORT
Missouri; John T. FLYNN
Dec. 5, 1941: Peabody, Mass.-Rep. SHORT and BRADLEY
Dec. 6, 1941: Columbus, Ohio-Senator NYE
Dec. 7, 1941: Pittsburgh-Senator NYE and Mrs. MCLAUGHLIN
Dec. 8, 1941: White Plains, N.Y.-Sen. NYE and John CUDAHY
Lawrence, Mass.-Representative HARTLEY
Dec. 9, 1941: Cincinnati, Ohio-Sen. D. Worth CLARK and
Samuel B. PETTENGILL
Dec.10, 1941: Jersey City-Sen. NYE and Rep. SAUTHOFF
Dec. 12, 1941: Valley Stream, L.I.,-Sen. NYE

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☐ (b)(3)	☑ (b)(7)(C)	☐ (k)(1)
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☐ (b)(5)	☐ (b)(9)	☐ (k)(6)
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FBI/DOJ

TO : ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL BERGE

FROM : DIRECTOR, FBI

SUBJECT : [redacted]

DATE : December 2, 1941

100-432-240

MEMORANDUM FOR ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL BERGE

Upon receipt of your memorandum of November 29, 1941, requesting certain investigation in connection with the case involving [redacted] b7C

[redacted] b7C

particularly in the activities of [redacted] and security of Mr. [redacted] with the view toward determining what investigation should be undertaken. You took this action in view of the fact that it was brought to your attention that the Attorney General had assigned to Mr. [redacted] certain duties and responsibilities relating to the operation of the America First Committee. Mr. [redacted] requested that the investigation requested in your memorandum of November 29, 1941, be held in abeyance in order that he might make this matter up with the Criminal Division. Accordingly, withholding the investigation requested in your memorandum of November 29, 1941, until such time as the Criminal Division and Mr. [redacted] have advised me whether the investigation should be conducted.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

5/13/86 BC by letter HQ 62-5?
10/4/22 BY [illegible]

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100-4712-1942

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
DEC 13 1941
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

ANONYMOUS COMMUNICATION
KEEP ENVELOPE ATTACHED

1 ENCLO. 8

Dear Mr. Hoover:

I'd suggest that some American citizen, [redacted] b7C
your investigate this article and its organization.

This article is clipped from the Lincolnwood Booster, a local newspaper of Chicago's Lake View District.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 5-8-86 BY SP6bjd/kg

Special Mail

CHICAGO, ILL. DEC 11 11:30 PM 1941 AIR MAIL

BUY DEFENSE SAVINGS BONDS AND STAMPS

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 5-8-86 BY SP6bjd/kg

Mr. Herbert Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

AGREES WITH HITLER BOOK, 'MEIN KAMPF'

Meeting Occurs 40 Hours Before Jap Attack on America

"Adolf Hitler in his book, 'Mein Kampf,' says that democracy in America is 'decayed and rotten'—I agree with him!"

With those words the principal speaker at the Lincoln Park Chapter, America First, Inc., meeting at 3730 N. Clark, Friday night, got his talk under way. He was Rev. Paul Voronaeff, who was announced as a Russian missionary.

He took the stand just a few minutes after another speaker, a Rev. Boze, had challenged the American Legion. Rev. Boze, who claimed to be organizing a "We the Fathers" group to march on Washington, said: "Where is the American Legion? We dare them to come!"

Puts on an Act

The Russian "missionary," who gave a carefully rehearsed dramatic monologue that would have done credit to a stage star, also brought with him thirty-five lantern slides purporting to show Russian conditions.

One of the slides was a map of Europe and Asia, which showed Russia out of all proportion to its actual size and which depicted Germany as being about as big as a minute.

But Rev. Voronaeff, who evidently had trouble making up his mind whether Russia was a "menace" or not, in the next breath declared proudly that Germany already occupied 4/5 of the "important" part of Russia and that retreat of the Nazis at Rostov was "insignificant."

Hits Walter Winchell

Other parts of his speech that drew applause from the 224 members of the audience were the statements that "the defense tax was a robbery" and that he "stood behind Walter Winchell during a recent Communist parade" and that Walter knew all the reds by and later he said that he was in grade school in Russia in 1925. Simple arithmetic would indicate he was a grade school pupil at the age of 19! He also wasn't quite clear about whether he "escaped" or was released from the Russian army.

Asks God's Help

He ended his talk by calling on God to help him and by stating that if Jesus Christ came to the White House, the President would say: "Get away from here, you are a Nazi."

Friday's rally was covered by one of The Booster's male reporters because of threats at previous America First, Inc., meetings that female reporters (whom they called "local Dorothy Thompsons") would be "tossed out on their ear."

This reporter, who is of German descent and understands German, was surprised to hear people in the row behind him conversing in that language. At one time they yelled out German words, which translated literally, meant: "Roosevelt is a s— — — b—!"

The America Firsters attempted no violence against this reporter, but one speaker did say, "The Booster misconstrues our statements here and we're going to have a showdown with them!"

Although this meeting took place just 40 hours before Japan attacked America, not one word was said about the Japanese-American situation. The entire meeting was given over to vilifying FDR, Great Britain and Russia, and apologizing for Germany.

America First Committee

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/8/86 BY SP6 ja/tcg

RECORDED
100-4712 -242

January 1, 1942

b7c

Special Agent in Charge
Chicago, Illinois

Re: [redacted] b7c
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Dear Sir:

For your information, I am transmitting herewith copies of an anonymous communication dated December 12, 1941 received at the Bureau in an envelope postmarked December 11, 1941 at Chicago, Illinois.

Very truly yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Enclosures

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED
★ JAN 1 1942 ★
P. M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/8/86 BY SP6bja/t

[redacted]
b7c

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER
DIRECTOR

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

December 2, 1941

EAT:TEB

MEMORANDUM FOR THE DIRECTOR

I talked to Mr. L. M. C. Smith about the attached memorandum from the Criminal Division in which we are requested to conduct some investigation pertaining to the America First Committee. Mr. Smith stated that he would take this matter up at once with the Criminal Division since he doesn't believe the Attorney General desired an investigation in this field at the present time. Mr. Smith requested that we send a memorandum to the Criminal Division advising that he is handling matters relating to the America First Committee and requesting the Criminal Division to clear with Smith before having any investigation of this kind undertaken. A suggested memorandum to Mr. Berge is attached hereto.

Respectfully,

Edward A. Tamm

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/8/86 BY SP6 ja/tcg

RECORDED

100-4712-243

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
3 DEC 12 '41
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FIVE

DEC 27 1941

67C

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER
DIRECTOR

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

December 2, 1941

EAT:TEB

MEMORANDUM FOR THE DIRECTOR

b7D

While talking to Mr. L. M. C. Smith on various matters I inquired of him what disposition had been made of the matter involving [redacted] and ~~the forthcoming publication of a book dealing with the~~ America First Committee. Mr. Smith indicated he was awaiting some word from [redacted] bout this situation. Smith has designated Mr. Frank Crocker of his Division to go to New York and work with the Bureau Agents in reviewing this material. Crocker is available to go on 24 hours notice but the matter is awaiting indication from [redacted] as to when the action will be taken.

b7D

b7D

b7D

Respectfully,

Edward A. Tamm

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/8/86 BY SP6 bja/tkg

I believe Smith has now arranged for his man to be in N.Y. on Monday A.M. Have gone worked details out with Tolson.

RECORDED
INDEXED

100-4712-244

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
10 DEC 11 1941
U. S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

10 JAN 28 1941

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER
DIRECTOR

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

EAT:GEG

December 4, 1941

Time: 9:40 A.M.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE DIRECTOR

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Holloman
Mr. Harbo
Tele. Room
Tour Room
Mr. Nease
Miss Beahm
Miss Gandy

I called Mr. Foxworth at New York and advised him that L. M. C. Smith had been in touch with you last night concerning the [redacted] matter. I told Mr. Foxworth that Smith is sending Fred Crocker of the Special Defense Unit to Room 4206, Channin Building, 42nd and Lexington Avenue, New York City, at 10:00 A.M. next Monday to see [redacted] I told Mr. Foxworth I would suggest to Mr. Smith that he have Crocker get in touch with Agent [redacted] of the New York Office prior to ten o'clock on Monday in order that they might meet and go to see [redacted] together.

b7D
b7D
b7C
b7D

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/8/86 BY SP-6 bja/tcg

Respectfully,

Edward A. Tamm

RECORDED
INDEXED 100-4712-245

10 DEC 11 1941
U. S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

FBI

106

10 JAN 28 1941

20 NOV 6 0 1941

EXCLUSIVE TO: WALTER LINCHELL

To Hoover Committee

(1) Latest speakers at the America First Meetings are Bert Eagle, a full-blooded Indian, who is a professional speaker, and has soap-boxed on Columbus Circle for years on a variety of subjects; and John Olivio, [redacted] b7C

[redacted] b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 5/8/86 BY SP-6 bja key

245X

no writer

100-4712-245X

RECORDED

5 16

[redacted] b7C

Washington
D. C.

for information —

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/8/86 BY SP6 bja/tcg

at a meeting of the american first committee, a toast was given by a number of nazi sympathizers of german extraction, who should be immediately removed, and placed in concentration camps, as all are very dangerous agitators the toast was as follows,) to the downfall of America,) and the day when the nazi germans will tramp down our streets. determined to turn in these german rascals, who are all earning and raking in, the good old american dollar I managed to steal the book with addresses of which I am sending 2 enclosures to the office, a stripping german by (redacted) first name, unknown, who works as fireman at (redacted) 158th street and the Bronx. — a (redacted), three nazi rascals came to America since the world war, and I doubt (over

b7c

AMONYMOUS COMMUNICATION
KEEP INVESTIGATION ATTACHED
1 ENCL.
© Cameron Kyle

100-4712-246
RECORDED
INDEXED
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
DEC 15 1941
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
DEC 14 9 PM 1941
FILES DIVISION
RECEIVED

if a good many of these german rascals lose their citizenship papers, this man ([redacted] b7c owns a delicatessen store [redacted], or next side this ([redacted]) carries, or hides somewhere in his store, an ugly german rifle, or large revolver, also, a nasty looking long sough edged german sword, of which, when drunk, he flourishes and brandishes into the air, with the statement that he is saving this sword for the time when (hitler) will tramp down the streets of New York, and he will have the opportunity to cut (President Roosevelt) head from his body and hang it up, in the german capital

JAN 24 3:30 12 PM
FBI
NEW YORK

(name) a [redacted] b7c born in the United states, a rabid german attraction this man, has a position as (Post office employer) somewhere in the army) it might be station T - or U -, [redacted] rascal, gathering in good American cash, rabid german rascal his father, a post office [redacted] b7c owns a house somewhere in staten Island

U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE
CO UNIT
JAN 26 8 48 AM '42
RECEIVED

A [redacted], who was a brace at [redacted] the man runs a business [redacted] b7c
I doubt, these last two citizenship papers)
for both came to America since the World War
the simple-minded peasant German woman
spends her ninth out, to the effect) she is
earning her (American prosperity) to turn it over
to (Hitler), for an American (concentration camp
further down the the street resides [redacted] b
[redacted]) lives a [redacted], who
is not only (rotten) [redacted] by nature
the pudgy German has lived in the United
States for 4yrs, and made a good living
he, also, is earning his American property
and home, as he salutes, the with
clenched fist, for the (German headquarters
and the garage here, will serve as Fuhrer
barracks) (der)

Lastly, I am sending you the statement of its infamous [redacted] when b7c
you read the statement, it ~~tells~~ talks for itself,) the [redacted] Woman should have been deported or removed for it was Jewish propaganda many, she need to disrupt our American army, to make our Country an easy prey for Jewish (Conquest the [redacted] Woman) or the shadows) behind b7c
the throne) who like the Jewish Rusky pulls the strings and makes it possible for other Jewish nazis + or the
Chitty mob (in all justice to the good FBI, and the benefit and safety of our Country and people in general) before it is
(too late)

Kindly censor those
dangerous Woman who have
asked in threaten of American
Citizens to destroy our liberty, life
and way of living, if she is taken
and put into safe custody, the
F.B.I. will find out how quick
the other fanatics will take note
for the Woman [redacted] is a fit b9c
second, and third class quickly
who owe her (Loyalty, fit, and
education, to guard the others, and
urge them on (take leaving in turn
one) who leaving) (and remove her as quickly
as possible (over

Note for Producer and Head Writer

This will tie with previous tracts, shy bar influence (to her her money and the seeking of influential men in Washington — Also — as known as [redacted] b7c

friend is a well known writer and (correspondent) known as) a [redacted] b7c

Nazi the man, might better be called [redacted] (German Nazi and) b7c

Fascist

The part in referring to the German armed Soviet Union must testify the American Public with the right and strength of German arms

Entered

KEEP T. UNITED STATES OUT OF WAR!

Do you know that wars do not happen; They are made; and that we, "The Public," can prevent future wars?

It has been well said that "we must remember that a lot of pressure is being brought to push us into a conflict in which we should have no part. There is an insidious middle group fighting neither Germany nor England but getting them to fight each other solely that this group might profit financially. "It is this same group that would like to push us into the war in Europe so that when it is all over we could pay the bills." This proved only too true during the last World War as revealed in the United States Senate investigation of the munition profiteers and also by headlines: "Britain and Germany keep patents accord"...Though Great Britain and Germany are at war they are respecting each other's patent rights...In the last war Germany accepted patent renewal fees from British inventors . . . In this war the British have modified their Trading With the Enemy Act to make payment of such fees possible in Germany. Thus statesmen, while able to protect profits, sacrifice the lives of their countrymen. While we are familiar with results of German aggression in Continental Europe, do we realize that the British altruistic war has enlarged her Empire by an estimated 500,000 square miles?

EXERCISE THE RIGHTS GRANTED YOU BY U. S. CONSTITUTION—WRITE TO YOUR PRESIDENT—YOUR SENATORS (Address them at Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C. New York Senators are Robert F. Wagner and James M. Mead). AND ALSO YOUR CONGRESSMEN TO KEEP U. S. A. OUT OF WAR.

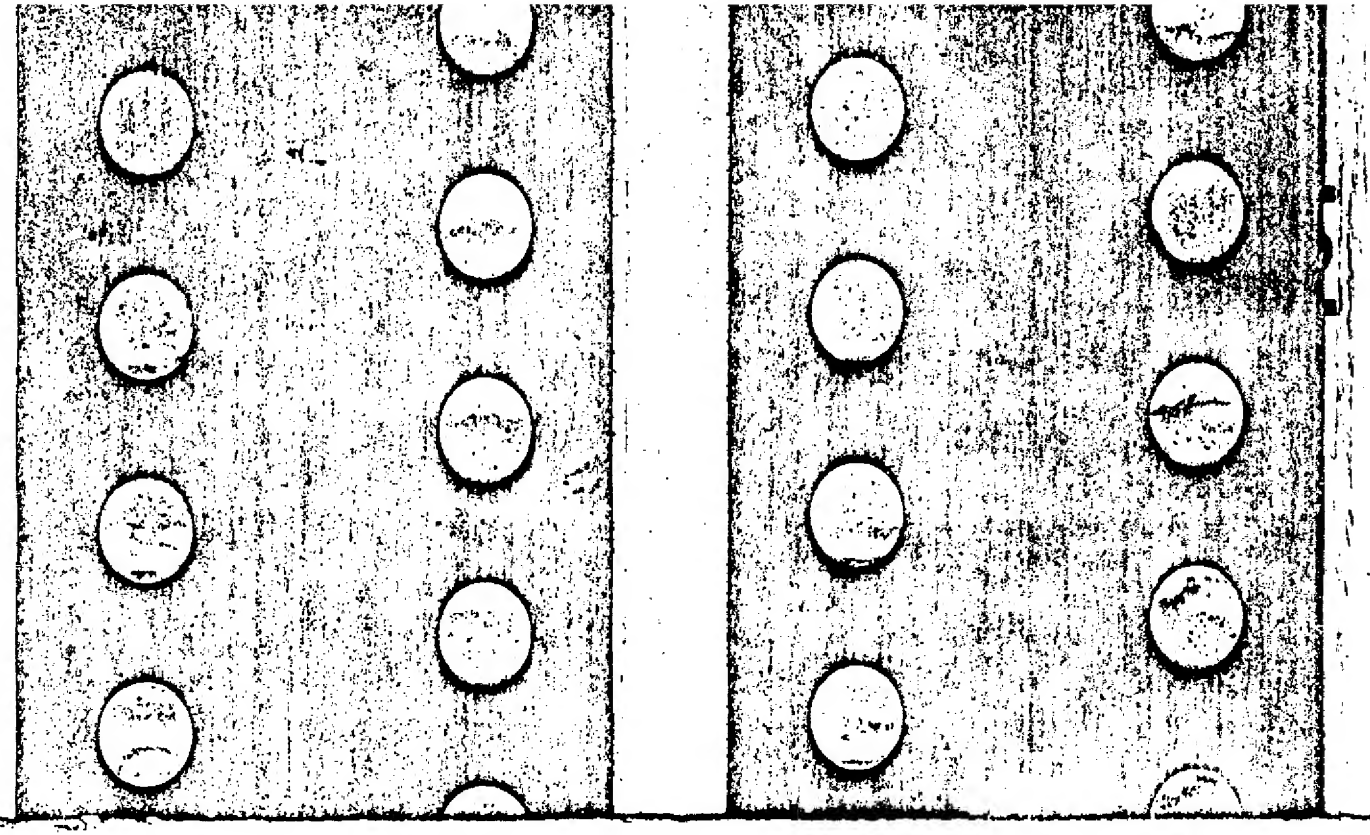
A Million Letters Now May Save Millions of Lives

Peace House, working with religious and peace organizations of long standing, appeals to all young men who are opposed to war from either religious or humanitarian convictions to register "CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTOR" on their draft questionnaire. After years of ardent work for peace, our Government recognizes this right. It is a matter of interest to observe that after England's many months of war, Canada does not have compulsory military service for overseas, and in England over 30,000 Conscientious Objectors are engaged in peaceful employment. IT IS NOT NECESSARY TO BELONG TO A RELIGIOUS SECT OR SOCIETY TO BE A CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTOR, ALTHOUGH SOME DRAFT BOARD OFFICIALS ARE STILL APPARENTLY IGNORANT OF THIS PHASE OF THE LAW. If you are convinced that killing your fellowman is contrary to the law of GOD and MAN and wish advice and suggestions for filling your draft questionnaire as "Conscientious Objector," write, sending a carefully self-addressed stamped envelope,

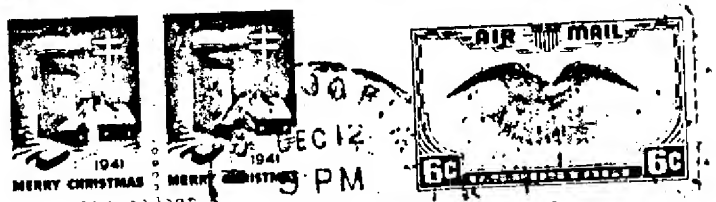
MRS. J. BERGEANT GRAM

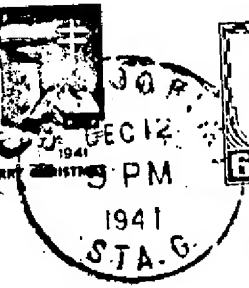
PEACE HOUSE

Established 1923
220th St. and Fifth Ave., N. Y. City
Open Sunday 2 to 6 P. M.



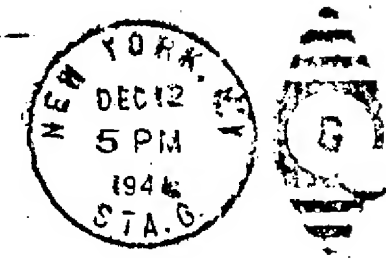
Consolidated Fleet Owners Association, Inc.
General Motors Building
[redacted] BROADWAY [redacted] NEW YORK





ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/18/82 BY [illegible]

[redacted]
F. B. I.
Washington - D. C.
D. C.



City of New York - Department of Welfare IMPORTANT - READ THIS NOTICE CAREFULLY

Please remember that the law requires you, and any member of your family who receives relief from the Department of Welfare, to give a true and complete statement of all income whether it be wages, help from relatives, room rent from a lodger, or any other form of income.

Do not forget that you, and any member of your family who receives relief from the Department of Welfare, must report to your Investigator immediately, by letter or personal call, any changes in your income, such as increase in wages, employment of a member of the family who did not have a job previously, new or increased help from relatives, additional lodgers, or any other changes or increases in your income.

Failure to do these things makes you liable to serious penalty under the law. Please give us your full cooperation and avoid all difficulty and trouble.

Form W-104c
11/24/41

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/8/86 BY SP6 Byatley

100-4712-246

[redacted]

b7C

RECORDED 100-4712 -246 January 23, 1942

Special Agent in Charge
New York, New York

Dear Sir:

There are transmitted herewith photostatic copies of an anonymous communication, together with enclosures, postmarked New York, New York, December 12, 1941.

This information is being submitted to you for your information and any action you may deem appropriate.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/8/86 BY SP6 bja/tcg

Enclosure

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Holloman
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

RECEIVED-MAIL ROOM
FEB 3 53 2 58 PM FBI

3 FEB 4 1942

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED
JAN 23 1942
P. M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

020119

NOTICE

PLEASE DO NOT REMOVE THIS SLIP FROM THE ATTACHED CORRESPONDENCE SINCE IT IS A PERMANENT PART OF THE RECORD.

DIVISION OF RECORDS

FED. BU. OF INV.
DEC 19 1941 P.M.

FED. BU. OF INV.

My dear Sir. Resident
loyal citizen
demand ... do as
pies for ... and
Liberties of our country
All members of the Americ
first committee. If not
possible: the proper surveillan
by the F.B.I over Gen. Wood
Lindbergh and Wheeler

100-4712-247

DEC 19 1941

7 JAN 2 61942

PHONE ENDICOTT 2-1006

C 25107

E.J.E.

THE MILBURN
242 WEST 76TH STREET
NEW YORK CITY

FED. BU. OF INV.
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
DEC 18 1941 A.M.
DIVISION OF RECORDS
FED. BU. OF INV.

Mr. Stephen Early
Secy to
Mr Our Wonderful President:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9-26-75 BY SP4 RTP
RECORD

As I do not know what Committee should have the enclosed will you please see that it gets into the proper hands?

Is any organization allowed to function that distributes seditious folders like these?

Can't something be done?

I am an American, (even several Generations all American-born) and I love my country and its flag and institutions,

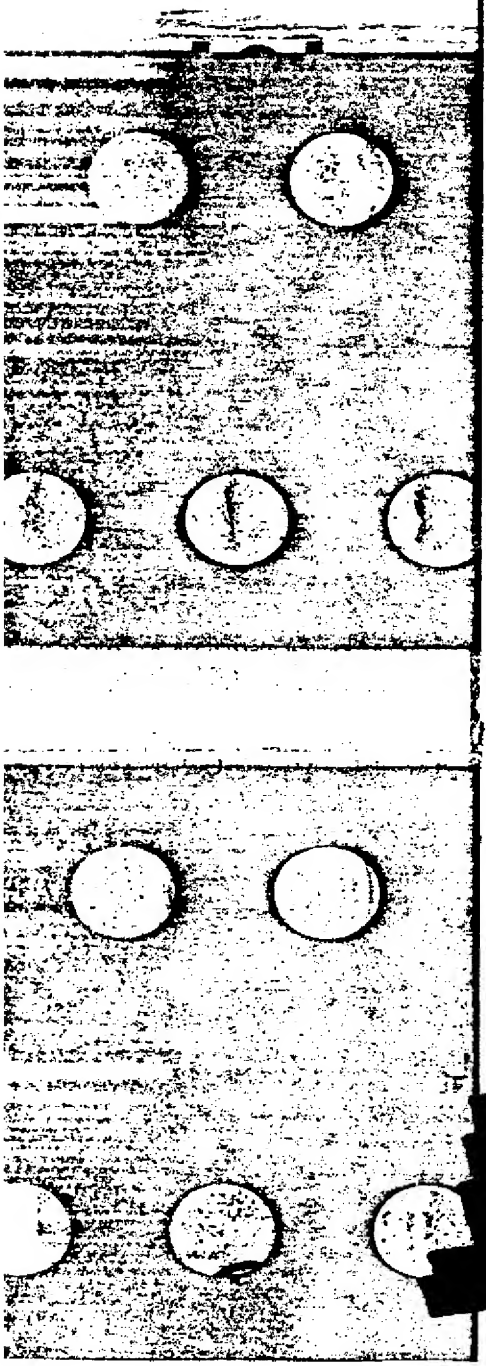
Yours truly,

100-4712-248

2 DEC 1941

USL

Answered 12-20-41 FJS



every drop of blood in my body! Isn't it American? To break such vile hatred, "brother against brother"? I repeat: "Isn't something to be done?"

Thank you for putting the enclosure in the proper hands.

Wishing you & yours a very Merry Xmas — and with the Prayer that we will soon win this War —

Most respectfully yours

[redacted]

b7C

DEC 20 9 11 PM '41
FBI
DEPT OF JUSTICE
DEC 21 8 15 AM '41
FBI
DEPT OF JUSTICE
DEC 24 1 30 PM '41
FBI
DEPT OF JUSTICE
FORWARDED
FBI

[redacted]

026165

RECORDED 100-4712-248 January 20, 1942

[redacted]

[redacted]

Dear [redacted]

Please be advised that your recent communication directed to Mr. Stephen Early, Secretary to the President, has been referred to this Bureau.

Your courtesy and interest in bringing this matter to the attention of the federal government are indeed appreciated. You may be assured that the content of your letter and its enclosure have been noted and are being made a matter of official record in the files of this Bureau for such attention as may be deemed appropriate.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

JAN 26 1942

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED
★ JAN 22 1942 ★
P. M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

"America First" Uses Nazi Propaganda Technique in Revising Cartoon Issued Originally by Eminent Christians

"The accompanying reproduction of a leaflet distributed during October at several America First Committee meetings in the New York area is evidence of one of the most startling perversions of fact yet found in the propaganda of the appeaser groups," says The Anti-Nazi Bulletin for November.

The statement continues:

About ten years ago, a group of pacifists and liberals of every stripe and creed edited and wrote for a magazine called "Economic Justice," the bulletin of the National Religion and Labor Foundation.

The backbone of this organization's supporters consisted of the type of sincere liberal and believer in Christian pacifism who once belonged to the "America First" Committee until its Nazi sympathies were revealed.

Even today, of course, the Committee contains some honest but deluded individuals used as a front by the powers behind the scenes.

Dr. Tittle Included

Among the names on the editorial board of "Economic Justice" were those of the Reverend Ernest F. Tittle, Pastor of the Methodist Church, of Evanston, Ill.; John A. Ryan, of the National Catholic Welfare Board; T. [illegible] Christian pacifist leader; Mahatma Gandhi, and others of the same type. It would be difficult, if not impossible for anyone but a Nazi propagandist to label such people as Communists.

In its November, 1932, issue, "Economic Justice" published a famous cartoon intended to point the moral that Our Lord, if here today, might be labelled an anarchist and one who conspired against the established government.

Parallel Seen

The idea of course was to draw a parallel between the fight of Jesus Christ for economic justice and the fight of liberals of that day for the same thing.

In no sense was any disrespect intended; on the contrary, it was hoped to dramatize the implications of the teachings of Christ.

The cartoon was widely reprinted by Christian groups including the largely Quaker Fellowship of Reconciliation, an extreme Christian-pacifist group—more honestly pacifist, it might be pointed out, than "America First" ever was.

"Brazenly Perverted"

Only a student of Nazi propaganda could have taken such a cartoon and so brazenly perverted it along the lines shown in the accompanying reproduction. By a remarkable process of "reasoning," the cartoon was stolen and reprinted as the essential part of an anti-Semitic leaflet, so that with new headings and captions added it was changed about to become an attack on the Jews, the foreign policy of the United States—and in essence, the teachings of Christ!

According to an affidavit in the possession of the Anti-Nazi League, this cartoon was distributed at meetings of the "America First" Committee in the New York area. In one striking case, at the first meeting called to organize a new "America First" chapter in Brooklyn, every person who attended received one of these leaflets.

Hits Propaganda

Little more need be said about the type of propaganda which would take advantage of a drawing meant to honor Jesus and pervert it into what you see above.

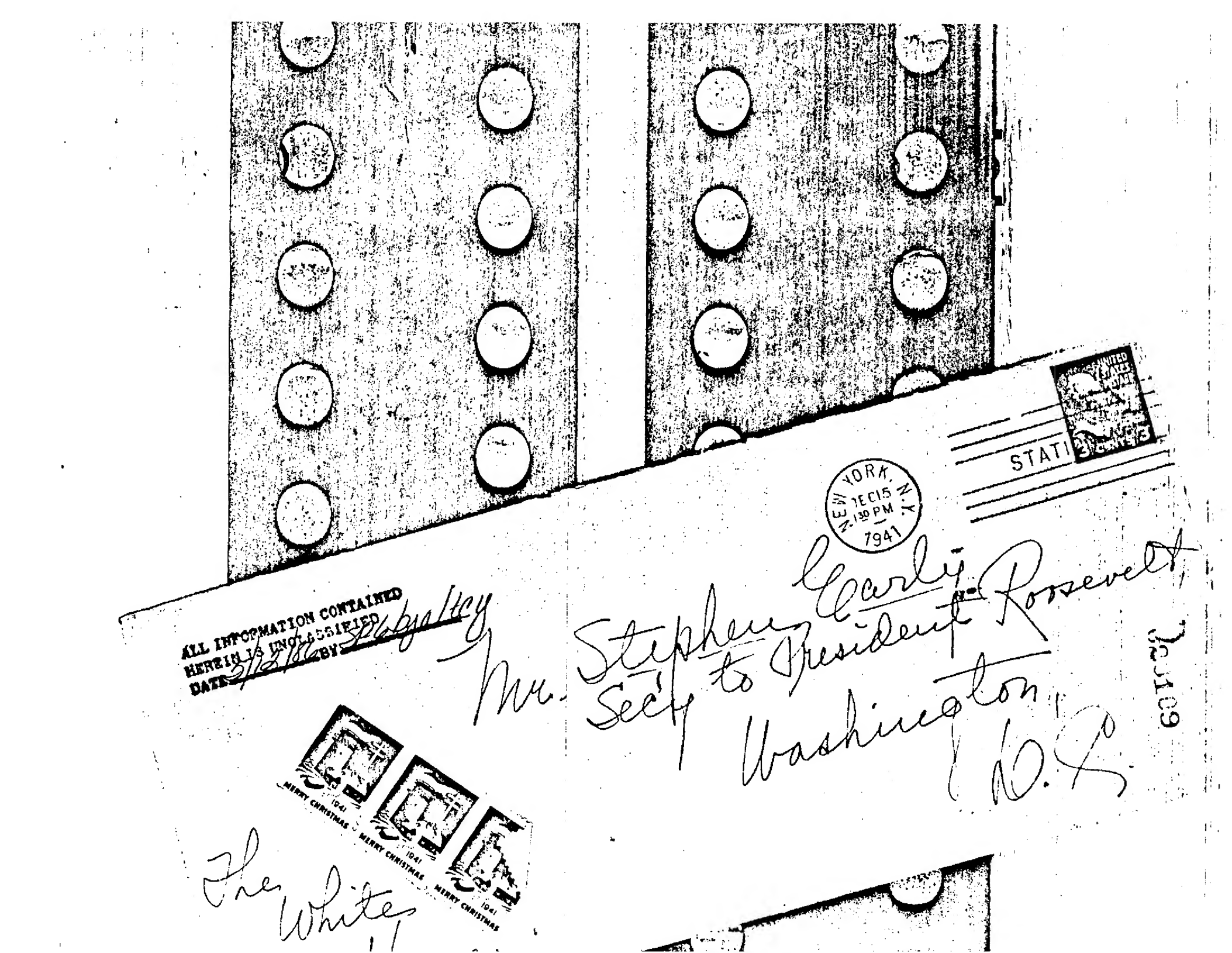
Catholics, Protestants and Jews alike should protest against this outrage to everything we hold dear, everything we hold sacred.

Perhaps the "America First" Committee has travelled even farther along the road to perdition than we feared, for this latest propaganda tack smacks suspiciously of the Godless technique employed by the Nazis in Germany to destroy religion.

Let us hope and pray that the few religious members who still remain with the "America First" Committee will denounce the trick of the Nazi devil.

If Satan has taken over the misnamed "America First" Committee, let them cast him out!

Reproduction of leaflet perverting a Christian cartoon. The original cartoon is the part enclosed by black lines. Heading and captions were added by perverters and the resulting leaflet was distributed at "America First" meetings in the New York area, according to an affidavit in the possession of the Non-Sectarian Anti-Nazi League, whose national headquarters are in New York.


NEW YORK N.Y.
DEC 15
1:30 PM
1941
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/16/76 BY Stephen Early
Mr. Stephen Early
Secty to President Roosevelt
Washington
D.C.
MERRY CHRISTMAS 1941
The White
1109

b7c

FBI/DOJ 100-4712-249

January 22, 1942

026103

b7c

[redacted]

[redacted]

b7c

Dear [redacted]

Please be advised that your letter dated December 13, 1941, directed to the President of the United States has been referred to this Bureau.

Your courtesy and interest in bringing this matter to the attention of the Federal Government are indeed appreciated. You may be assured that the content of your letter has been made a matter of official record in the files of this Bureau and will receive appropriate consideration.

Should you obtain any further information that you believe to be of interest to this Bureau please feel free to communicate directly with Mr. J. E. Thornton, Special Agent in Charge, Federal Bureau of Investigation, United States Department of Justice, 620 New Federal Building, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Tolson
E. A. Tamm
Clegg
Glavin
Ladd
Nichols
Troy
Rosen
Carson
Coffey
Mohr
Thomas
Mr. Tamm
Mr.
Mr.

248

2 JAN 24 1942

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED
JAN 22 1942
P. M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/12/86 BY SP6 bgalley

MAR 16 1942

100 - 4712 - 250

CHANGED TO

100 - 32177 - 5

Papers received and charged.
Please file.

DIVISION OF
ADMINISTRATIVE INVESTIGATIONS

Post Office Department

CHIEF POST OFFICE INSPECTOR

Washington

IN REPLY REFER TO:

AI - CI

December 19, 1941.

Director,
Federal Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice.

My dear Sir:

Herewith, for your consideration, are two letters addressed to the Post Office Inspector in Charge, New York, New York, by [redacted] together with a communication received by [redacted].

[redacted] has been advised of this reference.

Very truly yours,

Chief Inspector.

Enclosures.

RECORDED & INDEXED

100-4712-251

DEC 30 1941

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8/26/76 BY Pettigrew

November 19, 1941.

Inspector in Charge,
United States Post Office,
New York, N.Y.

Dear Sir:

On October 23rd I sent you a letter and an America First post card mailed in Shanghai which I thought you would be interested in seeing and possibly investigating.

It would be very much appreciated if you would return the post card and the envelope to me when you have finished with it, as I would like to have it for my files.

I have your acknowledgment of October 28th stating that it will be given proper attention at the earliest date practicable. I have had no further report since then.

It would be appreciated if you had further word on this subject.

Hoping this is not too much trouble for you, I am

Sincerely yours,

b3D
b7C

October 23, 1941.

Inspector in Charge,
United States Post Office,
New York, N.Y.

Dear Sir:

Pursuant to a telephone conversation with your office this morning, I am sending you herewith a piece of mail which has some peculiar aspects.

The envelope was apparently mailed in Shanghai with Chinese postage addressed to a party in New York. The enclosure - a card bearing the crossed United States and Chinese flags with the inscription "Help China! Buy Chinese Goods!" - seems to me a part of a program to boost the sale of goods manufactured in Shanghai and the occupied areas, probably issued by the puppet Wang Ching-wei regime or Japanese trading interests in Shanghai. All of the goods manufactured in Shanghai for export to the United States are made by Japanese or Wang Ching-wei interests. That is to say, goods made in Shanghai and exported to the United States for sale provides a trade which is beneficial to Japanese or Wang Ching-wei interests.

The fact that this card, mailed from Shanghai, has an American First Committee stamp both on the card-enclosure and on the outside envelope in which the card was mailed, is rather difficult to explain. If the envelope contained United States postage it would be easily understood that the blank envelope and the card were mailed in bulk to the America First Committee where they were mailed to the various parties designated. That might account for the fact that the America First Committee stamp was on the enclosure. The envelope was sealed when it was delivered to One other explanation is that the America First Committee stickers were sent to Japanese or Wang Ching-wei organizations in Shanghai and were placed on the card and envelope there. This would certainly seem to indicate a very close relationship between America First Committee and the Japanese or Wang Ching-wei organizations in Shanghai.

The case presents so many interesting angles that I thought you would like to see what is going on and perhaps to figure out how the mailing was accomplished.

It would be appreciated if you would return the card and envelope to me when you have finished studying the case.

Sincerely yours,

b7C
b7D

Post Office Department
CHIEF POST OFFICE INSPECTOR
Washington, D. C.

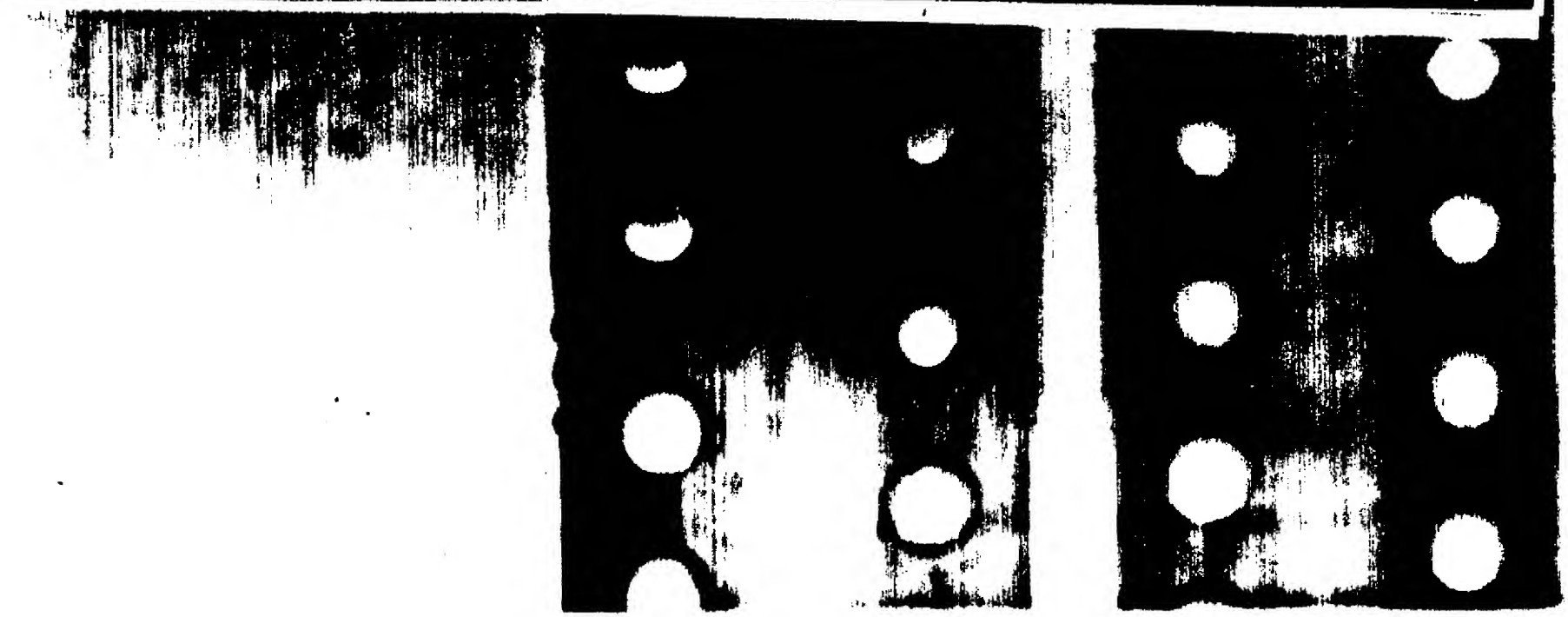
OFFICIAL BUSINESS

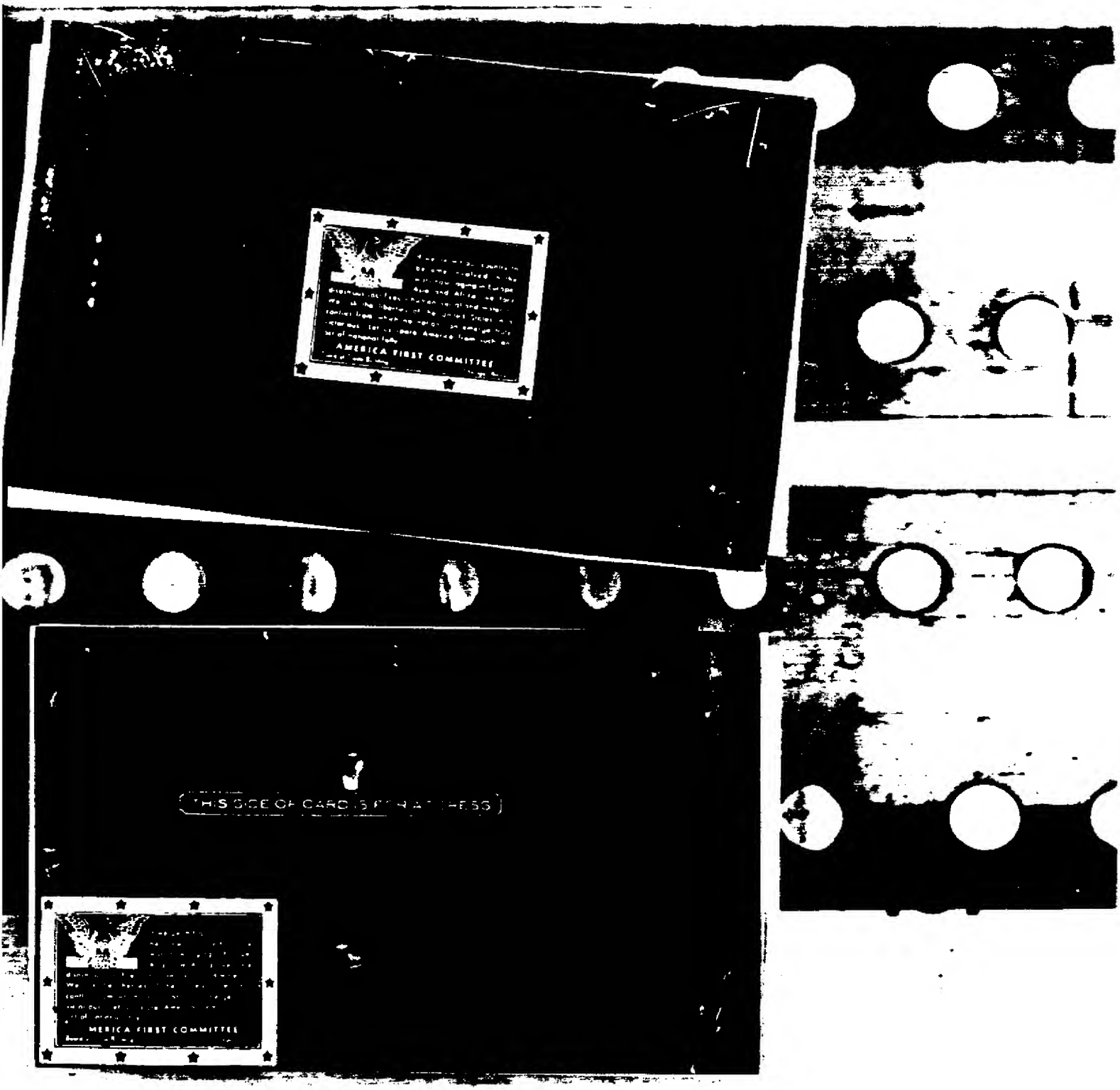
WASHINGTON D.C. DEC 19 5-PM 1941

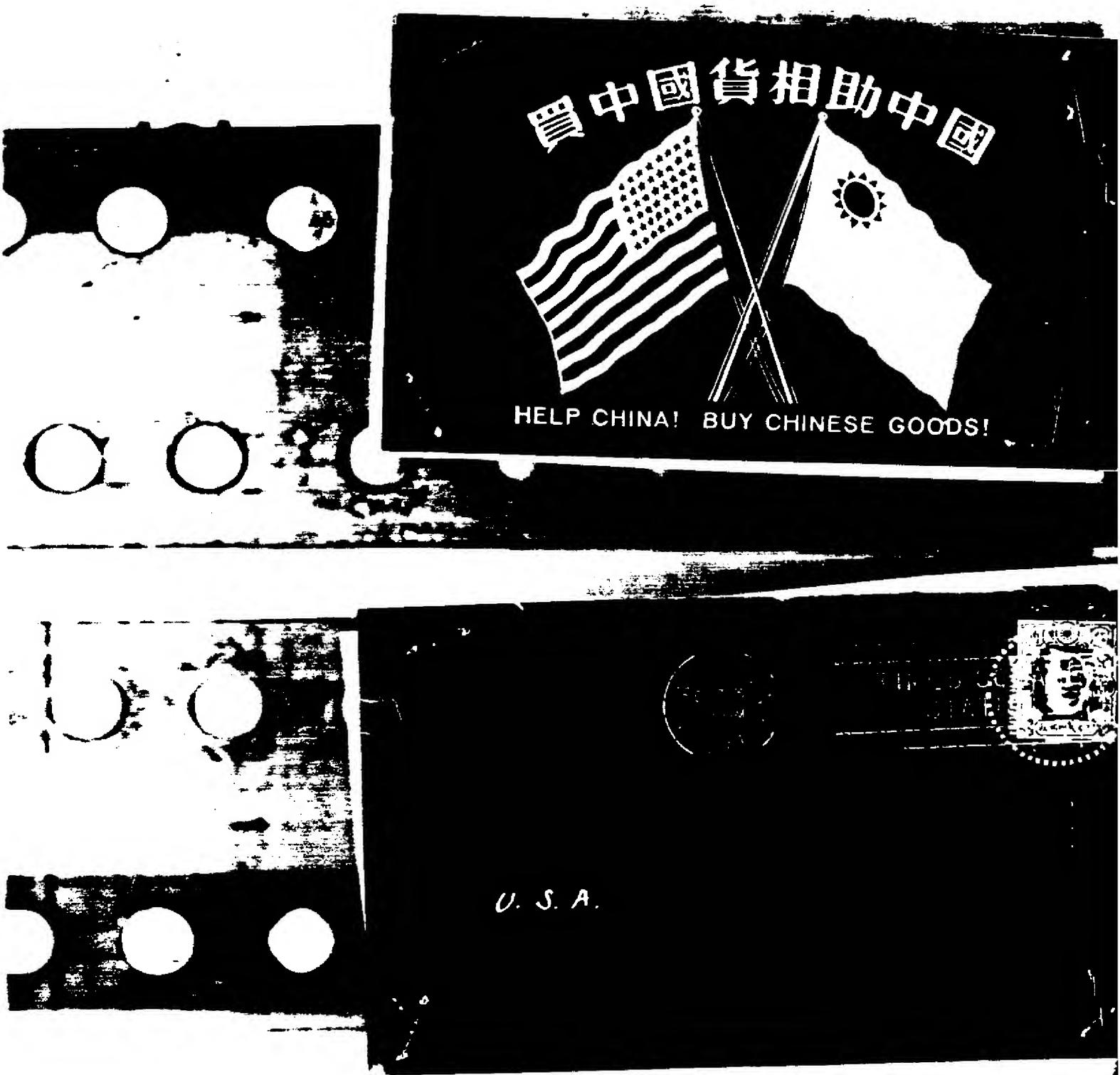
PENALTY FOR PRIVATE USE TO AVOID PAYMENT OF POSTAGE, $300

BUY DEFENSE SAVINGS BONDS AND STAMPS

Director,
Federal Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D. C.




AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE



b7c

[redacted] b7C

100-4712-251

January 31, 1942

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. L. M. C. SMITH, CHIEF
SPECIAL DEFENSE UNIT

The Post Office Department recently forwarded to this Bureau two letters addressed to the Post Office Inspector in Charge, New York City, by [redacted] b7C
[redacted] together with a communication received by [redacted] b7C

Because of the nature of these communications and the possible inferences to be drawn from the observations of [redacted] b7C the original communications are enclosed herewith for your review. Copies have been prepared and are being retained in the files of this Bureau. However, no further action is contemplated with reference to the enclosures.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Traug
Mr. Keane
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Rotlemdn
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

2 Enclosure

2 FEB 5 1942

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
RECEIVED
FEB 2 1942
P. M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEB 5

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/12/86 BY SP6 bja/tkg

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CONFIDENTIAL

WAR DEPARTMENT
WAR DEPARTMENT GENERAL STAFF
MILITARY INTELLIGENCE DIVISION, G-2
WASHINGTON, D. C.

DEC 26 1941

Subject: Letter of transmittal.

To: Lt. Col. J. Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation

The attached communications are forwarded for your information and such action as you consider advisable.

Raymond E. Lee

RAYMOND E. LEE,
Brigadier General, U. S. Army,
Acting Assistant Chief of Staff, G-2

Enclosures:

Mr. Tolson .....
Mr. E. A. Tamm .....
Mr. Clegg .....
Mr. Glavin .....
Mr. Ladd .....
Mr. Nichols .....
Mr. Tracy .....
Mr. Rosen .....
Mr. Carson .....
Mr. Coffey .....
Mr. Hendon .....
Mr. Holloman .....
Mr. Quinn Tamm .....
Mr. Nease .....
Miss Gandy .....
Files .....

224

100-4712-253

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
10 DEC 29 1941

FILED

Declassified per Army letter dtd 5/29/91
8123 mch/ltr 8/9/91

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CONFIDENTIAL

WAR DEPARTMENT

M. I. D.

(G-2) 080 (America First Committee)

AWR:cs
Headquarters Eighth Corps Area
Fort Sam Houston, Texas

December 4, 1941
(Date)

Subject: Meeting of America First Committee
Tucson, Arizona

Summary of Information:

The America First Committee held a meeting on November 24, 1941 at the home of Judge Gerald Jones, El Encanto Estates, Tucson, Arizona, with approximately 30 people present.

The principal speaker was MARGARET DORE', a naturalized American of French descent, who is reportedly pro-Nazi in her views. She supposedly lived in occupied France until about the first of this year when she came to the United States. She resides at 305 East 3rd Street, Tucson, Arizona and gives the ill health of her son as the reason for being in Tucson.

MARGARET DORE talked about an hour on the general subject of conditions in occupied France; stated that the French peasants have taken the German occupation as a matter of course, recalling that the Germans were in France in 1870-71 after the Franco-Prussian War, that they left then and it is assumed that they will withdraw again. That most of the French people are backing Marshal Petain, for they feel that Hitler cannot be defeated. She asserted that while in Paris, where she was a supervisor of schools, French children were receiving milk from the American Red Cross without being molested by the Germans, American reports to the contrary.

MARGARET DORE claims to have been educated in the Middle West and attended school with the wife of Admiral Kichisaburo Nomura, Japanese Ambassador to the United States. That she received a reply recently to a letter written to Ambassador Nomura. She claims to have had in her possession considerable literature explaining inside conditions in Europe, but the British agents took the material from her at Bermuda. Two pamphlets escaped their attention, which she still has, printed in French, and reportedly explain how the European conflict was brought on Germany against her will. She expressed a desire, at the America First Committee meeting, to have these publications reprinted in the United States.

Distribution:

G-2, W. D.
SAC, FBI, Phoenix, Arizona.

Sent FBI and file 12-23-41

Evaluation

—of source	—of information
x Reliable	x
Credible	
Questionable	
Undetermined	

-1-

CONFIDENTIAL

16—17097 GPO

Declassified per Army letter dated 5/29/91 8123 mch/tlg 8/9/91

(G-2) 080 (America First Committee)

Subject: Meeting of America First Committee, Tucson, Arizona (Continued).

MARGARET DORE stated that she had made some talks in the East, where the newspapers labeled her as pro-Nazi. It is understood that she has attempted to become a scheduled speaker for America First Committee, but was unsuccessful because of her obscurity.

[redacted] b7C

It is reported that National Headquarters of America First Committee are feeling the pulse of local units to determine the reaction to the possible creation of a third political party. The organization claims to have 13,000,00 members.

Attached is a specimen of the handwriting of [redacted], and the content of a telegram sent to the Arizona Congressman prior to house action on neutrality revision. b7C

Action: For your information.

A. W. ROFFE,
Colonel, G. S. C.,
Assistant Chief of Staff, G-2.

1 Incl:
Photostat of handwriting specimen
[redacted] b7C

Sending American ships into war zones means loss of life, inflamed public opinion, and war. We respectfully and earnestly urge you to vote against this revision of the neutrality law.

b7c

HANDWRITING SPECIMEN OF [redacted]

TUCSON, ARIZONA.

Declassified per Army letter dated 3/29/91 8/23 mch ltrs 8/9/91

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER
DIRECTOR

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

RPK:mm
Received: 7:20 PM
Transcribed 10:40 PM

December 11, 1941

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. LADD

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Mendon
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Holloman
Mr. Harbo
Tele. Room
Tour Room
Mr. Nease
Miss Beahm
Miss Gandy

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/12/86 BY SP6/alt

b7C

While talking to me about another matter, Special Agent [redacted] of the New York Office submitted the following for information purposes:

He had received a reliable report to the effect that the America First Committee in Brooklyn is going to burn some of its records tonight, which records are alleged to contain around 80,000 names.

Respectfully,

R. P. Kramer

17 JAN 1 1941

RECORDED

100-4712-25

FEDERAL B[illegible]
5 DEC 16 [illegible]
U.S. DEPART[illegible]

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[redacted] 100-4712-255

b7c

May 7, 1942

~~PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL~~

100-4712-255

RECORDED

Special Agent in Charge
New York, New York

#241183
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9/30/85 BY SP2 mas CDT
5-12-86 SP6 bg/ltcy #3262359

Dear Sir:

There are being transmitted herewith photostatic copies of reports of Bureau Confidential Informant #____, at New York, New York, dated as follows:

December 5, 1942

These reports have been and are being obtained from a strictly confidential source and any inquiry made on the basis of the information contained therein should be made in an extremely discreet manner so that it will not in any way reveal the source of the information or the possible identity of the informant. The substance of this material should not be disclosed to any individual or organization outside of the Bureau.

You are instructed to give the contents of these reports consideration and to conduct the appropriate investigation in those instances where you feel the reported material or the reported material along with information already available to your office warrants the same.

Very truly yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover
Director

3-26-58 R46

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED 12
☆ MAY -7 1942 P.M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Enclosures

MAY 7 1942

[redacted]

b7C

100-4712-255

[redacted]

b7C

[redacted]

b7C

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 9, 1941

MEMORANDUM FOR HONORABLE J. EDGAR HOOVER:

This, for your information.

STEPHEN EARLY
Secretary to the President

1 ENCLO. 12

100-4712-25

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
DEC 18 1941
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

b7C

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DATE 9/12/86 BY SP6 bja/tcg

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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☐ For your information: _____

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☑ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

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4-750 (Rev. 4-17-85)

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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☐ For your information: _____

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100-4712-256 outgoing

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FBI/DOJ

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER
DIRECTOR

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Nendon
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Holloman
Mr. Harbo
Tele. Room
Tour Room
Mr. Beach
Miss Gandy

EAT:GEG *December 1, 1941*

Time: 11:20 A.M.

MEMORANDUM FOR *THE DIRECTOR*

While talking with Mr. Foxworth telephonically, he suggested that Special Agent [redacted] *be assigned to work with* [redacted] *has been on the Duquesne squad for some time and is familiar with many of the German propaganda organizations. Mr. Foxworth is having* [redacted] *review the files to obtain the background of the matter preparatory to working with* [redacted] *Agent* [redacted] *has some stenographic ability which will enable him to take adequate notes. I told Mr. Foxworth that I had no one else in mind for this job, and Agent* [redacted] *therefore will be assigned to it.*

b7C b7D b7C b7D b7C b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2/12/86 BY SP6 Gaffney

Contact S. C. M. Smith & arrange for [redacted] to start when Smith's man is ready.

Respectfully,

Edward A. Tamm

b7C

100-42712-257
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
7 DEC 19 1941
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
[redacted]

b7C

DO-6

OFFICE OF DIRECTOR
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

December 3, 1941

6:03 PM

Mr. L. M. C. Smith of the Department called and when advised that the Director had left for the day he asked that the Director be advised that he has made arrangements with [redacted] to the effect that he will send Frank Crocker of the Special Defense Unit [redacted] to the [redacted] at 10:00 AM on Monday.

He said that the Director wanted to know of the arrangements which were made because the Director wanted one of the FBI men to be at the meeting.

jm

Tolson
A. Tamm
Ladd
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Carlson
Mr. Harbo
Tele. Room
Tour Room
Mr. Nease

b1,7D

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/12/86 BY SP6 Bgaffney

Phone Section

RECORDED 100-4712-258
INDEXED
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
7 DEC 19 1941
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

200

6 JAN 7 1942

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER
DIRECTOR

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Harbo
Tele. Room
Tour Room
Mr. Kease
Mr. Tracy
Miss Beahm
Miss Gandy

EAT:WK
Time 10:30 AM
Typed 11:00 AM

December 17, 1941

MEMORANDUM FOR ~~THE DIRECTOR~~ Mr. Ladd

While in telephone conversation with Mr. Foxworth in New York, I inquired about the status of the [redacted] matter and he advised that he will check on this matter and call me back regarding same.

b7D

~~Respectfully,~~

Edward A. Tamm

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/12/86 BY SP6 bgatley

EX - 18

100-4712-259

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
DEC 30 1941

6 JAN 10 1942

4-750 (Rev. 4-17-85)

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
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☐ For your information: _____

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FBI/DOJ

Chicago, Ill.
Jan. 2, 1942

Department of Justice
Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D.C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2/12/86 BY Liebfritz

Gentlemen:

I am writing to give you some information bout the America First Committee and the Dies Committee which I think should be investigated.

[redacted] b7C

[redacted]

Col. Lindbergh and Sen. Wheeler are connected with this organization and I think there is lot of dishonest work connected with it. I think it is just terrible the way Col Lindbergh was making speeches against the administration and taking money from the Government to operate their organization.

I certainly hope that the Department of Justice will look into this matter. [redacted] b7C

100-4712-261

Very [redacted]

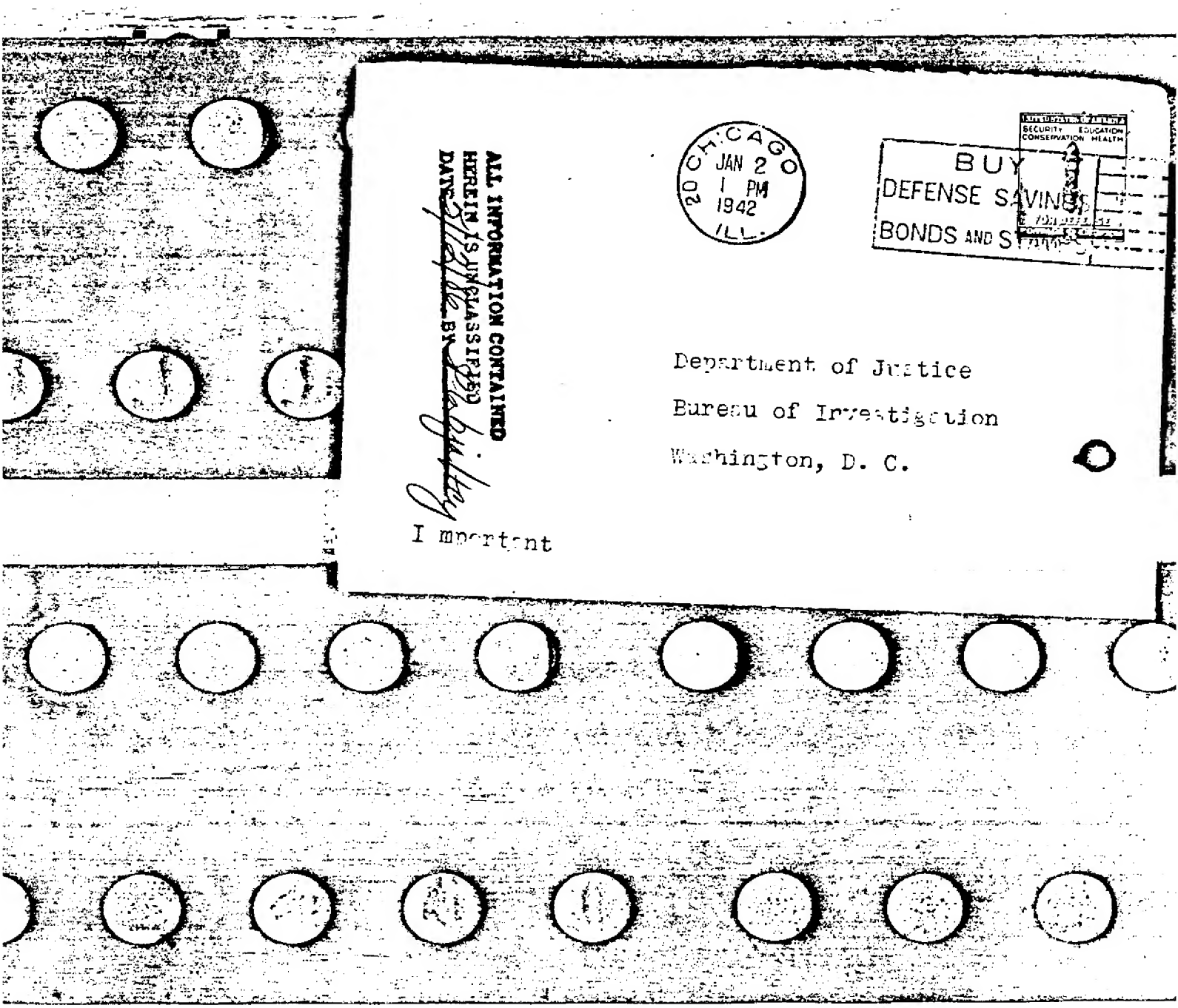
[redacted] b7C

[redacted]

ENCL

EX-18

cc-Chicago


ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2-14-80 BY SP2 Pulley
CHICAGO
JAN 2
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1942
ILL.
BUY
DEFENSE SAVINGS
BONDS AND
SECURITY EDUCATION
CONSERVATION HEALTH
Department of Justice
Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.
Important

[redacted]

b7C

100-4712-261

RECORDED

January 21, 1942

[redacted] b7C

Dear [redacted] b7C

I desire to acknowledge receipt of your letter of January 2, 1942, and to express my appreciation for your courtesy in communicating with me.

In the event you are in possession of any information which you believe of interest to the activities of the FBI in connection with our program of combating subversive activities, it is suggested that you call at our Chicago Office which is located at 1900 Bankers' Building, under the supervision of Mr. A. H. Johnson.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 2/12/86 BY SP6 Galley

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Ladd
Nichols
Tracy
Harbo
Carson
Coffey
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Holloman
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Nease
Miss Gandy

cc - Chicago, with copies of incoming.

1 JAN 23 1942 217

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED
★ JAN 22 1942 ★
P. M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

2 -

[redacted] b7C

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER
DIRECTOR

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

EAT:GEG
Received: 5:25 P.M.
Typed: 1:35 P.M., 12/18

December 17, 1941

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Harbo
Tele. Room
Tour Room
Mr. Nease
Mr. Tracy
Miss Beahm
Miss Gandy

MEMORANDUM FOR THE DIRECTOR

In connection with the [redacted] matter, Mr. Foxworth called from New York to advise that as far as can be determined it does not appear that Crocker of the Special Defense Unit ever came to New York. [redacted] has changed his mind [redacted] America First to bring out the Committee's German backing and is now working [redacted] has not requested any assistance from the New York Office although Bureau Agents have been in touch with him. I told Mr. Foxworth to send the Bureau a letter on this matter tonight in order that it may be referred to the Department tomorrow.

b7D

b7D

b7D

Respectfully,

Edward A. Tamm

Ask Smith what happened?

COPIES DESTROYED

Asked to make arrangements to attend

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/12/86 BY SP6 bjaltcy

9 FEB 2 1942

RECORDED
INDEXED

100-4712-262
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
14 JAN 9 1942
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

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☐ For your information: _____

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FREEDOM OF INFORMATION AND PRIVACY ACTS

SUBJECT: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

FILE NUMBER: 100-4712

PART: 6 OF 19

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

FILE DESCRIPTION

BUREAU FILE

SUBJECT AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

FILE NO. 100-4710

SECTION NO. 6

SERIALS 264

through

335

ADDRESS REPLY TO
"THE ATTORNEY GENERAL"
AND REFER TO
INITIALS AND NUMBER

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tam
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Holloman
Mr. Quinn Tam
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy
Files

December 23, 1941

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. J. EDGAR HOOVER, DIRECTOR
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

b7C
b7D

In re: Examination of [redacted] Material
in New York.

100-4712

Prior to Sunday, December 7, 1941, you will recall arrangements had been made for a member of this Unit and a representative of your Bureau's office in New York to examine certain materials relative to the Nazi infiltration into the America First Committee.

Because of the emergency this examination was suspended for the time being.

I now believe that it would be wise to make the planned examination in order to appraise the value of the material for use in connection with action against German organizations under the Voorhis or Foreign Agents Acts.

If you agree with this suggestion, will you kindly let me know who the representative in New York will be and I will see that arrangements for the proposed examination are made.

Lawrence A. C. Smith

Lawrence M. C. Smith
Chief, Special Defense Unit

COPIES DESTROYED
3/26/51 B.A.

RECORDED 100-4712-264
INDEXED
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
14 JAN 9 1942
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

ORDER [redacted]

100-4712-264

January 7, 1942

b7C

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. L. M. C. SMITH
CHIEF, SPECIAL DEFENSE UNIT

1[illegible]73

With reference to the suggestion contained in your memorandum of December 23, 1941, that arrangements now be made for an examination of the material in the possession of [redacted] in New York City, I should like to advise that Assistant Director P. E. Foxworth, who is in charge of the New York City Office of this Bureau, has been informed of your intention to review the material and will make an Agent of that office available at such time as your representative is in New York City for the purpose of making the examination.

b7C
b7D

If you will have your representative contact Mr. Foxworth in New York City, specific arrangements can then be made with him for the examination to be made jointly by your representative and a Special Agent of the FBI.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

318,519
SP 8 BTJ/GL
10-16-90

b7[illegible]

[redacted]

(2 pg. 1 paragraph) (segregated)
Unclassified per DOJ letter
dtd 5/30/91
81-23 mesh/tag 8/14/91

[redacted]

[redacted]

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED
7 1942
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
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FBI/DOJ

100-HQ-2-263

[redacted] February 25, 1942

1-3171

10-16-90 SP 8TS/cc

Special Agent in Charge
Chicago, Illinois

[redacted]

Dear Sir:

As of possible interest to you, the Bureau has been supplied with information from an unknown outside source that the German-American pre-final espionage system has been radically changed recently; that this country is now divided into three areas and each area is under the absolute supervision of a 100% American who attends to the major districts and is the pay-off man to the lieutenants, who actually handle the business end of the espionage work.

The same source advised that the pay-off for the eastern area is reported to be Philadelphia, while a suburb of Chicago, possibly Winnetka, Illinois, is the headquarters of the central group. On the west coast the headquarters is reported to be a little town about thirty miles from San Francisco. This town is not believed to be on the sky line drive or on the lower bay drive but is across the bay north of Berkeley and possibly up toward Richmond.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Nathanson
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
San Francisco
★ FEB 26 1942 P.M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE
FBI
RECEIVED-ROOM 3648

b7C

[redacted]

January 7, 1942

[redacted] b7C

Mr. P. E. Foxworth
Assistant Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
457 U. S. Court House, Foley Square
New York, New York

Dear Sir:

With reference to previous communication [redacted] concerning the desire of the Special Defense Unit to review material in the possession of [redacted] pertaining to fifth column activities in the United States, I should like to advise that the Special Defense Unit has now informed the Bureau that it is the intention of that Unit to appraise the material in [redacted] possession. I have communicated with Mr. L. M. C. Smith, Chief of the Special Defense Unit, advising that if a representative of his office will contact you in New York City, arrangements may be made for an examination of this material by the representative of the Special Defense Unit and a Special Agent of the New York Office.

I wish you would make arrangements so that these plans may be consummated at such time as a representative of the Special Defense Unit contacts you.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

RECORDED
INDEXED
100-4712-266

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
JAN 8 1942
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Mendenhall
Mr. Nathan
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease

4 JAN 12 1942

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED
★ JAN 7 1942
P. M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
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☐ (b)(4)	☐ (b)(8)	☐ (k)(5)
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FBI/DOJ

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
NEW YORK CITY, N. Y.

January 8, 1942.

[redacted] b7C

Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 5/2/91 BY SP8B45 lbc
10-16-90

Dear Sir:

Reference is made to your letter of January 7, 1942 wherein you refer to a previous communication to the Bureau from this office concerning the desire of the Special Defense Unit to review the material in the possession of [redacted] b7C [redacted] pertaining to Fifth Column activities in the United States.

Please be advised that a very thorough search of the indices of the New York Office has failed to reveal such a communication to the Bureau. This search revealed several 100-0 memoranda and other miscellaneous material wherein [redacted] b7C [redacted] is mentioned.

It will be appreciated if the Bureau will advise this office on what date the letter referred to was written to the Bureau in order that such letter may be located in the files of the New York Office.

It is also requested that in the event any file number was shown on this piece of correspondence, it likewise be given to the New York Office.

Very truly yours,

P. E. Foxworth

P. E. FOXWORTH,
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR.

b7C

EX - 13

RECORDED 100-4712-268
INDEXED

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
19 JAN 9 1942
[redacted] DEPT. OF JUSTICE

6 JAN 27 [illegible] FILE

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
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FBI/DOJ

RECORDED 100-372-369

1942

Special Agent in Charge
New York, New York

Dear Sir:

There are set forth below for your information the pertinent portions of a communication received at the Bureau on January 14, 1942, from a confidential source.

[redacted]

b7C
b7D

#245238

Very truly yours,

[redacted]

John Edgar Hoover
Director

b7C

[redacted]

10-16-90 SP6GTJ/COL

2 MAR 1942

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
RECEIVED 1
★ FEB 27 1942 P.M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Boone
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Mendenhall
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

WAR DEPARTMENT
WAR DEPARTMENT GENERAL STAFF
MILITARY INTELLIGENCE DIVISION, G-2
WASHINGTON, D. C.

JAN 15 1942

Subject: Letter of transmittal.

To: Lt. Col. J. Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation

The attached communications are forwarded for your information and such action as you consider advisable.

RAYMOND E. LEE,
Brigadier General, U. S. Army,
Acting Assistant Chief of Staff, G-2

Enclosures:

1 ENCLO. 11

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Boom
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Egan
Mr. Hallinan
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy
Files

FBI
b7C

100-4712-270

RECORDED
INDEXED

15 1942

FEB 18 1942

CONFIDENTIAL

Declassified per Army
Letter dtd 5/29/91
8123 mch/tar 8/9/91

HEADQUARTERS EASTERN DEFENSE COMMAND
Office of the Chief of Staff, G-2
Governors Island, New York.

WCC/hd

January 3, 1942

Subject: CHARLES LINDBERGH - AMERICA FIRST.

To: Assistant Chief of Staff, G-2,
War Department,
Washington, D. C.

1:3165

1. The attached copy of report, received from a highly confidential and reliable informant, reports a meeting held by COLONEL LINDBERGH and other AMERICA FIRST members on December 17, 1941.

2. This is transmitted for your information.

For the Assistant Chief of Staff, G-2:

F. J. PEARSON,
Colonel, G.S.C.,
Executive Officer, G-2.

1 Incl. (trip)
Cpy rept re subj

Orig. Ltr:
2nd Cav

G-2 Ltr:
Wig C.
320
Opns
File

Declassified per Army letter dtd 5/29/91
823 mch/ltr 8/9/91

CONFIDENTIAL

MID 201 America Fi[illegible]mittee
1-3-42

Report on two meetings of the nucleus of America First, one of which was attended by Charles Lindbergh.

I. Present at the first meeting

About 50 persons were present among whom were:

Mrs. Catherine Larkin	Miss Shuh
Douglas Gregory	Jean Bennet
Horace Haase	George Smith
Ethel Taylor	Mr. Giaquinto
Frances Zimmer	Thruman Blackwood
	Charles Lindbergh

This party was held in the home of Mr. Edwin S. Webster, Beekman Place, on the night of December 17th, 1941. It was held in honor of the speakers of America First.

When the party began the guests were told that Lindbergh happened to be in town and had consented to attend the party on the condition that no one would require him to make a speech. He did come in a little later and spoke for an hour at the first opportunity! The gist of what he said, according to reports of two persons who were present, was as follows:

"There is only one danger in the world -- that is the yellow danger. China and Japan are really bound together against the white race. There could only have been one efficient weapon against this alliance, underneath the surface, Germany itself could have been this weapon. The ideal set-up would have been to have had Germany take over Poland and Russia, in collaboration with the British, as a bloc against the yellow people and bolshevism. But instead, the British and the fools in Washington had to interfere. The British envied the Germans and wanted to rule the world forever. Britain is the real cause of all the trouble in the world today."

"Of course, America First cannot be active right now. But it should keep on the alert and when the large missing lists and losses are published the American people will realize how much they have been bet[illegible] by the British and the Administration. Then America First can be political force again. We must be quiet a while and await the t[illegible] for active functioning. There may be a time soon when we can ad[illegible] a negotiated peace."

CONFIDENTIAL

After this speech of Lindbergh's, Horace Haase declared in gis[illegible] not quite agree on one point with the Colonel. It is obvious[illegible] sary for the leaders of America First such as Wood and Webster quiet. But the organization should not be destroyed. I have been in the lime-light and have nothing to lose. I can remai[illegible] in a quiet way. I should like to offer to keep the files, e[illegible] must get ready for the next attack which must be made on thi[illegible] tic administration. We must combat Union Now. If and when

Pers. Unit: [illegible]
Bu/Ci dist: [illegible] C. FBI Ord File

L. Melville
Info. Melville

1-14-42

moment comes, I feel sure that our leaders — and especially the Colonel — will take the leadership and lead us to victory."

This talk was much applauded and Lindbergh himself thanked Haase himself for the confidence expressed in him.

II. Present at the other and smaller meeting at the apartment of Mrs. Marie D. Hilliard, 7 Park Avenue, on December 17, 1941:

Mr. Cullen — Mr. John Scott — 100367
Marjorie Lane — Mr. Ingersoll and others

Mrs. Hilliard is a woman of about 50 years of age who has traveled widely in Europe and spent much time in Germany. She brought the Protocols of Zion back with her from one of her European trips. She reads this frequently to her friends and read it again at this meeting. She is considered a little bit of a crack-pot by the more responsible America Firsters. Her wall was adorned with pictures of Kirsten Flagstad, of whom she said, "She loves the Germans very much, which is quite understandable." She calls FDR a dictator and an idiot who follows the whims of Churchill. She is especially bitter against persons like Henderson, whom she considers a communist.

Mr. Cullen, a lawyer in Bay Ridge, former chairman of the Bay Ridge unit of America First, expressed great patriotic nationalism but of course he added that the really patriotic thing to do would be to overthrow the present government which has taken the wrong course. He things we should get out of Asia and stated that the Japanese have a natural right to have Asia as their sphere of influence. He favors the creation of a new America First organization.

Mrs. Marjorie Lane has been active in Women United. She spoke of having connections with a Mrs. Young and a Miss Butler, Chairman and secretary of an organization which holds together the old Paul Revere Sentinels. She also gave a mailing list to McCafferty's for the Tomahawk. She wants to boycott Jewish stores. She said she was whole-heartedly with the idea of a new orgnization.

Amos Pinchot was not at the meeting but sent a message, according to Haase, that he was interested but could not join the new organization officially.

Edwin Webster sent a similar message.

John Scott, editor of MONEY, will print the advertising for the new organization in his paper and mail out 10,000 copies.

CONTINUED

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

WAR DEPARTMENT
WAR DEPARTMENT GENERAL STAFF
MILITARY INTELLIGENCE DIVISION, G-2
WASHINGTON, D. C.

JAN 10 1942

Subject: Letter of transmittal.

To: Lt. Col. J. Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation

The attached communications are forwarded for your information and such action as you consider advisable.

RAYMOND E. LEE,
Brigadier General, U. S. Army,
Acting Assistant Chief of Staff, G-2

Enclosures:

[redacted]

100-4712-27

FBI
b7c

RECORDED
&
INDEXED

[redacted]

100-4712-271
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
12 JAN 12 1942
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

[redacted]

8 FEB 18 1942

CONFIDENTIAL

Declassified per Army
letter dtd 5/29/91
8123 mch/tcs 8/9/91

D. 201. America First Committee 7-4-2

COPY

CONFIDENTIAL

December 19, 1941.

Report on two meetings of the nucleus of America First, one of which was attended by Charles Lindbergh

I. Present at the first meeting

About 50 persons were present among whom were:

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Douglas Gregory	Jean Bennet
Horace Haase	George Smith
Ethel Taylor	Mr. Giaquinto
Frances Zimmer	Thruman Blackwood
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"Of course, America First cannot be active right now. But it should keep on the alert and when the large missing lists and losses are published the American people will realize how much they have been betrayed by the British and the Administration. Then America First can be a political force again. We must be quiet for a while and await the time for active functioning. There may be a time soon when we can advocate a negotiated peace."

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Declassified per Army letter dtd 5/29/91 8123 mch/tag 8/9/91

CONFIDENTIAL COPY

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Mr. Cullen
Marjorie Lane
Mr. John Scott
Mr. Ingersoll and others

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Edwin Webster sent a similar message.

John Scott, editor of MONEY, will print the advertising for the new organization in his paper and mail out 10,000 copies.

Distribution: FBI

January 14, 1942

[redacted] b7c

100-4712 - [redacted] 169163

Special Agent in Charge
Chicago, Illinois

RE: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
INTERNAL SECURITY

Dear Sir:

Please refer to my letter dated November 7, 1941, in the above entitled matter and advise immediately what steps have been taken by your office in an effort to comply with my request.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

10-16-90 SP8BTJ/CL

[redacted]

270
JAN 21 1942
RECORDED

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Baltimore
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Coffey
Miss Gandy

4

F

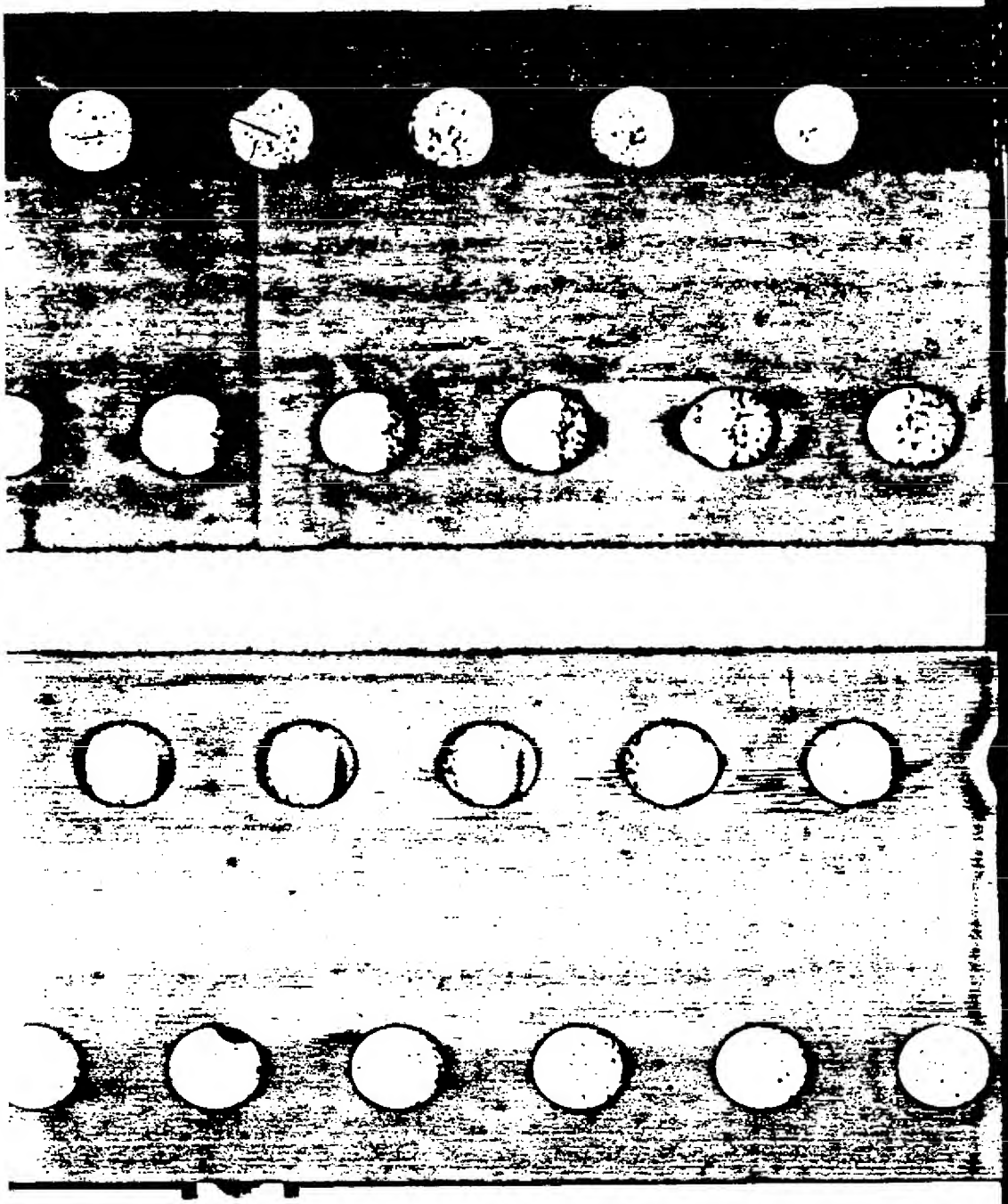
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED
★ JAN 15 1942 ★
P.M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

100-4712-272
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

b7c

[redacted]

2A7-'74

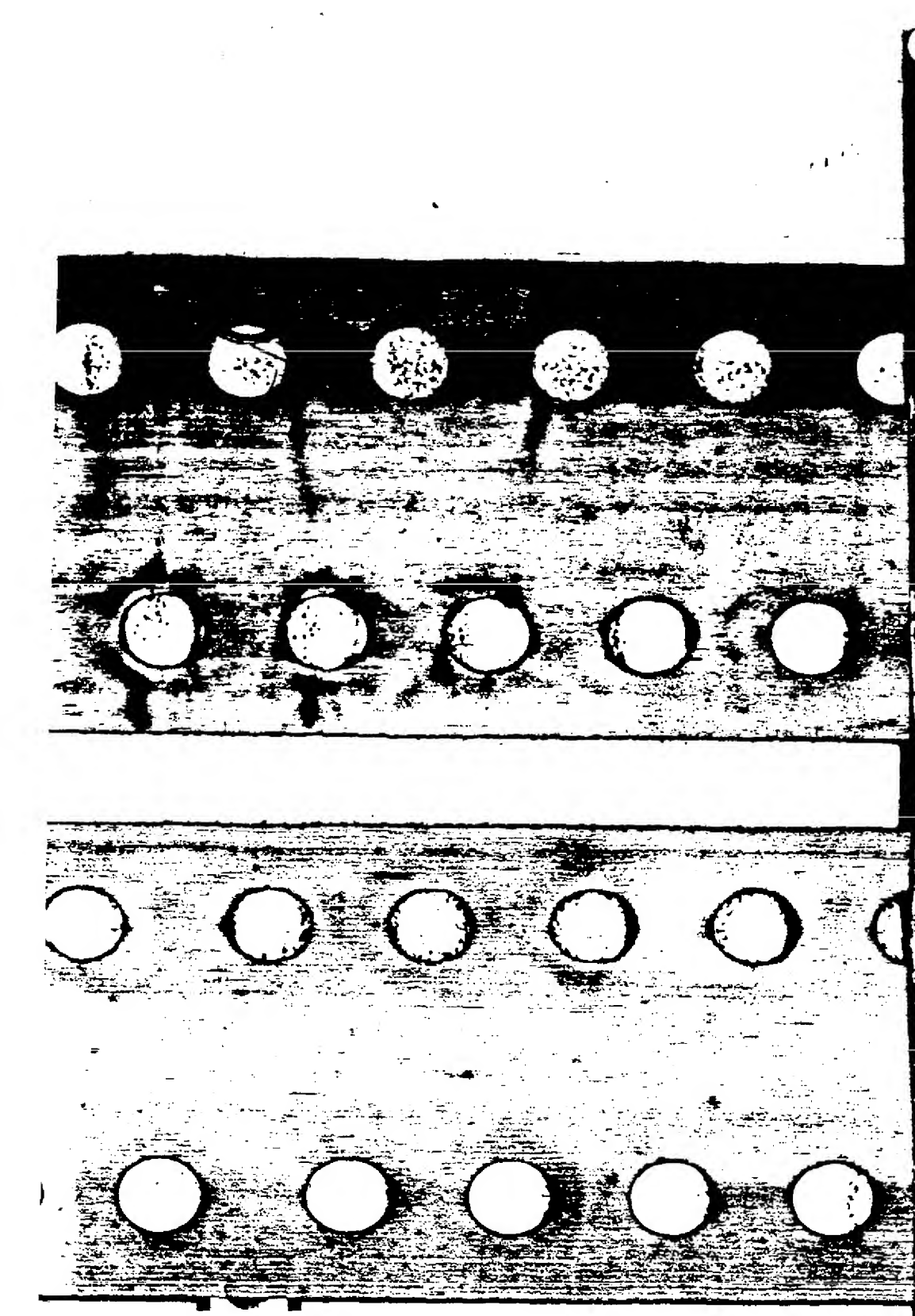


Best copy available

Lindbergh Under Fire

Two Sources Report Secre Speech Here After War De laration

Oliver's Story



Lindbergh Re-enlists

Charles A. Lindbergh has offere
his unqualified services to the Army a
corps. This simple act of a plain citize
will, we fancy, loose a torrent of com
ment on the one-time colonel's fitness t
serve his country.

For ourselves, in the interests of th
new unity, we are willing to believe
with General Arnold that "Lindbergh'
act indicates a definite change from hi
isolationist stand." A great many Amer
icans were shown to be mistaken abou
the scope and character of this wa
when the Japanese swooped down
on Pearl Harbor. We must accept the
signs of conversion at face value—a
least until they become the unerring
trail for old hounds.

But Mr. Lindbergh did as much
more than merely make himself ridicu
lous by saying that the war would neve
touch America; for the Lone Eagle re
ferred often and ominously—with presi
dential elections three years away—t
a "change of government" in Washing
ton. It seems to us, therefore, that h
should be placed in a sort of specia
category of warmaker—a category
north Florida pastor once described a
"the mebbe-ifs."

And then there is this other consid
eration: some of Mr. Lindbergh's clo
est friends have been saying that mil
itary men who have betrayed a perilous
ignorance of modern weapons should
not be permitted to retain posts
which they could place the lives
other Americans in jeopardy. That
the goose-gander will fit the gander.

So the way to the Army accept
after all, means that now the
fit a job commensurate with
military knowledge and with his
really expensive lack of

Best copy available

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT OKLAHOMA CITY, OKLAHOMA FILE NO. 100-922

REPORT MADE AT	DATE WHEN MADE	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE	REPORT MADE BY
OKLAHOMA CITY	1/22/42	1/21/42	[redacted] b7c

TITLE	CHARACTER OF CASE
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE	INTERNAL SECURITY

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

Activities of AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE for past few months in Oklahoma set out. Latest reports are that activities of this committee have ceased since America's entrance into war.

10-16-90 SP8BTS/cc
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/12/96 BY [redacted]

- C -

REFERENCE: Report of Special Agent [redacted] b7c
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, 9/10/41.

DETAILS:

[redacted] b7c b7D

[redacted]

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: [redacted] SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES

100-4712-253

RECORDED

INDEXED

JAN 26 1942

b7c

COPIES OF THIS REPORT

5 - Bureau
2 - Chicago (Inf.)
2 - St. Paul (Inf.)
3 - Oklahoma City

FEB 9 1942

[redacted]

[redacted] furnished this office with a report dated October 28, 1941, at which time he advised that there was practically no activity in that area on the part of this Committee at that time. He advised that the Chairman of this Committee, [redacted] is violently anti-New Deal and he felt sure that [redacted] would not do anything against this country.

Mrs. EUGENIE HOWARD [redacted] Tulsa, is Secretary of the Tulsa Organization and Mrs. ELLA GESSEL [redacted], is Treasurer. Both are natives of the state of Nebraska and have resided in Tulsa for many years. [redacted] believed that they were pacifists and did not think they were un-American.

Reverend O. A. PANKEY, [redacted] was temporary Chairman at the time the Tulsa Chapter was organized. He was also described to be of the pacifist type but it was not believed that he had un-American interests.

On January 20, 1941, [redacted] Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, furnished this office with a letter addressed [redacted], which had been written [redacted] as a consequence of [redacted] activity in preventing CHARLES LINDBERGH from using the Oklahoma City Public Auditorium to make an addfess on behalf of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE. This letter is not set out in full but is quoted in part as follows: "Along about August 26, 1941 you were quoted by the Chicago Tribune as having said 'we are not denying the right of free speech but refusing to rent a public building for a speech by LINDBERGH!'" [redacted] went on to state that this was "small-minded and petty" on the part of Oklahoma City officials. There is nothing of further consequence in this letter except a general denunciation of the city officials in refusing use of the auditorium for this speech.

[redacted] also furnished this office with a postcard addressed [redacted] which reads as follows: "Your stupid refusal to allow CHARLES LINDBERGH to use the auditorium insures the fact that I will never speak well of nor spend money in your town."

These two pieces of correspondence are being retained in the files of the Oklahoma City Field Division.

Various newspaper reports have recently shown a large number of the AMERICA FIRST leaders to have made statements indicating that the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE would be disbanded. A letter appearing in the Tulsa, Oklahoma Tribune on December 8, 1941, by MACK SHRODES, Chairman of the Tulsa Chapter of this Committee, stated that "if I were a Congressman I would vote for war today." He further stated, "there's no further use of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE now unless we can help our country. We've all got to help -- LINDBERGH and Senator WHEELER and Governor MURRAY and myself."

Inasmuch as it appears that the activities of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE are now discontinued this case is being closed but will be reopened if information is later received indicating further activity of this organization.

- CLOSED -

Federal Bureau of Investigation

United States Department of Justice
POST OFFICE BOX 812
Chicago, Illinois
January 22, 1942

b7C

Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

RE: AMERICA FIRST - CHICAGO
INTERNAL SECURITY

b7C

Dear Sir:

Reference is made to Bureau letter dated January 14, 1942 in the above entitled matter, Bureau file 100-4712, which inquires as to what steps have been taken in connection with Bureau letter dated November 7, 1941 in the same matter.

Please be advised that a separate internal security case has been opened in this office wherein [redacted] has been made the subject, same being based upon the information contained in the Bureau letter of November 7, 1941, above referred to.

b7C

[redacted]

b7D

Please be advised that this matter will be followed and the Bureau advised upon the completion of this investigation.

Very truly yours,

A. H. JOHNSON,
Special Agent in Charge

[redacted]
100-668
cc - File 100-6110

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 10-16-90 SP8B5151cd

9 FEB 17 1942

9 FEB 17 1942

100-4712-3

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
17 JAN 26 1942
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

b7C

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

WAR DEPARTMENT
WAR DEPARTMENT GENERAL STAFF
MILITARY INTELLIGENCE DIVISION, G-2
Washington, D. C.

FEB 3 1942

Subject: Letter of transmittal.

To: Lt. Col, J. Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation

The attached communications are forwarded for your information and such action as you consider advisable.

RAYMOND E. LEE,
Brigadier General, U. S. Army,
Acting Assistant Chief of Staff, G-2

1 Enclosures:

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Holloman
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy
Files

[redacted] RECORDED [redacted]
INDEXED

100-4712-275
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
7 FEB 4 1942
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FBI
b7C

9 APR 1 1942

Declassified per Army Letter dtd 5/29/91 8123 Mich Mtr 8-12-91

CONFIDENTIAL

WAR DEPARTMENT

M. I. D.

MID 201
America First Committee
1-22-42

January 21, 1942.
(Date)

Subject: America First Committee Meeting.

Summary of Information:

Reference is made to copy of letter dated January 5, 1942, Office of the Assistant Chief of Staff, G-2, Governors Island, New York, subject, Charles Lindbergh--America First, distributed by this office on January 14, 1942.

Additional information has been received from a reliable source indicating that it has now been established that the report of this meeting was transmitted to the Committee to Defend Democracy by Aiding the Allies, 8 West 40th Street, New York City, New York. The author of the report did not attend the meeting himself but obtained the information contained in the report from three individuals present; this information has also been checked through another confidential source and is substantially correct. Mr. Lindbergh's remarks were extemporaneous and made in a hesitant manner and poorly connected fashion as he was obviously unprepared, and, furthermore, both he and Edwin S. Webster evidently knew that some of the persons present were informants, and that on different occasions Mr. Lindbergh had been warned by Webster to be careful in his remarks. Although the names of the members of the party who gave out the information are not available, it can be assumed from various indications that Horace Haas was the real author of this memorandum.

The informant further advises that there is another much longer report of this meeting which was prepared by other informants, and it has been offered at various places and at various prices. This latter report is obviously incorrect even though it has had a wide circulation.

Declassified per Army Letter dtd 5/29/91 8123 mch/tag 8-12-91

Previous Distribution:

Distribution:
1 - A.C.
1 - F.B.I.
1 - O.N.I.
1 - File

Evaluation

—of source	—of information
X Reliable	X
Credible	
Questionable	
Undetermined	

CONFIDENTIAL

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
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Section 552		Section 552a
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☐ (b)(2)	☐ (b)(7)(B)	☐ (j)(2)
☐ (b)(3)	☑ (b)(7)(C)	☐ (k)(1)
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☐ (b)(4)	☐ (b)(8)	☐ (k)(5)
☐ (b)(5)	☐ (b)(9)	☐ (k)(6)
☐ (b)(6)		☐ (k)(7)

☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.

☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.

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100-4712-276 ic

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FBI/DOJ

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FBI/DOJ

CONFIDENTIAL

Federal Bureau of Investigation.

United States Department of Justice

New York, N. Y.

[redacted] b7C

February 10, 1942

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Re: America First Movement

5/12/84 SP6 bja/ttg
Classified by
Declassify on: OADR

Dear Sir:

For the information of the Bureau, I am enclosing herein a copy of a confidential communication dated January 31, 1942, received from [redacted] Assistant Chief of Staff, [redacted], Headquarters Third Corps Area, Baltimore, Md. (S) (E) U b7C

Very truly yours,

SP8BTJ/cal
10-16-90

P. E. Foxworth [redacted]
P. E. FOXWORTH,
Assistant Director.

enc.

FOI/PA # 262359
APPEAL #
CIVIL ACTION #
E.O. # 262359
DATE 5/12/84 INITIALS ttg

[redacted] b7C b2

original of serial 280 missing

5/26/42 F.M.L.

1 ENCLO. 10

FEB 25 '42

RECORDED & INDEXED

COPY IN FILE

[redacted] b7C

100-4712-279

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

10 FEB 11 1942

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

HEADQUARTERS THIRD CORPS AREA
UNITED STATES ARMY
OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT CHIEF OF STAFF, G-2
MILITARY INTELLIGENCE-PUBLIC RELATIONS
SEVENTH FLOOR STANDARD OIL BUILDING
BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

RSU/gw

(I)
(1-31-42)

CONFIDENTIAL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

In reply refer to
File: III-1430

January 31, 1942

SUBJECT: America First Movement

Summary of Information:

1. It is believed that the America First group in the East under the leadership of the Coughlin followers are soon to come out with a new outfit. When they do, John L. Lewis will openly approve. Lewis has been receiving praise from the Coughlin followers recently and this praise is being used in almost every section of the country. According to the reports from the C.I.O. at Washington, the group has carefully set up the country into districts. They have revised all the mailing lists and in addition, they have made arrangements with other groups, which can be classified as pro-Nazi, for an exchange of a mailing list This arrangement is now in effect and many of these pro-Nazi groups are circularizing so-called patriots with the sale of literature, etc. These lists are not being carelessly handled because of the fear that some may demand a government investigation of their activities. However, it has been learned that America First and their so-called supporting groups have now a secret mailing list of eight million, four hundred and seventy-six thousand names of people in this country. A vast number of this list are on the west coast and lately a great many of the foreign speaking groups have been circularized. There is no doubt but that certain sections of names from the major list have been used in sending out this mail.

PHILIP L. THURBER
Colonel, G. S. [illegible]
A. C. of S., G-2

F. B. I.
FEB 2 1942
N. Y. C.
ROUTED TO | FILE

Distribution:
"F", "I", "J."

CONFIDENTIAL

Evaluation of

source		information
	Reliable	
X	Credible	
	Questionable	
	Undetermined	X

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassified per Army letter dtd 5/29/91 8123mcb/ltr 8/12/91

100-4712-279

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
February 11, 1942

DIRECTOR
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
WASHINGTON, D. C.

RE: [redacted]

b7C
b7D

[redacted]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10-16-90 BY SP8 T5/CO

Dear Sir:

Reference is made to Bureau letter dated November 26, 1941 (100-4712) concerning a former Bureau letter dated July 5, 1941, in which this office was requested to discreetly determine the identity of the Subject.

I have caused a thorough search to be made of the files and indices of this office, but I am unable to locate Bureau letter of July 5, 1941, referred to.

I have delayed answering Bureau letter of November 26, 1941, in the hope that Bureau letter of July 5, 1941, may be located. However, it is my opinion that this letter has not been received at this office.

It is requested that the Bureau immediately advise this office of the nature and contents of the letter of July 5, 1941; and I shall see that the instructions contained therein are promptly carried out.

Yours very truly,

J. F. SEARS,
Special Agent in Charge

FILE COPY

[redacted]

b7C

100-4712-280

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☐ For your information: _____

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☑ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

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X FOR THIS PAGE X
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FBI/DOJ

100-4712 February 9, 1942

Special Agent in Charge
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Dear Sir:

RE: [redacted]

[redacted]

INTERNAL SECURITY

Reference is made to Bureau letters dated July 5, 1941 and November 26, 1941, in the above captioned matter.

A review of the Bureau file fails to reflect that you have given any attention whatsoever to the previous Bureau request. In view of the extreme and unreasonable delinquency in this regard, you are directed to advise by return mail the date that you expect to give coverage to this matter.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 3/22/76 BY SP4 BTJ/cdl

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
FBI
RECEIVED RECORDED
FEB 13 3 13 PM

100-4712-282

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FEB 13 1942
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED 3
FEB 12 1942
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEB 17 1942

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER
DIRECTOR

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

EPM [redacted]
Time: 2:40 P.M.

January 28, 1942

b7C

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. [redacted]

Re: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE,
REPORTED SPEECH OF
CHARLES A. LINDBERGH

At the time indicated above, the writer called Special Agent [redacted] of the New York Office relative to the item appearing in the Washington Merry-Go-Round and published January 28, 1942, in the New York Daily Mirror, which article indicated that Charles A. Lindbergh addressed a meeting of one-time members of the America First Committee at a place formerly known as the German-American Rothskeller in New York City. This speech was reported in this article to have been made December 19, 1941.

[redacted] was requested to make available immediately any information which might be in the possession of the New York Office concerning the remarks reportedly made by Lindbergh on December 19, 1941, in which remarks he allegedly blamed England for the present war and advised America Firsters "to bide their time."

b7C

[redacted] later called the writer at 4:25 P.M. on January 28, 1942, at which time he advised that the New York office had no information whatsoever indicating that Lindbergh had addressed such a group on December 19, 1941. He stated that should any information come to the attention of the New York Office indicating that such a speech had been made the Bureau would be immediately advised.

Respectfully,

E. P. Morgan

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/22/96 BY SP6 baltey
10-16-90 SP6 BTS/cd

[redacted]

100-4712-283

23 FEB 17 1942

FEB 13 1942

[redacted]

SECRET

February 13, 1942

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

Available information concerning the America First Committee has not resulted from active investigation but has been either voluntarily submitted without solicitation or has been extracted from articles which have appeared in the press. Because of this limitation, a full and complete analysis of the organization cannot be presented.

Only a brief reference to the professed principles and objectives of the America First Committee will be made. The Committee declared that the most complete presentation of its views was set forth in a speech entitled "Our Foreign Policy" delivered by Acting Chairman General Robert E. Wood on October 4, 1940, before the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations. General Wood contended that the ideology of the totalitarian states, which it is alleged must be destroyed, cannot be destroyed by war; that our protection does not depend upon Britain; that if we are properly prepared internally we need have no fear of invasion even though Britain falls; and that a German-dominated Europe would not destroy our foreign trade nor would it be impossible for our presently existing economic order to compete with such a Europe. From this, it follows that intervention is not only non-essential, but should be prevented at all costs in order to avoid the attendant financial loss and destruction of life.

The objective of the Committee then becomes one of bringing together all those who concur in the opinion that pressure should be brought from all directions against the United States' entry into the war. The Committee contends that the course presently being pursued by the Government will inevitably lead us into the war, and that this is being done without the masses' knowledge, 86 per cent of whom in October, 1940, were opposed to entry into the war. The Committee has announced through its representative that it favors the administration's rearmament program and supports the policy of giving Britain all possible aid as long as such aid does not tend in any way to directly involve the United States in the European conflict.

5/14/96, Multiple Sources, Sj/tkey
Declassified by: UNSP
Declassify on:
10-17-90
Multiple Sources
3,9,5,19

100-4712-284
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
1 FEB 18 1942
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

SECRET

pg. 5-1 information declassified per Army letter dtd 5/13/91 8123 mch/tkey 5/13/91

pg. 16 paragraph 4 remains unclassified per DOJ letter dtd 5/30/91 8123 mch/tkey 8/19/91

SECRET

ORGANIZATION

Origin

The America First Committee was incorporated in the State of Illinois on September 19, 1940. Its national headquarters have always been located at 1806 Board of Trade Building, Chicago, Illinois. The publications of the Committee fail to disclose the individuals who conceived the idea of such a Committee and the precise reasons for its creation. The officers and directors at the time of its founding consisted of the following:

Officers

Acting Chairman - General Robert E. Wood of Chicago, Illinois; graduate of West Point; present Chairman of the Board of Directors of Sears, Roebuck and Company.

National Director and Secretary - R. Douglas Stuart, Jr.; son of R. Douglas Stuart of the Quaker Oats Company; senior in the Yale Law School prior to the time he became associated with the America First Committee.

Treasurer - J. Manford Otis; Vice President of the Central Republic Bank of Chicago.

Board of Directors

Manford MacNider - Mason City, Iowa; banker; former National Commander of the American Legion; former Assistant Secretary of War, 1925-1928.

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General Thomas Hammond - Harvey, Illinois; Retired United States Army Officer; President of the Welding Corporation, crane and foundry equipment manufacturers; Chairman of the Republican Party in Illinois.

J. C. Hormel - Formerly associated with the Hormel meat packing company of Austin, Minnesota.

Clay Judson - Chicago, Illinois; attorney; Former President of the Chicago Council of Foreign Relations; Member of the Board of Trustees of United Charities, Chicago, Illinois.

A pamphlet issued by the Committee in October, 1940, lists members of the National Committee, among whom were the following:

General Robert E. Wood	R. Douglas Stuart, Jr.
J. Sanford Otis	Mrs. Bennett Champ Clark
Janet Ayer Fairbank	Henry Ford
J. C. Hormel	General Hugh S. Johnson
Clay Judson	Alice Roosevelt Longworth
Captain Edward Rickenbacker	Mrs. Burton K. Wheeler
Lessing J. Rosenwald	General Thomas Hammond
Sanford MacNider	

Dr. Anton Julius Carlson - University of Chicago Professor and member of the Civil Liberties Union; a national pacifist of alleged decidedly left wing sympathies.

William R. Castle - Former Assistant Secretary of State and Ambassador to Japan.

John T. Flynn - Author of "Country Squire in the White House."

Kathryn Lewis - Daughter of John L. Lewis

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Page 3

[redacted] McCarter	Former Attorney General of New Jersey and President of the Public Service Corporation of New Jersey; Director of the Chase National Bank and other financial companies.
Sterling Morton	- Morton Salt Company
William H. Regnery	- Chicago millionaire
Edward L. Ryerson, Jr.	- Chairman of the Board of Inland Steel.
Louis J. Taber	- Nationally known agriculturalist
Dr. George H. Whipple	- Noted pathologist

On April 28, 1941, Social Justice announced that Colonel Charles A. Lindbergh had joined the America First Committee. (100-4451 "The Hour", newsletter, Anti-Nazi)

With reference to the Committee's founding, [redacted] expressed the opinion that the Committee was set up in opposition to the propaganda being disseminated by the William Allen White Committee. This informant pointed out that Colonel Lindbergh and [redacted] both had considerable intimacy with Colonel Robert R. McCormick, editor and publisher of the Chicago Tribune, whom they induced to take an interest in the organization. (100-4712-10; [redacted]

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This informant also expressed the opinion that the Committee at the time of its founding was unquestionably patriotic. He stated that because of the liberalism expressed by some of the members, William J. Grace, Avery Brundage, and W. H. Regnery severed their connections with the Committee. [redacted]

[redacted] submitted a memorandum dated January 17, 1941, which alleged that in the summer of 1940, Senator and Mrs. Burton K. Wheeler and Dorothy Detzer, Director of the Women's International League for Peace

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and associate of J. T. Flynn, publisher of "Uncensored", interested General Wood in the formation of such an organization. Also mentioned in connection with its founding was a so-called pacifist radical monthly called "Equality", in the September issue of which appeared Senator Wheeler's "Defend America First" article and John L. Lewis' article against conscription. This source reported that the Washington, D. C., group of the Committee was organized and directed by Dorothy Detzer and William R. Castle. It is to be noted that Dorothy Detzer is said to consider herself the "brains" of the America First Committee. [redacted] by L.M.C. Smith)

John L. Spivak in his series of articles entitled "America First' Exposed" which appeared in the September 30, October 7, and October 14, 1941, issues of "New Masses", declared that the idea for the formation of such a Committee was born in the mind of R. Douglas Stuart, Jr., who interested General R. E. Wood, William H. Regnery, "a Chicago multi-millionaire", and Clay Judson in such a movement. Spivak contended that Lindbergh was not named on the original Committee because of his reputation for being strongly pro-Nazi.

Membership and Promotion

According to Spivak, the scope of the Committee is nationwide and Robert L. Bliss, formerly Director of Organization in the National Office and now Director of the New York Chapter, stated that there are about 250 chapters of the America First Committee and 750 units throughout the country. When questioned as to the number of members, the Managing Director R. Douglas Stuart, Jr., estimated that there were about 5,000,000. This figure, however was unsubstantiated by any fact, and was considered by Spivak to be greatly exaggerated. (New Masses, Oct. 7, p. 9)

In some states the activities have been sufficiently extensive to warrant state incorporation as was the case in California, New York, and Missouri. It appears that all units recognize the national headquarters and profess to follow the same principles and objectives, although the activities vary in different sections, depending upon the tendencies and influence of the sectional leaders. In view of the speeches and public addresses given by representatives of the Committee, it would appear that all sections of the

country have been influenced by the Committee and that efforts of the Committee have been concentrated in the population centers of the nation.

John L. Spivak contended that "The America First Committee, while trying to create the impression that it has a large mass following is run and chiefly financed by a small clique of 'smart money' boys." To substantiate this contention, Spivak refers to the number of wealthy individuals who are members of the National Committee and to other wealthy patrons among whom are Ernest T. Weir, Chairman of the National Steel Corporation; H. L. Stuart, President of Halsey, Stuart, and Company, Chicago; and Max W. Babb, President of Allis-Chalmers. (New Masses, 9/30)

With reference to the promotional activities of the Committee, it is to be noted that it contends that all work of the Committee is purely voluntary. This was said to be true of the speakers of the organization as well as the organizers. However, Spivak points out that many of the lecturers and speakers are paid for their services even though such speakers are members of the Committee. It has been reported that at the time Dan Lubbock organized a unit of the America First Committee in Oklahoma, he stated that he had formerly been an organizer for the American Peace Mobilization but had been induced to work for the America First Committee because it had greater funds with which to finance promotional work. Within the past two months, an informant has advised that the Committee has recently been compelled to terminate the services of some of its paid organizers through lack of funds and has been called upon to accept financial assistance from pro-Nazi sources. (Sentl, 100-4712; [redacted] Sent 2,3, New Masses; Sent 4, 61-10498-875, [redacted] Sent 5, 8-2)

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Funds

There has been no indication that the America First Committee has at any time submitted financial statements or given any other information concerning the extent of its resources. Spivak opens his series of articles with the statement that "the America First Committee has received a minimum of over $1,000,000 from unidentified sources for its propaganda work." Spivak explained that the Committee refused to make available any financial statistics other than the fact that the Chicago office alone,

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for instance, collected $231,000 during a ten-month period, and the New York Chapter, $112,000 in a six-month period. Using what he considered to be conservative estimates with regard to the other Chapters throughout the country, Spivak concluded that the America First Committee raised over $1,000,000 during the past year. The Chicago office reported that of the $231,000 collected during the ten-month period ending on June, 1, 1941, $207,000 was spent of which $42,000 was allocated to pay roll for the Chicago office alone. (New Masses, Oct. 7)

After repeatedly fusing the New York Herald Tribune's request for a list of the names of the contributors to the America First Committee, General Wood finally made available a partial list. He explained that numerous contributors had preferred not to have their names mentioned. (New Masses, Oct. 7)

It does not appear how successful the Committee has been in raising funds by nationwide appeals either through circulars and publications of the Committee or through public addresses and radio. There is evidence that funds have been received from organizations with Nazi and Communist connections, specific instances of which will be set forth hereinafter.

ACTIVITIES AND CONNECTIONS

The following information will relate primarily to activities and connections of the Committee which have been subjected to adverse criticism by the press and radio, or which have been allegedly associated with foreign subversive elements. An attempt will be made to separate the information set forth into first: that pertaining to activities and connections relating to organizations, individuals, and movements which can be described as being internal in nature and not directly connected with any foreign source, and secondly: that dealing with activities and connections which are either connected with, or directly influenced by, groups or interests such as the Nazis, Communists, Fascists, and others which are associated with forces essentially foreign.

Internal

Anti-Administration Issue

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The most highly publicized and perhaps most representative activities of the National Committee are carried out by the sponsorship of meetings and rallies at which designated representatives of the Committee set forth the official views of that body. Such public declarations of the Committee's policies and views of necessity have been carefully considered by the Committee and have, therefore, contained nothing pertinent to this memorandum. Attention, however, is called to the fact that there is a discernible trend toward a more radical expression of opinion on the part of official representatives of the Committee which has resulted in much adverse criticism. During the first eight months of the Committee's existence, the speakers have confined themselves chiefly to a criticism of the President's foreign policy with occasional charges that the Administration's foreign policy was pro-British, rather than pro-American. Pamphlets of the America First Committee raised the question "Are You Ready to Make the United States a Dictatorship?" and referred to the Lend-Lease Bill as a "war dictatorship bill."

During the past four months, however, prominent speakers of the Committee such as Colonel Charles A. Lindbergh, Senator Burton K. Wheeler of Montana, Senator Gerald P. Nye of North Dakota, and former Governor Philip F. La Follette of Wisconsin, have inserted statements in their speeches which have resulted in their having the label "subversive" attached to their declarations. In his Des Moines speech on September 16, 1941, Lindbergh openly declared that the United States was being drawn into the European conflict by "the British, the Jews, and the Roosevelt Administration", openly raising for the first time the anti-Semitic issue. This reference to the Jews resulted in criticism of the Committee from all sections of the country. The Chicago Daily News of September 23, 1941, quoted Senator Nye as saying that the "foreign-born magnates of the Jewish faith" were primarily responsible for "propaganda" in the films. In his Fort Wayne, Indiana, speech on October 2, 1941, Colonel Lindbergh declared that that speech might be his last. He also declared that the end of free election was in sight and stated, "We must face the fact that you and I and our generation have lost our American heritage." (100-4712-A, Extracts from news clipping)

This same charge - that the American people might expect to have the 1942 election suspended - was made by former Governor Philip F. La Follett on November 1, 1941, in a speech delivered in Washington, D. C. In this speech, La Follette was said to have openly called for an insurrection by

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"fearless red-blooded Americans to overthrow the 'War Party' government ....." and to have stated that ".....if the administration using a 'rubber stamp Congress' tries to postpone elections, we, the real 'American Party', will call upon all real Americans to fight for their freedom right here as their forefathers fought in the revolution." (100-4712-189, [redacted]

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It is to be noted that the Washington [redacted] of July 14, 1941, reported that the America First Committee had adopted a resolution recommending the removal of Secretary of the Navy Frank Knox for allegedly advocating that the United States Navy intervene in the war at that time.

(100-4712-A, 7/14/41)

Reference is made to an article appearing in the Pasadena Independence (California) of June 16, 1941, covering an America First rally in that city. Charles Cobb, Acting Chairman of the group, declared in his address that he did not believe a British victory possible or desirable, and outlined his belief in the theory that the world is destined to be controlled by the new world forces, consisting of the three great centers of power - Europe, Asia, and the Americas. He also made reference to former Ambassador Cudahy's declaration that at no time had Hitler's statements indicated an intention inimical to the United States. He described Czechoslovakia as a dagger pointed at the heart of Germany. The above remarks suggest a Nazi propaganda source. Another speaker at this same meeting, Dr. Michael Francis Dillon, objected to the use of the United States troops in breaking the strike at the North American Aircraft Corporation at Inglewood, California, and the proposed use of concentration camps for handling conscientious objectors. The Federal Bureau of Investigation was paralleled to the Gestapo, and the Dies Committee was described as a tool of the FBI.

(100-4712-76)

In connection with this phase of the Committee's activities, reference is made to the alleged use of the franking privilege by Senators Wheeler and Nye. Spivak particularly stressed this matter and the "New Masses" carried photographs of a franked envelope of Senator Nye, which envelope set forth that the enclosed letter contained an "extension of remarks by Hon. Gerald P. Nye" concerning the "Radio address delivered by Theodore F. Hoffmann, National Chairman, Steuben Society of America." Also shown was an envleope with Senator Wheeler's frank pertaining to material of the same nature which he had read into the Congressional Record.

(New Masses, Oct. 7)

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Reference is also made to an article in the Washington Times Herald of September 26, 1941, which tells of franked mail being subpoenaed from the offices of the America First Washington headquarters. This mail, which bore the franks of seven non-interventionist Congressmen, was said to have been moved from the offices of Prescott Bennett, Secretary of the Make Europe Pay Committee, to the America First headquarters just prior to seizure. (100-4712-A)

Interference With Armed Forces

During the past four months, several different sources have submitted information charging the America First Committee with the sponsorship of a campaign directed toward creating disharmony within the ranks of the army forces. A confidential source on July 6, 1941, reported that the America First Committee within the Ninth Corps Area District of the Army appeared to be falling under the control of the radical elements who were conducting anti-war propaganda campaigns near army posts in that area. Still another source reported on April 23, 1941, that a member of the crew of the U.S.S. SIMS, a United States Destroyer, had been active aboard ship in inducing twelve enlisted men to join the America First Committee. (61-7559-11760) (S-1)(C)

On July 15, 1941, an informant advised the Bureau that the Chicago, Illinois, section of the Committee was said to be circularizing the parents, relatives, and wives of the men in the armed forces with a view toward enlisting their support in the movement. Another source reported that in Westchester County, New York, near Fort Slocum, the America First Committee had distributed folding post cards which were sent to parents and relatives of the enlisted men, one side of which could be detached and mailed to the soldiers. These post cards made an emotional appeal, stressing the hardship and loss of life attendant upon our entry into this war. (S-1)(C)
(100-7660-178, Sept. 1941, G-2, report of the 2nd Corps Area)

On July 23, 1941, an enlistee told of a clerk in the America First Committee office in New Rochelle, New York, expressing the opinion in that office that she sympathized with members of the service who deserted and encouraged the spreading of America First propaganda among the armed forces.
(100-4712-107, G-2) (S-1)(C)

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On September 26, 1941, it was confidentially learned that an America First Committee employee, named J. Guy Jeeneman was distributing anti-war propaganda among soldiers in the New York area around Fort Dix. Jeeneman was said to be a former officer of the German-American Bund. (S-1)(R)

Anti-Semitic Connections

While the anti-Semitic issue did not break out openly until Lindbergh's Des Moines address in September, there is considerable indication that certain individuals connected with the Committee and certain so-called American Fascist groups which supported the Committee were using the Committee as an instrument for advancing their anti-Jewish theories. John Spivak charged that the following individuals, interested in the Committee at the time of its founding, are all anti-Semitic - Henry Ford, Sterling Morton, William Castle, and Avery Brundage. He contended that The America First Director of Organization admitted that Brundage was dropped from the Committee because of his anti-Semitic reputation. He pointed out that Morton was known to have financed Jung's American Vigilant Intelligence Federation which distributed the "Protocols of the Elders of Zion." He also called attention to a letter written by William Castle in which he expressed his dislike of the Jews. (New Masses, 9/30; PM 5/16/41

Spivak also charged that the Committee has several anti-Semites on its lecture staff. He called particular attention to the fact that Reverend Edward Lodge Curran, who is described as Father Coughlin's chief apostle in the East and who has been said to have worked with such groups as the German-American Bund, German-American Business League, the American Nationalists, and the Citizens' Protective League, gave the invocation at the Brooklyn America First rally on May 14, 1941. Spivak also alleged that on December 9, 1940, Mrs. Barbara McDonald, head of the Speaker's Bureau of the Committee's National office, wrote to Edward James Smythe, of the Protestant War Veterans, thanking him for agreeing to speak at the Philadelphia America First meeting on December 16th. Smythe was described as a vicious anti-Semite who has openly boasted of arranging a joint meeting with the Ku Klux Klan and the German-American Bund at Camp Nordland.

(New Masses, Oct. 7, 1941, issue, p.6)

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"The Hour", an alleged confidential newsletter sponsored by the American Council Against Nazi Propaganda, Incorporated, and supported by the Anti-Defamation League has devoted a great deal of space in an effort to establish the connection between the America First Committee and anti-Semitic forces in the country. In the April 26, 1941, issue, "The Hour" calls attention to the number of outstanding leaders of alleged subversive groups who attended the America First rally held at Manhattan Center on April 23, 1941. The following were named: (100-4481-6;

[redacted]

"August Klapprott, Bund leader now out on bail after conviction in New Jersey on charges of incitement to hate; Gustav Elmar, treasurer of the Bund; Lawrence Dennis, well-known fascist 'theoretician', author of 'The Coming American Fascism'; George A. Van Hoesdail, Bund member, former president of the Crusaders for Americanism; Edward James Smythe, intimate of Bundites, KKK leader, staunch Hitlerite and violent anti-Semite; Mrs. Leonora Schuyler (on platform), bigwig in the Allied Patriotic Society, frequenter of Christian Front and Mobiliser meetings; Mrs. Cooper, a leader in the fascist Paul Revere Sentinels, a friend and co-worker of Mrs. Schuyler; Edward Ranta, former witness before the Dies Committee, now employed by the American Women Against Communism, a fascist organization; James Stewart, street-corner speaker of the Christian Mobilizers and member of their inner council; Daniel Morgan, bodyguard of the American Destiny Party leader, Joseph McWilliams; James McGee, Christian Front propagandist; Edmund Burke, Christian Mobiliser speaker and organizer, a jailbird; George F. Bolan, leading member of the U.S. branch of the Roumanian Iron Guard, disseminator of pro-Nazi propaganda; Reverend Herbert Lewis, Bund and Christian Front member; and dozens of other similar gentry."

In other issues of this publication, bitter attacks are made against Father Coughlin's Social Justice group and Joseph McWilliams' American Destiny Party, both of which are said to support the America First Committee. (100-4481; Issue of the Hour)

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Because of Colonel Charles A. Lindbergh's activities on behalf of the America First Committee and his alleged interest in "Scribner's Commentator", it is significant that Spivak stated that at the time he interviewed John T. Flynn, the New York America First Chapter's Chairman, Flynn mistakenly stated that he thought Charles S. Tuyson, a publisher of "Scribner's Commentator" as a member of the Directing Board of the America First Committee. "Scribner's Commentator" has been described as the mouthpiece of Colonel Lindbergh and as being notoriously anti-Semitic. (New Masses, 9/30)

Information has been received associating the notorious American Fascist, Marwin K. Hart, with the America First Committee. On May 22, 1941, a confidential informant advised that

[redacted]

100-1461-72;

[redacted]

It is to be noted that the September 30, 1941, issue of the New Masses" contains a photograph of a letter from R. Douglas Stuart, Jr., on America First letterhead stationery to Marwin K. Hart, President of the New York Economic Council, in which Stuart wrote that while he did not wish to openly associate his organization with that of Hart he did think "it is imperative that we work together on these things." Stuart added, "I will let you know the name of the man who will be Chairman of our New York Chapter within a few days. I hope you will be able to work with him." Spivak pointed out that Hart is considered a prominent pro-Fascist who cooperated with Franco agents during the Spanish Civil War.

FOREIGN INFLUENCE

It is to be noted that the America First Committee has stated in its sponsored literature and statements for the press that it refuses to accept in its membership any persons connected with any foreign subversive groups such as the Nazis, Fascists, or Communists. However, many sources

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have submitted information bearing upon the alleged connection between the Committee and various foreign subversive elements. No information has been received indicating that this Committee was connected in any way with any foreign elements at the time of its founding.

[redacted] b7D

Nazi

[redacted] b7C

On September 11, 1941, [redacted] b7C/b7D

[redacted] was questioned concerning German propaganda activities in this country. [redacted] stated that he believed the leading propaganda organization was the America First Committee which worked in direct accord with the German ideas. He stated that this Committee was at that time the only effective propaganda agency in the United States and advised that the chief problem of the German Government was to keep the Committee advised of all available propaganda. How this was accomplished he did not state. [redacted] also explained that the German-American Board of Trade has succeeded the Germany Library of Information as the official German propaganda instrumentality. It is to be noted that it was reported on March 3, 1941, that a lecturer for the America First Committee named Harry Elmer Barnes, one of the editorial sponsors of "Uncensored", was said to have written to [redacted] urging him to publish the German White Book's attack on former Ambassador, b7D William Bullitt. (65-6225-306; [redacted] 61-7632-415, interview with SA [redacted] and [redacted] of NY Field Division; 100-4712-17X, [redacted]

On June 16, 1941, information was confidentially received to the effect that [redacted]

[redacted] (100-4712-71X, [redacted] b7C b7D

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During July of 1941 information was received to the effect that the mailing list of the German Library of Information had been turned over to the America First Committee. The New York Herald Tribune of July 26, 1941, carried an article which related that Newton Dillaway, a writer residing at Reading, Massachusetts, had made public two envelopes received by him which bore identical misspellings of his name and the same post office box numbers. One contained propaganda received from the America First Committee while the other, which had been received some months previous, contained literature from the German Library of Information. When questioned concerning this coincidence, a spokesman for the America First Committee declared that the misspelled name had been sent to the Committee by a private individual in February and that it would require an extensive search through the Committee's files to determine the name of this individual. A resident of [redacted] on November 11, 1941, pointed to a similar incident which involved the same misspelling of his middle initial. (61-7557-242; 100-4712-A, July 26, 1941; 100-52308-1, [redacted] b7C

It is to be noted that the pro-Nazi publication, Deutscher Weckruf und Beobachter and Free American, has been carrying advertisements and has encouraged its readers to enroll with the America First Committee, as have two other German language newspapers in Bismarck, North Dakota, and San Francisco, California. On May 3, 1941, [redacted] b7C b7D California, told of having received in an envelope of the German-American National Alliance of Chicago, an alleged German propaganda agency, a circular entitled "Peace for America" which contained an appeal for contributions for the America First Committee. (61-6566-2621, [redacted] b7C (102-2-27-1)

Attention has recently been called to a pamphlet entitled "The America First Committee - The Nazi Transmission Belt" which has been published by the Friends of Democracy, Incorporated, whose National Director L. M. Birkhead, is said to be sponsoring this organization for the purpose of counteracting anti-Semitic propaganda. (100-12412-A)

This pamphlet quotes from Senator Wheeler's speech of March 3, 1941, as follows:

> "Now we find these same international bankers with their friends the royal refugees and with the Sassoons of the Orient and with the Rothschilds and Wargurgs of Europe in another theme song....'Our investments in India, Africa, and Europe must be preserved. Save Democracy!"

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and from Senator Nye's speech to the Senate on March 4, 1941:

"The greatest aggressor in all modern history has been the British Empire...The Empire is the despotic, arbitrary and sometimes tyrannical rule over almost half a billion people... It is this Empire that is calling us in the name of democracy."

These two remarks are paralleled to similar language used by Hitler. This publication also points out that the German-American National Alliance of Chicago in its literature calls upon its members to work through the America First Committee. The charge is also made that John B. Snow of New York City, allegedly a former distributor of "The Protocols of the Elders of Zion" which set forth an elaborate Jewish formula for establishing Jewish world domination, has recently been distributing copies of the America First pamphlet entitled "Our Foreign Policy".

[redacted] b7D

[redacted] (100-4712-153)

Information has been received regarding a printed report dated October 10, 1941, prepared by the American Legion on the "Subversive Activities in the America First Committee in California." This report was said to have been prepared in view of the striking similarity between the Nazi propaganda technique and the America First methods of operation, in California. The Legion pointed out that this matter was called to the attention of General R. E. Wood but that no action was taken on his part.

To establish its contention, the Legion report lists numerous "typical channels of subversive propaganda in California" which consist of certain German-American Bund groups and book stores located in the Los Angeles area, and points out how their propaganda compares with that of the America First Committee. It then names several individuals who have been publicly connected with various German propaganda movements and who have recently been associated with the America First Committee Activities. The Legion concludes that "there is every indication that they have joined the America First movement for the express purpose of presenting their subversive propaganda to those sincere isolationists who have been attracted to America First." (Attached to cover letter from LMC Smith, dated November 22, 1941)

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[redacted], reported that the automobile of Dr. George Gyssling, the German Consul, was seen parked in front of the office of the America First Committee on the day that its offices were opened in Los Angeles on January 16, 1941.

With reference to the America First activities in Los Angeles, it was reported in February, 1941, that the Chairman of the Los Angeles branch was John L. Wheeler, son of Senator Wheeler. A confidential informant told of John Wheeler and his wife attending a party on February 4, 1941, at the home of Paul von Gontard, German espionage suspect, at which Mrs. Wheeler had allegedly remarked that "the only way we can be safe is to see the pins knocked out from under Britain." The informant pointed out that the Wheelers associated with several suspected espionage agents as a result of which Mrs. Wheeler had become inculcated with pro-German doctrines. Among those associates was one Hans Wolfram who was said to be connected with publicity activities in New York City and Washington, D. C., on behalf of the German Embassy. This informant further advised that Paul von Gontard at this gathering displayed a $2,000 cashier's check drawn on the St. Louis Trust Company, St. Louis, Missouri, which he turned over to John Wheeler as a contribution to the America First Committee. It is to be noted that Paul von Gontard is said to be a brother of Adelbert von Gontard, an official of the Anheuser-Busch Brewing Company in St. Louis, who is presently under investigation as a German espionage suspect. (S-1)(8)

(100-4712-X; ONI)

Information was also received from San Francisco which alleged that Dr. Hugh Parkinson, a member of the Board of Directors of the America First Committee in San Francisco, was said to frequently contact Fritz Weidemann, German Consul General. (66-2542-3-347-208) [redacted] San Francisco)

On May 6, 1941, a confidential source supplied a photostatic copy of a check drawn on the United States National Bank of Portland, Oregon, by the "German War Veterans, by [redacted] payable to the America First Committee. [redacted] was reported to be a German-American Bund member. (100-36444-1) b7C

(S-1)(8)

The Philadelphia Ledger of April 22, 1941, carried an article reporting that Mrs. Edith Scott of Philadelphia declared that the National

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Legion of Mothers and Women of America, an affiliate of the America First Committee, had under consideration inviting women associated with the Kyffhaeuser Bund into its membership. An informant pointed out that at a meeting of the America First Committee held in Philadelphia on May 29, 1941, there were several representatives of the German-American Central Bund of Pennsylvania on the speakers' stand inside the arena, among whom were Gustav F. Michel, President of the Philadelphia Section of that Bund, and Leopold Syre. Also in attendance was a member of the German Consulate in Philadelphia. (100-4712-A; dated 4/22/41) (100-47)

A confidential informant on May 26, 1941, advised that Mr. Fleischman, a member of the America First Committee, had addressed a meeting of the United German Societies held at the New York Turn Hall. (61-9579-268, From Phila Field, unknown)

[redacted] (S) (65-8857-181) b1

On July 30, 1941, a confidential source made available a summary of information furnished by an informant who was said to be reliable. This informant alleged that the America First Committee had recently formed in New York City an "Investigation Unit", under the direction of one George Krangell. Krangell, who is alleged to be a White Russian and influential among the Russian emigres and French refugee groups, was said to be openly pro-German and pro-Nazi and has been connected with German Bund and German Government circles. This informant further stated that the Bundists are operating as volunteer workers in the dissemination of anti-interventionist literature published by the America First Committee. The "Investigation Unit" referred to above is said to be the creation of Mr. Brenson Batchelor, this informant also mentioned the fact that the America First Committee has been operating with certain Bund agents in a campaign of contacting the parents (S-X

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of draftees and enlistees with the view toward agitating against the national defense program and the extension of the period of military service. (S-1)(2) (100-4712-122* (G-2, Governor's Island, NY)

It is to be noted that another informant advised that Baron von Wrangell had been sent by the America First Committee to debate before a Men's Christian Forum in Bronxville, New York, on the subject "What Is the Christian Attitude Toward America's Entry Into the War?" This informant stated that the forum group was highly incensed because of von Wrangell's position on the foreign issue. (61-10498-539; Letter from [redacted], Bronxville, New York) b7C

(S-1)(2) It is further to be noted that information was received on September 26, 1941, that J. Cay Jeeneman, an active organizer for the America First Committee in the New York area and a former officer and recognized leader of the German-American Bund, was said to be enrolling Bund members in the Committee. In this connection it was reported in May, 1941, that the naturalized and native American members of the German-American Bund were instructed by Kunze to join the America First Committee. (61-7474-49; G-2, 2nd Corps Area; 66-8603-1-34-53; Weekly Natl. Defense Confer. in NYC) (S-1)(2)

A confidential informant submitted unverified information to the effect that one of the outstanding writers on the staff of the America First Committee, [redacted] was said to be an "out and out Nazi." (100-4712-28; [redacted]) b7C b7D

Communist

At the time of the Committee's founding, there was no indication of any Communist influence. Soon after the America First Committee was organized, members William J. Grace, Avery Brundage, and W. H. Regnery, severed their relations with the America First Committee allegedly because they disapproved of any connection whatsoever with any members of the Committee who might be designated as "pink" in their belief. John Spivak

(100-4712-10, p.2)

alleged that Brundage and Regnery left because their well-known anti-Semitism would reflect unfavorably upon the Committee. It is to be noted that shortly thereafter, [redacted] left the America First Committee, publicly stating that [redacted] could no longer be disagreed with the Committee's approval of the administration's rearmament program. Another well-known liberal and member of the Civil Liberties Union, [redacted] was a member of the America First Committee. (New Masses 9/30/41; 100-4712-10, p.4, b7D

[redacted]

[redacted] which alleged that John Wheeler, Chairman of the Los Angeles Chapter, supported [redacted] faction in the 1940 b7C California primaries. [redacted] is said to be notorious for his cooperation with the Communist Party members on the West Coast. (100-4712-17I, unknown

It is to be noted that in May, 1941, a confidential source advised that the Communists were said to consider the America First Committee a dangerous movement launched by "big-open-shop industrialists", and the Political Bureau of the Communist Party was said to have expressed the belief that should the United States enter the War, the Committee will definitely come out in support of it. (S-1)(C) (61-7559-11867, C-2)

[redacted]

(100-18264-54; [redacted] b7C (C)

SECRET

The Communist present position with regard to the America First Committee is reflected by the "New Masses" recent expose of the Committee and the fact that a derogatory report has recently been circulated by the Communist Party. This latter report which was said to have been prepared by a district secretary of the Communist Party has come from sources in various sections of the country. It contains inconsistent information and appears to be unreliable.

(100-4712-137)

[redacted]

In addition to the American fascistic organizations previously referred to in this memorandum, there has been some indication that foreign fascist influence has been exerted on the America First Committee.

[redacted]

(100-4712-72)

anonymous communication [illegible] Washington Field Office, it is reported that in the city of San Francisco, California, there are two separate chapters of the America First Committee which have been established in the Italian sections. This source failed to connect the Italian Consul in any way with these chapters, however.

Reference is also made to the publication (100-26755-2) "The America First Committee - A Nazi Transmission Belt" which quoted from the Chicago Daily News' Rome correspondent who indicated that the Italian Propaganda Ministry, through the Fascist spokesman, [redacted] has referred favorably to the America First Committee in the Italian Press.

(62-53618-16)

b7c

CONFIDENTIAL (U) SECRET

February 19, 1942

100-4712-284

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

DECLASSIFIED FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

Classified by 5Fb
Declassify on: OADR

Re: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

Cases [redacted]

I have recently received confidential information indicating that members of the America First Committee entertain the hope that the Committee may again become a political force; that they are biding their time in contemplation of this eventuality, despite the fact that the organization ostensibly concluded its activities following the entrance of the United States into the war. It has been reported that the Committee has gone underground under the leadership of Charles A. Lindbergh. (100-4712-270, G-2; [redacted] (S-1)(4) 070

With regard to Lindbergh it is known at this time that on December 17, 1941, he addressed a dinner meeting of individuals, who had been associated with the America First Committee, assembled at the home of Edwin S. Webster, Jr., 35 Beekman Street, New York City. Webster was New York Secretary of the America First Committee.

On this occasion Lindbergh is reported to have stated that for years America has been speaking of the "Yellow Peril," yet we are now fighting on the side of the Russians and Chinese. He is stated to have appeared discouraged with the United States Government on account of the fact that, in his opinion, it has no plan nor does it know for what it is fighting. (100-5072?-19, technical surveillance)

With further regard to the remarks made by Lindbergh on December 17, 1941, information has been confidentially received that he stated there is only one danger in the world, namely, the yellow danger; that China and Japan in reality are allied against the white race; and that Germany itself could have been used as a weapon against this alliance. He is reported to have said that the ideal program would have included Germany's taking over Russia and Poland, in collaboration with the British, as a bloc against the yellow race and Bolshevism but that "the British and the fools in Washington had to interfere." Further, he is stated to have said that the British

(S-1)(4)

Deleted Copy Sent by Letter 3-4-76 Per FOIA Request:

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Lester
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Sizoo
Miss Gandy

SENT FROM D. C.
TIME 3:50 PM
DATE 2/17/42

MAR 20 1942

CONFIDENTIAL (U) SECRET

envied the Germans and wanted to rule the world; that Britain is the real cause of all the trouble in the world today. (S) (2)

Lindbergh is reported to have pointed out that the America First Committee cannot, of course, be active now but that it should be on the alert for the time when the American people, by reason of the lists of the missing and statements of war losses, realize that they have been betrayed by the British and the Administration. He is indicated to have stated that then the America First Committee can again become a political force; that it must remain quiet for a while and await the time for active functioning; and finally, that there may be a time soon when the Committee can advocate a negotiated peace. (100-4712-270, G-2) (S) (2)

[redacted] b7D

Further information has been received to the effect that a series of house parties is to keep alive contacts of the America First Committee. It is also reported that the backbone of the America First Committee, particularly in the East under the leadership of the followers of Reverend Charles Coughlin, is soon to come out with a new organization. [redacted]

In view of the foregoing information there is being attached hereto a memorandum setting forth the structure, activities and connections of the America First Committee as it was organized prior to its allegedly going out of existence following our entry into the war, in order that you may have the benefit of a composite picture of the organization. It is to be noted, however, as suggested in the memorandum itself, that the information in the possession of this Bureau concerning the Committee has not been the result of investigation initiated by the Bureau but has been either voluntarily submitted incident to other investigations or obtained from articles which have appeared in the press.

Memorandum for the Attorney General CONFIDENTIAL Page 1

Inasmuch as recent reports indicate that the America First Committee is being revived and may be contemplating activities detrimental to the war effort of the United States, an investigation will be conducted into the various ramifications and connections of the organization unless in your opinion reason obtains for not conducting such investigation.

Respectfully,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Enclosure

CONFIDENTIAL

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

February 14, 1942

Director,
Federal Bureau of Investigation,
Washington, D. C.

Re: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE;
INTERNAL SECURITY.

Dear Sir:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 5/12/86 BY SP6 BTJ/RBC #249,866 7/6/89 SP8 BTJ/RBC SP8 BTS/CAL 10-16-90

Enclosed herewith is a communication dated February 9, 1942, from [redacted] Baltimore, Maryland.

There is no doubt that the Bureau has received this information from the Army, but in order to make certain that the Bureau is in possession of this information, a copy of the above-referred-to letter is enclosed herewith.

Very truly yours,

J. F. Sears

J. F. SEARS
Special Agent in Charge

COPIES DESTROYED 3/23/42 X-42

1 ENCLO. 13 [redacted]

b7c

100-72
Enclosure

[redacted]

100-4712-285
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FEB 16 1942
[redacted]

2 FEB [illegible] 1942

COPY IN FILE

HEADQUARTERS THIRD CORPS AREA
UNITED STATES ARMY

12 (I)
2/6/42

Office of the Assistant Chief of Staff G-2
Military Intelligence-Public Relations
Seventh Floor Standard Oil Building
Baltimore Maryland

RSU/AS

February 9, 1942

In reply refer to: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
File: III-1430

Subject: America First, Incorporated

Summary of Information:

The following unsolicited report from a usually reliable source has been received in this office and is forwarded for the information of your office:

"1. An America First underground organization under the leadership of Charles A. Lindbergh is being formed. The first evidence of this is two secret meetings which were held at the homes of persons high in the America First organization. On December 17, 1941, more than fifty people were present at 10 Beekman Place, New York, home of an America First leader, reportedly that of Edwin S. Webster, Jr., former New York secretary of America First and a Wall Street banker of Kidder, Peabody and Company, to hear Charles A. Lindbergh counsel the continuation of an America First type of organization. The second meeting, held a few days before in an apartment on lower Park Avenue, was sponsored by a woman who was one of the New York heads of Women United, America First auxiliary. It is understood that these are the first of a series of house parties which will keep alive America First contacts.

"2. The meeting at the Beekman Place address was a dinner given for the members of the speakers' bureau of America First. Those present were the minor sub-leaders of the America First group, borough heads, district heads and leading speakers. Lindbergh was an 'unexpected treat' for the assemblage. Although he had not come prepared to speak, according to the host, Lindbergh, who now has applied for readmittance to the United States air force, stood up and spoke for an hour. It is reported the flyer made it clear that events in the Pacific had no

111-4712-285

DISTRIBUTION:
F, I, J
D.I.O.'s, 3CA

Evaluation of source: X Credible
Evaluation of information: X

Federal Bureau of Investigation
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEB 12 1942
PHILADELPHIA OFFICE
RECEIVED

Declassified per State Army letter dtd 5/29/91
8/23 mem/ltr 8/12/91

effect on his previous charge, that the Administration's policies had involved this country in a war. As far as the Pacific was concerned, Lindbergh said that Britain was responsible and that she should have joined with Germany in destroying the yellow danger and Bolshevism. If such a move had been made, it would have put America and Britain in a better position to fight Japan.

"3. Bryce Oliver, radio commentator for the Friends of Democracy, headed by Dr. L. M. Birkhead, speaking over the radio during the second week of January, without mentioning Lindbergh's name or the home in which the meeting took place, charged that a 'famous leader, who now seeks a place within the United States Army, had said: "America First should be on the alert to take advantage of the reactions which will come when the lists of missing and the dead and the wounded begin to appear, for it is then that the American people" -- of course, he meant the American people who can be swayed by the Fascist flag appeal -- "will be made to understand how they have been betrayed by the British and the Administration."'

"4. The second meeting, held at the lower Park Avenue address, discussed the formation of a new organization with a more open anti-Semitic program than the America First Committee utilized. Present at the meeting were the persons active in Women United, an America First auxiliary, and an editor of a small financial magazine who has spread the forged Protocols of Zion.

"5. The propaganda tactics of the former appeasement group is made clear by Father Coughlin and by Merwin K. Hart, in whose offices have been hatched many pro-Fascist groups. In a letter to the New York Times of January 6, 1942, Hart violently attacked the proposal of any union with the other democracies. This is in line with Coughlin's incitements against Britain and the statement that 'we must think first of our defense only.' The Coordinating Committee for Democratic Action was spurred after the fall of France by a group which met shortly after that date in the office of Hart. Present at the meeting were William R. Castle, Hoover's under-secretary of state, former Senator Rush Holt, Father Talbot, editor of America, and Charles Lindbergh."

PHILIP L. THURBER
Colonel, G. S. C.
A. C. of S. G-2

CONFIDENTIAL

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
New York, New York

100-0 [redacted]

February 17, 1942

DECLASSIFIED BY 10-16-90 SP8BTJ/COL

Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Classified by SP6 Whitney
Declassify on: OADR

RE: COMMUNICATION FROM G-2 CONCERNING AMERICA FIRST, Incorporated. INTERNAL SECURITY (S-1)(E) U

Dear Sir:

There is being forwarded herewith for the information of the Bureau one mimeographed copy of a communication received from [redacted] G. S. C., Assistant Chief of Staff, G-2, Baltimore Maryland, concerning America First, Incorporated. (S-1)(E) U

b7C

Very truly yours,

P. E. Foxworth

P. E. FOXWORTH
Assistant Director

FOI/PA # 842359
ARTEMIS #
CIVIL ACT.
E.O. # 12356
DATE 5/12/96 INITIALS jcy

S-1 Secret

Enclosure

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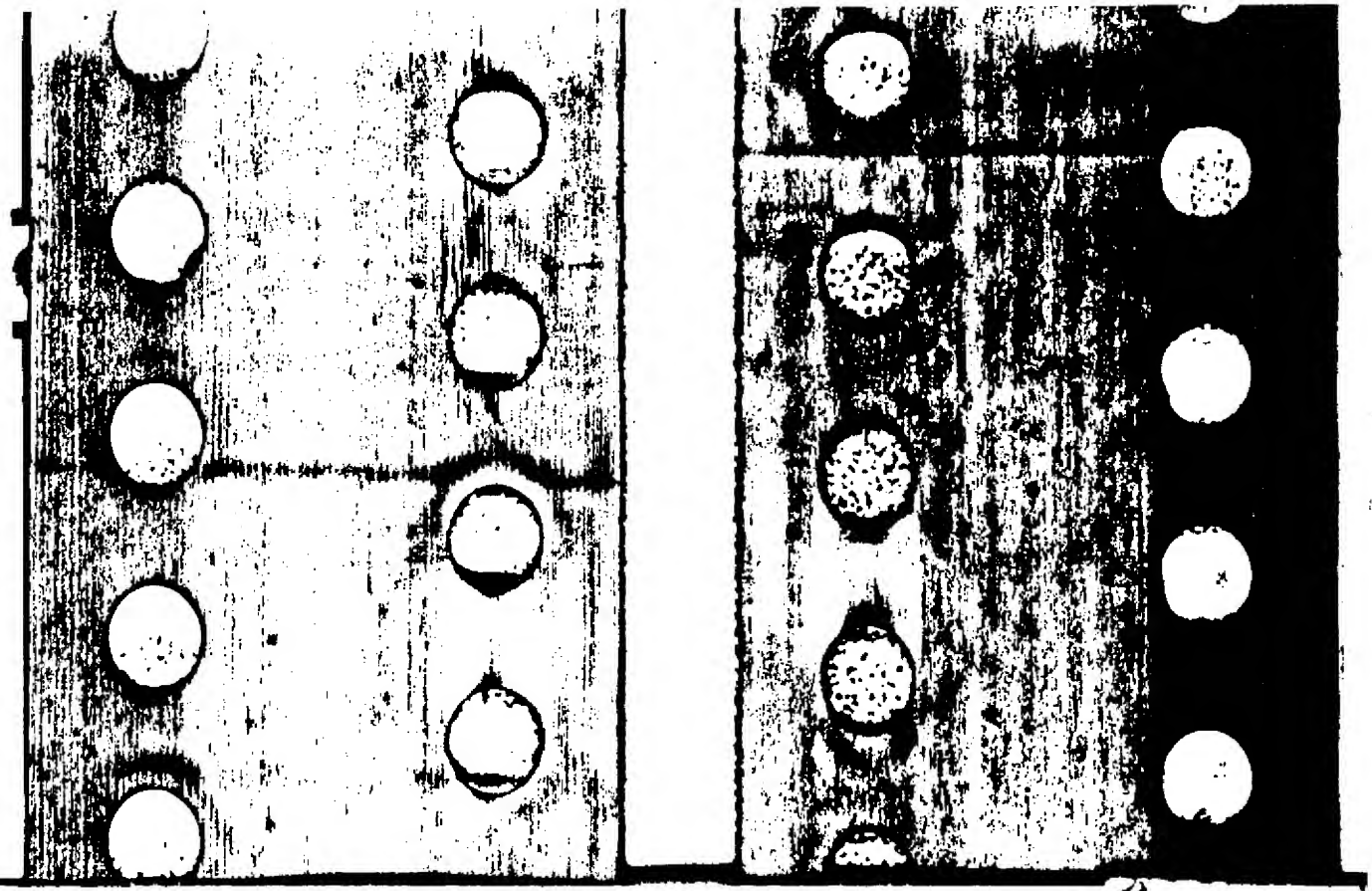
FEB 19 1942

CLEARED APR 11 1995

CONFIDENTIAL [redacted]

b7C



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

OFFICIAL BUSINESS

1 Enclosures for Bureau

Re: New York File No. 100-0

10-16-90 SP8BTS/CoC

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9/24/96 BY SP8bgaltcy

100-4712-28

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

_____ Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

☐ Deletions were made pursuant to the exemptions indicated below with no segregable material available for release to you.

Section 552		Section 552a
☐ (b)(1)	☐ (b)(7)(A)	☐ (d)(5)
☐ (b)(2)	☐ (b)(7)(B)	☐ (j)(2)
☐ (b)(3)	☐ (b)(7)(C)	☐ (k)(1)
_____	☐ (b)(7)(D)	☐ (k)(2)
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_____	☐ (b)(7)(F)	☐ (k)(4)
☐ (b)(4)	☐ (b)(8)	☐ (k)(5)
☐ (b)(5)	☐ (b)(9)	☐ (k)(6)
☐ (b)(6)		☐ (k)(7)

☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.

☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.

☐ Documents originated with another Government agency(ies). These documents were referred to that agency(ies) for review and direct response to you.

_____ Pages contain information furnished by another Government agency(ies). You will be advised by the FBI as to the releasability of this information following our consultation with the other agency(ies).

2 Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s): Enclosure is duplicate of enclosure to 110-4712-285

☐ For your information: _____

☑ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

110-4712-286 enclosure

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X FOR THIS PAGE X
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FBI/DOJ

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER
DIRECTOR

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

CONFIDENTIAL

January 29, 1942

[redacted]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

MEMORANDUM FOR THE DIRECTOR

RE: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE, REPORTED SPEECH OF CHARLES A. LINDBERGH.

Reference is made to your notations concerning available information in the Bureau files relative to an article appearing in the Washington Merry-Go-Round and published January 28, 1942, in the New York Daily Mirror. It is recalled that this article relates of attendance by Charles A. Lindbergh at a meeting of one-time employees of America First held at a place formerly known as the German-American Rathskeller in New York. The article indicates that Lindbergh addressed this meeting on December 19 (1941), at which time he reiterated his charge that Britain was responsible for the war and counselled listeners to bide their time for future action. It is noted that an item also appearing in the column relates that intelligence officials have records of other secret America First gatherings in Chicago, St. Louis, and Los Angeles, at which plans were discussed for distributing "literature" to men in nearby military camps and for action in the coming Congressional elections.

The Bureau files appear to reflect no definite information at this time concerning a meeting of the America First Committee addressed by Lindbergh on December 19, 1941. It is known, however, that Charles A. Lindbergh was in New York City on December 17, 1941, at which time he addressed a dinner meeting of America Firsters assembled at the home of Edwin S. Webster, Jr., 35 Beekman Street, New York City. Webster was Secretary of the America First Committee, 515 Madison Avenue, New York City.

100-47[illegible]-2

It was developed through technical surveillance, in the course of investigating [redacted] and her family, that on the occasion of his remarks on December 17, 1941, Lindbergh spoke at length during the evening and suggested that members of the America First Committee get behind the war. He added, however, that for years America has been speaking of the "Yellow Peril" yet we are now fighting on the side of the Russians and Chinese. It was reported that Lindbergh appeared discouraged with the U.S. Government on account of the fact that in his opinion it has no plan nor does it know for what it is fighting. In the course of his remarks, Lindbergh is stated further to have urged the boxing up of the America First Committee. Although reported to be one of those who voted for the continuance of the Committee at its meeting in Chicago, he nevertheless urged that the Committe

FEB 21 1942

10 FEB 26 1942

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CONFIDENTIAL

pgs. 2 & 3 paragraphs 1-5
pg. 3 paragraphs 1-4, declassified
per Army letter dtd 5/29/91-
8123 Mch 1 tcy 8-14-91

CONFIDENTIAL

disband because of the disunity within its ranks. It is noted in this connection that at the America First Committee meeting held at Chicago, Illinois, 77 voted for the continuance of the Committee and 44 for its abandonment. It was finally determined that the organization should disband because of so much disunity.

[redacted]

A communication has been received from G-2 with regard to this meeting on December 17, 1941, at the home of Edwin S. Webster. This communication sets forth the gist of Lindbergh's remarks, according to reports of two persons who were present, as follows: (S-1)(G)

"There is only one danger in the world - that is the yellow danger. China and Japan are really bound together against the white race. There could only have been one efficient weapon against this alliance, underneath the surface, Germany itself could have been this weapon. The ideal set-up would have been to have had Germany take over Poland and Russia, in collaboration with the British, as bloc against the yellow people and bolshevism. But instead, the British and the fools in Washington had to interfere. The British envied the Germans and wanted to rule the world forever. Britain is the real cause of all the trouble in the world today. (S-1)(G)

"Of course, America First cannot be active right now. But it should keep on the alert and when the large missing lists and losses are published the American people will realize how much they have been betrayed by the British and the Administration. Then America First can be a political force again. We must be quiet a while and await the time for active functioning. There may be a time soon when we can advocate a negotiated peace." (S-1)(G)

The information received from G-2 also includes a clipping from an unidentified newspaper setting forth remarks made by one Oliver who spoke over Station WEVD for Friends of Democracy. In the course of his remarks, Oliver is reported to have related that a "famous leader who now seeks a place within the Army of the United States" addressed a secret Fascist (S-1)(G)

CONFIDENTIAL

meeting in a Beekman Place apartment on December 19, (1941). It is noted, however that this unidentified newspaper article has this comment under Oliver's remarks: "Pearson and Allen gave the date of the meeting as December 17, but Oliver gave it as December 19". This latter statement is, of course, contrary to the article in question appearing in the New York Daily Mirror, relating that the meeting, according to Pearson and Allen, occurred on December 19. (S-1)(2)

It would appear that the Pearson and Allen column in the New York Daily Mirror relative to Lindbergh's remarks on December 19 is probably in error and that it in fact relates to the meeting addressed by Lindbergh on December 17 at the home of Edwin S. Webster, particularly in view of the fact that Lindbergh's remarks as set forth in the column closely parallel those reported by G-2 to have been made by him on December 17. It is to be noted further in this connection that Mrs. Catherine Larkin in attendance at the meeting, as indicated by the Pearson and Allen column, is stated to have been in attendance at the meeting addressed by Lindbergh on December 17, according to the G-2 report. (S-1)(2)

The Bureau files do not appear to contain any information identifying the [redacted] and [redacted] reported to have attended the meeting addressed by Lindbergh. b7C

The New York Office was contacted relative to the item appearing in the Washington Merry-Go-Round and instructed immediately to make available any information which it might have concerning the reported remarks made by Lindbergh on December 19, 1941, in addressing ex-employees of the America First Committee at a German Rathskeller in New York City. Subsequently, [redacted] of the New York Office advised that they had received no information whatever indicating that Lindbergh had addressed such a group on December 19th. b7C

The files of the Bureau do not appear to reflect any information concerning secret gatherings of the America First Committee to discuss the distribution of literature to men in the armed forces. The files do, however, reflect a report dated November 25, 1941, from G-2 informing that it was reliably reported to the Commanding Officer at Lowry Field, Denver, Colorado, that the America First Committee was distributing literature and buttons to soldiers of that command. (S-1)(2)

Respectfully,

D. M. Ladd

CONFIDENTIAL

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10-16-90 SP6BTS/tc

100-4712-288 APR 13 1942

CHANGED TO

100-92702-1

4 APR 15 1942

Papers received + changed
Please file

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER
DIRECTOR

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.
February 10, 1942

[redacted] b7c

MEMORANDUM FOR THE DIRECTOR

RE: MEMORANDUM RECEIVED FROM MR. MARVIN H. MCINTYRE, January 31, 1942.

Reference is made to the attached memorandum dated January 31, 1942, addressed to you by Mr. Marvin H. McIntyre with the attachments, two newspaper clippings. Also attached hereto is a letter of acknowledgment to Mr. McIntyre.

You will recall my memorandum to you of January 29, 1942, concerning the information which appears in the newspaper clipping captioned "America First." In my memorandum I advised you that the Bureau files appeared to reflect no definite information concerning a meeting of the America First Committee addressed by Lindbergh on December 19, 1941. It is known that Lindbergh had addressed a dinner meeting on December 17, 1941, of America Firsters at the home of Edwin S. Webster, Jr., 36 Beekman Street, New York City. I also advised that the Bureau files did not contain any information identifying the [redacted] and [redacted] who reportedly attended the meeting addressed by Lindbergh. b7c

Respectfully,

D. M. Ladd

Attachment [redacted]

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DATE 2/12/86 BY S Gilbertey
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100-4712-28
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
14 FEB 20 1942
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

[redacted] (U)

January 31, 1942

MEMORANDUM FOR: HONORABLE J. EDGAR HOOVER
DIRECTOR
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Traylor
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Hendon
[redacted]

Just as it arrived in my office.

M. H. McINTYRE
Secretary to the President

Attachments

67c

1 ENCLO. [redacted]

10-16-90
Sp 8 T5 / Col

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/12/96 BY SP6 bjd/tdg

Deleted Copy Sent [redacted]
by Letter 3-6-96
Per FOIA Request [redacted]

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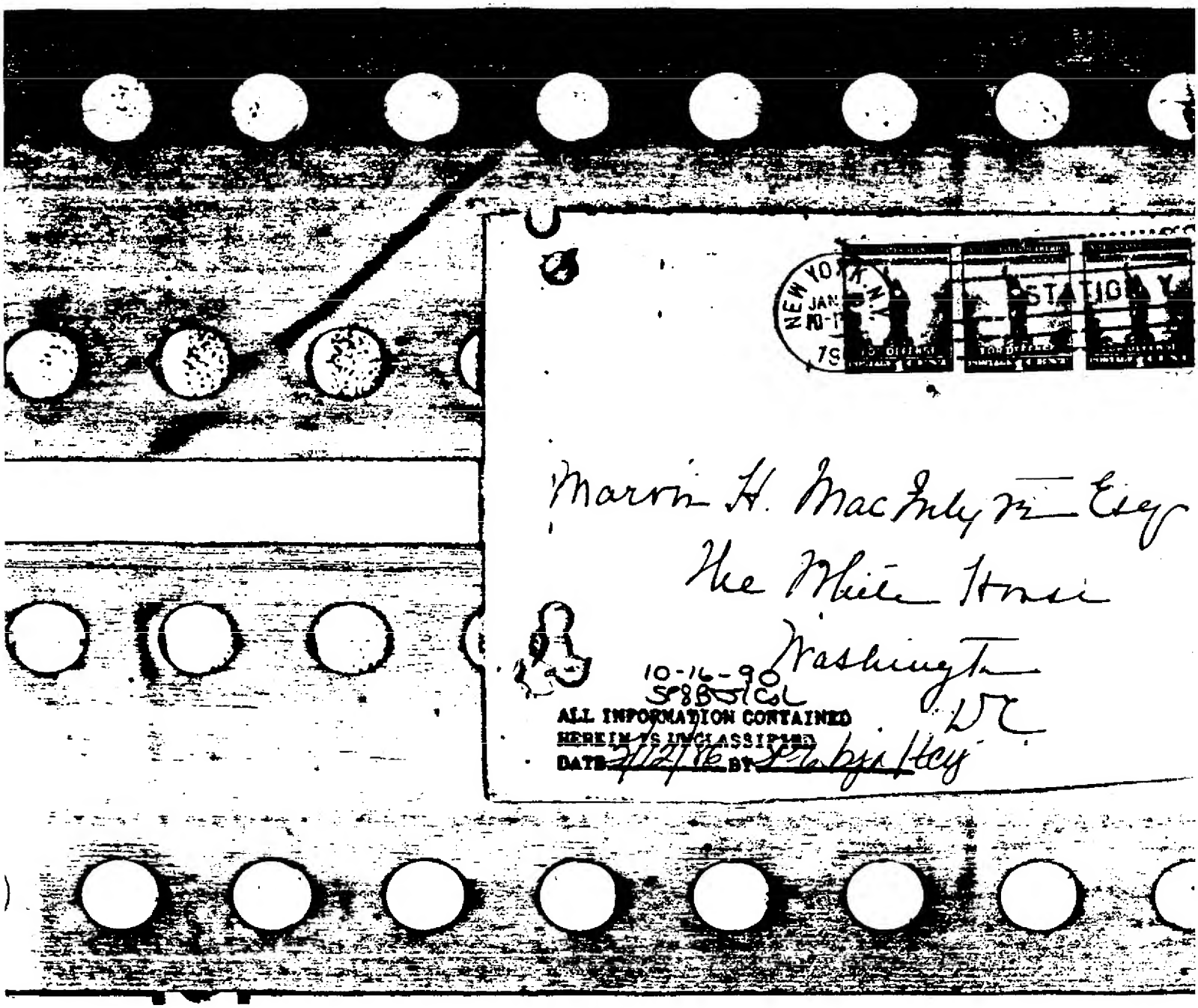
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
14 FEB 20 1942
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
[redacted]



Marvin H. MacInty, Esq
The White House
Washington
DC

10-16-96
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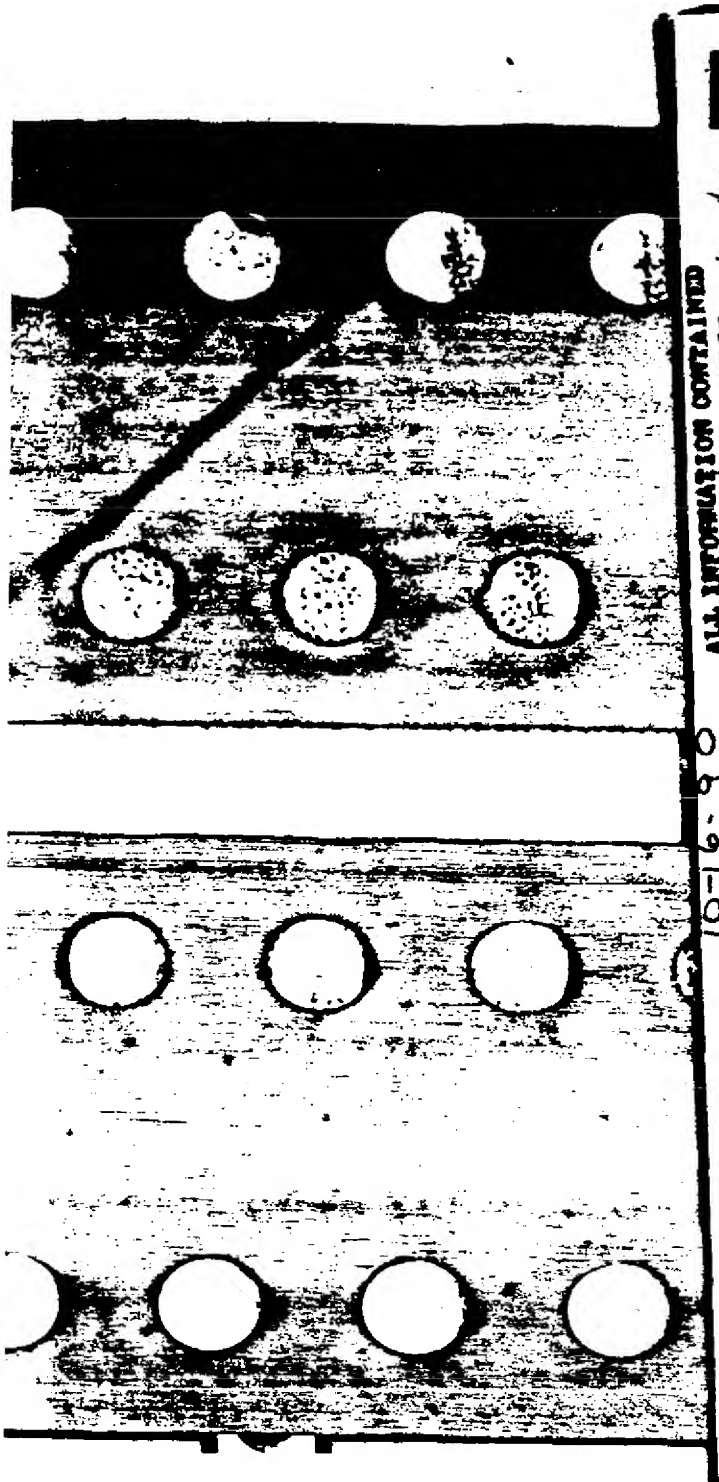
DATE 4/12/96 BY Sr6 bjs Hcy



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 3-12-82 BY Sp2 Lindsay Ltgy

100-4712-281

10-6-80 Speedy

Wheeler Plays Golf With Knox And Feud Ends

'Error' in Matching Pairs Political Foes, and They End Day on Cordial Terms

WASHINGTON, Jan. 27 (UP).—The battle of Burning Tree—in which a stout isolationist and a stout interventionist played eighteen holes of golf together—testified today to the changed atmosphere of the capital.

A non-politically minded golf steward was primarily responsible for what came close to being the greatest social error in capital history. He matched Secretary of the Navy Frank Knox and Senator Burton K. Wheeler, Democrat, of Montana, for eighteen holes at the Burning Tree course on Sunday.

Senator Wheeler, who led the isolationist battle against Knox confirmation to the Cabinet post, told the United Press he was "more surprised than I thought I could be" when he walked out to the first tee to greet his partners. He explained he had taken advantage of a system at the course whereby on Sunday golfers enter a tournament for a prize and are not given the names of their fellow players in advance.

"I walked out to the tee to join what was my foursome when somebody called my name," he said. The name caller, he explained, was Senator Millard E. Tydings, Democrat, of Maryland, who supported the Administration on most of its foreign policy issues but who voted against repeal of the neutrality act.

"Come here and meet your partners, Burton," Senator Tydings said. "You're playing with us today."

Senator Wheeler turned around to shake hands with Secretary Knox and Assistant Secretary of the Treasury John L. Sullivan.

Witnesses described the scene as "distinctly cool and said they had trembled in anticipation of the consequences. Only five months ago, Senator Wheeler toured the country

Senator Wheeler topped off his day by playing bridge at the [illegible] with Marvin H. [illegible] President Roosevelt's personal [illegible]

America First—

THE governing board of the America First Committee officially disbanded soon after Pearl Harbor, but that doesn't keep some New Yorkers of the organization from continuing operations.

Authorities have a report on a meeting last week in a place formerly known as the German-American Rathskeller; 66 attended among them a number of one-time employes of America First.

One was Marjorie Kennedy, who made the arrangements for the pow-wow. Another was Mrs. Catherine Larkin, militant Fighter, who was at the meeting of leaders addressed by Charles Lindbergh Dec. 19, long after Pearl Harbor and shortly before he offered his services to the Army.

At that session, Lindbergh reiterated his charge that Britain was responsible for the war and counselled listeners to bide their time for future action. Another present at last week's meeting was Mary Norton, active in an "Impeach Roosevelt" movement last year.

NOTE: Intelligence officials have records of other secret America First gatherings in Chicago, St. Louis and Los Angeles. At these, plans were discussed for distributing "literature" to men in nearby military camps and for action in the coming Congressional elections.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
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_____ Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

☐ Deletions were made pursuant to the exemptions indicated below with no segregable material available for release to you.

Section 552		Section 552a
☐ (b)(1)	☐ (b)(7)(A)	☐ (d)(5)
☐ (b)(2)	☐ (b)(7)(B)	☐ (j)(2)
☐ (b)(3)	☐ (b)(7)(C)	☐ (k)(1)
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☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.

☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.

☐ Documents originated with another Government agency(ies). These documents were referred to that agency(ies) for review and direct response to you.

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21 Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s): Duplicate copy of document located 100-4712-284

☐ For your information: _____

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☑ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

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FBI/DOJ

1-7 G.

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100-4712-290

February 13, 1942

RECORDED

SPECIAL DELIVERY

Major General Edwin M. Watson
Secretary to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear General Watson:

I have been confidentially advised that members of the America First Committee entertain the hope that the Committee may again become a political force; that they are biding their time in contemplation of this eventuality. While the organization ostensibly went out of existence following the entrance of the United States into the present war, I am informed that the Committee has in reality gone underground, under the leadership of Charles A. Lindbergh.

With regard to Lindbergh, it is confidentially reported that on December 17, 1941, he addressed a meeting of some fifty individuals who had been associated with the America First Committee, assembled at the home of Edwin S. Webster, Jr., 35 Beekman Place, New York City. Webster was New York Secretary of the Committee. On this occasion Lindbergh is reported to have said that for years America has been speaking of the "Yellow Peril," yet we are now fighting on the side of the Russians and Chinese. He is stated to have appeared discouraged with the United States Government because, in his opinion, it has no plan nor does it know for what it is fighting.

With further regard to his remarks of December 17, 1941, Lindbergh is reported to have stated that there is only one danger in the world, namely, the yellow danger; that China and Japan in reality are allied together against the white race;

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COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED 1
★ FEB 18 1942 ★
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

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6 MAR 20 1942

b7c

and that Germany could have been used as a weapon against this alliance. Continuing, Lindbergh is reported as saying that the ideal program would have included Germany's taking over Russia and Poland in collaboration with the British as a bloc against the yellow race and Bolshevism; but that, as he stated, "the British and the Reds in Washington had to interfere." He is stated to have said that Britain envied the Germans and wanted to rule the world; that Britain is the real cause of all the trouble in the world today.

Pointing out that the America First Committee cannot of course be active at this time, Lindbergh is reported to have said that it should be on the alert for the time when the American People, by reason of the lists of the missing and statements of war losses, realize they have been betrayed by the British and the Administration. Further, he is indicated to have stated that then the America First Committee can again be a political force; that there may be a time soon when the Committee can advocate a negotiated peace.

In view of the foregoing information, I felt that the President and you would be interested in more detailed information concerning the America First Committee and am accordingly transmitting herewith a memorandum relating to the structure, activities, and connections of the America First Committee as it was organized prior to its allegedly going out of existence following our entry into the war.

With assurances of my highest regards,

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

Enclosure

199

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice

PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA

February 20, 1942

Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Re: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE 10-16-90 SP8 BT5 CL

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 3/12/86 BY SP6 bja/tky

Dear Sir:

Contained in the files of the Philadelphia Office is considerable information concerning the activities of the America First Committee in this district.

In view of the fact that since the United States has become involved in war, the America First Committee has publicly announced that their organization has been dissolved, this office is desirous to know whether or not the Bureau wishes the report submitted covering the information collected concerning this organization.

Until such time as this office is further advised by the Bureau, no further investigative action is being taken, and a report is not being submitted.

Very truly yours,

J. F. SEARS
Special Agent in Charge

COPIES DESTROYED 3/5 4/3-6 8-46

[redacted] 100-2651

RECORDED 100-4712-291

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
2 FEB 21 19 2
U.S. DEPT. [redacted]

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7 MAR 7 19 2

General Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
601 Richmond Trust Building
Richmond, Virginia

February 20, 1942

Director,
Federal Bureau of Investigation,
Washington, D. C.

Re: AMERICAN FIRST, INCORPORATED,
Internal Security

Dear Sir:

There is being enclosed herewith for the information of the Bureau, copy of a memorandum dated February 9, 1942, received by this office from G-2, Baltimore, Maryland.

Very truly yours,

N. I. BOBBITT,
Special Agent in Charge.

[redacted]
100-2827
Enclosure

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 7/7/87 SP8BTJ/CL 10-16-90

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Previously Rec. [redacted]

1 ENCLO.

100-4712-292

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
2 [redacted] 2

MAR 7 1942 FILE

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
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☐ Deletions were made pursuant to the exemptions indicated below with no segregable material available for release to you.

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☐ (b)(2)	☐ (b)(7)(B)	☐ (j)(2)
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2 Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s): Enclosure is duplicate of enclosure to 100-4712-285

☐ For your information: _____

☑ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

100-4712-292 enclosure

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FBI/DOJ

Federal Bureau of Investigation

United States Department of Justice
4058 United States Court House
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

February 23, 1942

Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Re: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
Internal Security

10-16-90 SP8TS/cc
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 5/12/96 BY SP8bjatty

Dear Sir:

Reference is made to Philadelphia Field Division letter of February 20, 1942.

I wish to advise that a report will be submitted in instant case setting forth the investigation conducted to date, but no further investigation will be instituted unless specifically advised by the Bureau because of the apparent disbandment of this organization.

Very truly yours,

J. F. SEARS
Special Agent in Charge

100-2651 [redacted]

COPIES DESTROYED 7/26/54

b7c [redacted]

RECORDED 100-4712-293
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
10 FEB 24 1942
U. S. DE[redacted] OF JUSTICE

COPY IN FILE
MAR 7 1942

CONFIDENTIAL

Federal Bureau of Investigation

United States Department of Justice
San Antonio, Texas
February 19, 1942

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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E.O. # 12356
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Declassify on: OADR
SP8BTJ/RBC 6/24/87
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SP8BTJ/CL 10-16-90

Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

For the information of the Bureau and the New York Office, the following data, which were received in the San Antonio Field Division from Colonel A. W. ROFFE, A. C. of S. G-2, Fort Sam Houston, Texas, are being forwarded.

The information was forwarded by Colonel ROFFE in a summary of information dated at Fort Sam Houston, Texas, February 16, 1942, their file # (G-2) 080 (America First) and is as follows: (S-1)

"1. An America First underground organization under the leadership of CHARLES A. LINDBERGH is being formed. The first evidence of this is two secret meetings which were held at the homes of persons high in the America First organization. On December 17, 1941, more than fifty people were present at 10 Beekman Place, New York, home of an America First leader, reportedly that of EDWIN S. WEBSTER, Jr., former New York secretary of America First and a Wall Street banker of Kidder, Peabody and Company, to hear CHARLES A. LINDBERGH counsel the continuation of an America First type of organization. The second meeting, held a few days before in an apartment on lower Park Avenue, was sponsored by a woman who was one of the New York heads of Women United, America First auxiliary. It is understood that these are the first of a series of house parties which will keep alive America First contacts. (S) RECORDED

"2. The meeting at the Beekman Place address was a dinner given for the members of the speakers' bureau of America First. Those present were the minor sub-leaders on the America First group, borough heads, district heads and leading speakers. LINDBERGH was an 'unexpected treat' for the assemblage. Although he had not come prepared to speak, according to the host, LINDBERGH, who now has applied for readmittance to the United States air force, stood up and spoke for an hour. (S-1) (S)

100-4712-294
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
[redacted] b7c

COPIES DESTROYED 3/5/42 R.V.C.

1/4/2/47

DECLASSIFIED BY 8123 mch/tcy
ON 8/14/91

pg. 1 paragraphs 2-4 cont pg. 2
pg. 2 paragraphs 1-3 declassified per Army letter dated 5/29/91
8123 mch/tcy 8/14/91

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

"It is reported the flyer made it clear that events in the Pacific had no effect on his previous charge that the Administration's policies had involved this country in war. As far as the Pacific was concerned, LINDBERGH said that Britain was responsible and that she should have joined with Germany in destroying the yellow danger and Bolshevism. If such a move had been made, it would have put America and Britain in a better position to fight Japan. (S-1)(C)

"3. BRYCE OLIVER, radio commentator for the Friends of Democracy, headed by Dr. L. M. BIRKHEAD, speaking over the radio during the second week of January, without mentioning LINDBERGH's name or the home in which the meeting took place, charged that a 'famous leader, who now seeks a place 'within the United States Army, had said: "America First should be on the alert to take advantage of the reactions which will come when the lists of missing and the dead and the wounded begin to appear, for it is then that the American people" -- of course, he meant the American people who can be swayed by the Fascist flag appeal -- "will be made to understand how they have been betrayed by the British and the Administration."' (S-1)(C)

"4. The second meeting, held at the lower Park Avenue address, discussed the formation of a new organization with a more open anti-Semitic program than the America First Committee utilized. Present at the meeting were the persons active in Women United, an America First auxiliary, and an editor of a small financial magazine who has spread the forged Protocols of Zion. (S-1)(C)

"5. The propaganda tactics of the former appeasement group is made clear by FATHER COUGHLIN and by MERWIN K. HART, in whose offices have been hatched many pro-Fascist groups. In a letter to the New York Times of January 6, 1942, HART violently attacked the proposal of any union with the other democracies. This is in line with COUGHLIN's incitements against Britain and the statement that 'we must think first of our defense only.' The Coordinating Committee for Democratic Action was spurred after the fall of France by a group which met shortly after that date in the office of HART. Present at the meeting were WILLIAM R. CASTLE, HOOVER's under-secretary of state, former Senator RUSH HOLT, FATHER TALBOT, editor of America, and CHARLES LINDBERG." (S-1)(C)

Very truly yours,

M. W. ACERS
Special Agent in Charge

MWA:CL
cc: New York Office

CONFIDENTIAL

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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CONFIDENTIAL

WAR DEPARTMENT
WAR DEPARTMENT GENERAL STAFF
MILITARY INTELLIGENCE DIVISION, G-2
WASHINGTON, D. C.

Subject: Letter of transmittal.

To: Lt. Col. J. Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation

The attached communications are forwarded for your information and such action as you consider advisable.

Raymond E. Lee
RAYMOND E. LEE,
Brigadier General, U. S. Army,
Assistant Chief of Staff, G-2

1 Enclosure:

100-4712-296

Declassified per Army letter dtd 5/29/91
8123 mch/tcg 8/12/91

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CONFIDENTIAL

WAR DEPARTMENT

M. I. D.

January 17, 1942
(Date)

Subject: America First, Incorporated

Summary of Information:

1. This organization is going to be kept intact and it is believed that the Ford interests in Detroit, Michigan, are going to finance it in a careful manner. The organization is not going to mix into the war very much but it will be kept intact for the purpose of carrying on the hate campaign against President Roosevelt.

2. It is reported that one of the officials high in the State Police circles of Michigan is working very closely with Gerald K. Smith, the rabble-rouser, anti-semitic and anti-war patriot. Smith has secretly been on the Ford payroll for at least three years. The Central Control Commission of the Communist Party believes that Gerald Smith has the complete mailing list of the America First Group.

3. It is known that Smith has been working very closely with Harry Jung, alias Harry Young, alias A. G. Knowles, alias Martin Brown who has offices at 2212 Tribune Tower, Chicago, Jung, who acted as liaison man between the Chicago Tribune and other groups in connection with the America First outfit, is in constant touch with Smith and with this captain of the State Troopers of Michigan. This works so that the Ford Company receives every bit of information and in turn finances groups that are part of the set-up of the campaign being carried on against President Roosevelt.

4. Clarence Budington Kelland, who was formerly publicity director for the America First Committee, is a member of the Republican National Committee from Arizona and now he has been made publicity director of the Republican National Committee and is supposed to give his services free of charge. Kelland is a writer but he has been one of the most bitter attackers against President Roosevelt in this country. It is understood that he has a rather close acquaintance with Gerald Smith and it is known that he has a rather close connection in Chicago with the Tribune outfit.

[redacted]ution: 100-4713-294

[redacted] War Department
[redacted] 8th Corps Area
[redacted] 8th Corps Area
[redacted]

Evaluation

—of source	—of information
____ Reliable	____
X Credible	X
____ Questionable	____
____ Undetermined	____

Declassified per Army letter dated 5/29/91 8123 mch/tcg 8/13/91

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16—17007 GPO

5. It is believed that secretly the American First set-up is now located in some second-rate hotel in Detroit, Michigan.

6. The America First mailing list is supposed to contain 10,160,000 names. In the past few weeks other groups have apparently been using parts of the mailing list in sending out material that can be questioned, especially in war times.

296

[redacted] b7C

March 14, 1942

Special Agent in Charge
New York, New York

RE: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Dear Sir:

For your assistance in making the investigation requested in Bureau letter to all Special Agents in Charge, dated March 16, 1942, there are attached hereto copies of the following communications received from the Military Intelligence Division, Washington, D. C.:

Report dated January 3, 1942, captioned CHARLES LINDBERGH - AMERICA FIRST, and signed [redacted] and enclosures; b7C

Report dated January 17, 1942, regarding America First, Incorporated;

Report dated January 31, 1942, regarding America First Committee Meeting.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

10-16-90 SP8BTS/CLC
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DATE 5/23/96 BY SP6 by attey

Enclosure

CC - Detroit
Chicago

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED 3
★ MAR 20 1942 P.M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

MAR 25 1942

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Nathanson
Mr. McGuire
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Keeney
Miss Gandy

b7C [redacted]

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER
DIRECTOR

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

December 15, 1941

DML:PC

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. E. A. Tamm

Received: 12:25 PM
Transcribed: 2:20 PM

Mr. Maloney in the Department of Justice called with reference to a memorandum he sent to the Bureau concerning one [redacted] (phonetic) in New York and a man by the name of [redacted] (phonetic) who was employed in an aircraft factory at [redacted] and who used to contribute money to the America First Committee [redacted] Mr. Maloney inquired as to whether the Bureau had picked up [redacted] or if anything at all has been done about him by the Bureau.

I told Maloney that I would have a check made on this and he would be advised.

Respectfully,

D. M. Ladd

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 5/12/86 BY SP6BTP/LC
10-16-90 SP6BTP/LC

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INDEXED [redacted]

120-1712-24
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
11 FEB 23 1942
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

10 MAR 7 1942

COPY FILE

97-3

b7c

CONFIDENTIAL

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Post Office Box #2544
Boston, Massachusetts

February 25, 1942

Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

DE[illegible] SPECIAL
CH 10-16-90

Re: Gifts for our own Boys; GOB,
America First Committee Group,
Plaza Hotel, New York, N.Y.
INTERNAL SECURITY

Dear Sir:

Incorporated below is a report this office received from G-2, Boston, Massachusetts: ~~(S)(C)~~ U

"From a reliable and confidential source, it has been reported that literature and request for contributions are being distributed under the title of 'GOB'. The letterhead lists the office as being at 150 Broadway, New York City. The Gifts Headquarters is Room 11-M, Plaza Hotel, New York City. Literature states that if we must have a war, we must win the war, and claims that the intent and purpose of the group is to boost the morale of our men. It is suggested that these gifts be not less than the amount of $500.00. ~~(S)(C)~~ U

"Active are MRS. IDA MAE COOPER, MR. & MRS. HOLMS, JOHN BURKE, THELMA HERRICK, MRS. DeLUCCA, MR. & MRS. AMOS PINCHOT, MR. & MRS. NIDDORF, ANDREW SMITH, who is the Bronx Chairman of the America First Committee, and Mrs. Bennett of the No Foreign War Committee. These names will be recognized as active America Firsters, which proves that this organization is not disbanded, but intends to operate in an underground fashion." ~~(S)(C)~~ U

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Declassify on: OADR

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CIVIL ACT.
E.O. # 2359
DATE 5/12/86 INITIALS tty

Very truly yours,

V. W. PETERSON
Special Agent in Charge

VWP:MP

cc-NEW YORK CITY

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pg 1-paragraph 1-3 declassified per army letter dated 5/29/91 8123 mchristian 8/12/91

RECORDED & INDEXED

2 MAR 12 1942

100-4[illegible]-298

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
MAR 3 1942
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Washington Merry-Go-Round

By DREW PEARSON and ROBERT S. ALLEN

(The authors of the column in this space below are given the widest latitude. Their viewpoints do not necessarily always reflect those of The Daily Mirror.)

WASHINGTON.—Mrs. Roosevelt's days as Assistant Civil Defense Director are numbered. She doesn't want to get out, believes she is making an important contribution to this vital war work. But others, some her best friends, don't, so plans are quietly on for her to depart.

Observers have felt that her presence at CD was not helping it or her. She works earnestly, and before the war, when CD was chiefly promotional, did real service.

But now CD is functional, and the public demands this crucial war work be directed by experts. Members of Congress have numerous letters complaining about Mrs. Roosevelt's continuance, urging she and other "amateurs" be replaced.

NOTE:—Since the first of the year, Mrs. Roosevelt has doubled her substantial contribution to the Red Cross.

Royal Neighbor

HANDSOME, young Archduke Otto of Austria created a flurry (especially among the ladies) in the House restaurant recently. He shook hands with Congressmen, among them John Sparkman of Alabama.

"I know about you, Congressman," said the refugee would-be ruler, "I noticed one neighbor in my apartment building had Congressional auto tags, and found it was you."

"Yes," said Sparkman, "we live on the same floor."

"I would feel honored if you would drop in some evening," said the Archduke.

"A pleasure," responded Sparkman. "In fact, we may be seeing a lot of each other. I'm an air raid warden in the building."

America First

THE governing board of the America First Committee officially disbanded soon after Pearl Harbor, but that doesn't keep some New Yorkers of the organization from continuing operations.

Authorities have a report on a meeting last week in a place formerly known as the German-American Rathskeller; 66 attended, among them a number of one-time employes of America First.

One was Marjorie Kennedy, [illegible] the post for. Another was Mrs. Catherine Larkin, militant Dixiecrat, who was at the meeting of leaders addressed by Charles Lindbergh, Dec. 19, long after Pearl Harbor and shortly before he offered his services to the Army.

At that session, Lindbergh reiterated his charge that Britain was responsible for the war and counselled listeners to bide their time for future action. Another present at last week's meeting was Mary Norton, active in an "impeach Roosevelt" movement last year.

NOTE: Intelligence officials have records of other secret America First gatherings in Chicago, St. Louis and Los Angeles. At these, plans were discussed for distributing "literature" to men in nearby military camps and for action in the coming Congressional elections.

Tin Cans

HOUSEWIVES have deluged Washington with inquiries about saving tin cans. The answer is yes and no.

Yes, because the government expects to reclaim the tin and steel in discarded containers. No, because the government is not yet ready for it.

Coming to Washington soon will be E. Baden Powell, co-inventor with Dr. W. C. Gregory of what is said to be a practical method for reclaiming all metal in the tin can. The inventors have a system to eliminate labels, laquers and impurities, to salvage tin and steel elements.

This is a difficult process because to get steel, more than 95 per cent of the tin must be removed; to save the tin, it has been necessary to sacrifice the steel.

Twelve strategically located recovery plants will be erected. Their location and amount of metal they will reclaim are secrets. But eventually, used tin cans will be in the war picture.

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10-16-90 SP8BTS/GL RECORDED
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 5/12/86 BY Mbjatty
100-4712-299
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
MAR 4 1942
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
MAR 9 1942

JAN 28 1942
New York Daily Mirror

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
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☐ For your information: _____

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☑ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

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FBI/DOJ

WAR DEPARTMENT
WAR DEPARTMENT GENERAL STAFF
MILITARY INTELLIGENCE DIVISION, G-2
WASHINGTON, D. C.

MAR 7 1942

Subject: Letter of transmittal.

To: Lt. Col. J. Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation

The attached communications are forwarded for your information and such action as you consider advisable.

Raymond E. Lee

RAYMOND E. LEE, Ltg,
Brigadier General, U. S. Army,
Assistant Chief of Staff, G-2

1 Enclosure:

ENCLO. 11

FBI b7C

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FBI b7C

MAR 14 '42

FBI b7C

CONFIDENTIAL

Declassified per Army letter dtd 5/29/91 8123 mch/ltr 8/13/91

CONFIDENTIAL

HEADQUARTERS EIGHTH CORPS AREA
Office of the
Assistant Chief of Staff for Military Intelligence

Please refer
to file: (G-2) 080 (America First Committee)

AWR:emg
Fort Sam Houston, Texas
February 16, 1942.

CORRECTED COPY

Subject: America First Committee

Source & Information: Reliable.

Summary of Information:

Cards were mailed to Private Leonard Darnell by Mrs. Elmer Rothgeb, 143 Clarencedale Avenue, Youngstown, Ohio.

It will be noted that Private Darnell stated to Duncan Field authorities that the cards were sent by the "America First Committee, absolutely unsolicited". However, later Darnell stated further that Mrs. Rothgeb is a next door neighbor of his family in Youngstown, with whom he is well acquainted.

It may very well be that this was an unsolicited token of consideration for men in the service from "home-town" friends and well-wishers. It may also be that the sender was entirely innocent of any questionable motive in sending the cards to the son of a neighbor but it is none-the-less a subtle, unsuspected, but effective means of locating and keeping track of individuals and organizations in the service for other purposes. Likewise, it could be a legitimate form of commercial racket which some ingenious concern discovered had an appeal to relatives and friends of men in the service, started before the United States got into the war, and continued thereafter for profit.

In this connection attention is invited to the attached copy of an extract recently appearing in the "Merry-Go-Round", syndicated column of Pearson and Allen.

Action:
For your information and appropriate action.

Distribution:
G-2, WD
G-2, 1st CA
2nd CA
3rd CA
4th CA
5th CA
6th CA
7th CA
9th CA

Bx/CS distribution:
380
080
File
Source: Reliable
Information: Reliable
2-5-42
3 mimeo

A. W. ROSTEN
Colonel, G. S. C.
Asst. Chief of Staff, G-2.

CONFIDENTIAL

Declassified per Army letter dtd 5/29/91 8123 MCH/Mag 8/13/91

EXTRACT FROM "MERRY-GO-ROUND"
By Drew Pearson and Robert S. Allen
From

San Antonio News - - - January 28, 1942

CONFIDENTIAL

STILL AMERICA FIRSTING

The government board of the America First Committee officially announced its disbandment several days after Pearl Harbor, but that isn't keeping certain New York warlocks of the organization from continuing their operations.

Intelligence authorities have a report on a meeting of this element last week in an establishment formerly known as the German-American Rathskeller. Sixty-six attended this affair, among them a number of one-time employees of the New York America First headquarters.

One of them was Marjorie Kennedy, who made the arrangements for the secret pow-wow in her name. Another was Mrs. Catherine Curtin, a militant America First stumper, who also was present at the meeting of America First leaders that was addressed by Charles Lindbergh December 19, 11 days after Pearl Harbor and shortly before he offered his services to the Army.

At that secret session, Lindbergh, reiterated his charge that Britain was responsible for the war and counseled his listeners to bide their time for future political action.

Two others present at last week's meeting were Mary Morton, who was active in an "impeach Roosevelt" movement last year.

NOTE -- Intelligence officials have records of other secret America First gatherings in Chicago, St. Louis and Los Angeles. At these meetings plans were discussed for distributing "literature" to the men in near-by military camps and also for taking part in the coming congressional elections.

CONFIDENTIAL

HOOVER

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

CT:DSS

February 26, 1942

1:9162

MEMORANDUM FOR THE DIRECTOR

The following is the substance of a conversation with [redacted], of the [redacted] who thought we should know of this:

Charles Lindbergh on the evening of January 17, 1942, in the home of a man by the name of [redacted] up in [redacted] County, where something like 35 people were present, made the statement to the America First crowd that we are underground now; this war hysteria will wear off and we will come back.

The story comes to me ([redacted]) from a person who wants to be nameless. He got the story from [redacted] You will recall [redacted] He is in the America First gang up to his ears.

This [redacted] I am informed, is a sinister sort of a figure. [redacted] He is a fellow who keeps to himself and does not circulate very largely."

b7C
b7D

COPIES DESTROYED 3/24/53

10-16-90 SP 95T3 1 C 6

[redacted]

Clyde Tolson

We ought to get to bottom of this I think.

H. [redacted]

b7C

RECORDED
INDEXED

100-4712-302

[redacted]

COPY IN FILE

MAR 27 1942

Federal Bureau of Investigation

United States Department of Justice

Washington, D. C.

March 3, 1942

[redacted] b7c

100-4712

FILE AND REFERENCE CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE DIRECTOR

RE: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

Reference is made to Mr. Tolson's memorandum dated February 26, 1942, setting forth the results of his conversation with [redacted] of the [redacted], regarding a report that Charles Lindbergh, on January 17, 1942, attended a meeting at the home of one [redacted] in [redacted] County, New York, at which approximately 35 people were present. Lindbergh allegedly made the statement to the America First crowd that "We are underground now; this war hysteria will wear off and we will come back." b7c b7D

You will recall in my memorandum of January 29, 1942, that information contained in a communication from G-2 reflected a meeting on December 17, 1941, at the home of Edwin S. Webster. This communication set forth the gist of Lindbergh's remarks according to the reports of two persons who were present. The portion considered pertinent at this time is as follows: (S-1)(C)

"There is only one danger in the world — that is the yellow danger. China and Japan are really bound together against the white race. There could only have been one efficient weapon against this alliance, underneath the surface, Germany itself could have been this weapon. The ideal set-up would have been to have had Germany take over Poland and Russia, in collaboration with the British, as a bloc against the yellow people and bolshevism. But instead, the British and the fools in Washington had to interfere. The British envied the Germans and wanted to rule the world forever. Britain is the real cause of all the trouble in the world today." (S-1)(C)

INDEXED RECORDED 100-4712-30

"Of course, America First cannot be active right now. But it should keep on the alert and when the large missing lists and losses are published the American people will realize how much they have been betrayed by the British and the Administration. Then America First can be a political force again. We must be quiet a while and await the time for active functioning. There may be a time soon when we can advocate a negotiated peace." (S-1)(C)

8 MAR 1942

COPY IN FILE [redacted]

Memorandum for the Director [redacted]

109161

It will be noted that there is a striking similarity between the statements contained in the report of G-2 and those related by [redacted] to Mr. Tolson. The only discrepancy is in the months stated. There were approximately 50 people present at the above meeting, according to the G-2 report, and it appears illogical that Lindbergh would make practically the same statements at the same meeting place, before approximately the same number of people, on the same day of two separate months. Consequently, it is believed that in the transmission of this story from mouth to mouth, an error has occurred in the date of the meeting.

b7C b7D (S) (X)

As you will recall this Bureau is presently undertaking an investigation of the America First Committee and this particular phase will be given attention by the New York Office.

Respectfully,

D. M. Ladd

[redacted]

[redacted] Apr. 11, 1942

Mr. Edgar Hoover, Head FBI, 10-4-70
Washington, D.C. SPECIFIC

[redacted] 9159

Respected Sir:

That now 'famous' editorial "Wake Up, America - It's Late!..." was given to me by a small businessman to read it and to give my opinion.

This little man thought it was the greatest editorial he ever read. He also told me that the editor promised to reprint it because of the acclaim of his readers.

After reading it this 'little man' asked for my opinion. And to his great supprise I told him that that editorial is a first rate A No. 1. fifth column stuff behind the so called 'free press' made in Germany being carried out by the America Firsters -- decendents of the Liberty Leagers, American types of Hitlerites.

These agents of Hitler first attempted to drive a wedge in between labor and capital in the Congress (Smith's defeated 40 hr. suspension Bill) so as to force labor to go on a general strike against the law, if past, which would mean work stoppege -- Hitler's heart desire.

These fifth columnists did not succeed in Congress; so they try it other ways; first in a nice and good loking American way -- through the 'free press'.

This editorial is a trial balloon. The unsuspected, innocent reader falls for it. Sends a letter of acclaim with his name and address which is being kept in record for future reference and for a treacherous and dirty use.

These are one of the many ways Hitlerites are organizing fifth column groups in every country.

They first create dissatisfaction, disunity and hostitities.

The rest is easy for them.

They are not much afraid, because traitors in this pious land are treated very leniently.

Can you imagine another country, big or small, where they would not put traitors against the wall in war-time?

Finally -- I am very sorry that I am sqeezed in a narrow air raid warden's 'office' when I could be of better use to my country elsewhere.

But -- this is America.

We all pay the price for it.

[redacted]

100 - 4712-304

APR 20 1942

[redacted]

b1c

[redacted]

b7C

February 12, 1942

109158

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. GLAVIN

RE: [redacted]

Special Agent in Charge Hammack of the Atlanta Office advised that with respect to the above applicant, they had interviewed a [redacted] b7C b7D

[redacted] pointed out that [redacted] was a very active member in the America First Committee and was actively engaged in helping the movement, inasmuch as he had seen her receive pouches of literature from Senator Wheeler's office in Chicago and had observed her mailing out envelopes containing this literature. [redacted] also pointed out that [redacted] had indicated "that democracy was a fine thing for some people but had served its purpose in this country." There was no indication that the applicant shared the view of his wife and as a matter of fact there was some indication that he discouraged her activities with respect to this committee.

****

Respectfully submitted,

Robert E. Lee

Phone call - 10:25 P. M.
Dictated - 10-30 P. M.

10-16-90
[redacted]

RECORDED

100-4712-305
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
8 MAR 12 1942
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FIVE

C16
8 MAR 12 1942

[redacted]

February 12, 1942

MEMORANDUM FOR THE DIRECTOR

RE: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

On the basis of information which has been developed in the course of investigating [redacted] and her family of New York City, together with information supplied by O-2 and a Bureau informant, it would appear that members of the America First Committee entertain the hope that the Committee may again become a political force; that they are biding their time in contemplation of this eventuality, despite the fact that the organization ostensibly concluded its activities following the entrance of the United States into the war. The above-mentioned Bureau informant has reported that the Committee has now gone underground under the leadership of Charles A. Lindbergh. (100-4712-270, O-2; Informant [redacted] 100-50729-19, technical surveil

With regard to Lindbergh, you will recall my memorandum of January 29, 1942, setting forth the fact that it was developed through technical surveillance in the course of investigating [redacted] that Lindbergh spoke at length on December 17, 1941, at a dinner meeting of members of the America First Committee assembled at the home of Edwin S. Webster, Jr., 35 Beekman Street, New York City. Webster was New York Secretary of the Committee. It is recalled that Lindbergh stated that for years America has been speaking of the "Yellow Peril," yet we are now fighting on the side of the Russians and Chinese. It was reported that Lindbergh appeared discouraged with the United States Government on account of the fact that in his opinion it has no plan nor does it know for what it is fighting. (100-50729-19) RECORDED

100-4712-30

It is also recalled that my memorandum of January 29, 1942, set forth a communication received from O-2 with regard to this meeting addressed by Lindbergh on December 17, 1941. This communication

FEB 13 1942

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FILE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 10-12-80 BY SP8BSR/SAC

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Baker
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Holloman
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

and is not on record. When original is received in Files Section it will be filed either with the reply or may be given additional.

sets forth the gist of Lindbergh's remarks, according to reports of two persons who were present, as follows:

"There is only one danger in the world - that is the yellow danger. China and Japan are really bound together against the white race. There could only have been one efficient weapon against this alliance, underneath the surface. Germany itself could have been this weapon. The ideal set-up would have been to have had Germany take over Poland and Russia, in collaboration with the British, as bloc against the yellow people and bolshevism. But instead, the British and the fools in Washington had to interfere. The British envied the Germans and wanted to rule the world forever. Britain is the real cause of all the trouble in the world today.

"Of course, America First cannot be active right now. But it should keep on the alert and when the large missing lists and losses are published the American people will realize how much they have been betrayed by the British and the Administration. Then America First can be a political force again. We must be quiet a while and wait the time for active functioning. There may be a time soon when we can advocate a negotiated peace." (100-4712-270)

With further regard to the America First Committee, a Bureau informant has advised that: b7D

[redacted]

Further information as supplied by this informant has been received to the effect that a series of house parties is to keep alive contacts of the America First Committee. It is also reported that the backbone of the Committee, particularly in the East, under the leadership of the followers of Reverend Charles Coughlin, is soon to come out with a new organization.

ACTION

Inasmuch as it appears that the America First Committee is being revived and may be contemplating activities detrimental to the war effort of the United States, a memorandum has been prepared relative to the structure, activities, and connections of the Committee as it was organized prior to its allegedly going out of existence following our entry into the war. A memorandum of transmittal of the above-mentioned memorandum has been prepared for the Attorney General, together with an appropriate letter of transmittal to the White House. The cover memorandum to the Attorney General and the letter to the White House contain the pertinent information relative to the recent reports concerning the revival of the America First Committee as an underground organization.

The activities of the America First Committee will be closely followed on the basis of reports concerning its revival as an underground organization. In this connection the Attorney General is being advised that an investigation will be conducted into the various ramifications and connections of the Committee, unless in his opinion reason obtains for not conducting such investigation.

Respectfully,

D. M. Ladd

Federal Bureau of Investigation

United States Department of Justice

Washington, D. C.
March 11, 1942

100-6882 [redacted]

b7C

5/12/86 SP6 by [illegible] #262359
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/30/84 BY SP8 86/mde
Comp 342,942

Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Re: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE 10-16-90 SP8TS1 CoC

Dear Sir:

As has been reported LAURA B. INGALLS was convicted on February 13 as a foreign agent who failed to register under the requirements of the Foreign Agents Registration Act.

INGALLS, during the course of her activities for the German government, was very active for the America First Committee and spoke numerous times in New York State and throughout the Middle West and as far West as California. During the course of her speaking engagements for the America First Committee, she became well acquainted with their officials and obtained from them and from their research bureau a large quantity of America First literature and speakers' bulletins. This information, together with the names of numerous committee chairmen throughout the country and also a list of the speaking dates and the names of the speakers and where they spoke during the time the America First Committee was active, and also a considerable quantity of literature from other sources, which was distributed by the America First Committee, was found among her possessions obtained by search warrants during the course of the preparation of the INGALLS case for trial.

This information and evidence concerning the America First Committee are being maintained in the files of the Washington Field Office as exhibits in the INGALLS case, and it is not being reported except in so far as individuals, since they are believed to be proper subjects for investigation.

In the event of an investigation of the America First Committee activities, the above information would be of considerable value, and for that reason the Bureau is being advised of the existence of this evidence at this time.

100-4712-307

RECORDED & INDEXED

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
MAR 14 1942

Yours very truly,

S. K. McKEE
Special Agent in C[redacted]

b7C

100-4718-307 March 26, 1942

[redacted]

Special Agent in Charge
Washington, D. C.

Re: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
INTERNAL SECURITY-C

Dear Sir:

Reference is made to your communication dated March 11, 1942, on the above captioned matter advising that considerable material was secured in the investigation of Laura Houghtaling Ingalls, with aliases, Internal Security-C, Registration Act, with reference to the America First Committee.

In this regard, please refer to Bureau letter to all Special Agents in Charge, dated March 16, 1942, regarding an investigation into activities of those groups endeavoring to revive the America First Committee. It is requested that the pertinent material obtained in the investigation of Laura Houghtaling Ingalls be included in the first investigative report of the above captioned organization.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

5/12/86 Subject #2 2359
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9/22/84 BY SP3 [illegible]
Dept 3/17, 1942
SOBTJ/cl
10-16-90

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Holloman
Mr. McGuire
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED 6
★ MAR 27 1942 P.M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

RECEIVED-ROOM 5640
MAR 26 9 09 PM '42

b7C
b7D

Pittsburgh, Pa. Saturday Sept. 27, 1941.

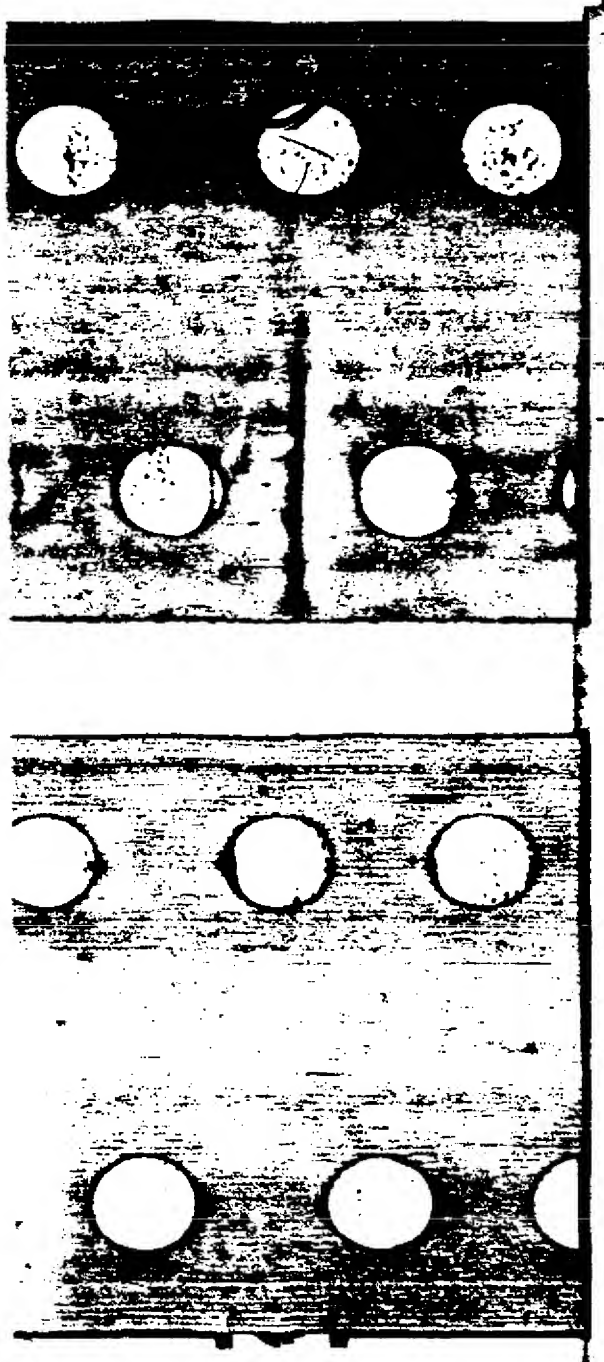
Today I talked to a [redacted] who is employed at [redacted] From him it was learned that [redacted] is employed as [redacted]. He stated that [redacted] has told him that the men in the R.R. shops are strong for the C.I.O. and that many men have already signed up and that [redacted] also has signed up. 72524

Tonight at [redacted]'s place a hot discussion about the America First Committee took place. [redacted] was talkin to a gropp of men at the bar, and said that from the latest report he has received, which were issued from the Communist Party Headquarters in Pittsburgh, it is very surprising how fast the America First Committee was spreading and growing. [redacted] said that "thi is a warning against us; we have got to stop, look and listen. Wha the America First Committee really stands for, and what it is aimi at, is not only their propaganda to keep America out of war, but their main object is to destroy the Communists and unionism. Who a the America First Committee? They are a handful of capitalists li the Morgans, Kuhn Loebs, Wheelers and others, who [redacted] Lindbergh as their stooge. These Capitalists all have Nazi support and their flag, the Swastika, is the emblem of the America First Committee. This committee plays Hitler's game in America, and [redacted] accident is Lindbergh their leader in spreading anti-Semetic p[redacted] as that is Hitler's method of creating disunity against Jews and [redacted]

RECORDED 100-4 [illegible]
OCT 22 1941
MAR 24 1942
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JU[redacted]
1 ENCLO.

b7C

Best copy available



To The Jewish People of America

FELLOW JEWS OF AMERICA!

JEWISH WORKERS, BUSINESS MEN, PROFESSIONALS AND INTELLECTUALS!

The fate of America, the fate of all the peoples of the world, as well as the fate of the Jewish people is being decided on the battlefields of the Soviet Union, in the struggle of the USSR and Britain against Hitler and Hitlerism.

Hitler—the most cruel enslaver of peoples, who has already placed his deadly yoke over the bleeding bodies of fourteen nations;

Hitler—the modern Haman who, in the process of conquest, has already annihilated thousands upon thousands of Jews in Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Rumania, France, Lithuania and Latvia;

Hitler—who is out to conquer the world and who plans the extermination of the 17 million Jews of the world; HAS ATTACKED THE SOVIET UNION IN HIS MAD MARCH TO ENSLAVE THE UNIVERSE.

The Nazi forces have attacked the great and peace-loving Soviet Union, where all peoples, nationalities and races live in harmony and brotherhood and work together in kinship and fraternity; a country in which the harsh pages of Jewish history, recording pogroms and inquisitions and blood and tears, have given way to a new era of complete equality and freedom.

10-16-90
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10/16/90 BY SP8BTJ/ccl
SP8BTJ/ccl
C154181 SP8BTJ HQ6G 49.8

The Nazis have invaded the country in which six million of our brothers and sisters—for the first time in the persecution-ridden history of our people—lead dignified and secure lives.

THREAT TO AMERICA

The United States is a major objective of Hitler's drive for world domination. The security, freedom and independence of the American people is seriously threatened by the murderous arrogance of the Nazi war machine.

The entire world is concerned with the outcome of the historic battle against the Nazi hordes. The British people, the four hundred million Chinese people, all of the peoples enslaved by Hitler, and our great and freedom-loving American people, realize that should Hitler defeat his bitterest enemy, the Soviet Union, the entire world would be transformed into a Nazi hell.

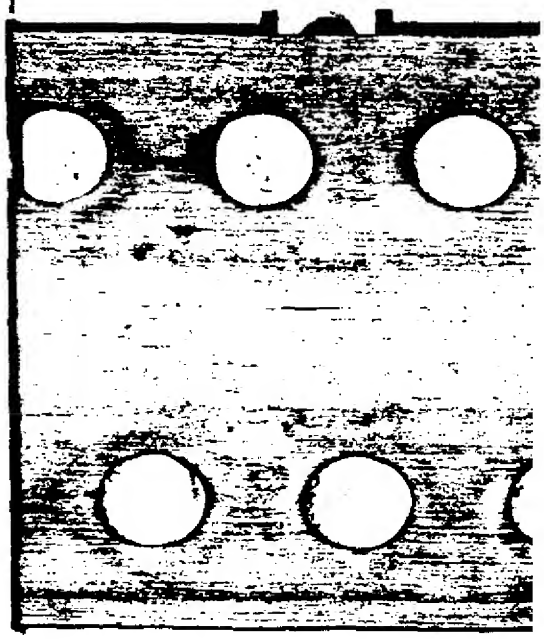
For the 17 million Jews in the world this would mean ghettos, yellow badges, segregation and discrimination. It would mean pogroms and the destruction of our people.

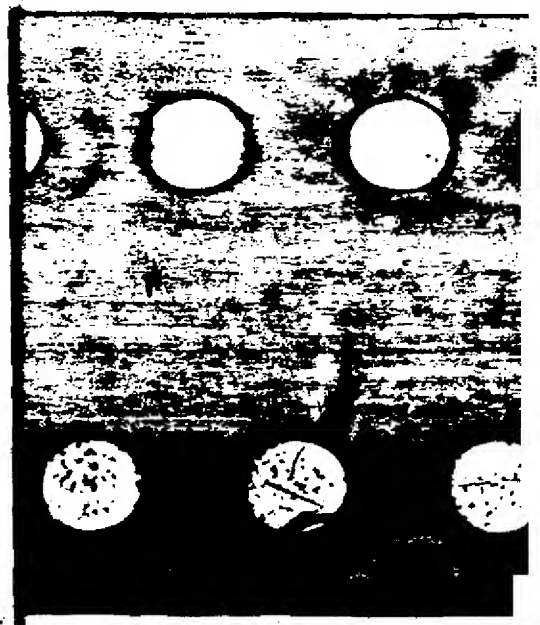
Hitler in Germany, Skoropadsky in the Ukraine, Petain in France, the Mosleys in England, the Coughlins, Pelleys and Lindberghs in America would organize fascist bands to terrorize the workers and the people in every country and lead the crusade to exterminate the Jews throughout the world.

To the great fortune of all of humanity and of the Jewish people, the Soviet Union and its fearless Red Army are united with Britain, in firm determination to put an end to Hitlerism. The permanent and total annihilation of Hitlerism will no doubt be the outcome of this great, historic battle.

To guarantee and hasten this outcome the entire world must come to the aid of Britain and the Soviet Union immediately. The American people, in keeping with the great tradition of liberty of our founding fathers, must render every possible moral and material aid. The trade union, *landsmanschaft*, and fraternal organizations, religious institutions and organizations, nationalist, Socialist, Communist, Republican, Democratic and Labor Party organizations must raise their voices in a demand for aid to the Soviet Union and Britain which will resound through the length and breadth of our country.

Through resolutions and public declarations we must oppose [illegible] which has prohibited aid [illegible]





Union and England and we must demand the most effective and most rapid aid.

UNITY FOR VICTORY

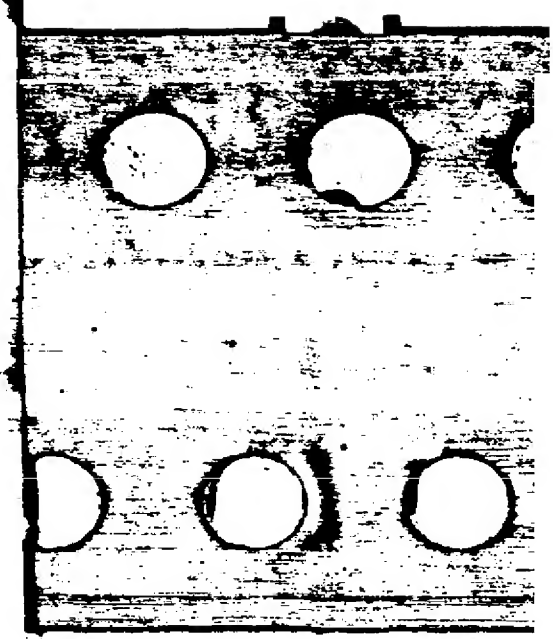
The freedom of the world is at stake. The security of America is at stake. We cannot delay or equivocate. And we cannot let the friends of Hitler dig a grave for the liberty of America. We must wage a ceaseless battle against the Lindberghs, Wheelers, Fords, Hoovers, Coughlins, Hearsts and Norman Thomases who want to help Hitler by sabotaging American aid to the enemies of Hitlerism.

The five million Jews in the United States have a sacred task. First, we must establish complete unity among ourselves, in our own ranks. We Jews of America, loyal and devoted citizens, must help all the forces in our government who stand for aid to England and the Soviet Union and the military defeat of Hitlerism.

Secondly, we must unite with the entire American people in a mighty movement which will wipe out Hitlerism.

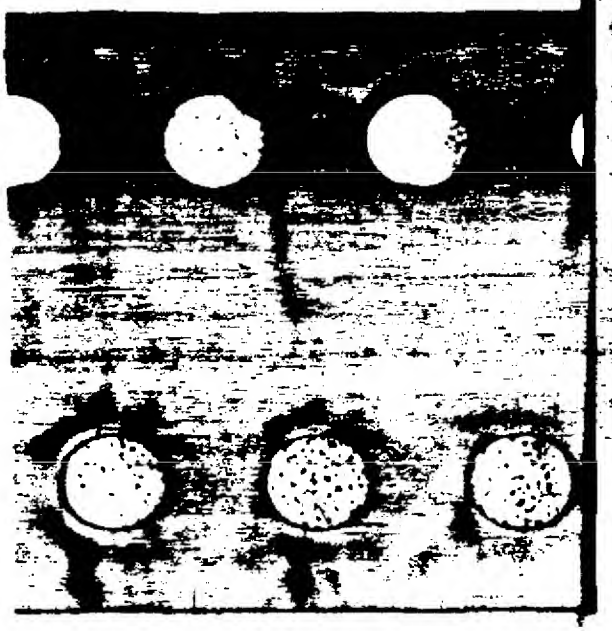
Political, religious and other differences must not be allowed to divide our ranks in this crucial hour.

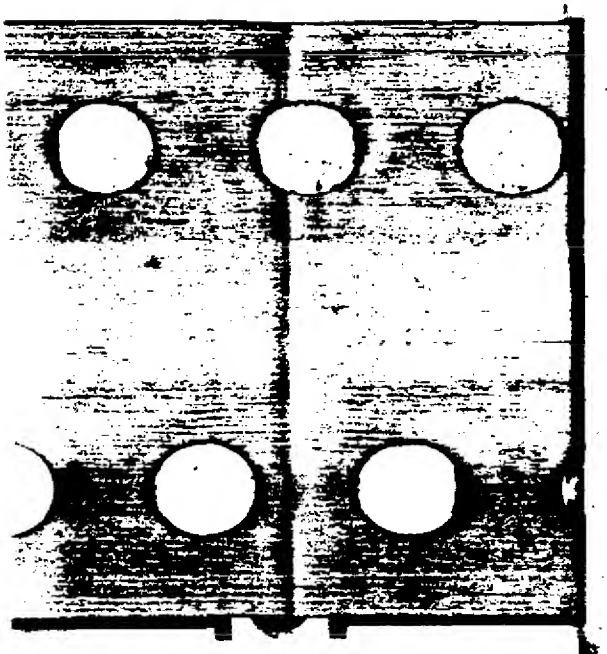
Hundreds of thousands of Jews in the Soviet Union and many of our relatives in the Red Army are giving their lives in the battle against fascism. Jacob Shmuskevitch, chief of the Red Air force, is one of the many Jews in the Soviet Union displaying the fighting courage of our people. The Jews in the Nazi-occupied countries are risking their lives, together with the Polish, Ukrainian, White Russian, Lithuanian and Rumanian workers and peasants in heroic guerilla warfare behind the Nazi lines. In the same spirit we here cannot sit back passively. The danger confronting us is too great. And the hope and promise before us is even greater. Hitler is engaged in battle with the mightiest and most determined foe of fascism—the Soviet Union. The Soviet peoples, the Red Army and the British people, with the aid of America, will dig the grave of Hitlerism.



OUR SACRED TASK

Every shop, every union, every fraternal, religious, political, social, youth and other organization should raise its voice through resolutions, or in any other form, demanding immediate effective aid to Britain and the Soviet Union. All Jewish organizations have a considered interest to unite in a common anti-Fascist front. The Jewish [illegible] immediately to this suggestion.





and religious schools, in the *landsmanschaften*, women's organizations, youth organizations and all organizations of the Jewish people.

Wherever we come in contact with Americans of other national groups, in the factories, trade unions and elsewhere, we must unite. We must lock hands with the Irish, Italian, Negro, Ukrainian, Russian, Polish and other American groups in the fight against fascism.

Let every organization and institution arrange meetings to demand aid to defeat Hitlerism.

In this struggle we need the greatest possible unity. Under no circumstances should we permit political differences of opinion to divide us. Every obstacle in the path of unity to defend America and defeat Hitlerism weakens our ranks and plays into the hands of Hitler.

Sisters and Brothers! Fellow Jews of America! The hour has struck! Hitler is engaged in his last battle. The Soviet Union, the Red Army, the British people, in collaboration with the U.S.A., the peoples of the world will defeat him. Hitler's end is in sight.

Forward to the sacred task of smashing Hitlerism, which will lead humanity out of the hell of wars, bloodshed, hunger, and oppression.

Forward to the struggle for a new, free, happy life for all the peoples of the world—the only guarantee of a free, peaceful, happy life for the Jews.

Forward to the struggle against our enemy—Hitler and Hitlerism.

Forward to unity in our own community and unity with the entire American people and victory will be ours.

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF JEWISH COMMUNISTS

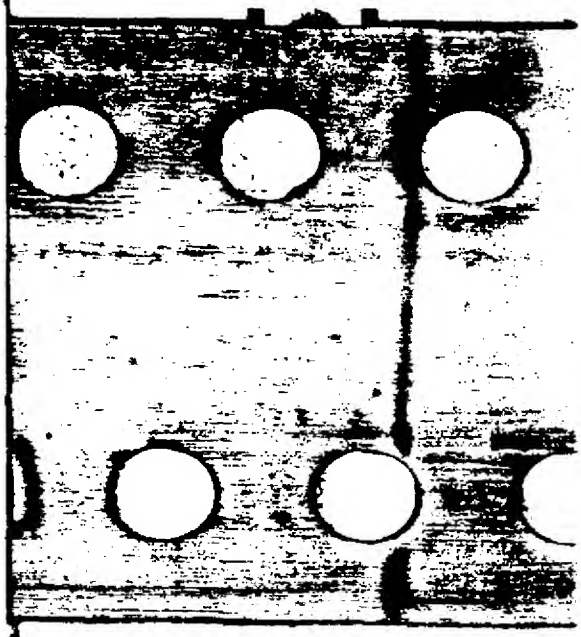
MAX STEINBERG, *Secretary*

35 East 12th Street, New York City

READ THE "DAILY WORKER" AND "MORNING FREIHEIT"

צו די אידן פון אמעריקע!

10-10-05
DATE
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED



אידישע ארבעטער, פראפעסיאנאלן, ביזנעסלייט,

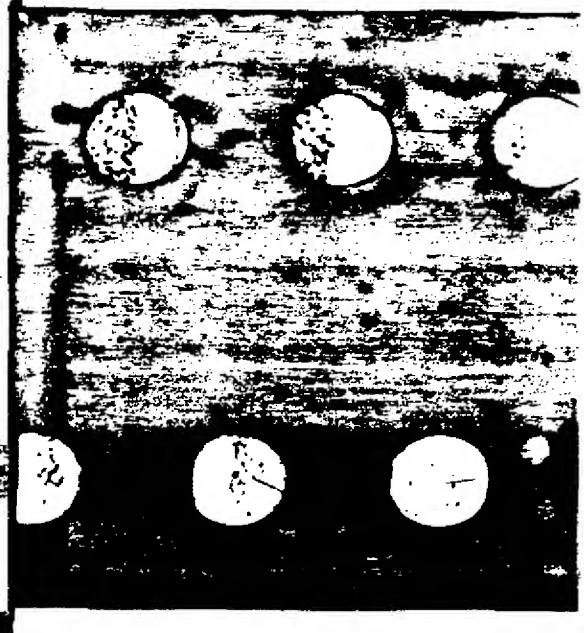
אידישע מענטשן פון אמעריקע!

דער גורל פון אמעריקע, דער גורל פון אלע פעלקער פון דער וועלט איז איך דער גורל פון דעם אידישן פאלק וועלכס איצט באשלאסן אויף די שלאכט-פעלדער פון סאוועטן-פארבאנד, אין דעם קאמף פון די סאוועטישע און ענגלישע פעלקער נעגן היטלערן און היטלעריזם.

די ווילדסטע בעסטיע, וואס די וועלט האט ווען געזען, דער גרעסטער שונא פון דער מענשהייט, היטלער, וואס האט ביז איצט באוויזן אויסצוקוילען מיליאנען מענשן אויף די שלאכט-פעלדער פון אייראפע, דער צורר-היתודים, וואס סמרשעט אויסצוראפן די 17 מיליאן אידן פון דעד וועלט, די זיבה אין מענשן-בעשמאלם, וואס האט מארשקלאפט די פעלקער אין אייראפע, און האט אויסגעארדעוועט פויזנער אידן אין דיימשלאנד, עסטרייך, משעכא-סלאוואקיע, פראנקרייך, פוילן, האלאנד, בעלגיע, רומעניע, ליטע, לאטוויע, — ער האט זיך איצט פאנטמען צו פארניכטן דעם גרויסן און פרידנם-ליבנדן סאוועטן-פארבאנד. ער ווייל צעשמערן דאס לאנד, וואו פעלקער פירן א פרייד-לעבן, ברידערלעכן, ארבעמזאמען לעבן, און וואו 6 מיליאן זין אזן מעכטער פון דעם אידישן פאלק, וועמעס בעשיכטע איז די אלע יארן בעוועז א בעשיכטע פון בלום אן מרערן, פון פאגראמען, אינקווזיציעס, יסורים אן פין, האבן צום ערשטן מאל אנגעהויבן פירן א רואינ, פרידלעכן אן זיכערן לעבן אן נעמטען זיך פילן ווי א פאלק מים פעלקער צוגלייך.

נעפאר פאר אמעריקע

אין סאביעטיע איז צו פארכאפן די באנצע וועלט. פאנזער אייזן לאנד אמעריקע בעפינם זיך אין א גרויסער גפאר. די פעלכסמשמערניקייט,



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ᎤᏂᏣᏘ ᎠᏂᏴᏫᏍᏗ

ئۇيغۇر ئەدەبىياتىدىكى "ئۆلۈم" ھەققىدە بايان

ئابدۇرېھىم ئۆتكۈر ۋە ئابدۇقادىر جالالىدىن

ھەممىمىزگە مەلۇم بولغىنىدەك، ئۆلۈم ئىنسانلار ئۈچۈن ئەڭ قورقۇنچلۇق ھادىسە. ئۇ ھەممە ئادەمنى ئۆزىگە تارتىدۇ، ھەممە ئادەم ئۇنىڭدىن قورقىدۇ. ئۆلۈم ھەققىدە ئەدەبىياتتا ئەڭ كۆپ ئىشلىتىلگەن ئوبرازلار ئىچىدە ئۇنىڭغا ئوخشاتقان ئوبرازلار ئەڭ كۆپ ئۇچرايدۇ. ئۇنىڭغا ئوخشاتقان ئوبرازلار ئىچىدە ئۇنى ئۇيقۇغا ئوخشاتقان ئوبرازلار ئەڭ كۆپ ئۇچرايدۇ. ئۇنى ئۇيقۇ

"STRAIGHT TALK FOR DEFENSE"

[Reprinted from the DAILY WORKER, September 13, 1941]

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S order to the Navy to clear all enemy ships from waters necessary to our defense, is plain common sense. It is the very least that could be done and actually much more is required in view of the great peril confronting our country.

The American people as a whole are firmly opposed to Hitler and they want to defend the United States. But many of them are confused by the traitorous action of the appeasers, Hitler's Fifth Column.

It has been a weakness of the administration that it has not sufficiently combatted this Fifth Column. It has not previously given the people a full realization of the danger facing us at this very moment.

* * * * *

However, the President's speech, as far as it goes, should help dispel any doubts as to the reality of the Nazi menace. When the President declared that "the Nazi danger to our Western World has long ceased to be a mere possibility; the danger is here now..." he was uttering a truth which should awaken and unite the entire country.

Never in all the world have there been more open acts of war than those which the Nazis have already committeed against American shipping and American lives. It is not a question of getting into the war—Hitler has already made war upon us. The question is whether we will defeat the enemy or whether we will be beaten without even defending ourselves.

The arrogant replies of Berlin and Rome within 24 hours, boasting of wholesale sinkings and threatening to shoot on sight, only constitute further evidence that the President acted none too soon.

It was significant that no sooner had the President warned of the Nazi "rattlesnake" menacing us from without, when right here at home a Copperhead, Charles Lindbergh, coiled and struck at our security from within.

* * * * *

It is time for the administration and all anti-fascist forces to realize that we are endangered by Nazi rattlesnakes and copperhead traitors both.

The moves outlined by Mr. Roosevelt to safeguard our shipping to the Allies, should be supplemented by further steps:

This is the time to send enormous quantities of war materials to the Eastern Front where they are being consumed at a terrific rate in the struggle against the common foe.

This is the time for closer collaboration between the United States, Britain and the Soviet Union.

This is the time to give aid to the people of conquered Europe, to withdraw our Ambassador from Vichy, to deal with Japan with a firm hand and no appeasement.

This is the time to open up an effective Western Front so that a crushing blow can be delivered to Hitler.

* * * * *

Such measures are absolutely essential to the continued existence of the United States as an independent nation. Labor and the people as a whole should rally behind such a program.

The United States is in the most extreme danger that it has faced since the battle of Gettysburg. We are being attacked; a gigantic power is making war upon us. It is trifling with the very life of the United States for our forces not to be fully used in the defense of the nation.

• *Read the only real anti-fascist newspaper in Pittsburgh!*

READ THE DAILY AND SUNDAY WORKER

SOLD AT THE FOLLOWING NEWSTANDS:

Old Post Office, 4th & Smithfield
New Post Office, 7th & Grant
10th & Liberty (At bus station)
Rose's News-store, 1332—5th Ave.
P. & A. News, 220 Federal St., N. S.
6th & Wylie News
Wabash Bldg. Cor., Liberty & Ferry
Hirsch's News, 1623 Centre Ave.

DAILY WORKER OFFICE – Room 407, 305 Seventh Avenue – Pittsburgh, Penna.

#209,863 SP 8B15/80C
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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

December 4, 1941

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

RE: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

Multiple Sources 5/14/84, Multiple Sources
10-17-90 Declassify on: OADR
318,519

b7c

The Bureau's information on the America First Committee has not resulted from investigation initiated by this Bureau but has been either voluntarily submitted by outside sources, received as an incident to other investigation, or extracted from articles which have appeared in the press. Because of this limitation, a full and complete analysis of the organization cannot be presented.

Only a brief reference to the professed principles and objectives of the America First Committee will be made. The Committee declared that the most complete presentation of its views was set forth in a speech entitled "Our Foreign Policy" delivered by Acting Chairman General Robert E. Wood on October 4, 1940, before the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations. General Wood contended that the ideology of the totalitarian states, which it is alleged must be destroyed, cannot be destroyed by war; that our protection does not depend upon Britain; that if we are properly prepared internally we need have no fear of invasion even though Britain falls; and that a German-dominated Europe would not destroy our foreign trade nor would it be impossible for our presently existing economic order to compete with such a Europe. From this, it follows that intervention is not only unessential, but should be prevented at all costs in order to avoid the attendant financial loss and destruction of life.

The objective of the Committee then becomes one of bringing together all those who concur in the opinion that pressure should be brought from all directions against the United States' entry into the war. The Committee contends that the course presently being pursued by the Government will inevitably lead us into the war, and that this is being done without the masses' knowledge, 86 per cent of whom in October, 1940, were opposed to entry into the war. The Committee has announced through its representative that it favors the administration's rearmament program and supports the policy of giving Britain all possible aid as long as such aid does not tend in any way to directly involve the United States in the European conflict.

Deleted Copy Sent by Letter 3-4-76 Per FOIA Request

1 ENCLO. 16

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Lease
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Parsons
Mr. Quinn
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Holloman
Mr. Quinn Tamm

1 ENCLO. 18
318,519,

FOI/PA # 362959
APPEAL #
CIVIL ACT. #
E.O. # 112956

RECORDED 16

100-4712-30
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
18 MAR 28 1942

5-1 information deleted per Army letter dated 8/14/91 (923 Lieber Code) pg. 16 of 16 pages T. Edmonds letter 8/19/91. Reviewed by [illegible] 8/19/91.

ORGANIZATION

Origin

The America First Committee was incorporated in the State of Illinois on September 19, 1940. Its national headquarters have always been located at 1506 Board of Trade Building, Chicago, Illinois. The publications of the Committee fail to disclose the individuals who conceived the idea of such a Committee and the precise reasons for its creation. The officers and directors at the time of its founding consisted of the following:

Officers

Acting Chairman	- General Robert E. Wood of Chicago, Illinois; graduate of West Point; present Chairman of the Board of Directors of Sears, Roebuck and Company.
National Director and Secretary	- R. Douglas Stuart, Jr.; son of R. Douglas Stuart of the Quaker Oats Company; senior in the Yale Law School prior to the time he became associated with the America First Committee.
Treasurer	- J. Sanford Otis; Vice President of the Central Republic Bank of Chicago.

Board of Directors

Hanford MacNider	- Mason City, Iowa; banker; former National Commander of the American Legion; former Assistant Secretary of War, 1925-1928.

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General Thomas Hammond – Harvey, Illinois; Retired United States Army Officer; President of the Whiting Corporation, crane and foundry equipment manufacturers; Chairman of the Republican Party in Illinois.

J. C. Hormel – Formerly associated with the Hormel meat packing company of Austin, Minnesota.

Clay Judson – Chicago, Illinois; attorney; Former President of the Chicago Council of Foreign Relations; Member of the Board of Trustees of United Charities, Chicago, Illinois.

A pamphlet issued by the Committee in October, 1940, lists members of the National Committee, among whom were the following:

General Robert E. Wood
J. Sanford Otis
Janet Ayer Fairbank
J. C. Hormel
Clay Judson
Captain Edward Rickenbacker
Lessing J. Rosenwald
Manford MacNider
R. Douglas Stuart, Jr.
Mrs. Bennett Champ Clark
Henry Ford
General Hugh S. Johnson
Alice Roosevelt Longworth
Mrs. Burton K. Wheeler
General Thomas Hammond

Dr. Anton Julius Carlson – University of Chicago Professor and member of the Civil Liberties Union; a national pacifist of alleged decidedly left wing sympathies.

William R. Castle – Former Assistant Secretary of State and Ambassador to Japan.

John T. Flynn – Author of "Country Squire in the White House."

Kathryn Lewis – Daughter of John L. Lewis

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Thomas H. McCarter	- Former Attorney General of New Jersey and President of the Public Service Corporation of New Jersey; Director of the Chase National Bank and other financial companies.
Sterling Morton	- Morton Salt Company
William H. Regnery	- Chicago millionaire
Edward L. Ryerson, Jr.	- Chairman of the Board of Inland Steel.
Louis J. Taber	- Nationally known agriculturalist
Dr. George H. Whipple	- Noted pathologist

On April 28, 1941, Social Justice announced that Colonel Charles A. Lindbergh had joined the America First Committee. (100-4481 "The Hour", newsletter, Anti-Nazi)

With reference to the Committee's founding, [redacted] expressed the opinion that the Committee was set up in opposition to the propaganda being disseminated by the William Allen White Committee. This informant pointed out that Colonel Lindbergh and [redacted] both had considerable influence with Colonel Robert R. McCormick, editor and publisher of the Chicago Tribune, whom they induced to take an interest in the organization. (100-4712-10; [redacted]

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This informant also expressed the opinion that the Committee at the time of its founding was unquestionably patriotic. He stated that because of the liberalism expressed by some of the members, William J. Grace, Avery Brundage, and W. H. Regnery severed their connections with the Committee. [redacted]

[redacted] submitted a memorandum dated January 17, 1941, which alleged that in the summer of 1940, Senator and Mrs. Burton K. Wheeler and Dorothy Detzer, Director of the Women's International League for Peace

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and associate of J. T. Flynn, publisher of "Uncensored", interested General Wood in the formation of such an organization. Also mentioned in connection with its founding was a so-called pacifist radical monthly called "Equality", in the September issue of which appeared Senator Wheeler's "Defend America First" article and John L. Lewis' article against conscription. This source reported that the Washington, D. C., group of the Committee was organized and directed by Dorothy Detzer and William R. Castle. It is to be noted that Dorothy Detzer is said to consider herself the "brains" of the America First Committee. [redacted] by L.M.C.Smith)

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John L. Spivak in his series of articles entitled "America First' Exposed" which appeared in the September 30, October 7, and October 14, 1941, issues of "New Masses", declared that the idea for the formation of such a Committee was born in the mind of R. Douglas Stuart, Jr., who interested General R. E. Wood, William H. Regnery, "a Chicago multi-millionaire", and Clay Judson in such a movement. Spivak contended that Lindbergh was not named on the original Committee because of his reputation for being strongly pro-Nazi.

Membership and Promotion

According to Spivak, the scope of the Committee is nationwide and Robert L. Bliss, formerly Director of Organization in the National Office and now Director of the New York Chapter, stated that there are about 250 chapters of the America First Committee and 750 units throughout the country. When questioned as to the number of members, the Managing Director R. Douglas Stuart, Jr., estimated that there were about 5,000,000. This figure, however, was unsubstantiated by any fact, and was considered by Spivak to be greatly exaggerated. (New Masses, Oct. 7, p. 9)

In some states the activities have been sufficiently extensive to warrant state incorporation as was the case in California, New York, and Missouri. It appears that all units recognize the national headquarters and profess to follow the same principles and objectives, although the activities vary in different sections, depending upon the tendencies and influence of the sectional leaders. In view of the speeches and public addresses given by representatives of the Committee, it would appear that all sections of the

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country have been influenced by the Committee and that efforts of the Committee have been concentrated in the population centers of the nation.

John L. Spivak contended that "The America First Committee, while trying to create the impression that it has a large mass following is run and chiefly financed by a small clique of 'smart money' boys." To substantiate this contention, Spivak refers to the number of wealthy individuals who are members of the National Committee and to other wealthy patrons among whom are Ernest T. Weir, Chairman of the National Steel Corporation; H. L. Stuart, President of Halsey, Stuart, and Company, Chicago; and Max W. Babb, President of Allis-Chalmers. (New Masses, 9/30)

With reference to the promotional activities of the Committee, it is to be noted that it contends that all work of the Committee is purely voluntary. This was said to be true of the speakers of the organization as well as the organizers. However, Spivak points out that many of the lecturers and speakers are paid for their services even though such speakers are members of the Committee. It has been reported that at the time Don Labbock organized a unit of the America First Committee in Oklahoma, he stated that he had formerly been an organizer for the American Peace Mobilization but had been induced to work for the America First Committee because it had greater funds with which to finance promotional work. Within the past two months, an informant has advised that the Committee has recently been compelled to terminate the services of some of its paid organizers through lack of funds and has been called upon to accept financial assistance from pro-Nazi sources. (Sent1, 100-4712; [redacted] Sent 2,3, New Masses; Sent 4, 61-10498-875, [redacted] Sent 5, G-2)

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Funds

There has been no indication that the America First Committee has at any time submitted financial statements or given any other information concerning the extent of its resources. Spivak opens his series of articles with the statement that "the America First Committee has received a minimum of over $1,000,000 from unidentified sources for its propaganda work." Spivak explained that the Committee refused to make available any financial statistics other than the fact that the Chicago office alone,

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for instance, collected $231,000 during a ten-month period, and the New York Chapter, $112,000 in a six-month period. Using what he considered to be conservative estimates with regard to the other Chapters throughout the country, Spivak concluded that the America First Committee raised over $1,000,000 during the past year. The Chicago office reported that of the $231,000 collected during a ten-month period ending on June 1, 1941, $207,000 was spent of which $42,000 was allocated to pay roll for the Chicago office alone. (New Masses, Oct. 7)

After repeatedly refusing the New York Herald Tribune's request for a list of the names of the contributors to the America First Committee, General Wood finally made available a partial list. He explained that numerous contributors had preferred not to have their names mentioned. (New Masses, Oct. 7)

It does not appear how successful the Committee has been in raising funds by nationwide appeals either through circulars and publications of the Committee or through public addresses and radio. There is evidence that funds have been received from organizations with Nazi and Communist connections, specific instances of which will be set forth hereinafter.

ACTIVITIES AND CONNECTIONS

The following information will relate primarily to activities and connections of the Committee which have been subjected to adverse criticism by the press and radio, or which have been allegedly associated with foreign subversive elements. An attempt will be made to separate the information set forth into first: that pertaining to activities and connections relating to organizations, individuals, and movements which can be described as being internal in nature and not directly connected with any foreign source, and secondly: that dealing with activities and connections which are either connected with, or directly influenced by, groups or interests such as the Nazis, Communists, Fascists, and others which are associated with forces essentially foreign.

Internal

Anti-Administration Issue

The most highly publicized and perhaps most representative activities of the National Committee are carried out by the sponsorship of meetings and rallies at which designated representatives of the Committee set forth the official views of that body. Such public declarations of the Committee's policies and views of necessity have been carefully considered by the Committee and have, therefore, contained nothing pertinent to this memorandum. Attention, however, is called to the fact that there is a discernible trend toward a more radical expression of opinion on the part of official representatives of the Committee which has resulted in much adverse criticism. During the first eight months of the Committee's existence, the speakers have confined themselves chiefly to a criticism of the President's foreign policy with occasional charges that the Administration's foreign policy was pro-British, rather than pro-American. Pamphlets of the America First Committee raised the question "Are You Ready to Make the United States A Dictatorship?" and referred to the Lend-Lease Bill as a "war dictatorship bill."

During the past four months, however, prominent speakers of the Committee such as Colonel Charles A. Lindbergh, Senator Burton K. Wheeler of Montana, Senator Gerald P. Nye of North Dakota, and former Governor Philip F. La Follette of Wisconsin, have inserted statements in their speeches which have resulted in their having the label "subversive" attached to their declarations. In his Des Moines speech on September 16, 1941, Lindbergh openly declared that the United States was being drawn into the European conflict by "the British, the Jews, and the Roosevelt Administration", openly raising for the first time the anti-Semitic issue. This reference to the Jews resulted in criticism of the Committee from all sections of the country. The Chicago Daily News of September 23, 1941, quoted Senator Nye as saying that the "foreign-born magnates of the Jewish faith" were primarily responsible for "propaganda" in the films. In his Fort Wayne, Indiana, speech on October 2, 1941, Colonel Lindbergh declared that that speech might be his last. He also declared that the end of free election was in sight and stated, "We must face the fact that you and I and our generation have lost our American heritage." (100-4712-A, Extracts from news clipping)

This same charge - that the American people might expect to have the 1942 election suspended - was made by former Governor Philip F. La Follett on November 1, 1941, in a speech delivered in Washington, D. C. In this speech, La Follette was said to have openly called for an insurrection by

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"fearless red-blooded Americans to overthrow the 'War Party' government ....." and to have stated that "....if the administration using a 'rubber stamp Congress' tries to postpone elections, we, the real 'American Party', will call upon all real Americans to fight for their freedom right here as their forefathers fought in the revolution." (100-4712-189, [redacted] b7C b7

It is to be noted that the Washington Times Herald of July 14, 1941, reported that the America First Committee had adopted a resolution recommending the removal of Secretary of the Navy Frank Knox for allegedly advocating that the United States Navy intervene in the war at that time. (100-4712-A, 7/14/41)

Reference is made to an article appearing in the Pasadena Independence (California) of June 16, 1941, covering an America First rally in that city. Charles Cobb, Acting Chairman of the group, declared in his address that he did not believe a British victory possible or desirable, and outlined his belief in the theory that the world is destined to be controlled by the new world forces, consisting of the three great centers of power - Europe, Asia, and the Americas. He also made reference to former Ambassador Dudley's declaration that at no time had Hitler's statements indicated an intention inimical to the United States. He described Czechoslovakia as a dagger pointed at the heart of Germany. The above remarks suggest a Nazi propaganda source. Another speaker at this same meeting, Dr. Michael Francis Dillon, objected to the use of the United States troops in breaking the strike at the North American Aircraft Corporation at Inglewood, California, and the proposed use of concentration camps for handling conscientious objectors. The Federal Bureau of Investigation was paralleled to the Gestapo, and the Dies Committee was described as a tool of the FBI. (100-4712-76)

In connection with this phase of the Committee's activities, reference is made to the alleged use of the franking privilege by Senators Wheeler and Nye. Spivak particularly stressed this matter and the "New Masses" carried photographs of a franked envelope of Senator Nye, which envelope set forth that the enclosed letter contained an "extension of remarks by Hon. Gerald P. Nye" concerning the "Radio address delivered by Theodore F. Haffmann, National Chairman, Steuben Society of America." Also shown was an envelope with Senator Wheeler's frank pertaining to material of the same nature which he had read into the Congressional Record.

(Sept. 21st issue of the New Masses)
(New Masses, Oct. 7)

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Reference is also made to an article in the Washington Times Herald of September 26, 1941, which tells of franked mail being subpoenaed from the offices of the America First Washington headquarters. This mail, which bore the franks of seven non-interventionist Congressmen, was said to have been moved from the offices of Prescott Bennett, Secretary of the Ohio Europe Pay Committee, to the America First headquarters just prior to seizure. (100-4712-A)

Interference With Armed Forces

During the past four months, several different sources have submitted information charging the America First Committee with the sponsorship of a campaign directed toward creating disharmony within the ranks of the army forces. The Military Intelligence Division on July 6, 1941, reported that the America First Committee within the Ninth Corps Area District of the Army appeared to be falling under the control of the radical elements who were conducting anti-war propaganda campaigns near army posts in that area. The Office of Naval Intelligence reported on April 23, 1941, that a member of the crew of the U.S.S. KIMB, a United States Destroyer, had been active aboard ship in inducing twelve enlisted men to join the America First Committee. (61-7559-11760)

(5-1)(8)

On July 15, 1941, an informant advised the Bureau that the Chicago, Illinois, section of the Committee was said to be circularizing the parents, relatives, and wives of the men in the armed forces with a view toward enlisting their support in the movement. Another source reported that in Westchester County, New York, near Fort Slocum, the America First Committee had distributed folding post cards which were sent to parents and relatives of the enlisted men, one side of which could be detached and mailed to the soldiers. These post cards made an emotional appeal, stressing the hardship and loss of life attendant upon our entry into this war. (5-1)(8)
(100-7660-178, Sept. 1941, G-2, report of the 2nd Corps Area)

On July 23, 1941, an enlistee told of a clerk in the America First Committee office in New Rochelle, New York, expressing the opinion in that office that she sympathized with members of the service who deserted and encouraged the spreading of America First propaganda among the armed forces. (100-4712-107, G-2) (5-1)(8)

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On September 26, 1941, the Military Intelligence Division told of an America First Committee employee, named J. Guy Jeansman, distributing anti-war propaganda among soldiers in the New York area around Fort Dix. Jeansman was said to be a former officer of the German-American Bund. (5-1)(4)

Anti-Semitic Connections

While the anti-Semitic issue did not break out openly until Lindbergh's Des Moines address in September, there is considerable indication that certain individuals connected with the Committee and certain so-called American Fascist groups which supported the Committee were using the Committee as an instrument for advancing their anti-Jewish theories. John Spivak charged that the following individuals, interested in the Committee at the time of its founding, are all anti-Semitic - Henry Ford, Sterling Morton, William Castle, and Avery Brundage. He contended that the America First Director of Organization admitted that Brundage was dropped from the Committee because of his anti-Semitic reputation. He pointed out that Morton was known to have financed Jung's American Vigilant Intelligence Federation which distributed the "Protocols of the Elders of Zion." He also called attention to a letter written by William Castle in which he expressed his dislike of the Jews. (New Masses, 9/30; PM 5/16/41)

Spivak also charged that the Committee has several anti-Semites on its lecture staff. He called particular attention to the fact that Reverend Edward Lodge Curran, who is described as Father Coughlin's chief apostle in the East and who has been said to have worked with such groups as the German-American Bund, German-American Business League, the American Nationalists, and the Citizens' Protective League, gave the invocation at the Brooklyn America First rally on May 14, 1941. Spivak also alleged that on December 9, 1940, Mrs. Barbara McDonald, head of the Speaker's Bureau of the Committee's National office, wrote to Edward James Smythe, of the Protestant War Veterans, thanking him for agreeing to speak at the Philadelphia America First meeting on December 16th. Smythe was described as a vicious anti-Semite who has openly boasted of arranging a joint meeting with the Ku Klux Klan and the German-American Bund at Camp Nordland.

(New Masses, Oct. 7, 1941, issue, p. 6)

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"The Hour", an alleged confidential newsletter sponsored by the American Council Against Nazi Propaganda, Incorporated, and supported by the Anti-Defamation League has devoted a great deal of space in an effort to establish the connection between the America First Committee and anti-Semitic forces in the country. In the April 26, 1941, issue, "The Hour" calls attention to the number of outstanding leaders of alleged subversive groups who attended the America First rally held at Manhattan Center on April 23, 1941. The following were named: (100-4481-6; [redacted]

"August Klapprott, Bund leader now out on bail after conviction in New Jersey on charges of incitement to hate; Gustav Kimer, treasurer of the Bund; Lawrence Dennis, well-known fascist 'theoretician', author of 'The Coming American Fascism'; George A. Van Nostdall, Bund member, former president of the Crusaders for Americanism; Edward James Smythe, intimate of Bundites, KKK leader, staunch Hitlerite and violent anti-Semite; Mrs. Leonora Schuyler (on platform), bigwig in the Allied Patriotic Society, frequenter of Christian Front and Mobiliser meetings; Mrs. Cooper, a leader in the fascist Paul Revere Sentinels, a friend and co-worker of Mrs. Schuyler; Edward Banta, former witness before the Dies Committee, now employed by the American Women Against Communism, a fascist organization; James Stewart, street-corner speaker of the Christian Mobilisers and member of their inner council; Daniel Morgan, bodyguard of the American Destiny Party leader, Joseph McWilliams; James McGee, Christian Front propagandist; Edmund Burke, Christian Mobiliser speaker and organiser, a jailbird; George F. Bolan, leading member of the U. S. branch of the Roumanian Iron Guard, disseminator of pro-Nazi propaganda; Reverend Herbert Lewis, Bund and Christian Front member; and dozens of other similar gentry."

b7C
b7E

In other issues of this publication, bitter attacks are made against Father Coughlin's Social Justice group and Joseph McWilliams' American Destiny Party, both of which are said to support the America First Committee. (100-4481; Issue of the Hour)

[redacted]

b1

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Because of Colonel Charles A. Lindbergh's activities on behalf of the America First Committee and his alleged interest in "Scribner's Commentator", it is significant that Spivak stated that at the time he interviewed John T. Flynn, the New York America First Chapter's Chairman, Flynn mistakenly stated that he thought Charles S. Tayson, a publisher of "Scribner's Commentator" was a member of the Directing Board of the America First Committee. "Scribner's Commentator" has been described as the mouthpiece of Colonel Lindbergh and as being notoriously anti-Semitic. (New Masses, 9/30)

Information has been received associating the notorious American Fascist, Merwin K. Hart, with the America First Committee. On May 22, 1941, a confidential informant advised that [redacted] This informant told of [redacted] (65-1461-72; [redacted] b7D

It is to be noted that the September 30, 1941, issue of the "New Masses" contains a photograph of a letter from R. Douglas Stuart, Jr., on of America First letterhead stationery to Merwin K. Hart, President of the New York Economic Council, in which Stuart wrote that while he did not wish to openly associate his organization with that of Hart, he did think "it is imperative that we work together on these things." Stuart added, "I will let you know the name of the man who will be Chairman of our New York Chapter within a few days. I hope you will be able to work with him." Spivak pointed out that Hart is considered a prominent pro-Fascist who cooperated with Franco agents during the Spanish Civil War.

FOREIGN INFLUENCE

It is to be noted that the America First Committee has stated in its sponsored literature and statements for the press that it refuses to accept in its membership any persons connected with any foreign subversive groups such as the Nazis, Fascists, or Communists. However, many sources

have submitted information bearing upon the alleged connection between the Committee and various foreign subversive elements. No contention has been made to the knowledge of the Bureau that this Committee was connected in any way with any foreign elements at the time of its founding. ([redacted]) b7C b7D

Mai

[redacted] b7E

On September 11, 1941, [redacted] was questioned concerning German propaganda activities in this country. [redacted] stated that he believed the leading propaganda organization was the America First Committee which worked in direct accord with the German ideas. He stated that this Committee was at that time the only effective propaganda agency in the United States and advised that the chief problem of the German Government was to keep the Committee advised of all available propoganda. How this was accomplished he did not state. [redacted] also explained that the German-American Board of Trade has succeeded the German Library of Information as the official German propaganda instrumentality. It is to be noted that it was reported on March 3, 1941, that a lecturer for the America First Committee named Harry Elmer Barnes, one of the editorial sponsors of "Uncensored", was said to have written to [redacted] urging him to publish the German White Book's attack on former Ambassador, William Bullitt. (65-6225-306, [redacted] 61-7632-415, interview with SA [redacted] and [redacted] of NY Field Division; 100-4712-17X, [redacted]

On June 16, 1941, a confidential informant advised the Bureau that [redacted]

(100-4712-71X, [redacted])

The July monthly report of the Second Corps Area of the Military Intelligence Division alleged that the mailing list of the German Library

of information had been turned over to the America First Committee. The New York Herald Tribune of July 26, 1941, carried an article which related that Morton Dillaway, a writer residing at Reading, Massachusetts, had made public two envelopes received by him which bore identical misspellings of his name and the same post office box numbers. One contained propaganda received from the America First Committee while the other, which had been received some months previous, contained literature from the German Library of Information. When questioned concerning this coincidence, a spokesman for the America First Committee declared that the misspelled name had been sent to the Committee by a private individual in February and that it would require an extensive search through the Committee's files to determine the name of this individual. A resident of [redacted] called the Bureau's attention on November 11, 1941, to a similar incident which involved the same misspelling of his middle initial. (61-7557-242; 100-4712-A, July 26, 1941; 100-52308-1, [redacted])

It is to be noted that the pro-Nazi publication, Deutscher Weckruf und Beobachter and Free American, has been carrying advertisements and has encouraged its readers to enroll with the America First Committee, as have two other German language newspapers in Bismarck, North Dakota, and San Francisco, California. On May 3, 1941, [redacted] California, told of having received in an envelope of the German-American National Alliance of Chicago, an alleged German propaganda agency, a circular entitled "Peace for America" which contained an appeal for contributions for the America First Committee. (61-6566-2621, [redacted] 102-2-27-1)

The Bureau's attention has recently been called to a pamphlet entitled "The America First Committee - The Nazi Transmission Belt" which has been published by the Friends of Democracy, Incorporated, whose National Director, L. M. Birkhead, is said to be sponsoring this organization for the purpose of counteracting anti-Semitic propaganda. (100-12412-A)

This pamphlet quotes from Senator Wheeler's speech of March 3, 1941, as follows:

> "Now we find these same international bankers with their friends the royal refugees and with the Sassoons of the Orient and with the Rothschilds and Warburgs of Europe in another theme song...'Our investments in India, Africa, and Europe must be preserved. Save democracy!'"

SECRET

and from Senator Nye's speech to the Senate on March 4, 1941:

> "The greatest aggressor in all modern history has been the British Empire...The Empire is the despotic, arbitrary and sometimes tyrannical rule over almost half a billion people...It is this Empire that is calling us in the name of democracy."

These two remarks are paralleled to similar language used by Hitler. This publication also points out that the German-American National Alliance of Chicago in its literature calls upon its members to work through the America First Committee. The charge is also made that John B. Snow of New York City, allegedly a former distributor of "The Protocols of the Elders of Zion" which set forth an elaborate Jewish formula for establishing Jewish world domination, has recently been distributing copies of the America First pamphlet entitled "Our Foreign Policy". [redacted] b7D

(100-4712-153)

The Bureau has recently received a printed report dated October 10, 1941, prepared by the American Legion on the "Subversive Activities in the America First Committee in California." This report was said to have been prepared in view of the striking similarity between the Nazi propaganda technique and the America First methods of operation in California. The Legion pointed out that this matter was called to the attention of General R. E. Wood but that no action was taken on his part.

To establish its contention, the Legion report lists numerous "typical channels of subversive propaganda in California" which consist of certain German-American Bund groups and book stores located in the Los Angeles area, and points out how their propaganda compares with that of the America First Committee. It then names several individuals who have been publicly connected with various German propaganda movements and who have recently been associated with the America First Committee activities. The Legion concludes that "there is every indication that they have joined the America First movement for the express purpose of presenting their subversive propaganda to those sincere isolationists who have been attracted to America First." (Attached to cover letter from L.M.C.Smith, dated November 22, 1941)

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[redacted], reported that the automobile of Dr. George Gyssling, the German Consul, was seen parked in front of the office of the America First Committee on the day that its offices were opened in Los Angeles on January 16, 1941.

With reference to the America First activities in Los Angeles, it was reported in February, 1941, that the Chairman of the Los Angeles branch was John L. Wheeler, son of Senator Wheeler. A confidential informant told of John Wheeler and his wife attending a party on February 4, 1941, at the home of Paul von Gontard, [redacted], at which Mrs. Wheeler had allegedly remarked that "the only way we can be safe is to see the pins knocked out from under Britain." The informant pointed out that the Wheelers associated with several suspected espionage agents as a result of which Mrs. Wheeler had become inculcated with pro-German doctrines. Among those associates was one Hans Wolfram who was said to be connected with publicity activities in New York City and Washington, D. C., on behalf of the German Embassy. This informant further advised that Paul von Gontard at this gathering displayed a $2,000 cashier's check drawn on the St. Louis Trust Company, St. Louis, Missouri, which he turned over to John Wheeler as a contribution to the America First Committee. It is to be noted that Paul von Gontard is said to be a brother of Adelbert von Gontard, an official of the Anheuser-Busch Brewing Company in St. Louis, [redacted] (S-1)(8)

(100-4712-X; ONI)

Information was also received from San Francisco which alleged that Dr. Hugh Parkinson, a member of the Board of Directors of the America First Committee in San Francisco, was said to frequently contact Fritz Weidemann, German Consul General. (66-2542-3-347-208) [redacted] San Francisco)

On May 6, 1941, a confidential source supplied a photostatic copy of a check drawn on the United States National Bank of Portland, Oregon, by the "German War Veterans, by [redacted] payable to the America First Committee. [redacted] was reported to be a German-American Bund member. (100-36444-1) (S-1)(8)

The Philadelphia Ledger of April 22, 1941, carried an article reporting that Mrs. Edith Scott of Philadelphia declared that the National

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Legion of Mothers and Women of America, an affiliate of the American First Committee, had under consideration inviting women associated with the Kyffhauser Bund into its membership. An informant pointed out that at a meeting of the American First Committee held in Philadelphia on May 29, 1941, there were several representatives of the German-American Central Bund of Pennsylvania on the speakers' stand inside the arena, among them were Gustav F. Kleinl, President of the Philadelphia Section of that Bund, and Leopold Eyre. Also in attendance was a member of the German Consulate in Philadelphia. (100-4712-A; dated 4/22/41) (100-47)

A confidential informant on May 26, 1941, advised that Mr. Fleischman, a member of the American First Committee, had addressed a meeting of the United German Societies held at the New York Turn Hall. (61-9879-268, From Phila Field, unknown)

[redacted] b1

(65-8857-181)

On July 30, 1941, a confidential source made available a summary of information furnished by an informant who was said to be reliable. This informant alleged that the America First Committee had recently formed in New York City an "Investigation Unit", under the direction of one George Wrangell. Wrangell, who is alleged to be a White Russian and influential among the Russian emigres and French refugee groups, was said to be openly pro-German and pro-Nazi and has been connected with German Bund and German Government circles. This informant further stated that the Bundists are operating as volunteer workers in the dissemination of anti-interventionist literature published by the America First Committee. The "Investigation Unit" referred to above is said to be the creation of Mr. Bronson Batchelor. This informant also mentioned the fact that the America First Committee has been operating with certain Bund agents in a campaign of contacting the parents

(5-1)

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of draftees and enlistees with the view toward agitating against the national defense program and the extension of the period of military service. (100-4712-122) (G-2, Governor's Island, NY)

(5-1(E)) It is to be noted that another informant advised that Baron von Brangell had been sent by the America First Committee to debate before a Men's Christian Forum in Bronxville, New York, on the subject "What Is the Christian Attitude Toward America's Entry Into the War" This informant stated that the forum group was highly incensed because of von Brangell's position on the foreign issue. (61-10498-539; Letter from [redacted], Bronxville, New York) b7C b7C

(5-1(E)) Reference is also made to a report from the Military Intelligence Division dated September 26, 1941, which alleged that J. Guy Zeenman, an active organizer for the America First Committee in the New York area and a former officer and recognized leader of the German-American Bund, was said to be enrolling Bund members in the Committee. In this connection, it is to be noted that the Office of Naval Intelligence in May, 1941, reported that the naturalized and native American members of the German-American Bund were instructed by Bunde to join the America First Committee. (61-7474-49; G-2, 2nd Corps Area; 66-3403-1-34-53; Weekly Natl. Defense Conference in NYC)

(5-1(E)) A confidential informant submitted unverified information to the effect that one of the outstanding writers on the staff of the America First Committee, [redacted] was said to be an "out and out Nazi." (100-4712-28; [redacted]) b7C b7D

Communist

At the time of the Committee's founding, there was no indication of any Communist influence. Soon after the America First Committee was organized, members William J. Grace, Avery Brundage, and E. E. Hagerty, severed their relations with the America First Committee allegedly because they disapproved of any connection whatsoever with any members of the Committee who might be designated as "pink" in their belief. John Spivak (100-4712-10, p. 2

SECRET

SECRET

Memorandum for the Attorney General Page 26

alleged that Brundage and Hagerty left because their anti-Semitism would reflect unfavorably upon the Committee. It is to be noted that shortly thereafter, Oswald Garrison Villard, former editor of the "Nation", left the America First Committee, publicly stating that he did so because he disagreed with the Committee's approval of the administration's rearmament program. Another well-known liberal and member of the Civil Liberties Union, Dr. Anton Julius Carlson was a member of the America First Committee. (New Haven 9/29/41; 100-4712-10, p. 4)

[redacted]

Information was received from an unknown source in May, 1941, which alleged that John Wheeler, Chairman of the Los Angeles Chapter, supported [redacted] in the 1940 California primaries. [redacted] said to be notorious for his association with the Communist Party members on the West Coast. (100-4712-17X, unknown outside source)

It is to be noted that in May the Military Intelligence Division reported the Communists were said to consider the America First Committee a dangerous movement launched by "big-open-shop industrialists", and the Political Bureau of the Communist Party was said to have expressed the belief that should the United States enter the war, the Committee will definitely come out in support of it. (61-7559-11557, 8-2)

(b)(7)(D)

[redacted]

(100-18264-54; [redacted]

(b)(7)(D)

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61

SECRET

Memorandum for the
Attorney General

Re: [redacted]

The Communist present position with regard to the America First Committee is reflected by the "[redacted] and the fact that a derogatory report has recently been circulated by the Communist Party. This latter report which was said to have been prepared by a district secretary of the Communist Party has come to the Bureau's attention through sources in various sections of the country. It contains inconsistent information and appears to be unreliable. b7D

(100-4712-137, [redacted]

Fascist

In addition to the American fascistic organizations previously referred to in this memorandum, there has been some indication that foreign fascist influence has been exerted on the America First Committee.

[redacted] b1

(C) (100-4712-72; anonymous communication read at Washington Field Office)

The Bureau's attention has been called to the fact that in the City of San Francisco, there are two separate chapters of the America First Committee which have been established in the Italian sections. This source failed to connect the Italian Consul in any way with these chapters, however. (100-26755-2)

Reference is also made to the publication "The America First Committee - A Nazi Transmission Belt" which quoted from the Chicago Daily News' Rome correspondent who indicated that the Italian Propaganda Ministry, through the Fascist spokesman, [redacted] has referred favorably to the America First Committee in the Italian Press. (62-53618-16) b7C

Respectfully,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

[redacted]

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER
DIRECTOR

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

December 4, 1941

[redacted]

MEMORANDUM FOR [redacted]

There is submitted herewith for your use a copy of a summary memorandum on the America First Committee which has been prepared for the Attorney General.

Respectfully,

D. M. Ladd

Attachment

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 3/14/96 BY SP8BTJ/CC
10-16-90

ENCLOSURE BEHIND FILE

APR 1 1942

100-4712-3

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
18 MAR 19 1942
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

X 25A

March 19, 1942

American Federation of Investors, Inc.
Hugh S. Magill, President
35 East Wacker Drive
Chicago, Illinois

Gentlemen:

I do not care so much right now about "Saving Our American System" for use later on. That will return in due time. We must save Americ and our own hides right now. The "American Syste is gone for good and all time if we are enslaved the self-proclaimed "superior" blonde and brown Nazi and Jap, and "profits as usual" must await the chance of our final victory. Hence, the American Federation of Investors does not appeal to me. It should be suppressed for the duration. Capitalist and all labor freedoms and liberties must be subordinated now and for some time to come to insure more urgent and continuing war production and ultim victory. We must fight the devil with fire and hi own tools of war to win.

Sincerely yours,

[redacted]

[redacted]

cc to:
Hon. J. Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington D.C.

DEPT OF JUSTICE
RECEIVED

10-16-90 SP 1ST SIGNAL

[redacted]

FILED 4712-310
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
11 MAR 20 1942
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

[redacted]

8 MAR 24 1942

A shot at the enemies within our gates.

[redacted]

b7C

THE AMERICA FIRSTER

(Dedicated to those it hits)

I was an America Firster until the questionable cult disbanded,
I was sired by both Wheeler and Lindbergh, born in unholy wedlock,
And damned by every sensible and patriotic American.
I waved the flag and preached isolationism with a world in flames,
I cursed the President and praised the Jap as our best customer,
I slurred the English, and urged a negotiated peace with Hitler,
I proclaimed the World War to be but a foreign conflict,
And contended America could isolate itself from all mankind.
I was not always exactly as dumb as I looked,
There were times when I doubted our ostrich demagogues and stooges,
And even thought the organization smelled somewhat of the fifth column;
Yet I carried on with the rest of the debaters,
Indulging in cheap talk and adolescent argument,
Advertising national unpreparedness, under the guise of free speech,
Retarding our nation's defense and encouraging our enemies,
Until the Axis pulled the oft-threatened string,
Whereby the treacherous Jap murdered American boys,
And our Country was attacked, unprepared, but no longer isolated.
I often wonder why I did these things when I knew better,
Why I told Hitler that our boys were on the way to Iceland,
Why I called our President a war-monger and scoffed at invasion,
Mouthing platitudes about "war hysteria" and "minding our own business",
And did all the dirty and contemptible things born of cheap politics.
I cannot blame others for questioning my patriotism and loyalty,
The dividing line between ignorance and disloyalty is often dim,
I know that my record and the history of our times is against me.
My hands are not very clean, and I don't feel so talkative today.
But I thank God that at long last I am just an American,
That I want to be only an American, first, last and all the time,
And one who wishes to atone for his dumbness and his unenviable record,
By serving humanity in an inhuman world of hate and treachery,
And by trusting God hereafter, instead of fools.

100-4712-310

New York

October [redacted] 1

FIFTH COLUMN ACTIVITIES IN USA

The America First Committee has been able to jump the hurdles relative to the internal differences in connection with the attack made on the Jews. A large number of new recruits to the National Committee have been secured and now we find that a great many other groups are doing everything they possibly can to foster the America First and make it a success. Among these groups are: Christian Front, Christian Mobilizers, American Destiny Party, Paul Revere's Sentinels, A.V.I.F., German-American Bund, Women Determined, National Workers League--Detroit, Ku Klux Klan, Committee of One Million, G. Allison Phelps Group--Los Angeles, Pelley's Silver Shirts, and many other smaller groups.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10-16-90 BY SP6 bjs/tdy
10-16-90
SP6BTJ/col

100-4712-311
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
MAR 25 1942
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

RECORDED

MAR 27 1942

September 23, 1941

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE -- CHICAGO

Up until now this committee has repeatedly refused to divulge any information about its source of funds or size of contributions.

Now a new angle has come up that forces the organization to open its books.

It seems that recently there was a Congressional election in the first Wisconsin district, where the Wisconsin branch of America First opposed Mr. Amlie for election.

State Attorney-General John E. Martin of Wisconsin has announced his intention to order the chapter to file an official report on its expenditures in the contest.

In this particular district, the American first organization backed Lawrence H. Smith, who was successful and the Wisconsin law requires all organizations participating in political campaign to file a detailed expense account. So far the Committee has refused, but time will tell in regards to this matter.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/12/86 BY SP6 bja/tcy
10-16-90
SP8B5/COL
RECORDED & INDEXED

[redacted]

1 APR 30 1942

100-47124-3/2
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
19 MAR 24
U. S. DEP
OCT 28 1941

[redacted]

FIFTH COLUMN ACTIVITIES IN THE U. S.

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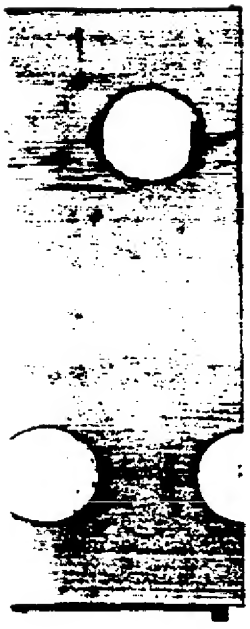
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-12-96 BY SP4 bjalk



American Federation of Investors

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•

Washington Representative
Ellis W. Meeker
1081 National Press Building, Washington, D. C.

"Keep it Ringing"

Save Our American System

☆ ☆ ☆

A Warning

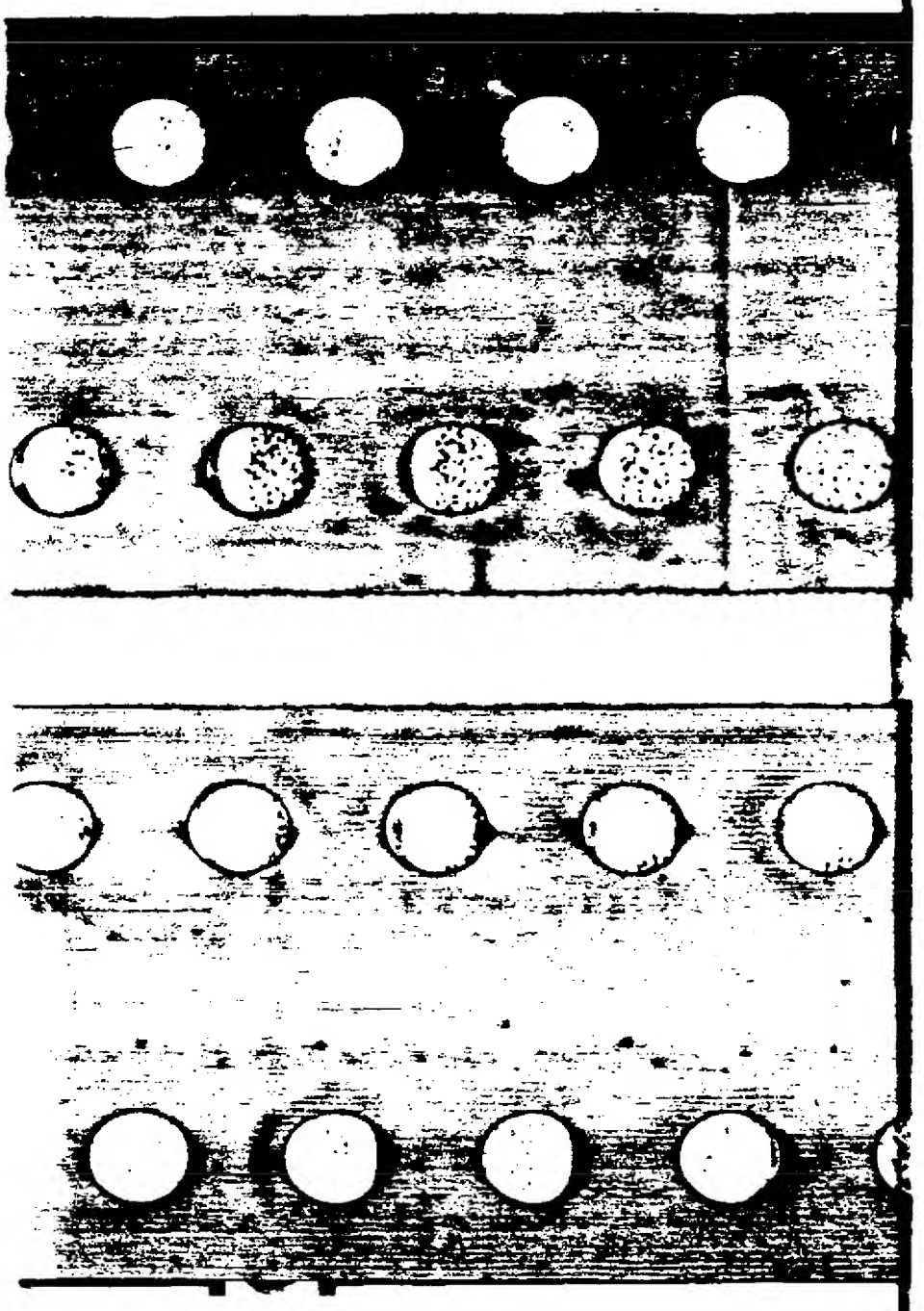
To Investors, Policyholders, Executives of Private Enterprise, and All Clear-Thinking, Liberty-Loving Americans:

The socialization of private enterprise under political control and bureaucratic domination as an established policy means the ultimate destruction of free government in America.

☆

American Federation of Investors, Inc.
(Nonpartisan and Not for Profit)
Hugh S. Magill, *President*
35 East Wacker Drive, Chicago, Ill.

10-16-96
SECRET/EO
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3-12-96 BY SP6 Bailey



Dangers Without and Within

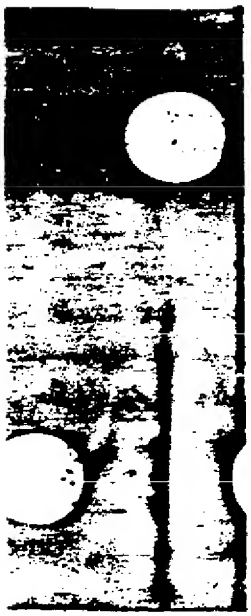
WE GIVE wholehearted support to our country in this war against the aggressor nations, and in defense of our own free institutions founded on liberty, equality, and justice, so dear to every American heart.

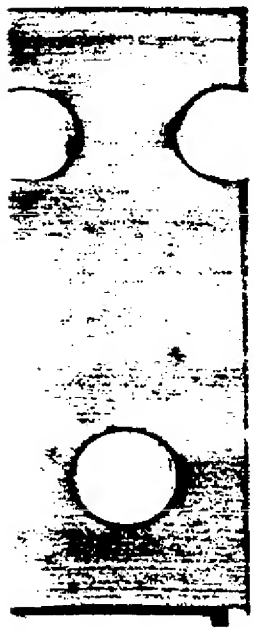
TO MAKE VICTORY more certain we submit willingly, for the duration of this war, to delegated authority arbitrarily administered, and give up, without complaint, rights and liberties that in times of peace distinguish free government from dictatorship.

BUT WAR, even when most justified for national defense and for the protection of our homes and our free institutions, brings with it conditions that we all regret. Among the most objectionable of these, even if unavoidable, is the very pronounced trend towards dictatorship and the break-down of free representative government.

THERE ARE other regrettable conditions that follow in war's trail which can be remedied only by good citizens uniting to overcome them. Among these is the reckless waste of the people's money in unnecessary, non-defense expenditures. Greedy political jobholders are opposing every effort to curtail such extravagance. A highly respected college president, who recently demanded of Congress a saving in non-defense expenditures of two billion dollars, has been denounced by a socialistic government jobholder as "A ring-leader in this economy drive."

EVEN IN defense expenditures we see revealed the sordid greed of "war contract brokers," tolerated and sometimes abetted by officials high in authority, under the pretense of promoting our country's welfare. Honest, tax-paying citizens, who are sacrificing at home and giving their sons to die for our country, should, in righteous





take over the telephone and telegraph systems during the war, which passed both Houses of Congress, that if our telephone and telegraph systems are taken over by the government under the provisions of this act they may never be returned to private ownership and operation.

WE MUST WIN this war at whatever cost. But what will it profit us if while winning it we lose those elements of our own American System which have contributed most to the freedom, prosperity, and happiness of our people from the founding of our nation down to the present time? If we permit free private enterprise to be swallowed up by government ownership and political management, free representative government will be lost.

THIS "Battle on the Home Front" can be won only by the cooperation of millions of right-thinking, tax-paying citizens. We must awaken all thoughtful Americans to the serious dangers mentioned above. Nor can we ignore the impending threat of inflation which would wreck our entire financial system, destroy the purchasing power of the dollar, and bring ruin to millions of American homes.

EVERY PERSON who has savings of any kind, including life insurance, investments, or other property, can well afford to contribute to the organized efforts of our Federation one dollar, five dollars, or possibly ten dollars or more, for his own protection and to help save private ownership of industry and property from threatened socialization.

LET US ACT NOW with earnestness and enthusiasm in combating conditions that are detrimental to our country and to the winning of this war, and be prepared when this terrible world conflict is over to demand the re-establishment of our American System as the only adequate recompense for our sacrifices and the staggering costs of victory.

Hugh S. Magill

PRESIDENT

THE PURPOSE

of

American Federation of Investors, Inc.

To uphold through organized effort our American System of free representative government and free private enterprise, and to safeguard the rights of investors in private enterprise, including security owners, life insurance policyholders, savings bank depositors, and all owners of private property.

I wish to cooperate in the Federation for the protection of my own interests and in support of the principles for which the Federation stands.

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- ☐ CONTRIBUTING MEMBERS, $5 A YEAR
- ☐ SUSTAINING MEMBERS, $10 OR MORE A YEAR

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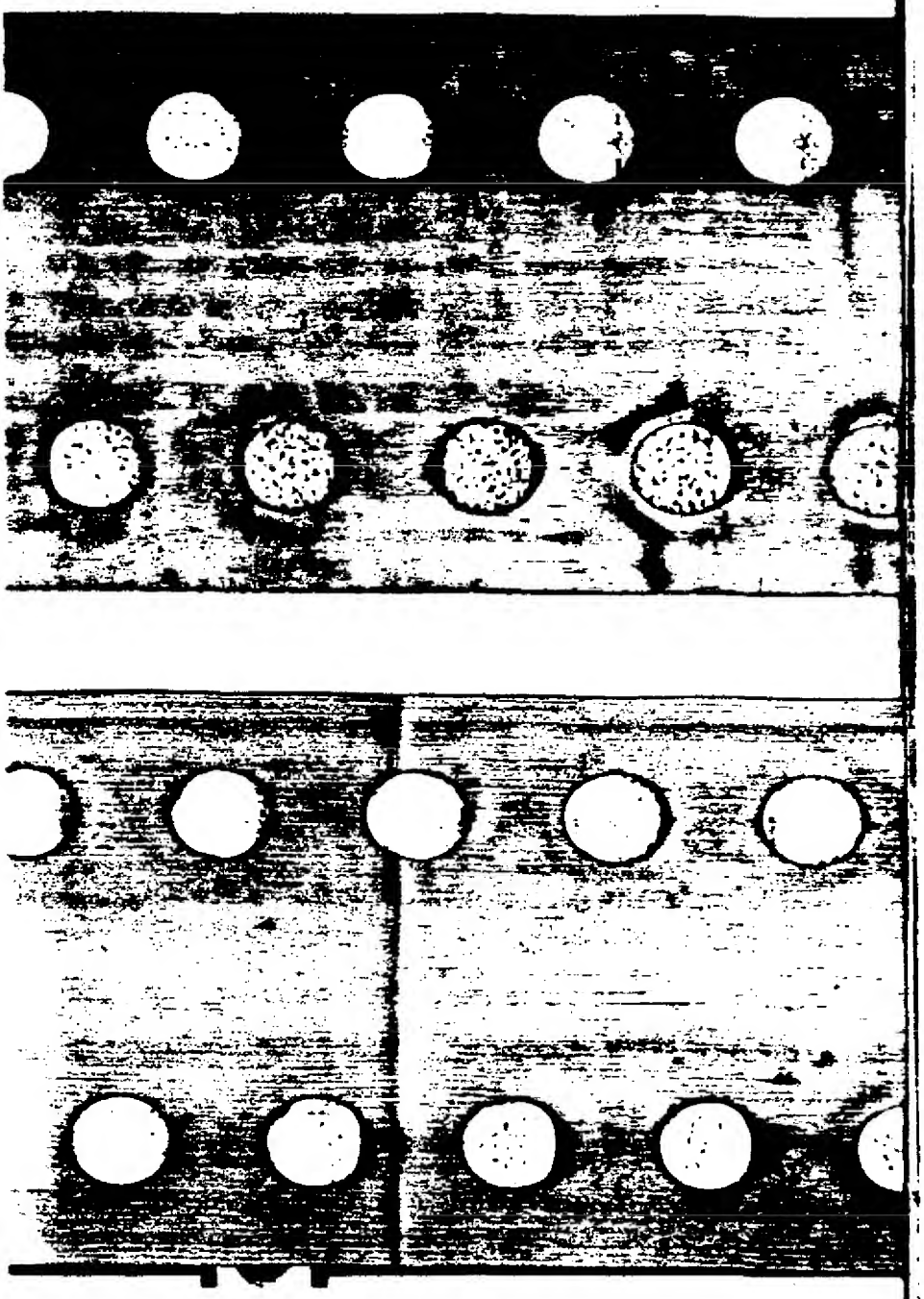

wrath, demand the complete suppression of such scandalous thievery.

ONE OF THE most dangerous and far-reaching conditions now developing is the stifling of individual freedom of action, and government control of all private industry. Thrifty, substantial citizens, engaged in small business and manufacturing enterprises, are even now finding it difficult to survive. This trend is definitely in the direction of National Socialism, the very system which Hitler declares he is fighting to establish throughout the world.

THIS SITUATION is fraught with grave danger because so many public officials, in positions of influence and authority, would make the socialization of private industry permanent. Whatever may be their motives, their efforts promote the extension and centralization of governmental authority, and the complete domination and ultimate destruction of all private enterprise and private ownership of industry and property.

LOOKING INTO the future, we feel confident that our country will emerge victorious from this great world conflict, but with private enterprise and all our free institutions completely subservient to administrative authority, established under war conditions. Such authority once granted is not readily given up. Those who have enjoyed such powers will fight to retain them. The vast throng of political jobholders and bureaucrats will cling to their jobs, supported by their political sponsors.

THIS SERIOUS THREAT to our American System is recognized by many industrial executives and prominent statesmen. Mr. Alfred P. Sloan, in an address delivered in Boston in January, declared that the problems of the post-war period will be even more difficult than those of winning the war, and that the longer the war lasts the more difficult will be the problem of getting back to our American system of free private enterprise.

SENATOR ROBERT A. TAFT predicted, during the debate in the United States Senate on the bill authorizing the President to

Federal Bureau of Investigation

United States Department of Justice

JRR/EAB

305 Realty Building
Savannah, Georgia
March 23, 1942

Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Re: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
INTERNAL SECURITY - G

Dear Sir:

Reference is made to Bureau letter of March 16, 1942.

A review of the files of the Savannah Field Division indicate that the America First Committee has not been active in the Savannah territory.

As a result, this case is being referred upon completion at this time to the office of origin at Chicago. The Agents of this division have been instructed to be on the alert to obtain information concerning the America First Committee along the lines of Bureau letter of March 16, 1942.

Very truly yours,

J. R. RUGGLES
Special Agent in Charge

cc: Chicago

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/14/96 BY SP2 [illegible]

COPY IN FILE

RECORDED
100-4712-313
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
1 MAR 25 1942
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

7 MAR 30 1942

ew York :ember 22, 1941

AMERICA FIRST INC. AFFAIRS

To say that the international affairs of this organization were in a turmoil would be putting it mildly.

In The Chicago area the "Fight for Freedom Committee" has set up a pretty fine organization to fight America First. On one side we find Colonel McCormick of the Chicago Tribune, Harry Jung, and the Dilling woman, and on the other side is Professor Albert Parry. The point is that the America First Committee is endeavoring to smear the Fight for Freedom group as being Communist. This has caused the America First group to search everywhere for any sort of evidence that they can find to belittle Parry and his cohorts.

10-16-90 SP6BTJ/cc

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* * *

In the New York area the situation is terrible simply because Lindbergh, and Senator Nye, have started their open attack on the Jews. All of the Jewish money that was forthcoming to the America First has practically stopped and the suspicion is that about the only funds they are getting in from some big source possibly comes from Colonel Pew, the executive head of the Sun Oil Company.

INDEXED

100-4712-314

It is understood that John T. Flynn, the New York leader among the Catholics and the America First, has served an ultimatum on the New York committee that if Lindbergh does not resign he will then resign the New York chapter chairmanship. Norman Thomas is reported to have given the National Committee two weeks for Lindbergh to resign or he will stop his talking

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OCT 22 1941

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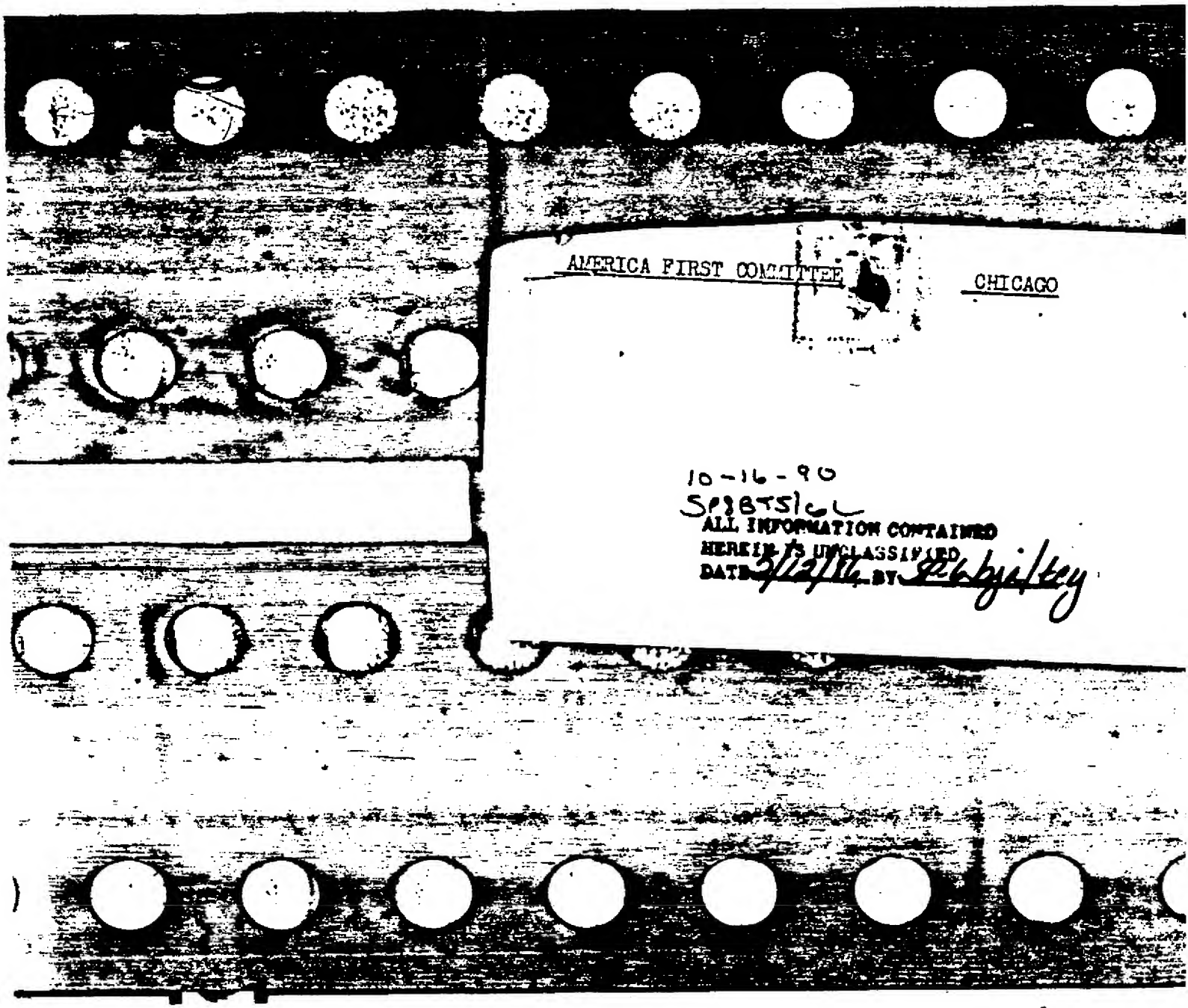
tour for the committee. Every Jewish group in New York from the very lowest has received instructions to "crack down" on America First, and this is going to cause a repercussion that may do more harm to the Lindbergh crowd than anything that has come up of late.

Dorothy Dunbar Bromley, the noted liberal writer, has resigned from the committee and now it appears as though Kathryn Lewis and Mrs. Burton K. Wheeler are really the whips of the organization. Flynn flew to Chicago and had a "rough-house show-down" with the National Committee last week, but as yet the committee has not changed its attitude in connection with Lindbergh.


AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
CHICAGO
10-16-90
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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/23/94 BY SP6bjs/tcy

b7c

RECORDED 100-[illegible]-315 April 11, 1942

Special Agent in Charge
Chicago, Illinois

10-16-90 SP8T3/10C

Re: America First Committee;
Internal Security - C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 3/22/91 BY [illegible]

Dear Sir:

Reference is made to Bureau letter to all Special Agents in Charge dated March 16, 1942 in the above entitled matter.

Information has been received from an unknown outside source that the former America First Committee in the eastern part of the United States allegedly under the leadership of followers of Father Charles E. Coughlin is soon to form a new organization. This organization reportedly will receive the approval of John L. Lewis. The comment is made that Lewis, head of the United Mine Workers—C.I.O. for the past few weeks, has been receiving praise from the followers of Father Coughlin.

It is alleged that reports out of the C.I.O. headquarters in Washington, D. C., indicate that the America First Committee has divided the United States into districts; revised all of its mailing lists, and has made arrangements with other groups who can be classified tentatively as pro-Nazi for an exchange of mailing lists. This arrangement is stated to now be in effect and the mailing lists are being carefully handled so that the matter will not be brought to the attention of the authorities and a subsequent investigation initiated.

b2D

[redacted]

RECORDED-[illegible]

The above material is being submitted for your information and assistance in complying with the request in reference Bureau letter and you should be especially alert to [illegible] the America First Committee is making available its mailing list to other groups whose loyalty to this country may be subject to question.

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED
★ APR 13 1942 P.M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

b7c

[redacted]

CC - Detroit

AMERICA FIRST

New York, Dec. 30, 1941

We are more convinced than ever that the America First group in the east under the leadership of the Coughlin followers are soon to come out with a new outfit, and when they do they are going to receive the blessings of John L. Lewis on the quiet. Lewis had been receiving praise from the Coughlin following for the past five weeks, and this praise is being used in almost every section of the country. According to reports out of the CIO at Washington the group has carefully set up the country into districts; they have revised all of the mailing lists, and in addition they have made arrangements with other groups who can be classified as pro-Nazi for an exchange of a mailing list. This arrangement is now in effect, and many of these Pro-Nazi groups such as were contained in the letter we recently sent in are circularizing so-called patriots with the sale of literature, etc. These lists are not being carelessly handed because of the fear that some may demand it a government investigation of their activities, but out of Chicago we learned that America First and their co-called supporting groups now have a secret mailing list of eight million four hundred and seventy-six thousand names of people in this country. A vast number of this list, of course, are on the west coast, and lately a great many of the foreign speaking groups have been circularized and there is no doubt but what certain sections of names from the major list has been used in sending out this mail.

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100-4712-315
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

AMERICA FIRST, INC.

10-16-80
SP 8BTJ/cal

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 9/27/80 SP 8BTJ/cal

New York, Jan. 14, 1942

The America First underground organization, under the leadership of Charles A. Lindbergh, is being formed. First evidence of this is two secret meetings at t homes of persons high in the America First organization.

In the middle of last month, on December 17th, more than 50 persons were pre at 10 Beekman Place, home of an America First leader, reportedly that of Edwin A. Webster, Jr., former New York secretary of America First and Wall Street banker of Kidder, Peabody and Company, to hear Charles A. Lindbergh counsel the continuation an America First type of organization. Another meeting, held a few days before in an apartment on lower Park Avenue, was sponsored by a woman who was one of the New heads of Women United, America First auxiliary. It is understood that these are t first of a series of house parties which will keep alive America First contacts.

The meeting at the Beekman Place address was a dinner given for the members the speakers' bureau of America First. Those present were the minor sub-leaders o the America First group, borough heads, district heads and leading speakers. Lindb was an "unexpected treat" for the assemblage. Although he had not come prepared t speak, according to the host, the ex-Colonel, who now has applied for readmittance into the U. S. air force, stood up and spoke for an hour. According to informatio received, the flyer made it clear that events in the Pacific had no effect on his previous charge that the Administration's policies had involved this country in a w As far as the Pacific was concerned, Lindbergh said that Britain was responsible, a that she should have joined with Germany in destroying the yellow danger and bolshevism. If such a move had been made, it would have put America and Britain i a better position to fight Japan.

APR 1 1942 RECORDED INDEXED

100-4A-2-376
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
MAR 28 1942
U. S.

Bruce Oliver, radio commentator for the Friends of Democracy, headed by Dr. L. M. Birkhead, speaking over the radio during the week that just passed, without mentioning Lindbergh's name or the home in which the meeting took place, charged that a "famous leader who now seeks a place within the U. S. Army, had said: 'America First should be on the alert to take advantage of the reactions which will come when the lists of missing and the dead and the wounded begin to appear, for it is then that the American people' -- of course he meant the American people who can be swayed by the fascist flag appeal -- 'will be made to understand how they have been betrayed by the British and the Administration'."

The meeting, held at the lower Park Avenue address, discussed the formation of a new organization with a more open anti-Semitic program than the America First Committee utilized. Present at the meeting were persons active in Women United, an America First auxiliary, and an editor of a small financial magazine who has spread the forged Protocols of Zion.

The propaganda tactics of the former appeasement group is made clear by Father Coughlin, and also by Merwin K. Hart, in whose offices have been hatched many pro-fascist groups. In a letter to the New York Times of January 6, Hart violently attacks the proposal of any union with the other democracies. This is in line with Coughlin's incitements against Britain, and the statement that we must think first of our defense only.

The Coordinating Committee for Democratic Action has revealed that appeasement propaganda in this country was spurred after the fall of France by a group which met shortly after that date in the office of Hart. Present at the meeting were William R. Castle, Hoover's under-secretary of state, former Senator Rush Holt, Father Talbot, editor of [redacted] and Charles Lindbergh. Today, Hart sounds the new "new" line.

4-750 (Rev. 12-14-88)

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FBI/DOJ

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice

445 Federal Building
Little Rock, Arkansas
March 26, 1942

Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

10-16-90
SP8BTJ/COL

RE: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
INTERNAL SECURITY - G

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 3/12/96 BY SP6bjt
2/24/97 SP8BTJ/RBB

#249,862

Dear Sir:

Reference is made to Bureau letter dated March 16, 1942, addressed to all Special Agents in Charge concerning the present activities of the American First Committee. On page 3 of this letter, it is noted that the Bureau has suggested that confidential informants be used wherever possible, and that possibly individuals who were formerly active in this Committee may be utilized in such capacity.

In this connection, Special Agent [redacted] now assigned to this office, has advised me as follows:

During the spring of 1941, Special Agent [redacted] and Special Agent [redacted] both of whom were then assigned to the Newark Field Division, were engaged in investigation in a case involving [redacted]. These individuals were names [redacted] and [redacted]-INTERNAL SECURITY - G. During this investigation, Special Agents [redacted] and [redacted] contacted [redacted]

He became, so he said, a great admirer of the Bureau during the course of this investigation and related to Special Agents [redacted] and [redacted] that he was very active during May of 1941 in the affairs of the American First Committee in the vicinity of New York City. [redacted]

He stated that he was somewhat of an isolationist, and a great admirer of CHARLES A. LINDBERGH, but that above everything else, he was a loyal citizen of the United States and would do anything in his power to

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FBI-PAL
MAR 30 1942

RECORDED & INDEXED

assist our government.

In view of the above statements by [redacted] b7D it is suggested that the Bureau may desire to review the file of this matter and advise the New York Field Division of this informant's identity in order that he may be considered for a possible source of information in the present inquiry being undertaken concerning the America First Committee.

Very truly yours,

FRED HALLFORD
Special Agent in Charge

[redacted]
100-555

b7C

4-750 (Rev. 12-14-88)

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CONFIDENTIAL

RECORDED 100-4712-32

March 16, 1942

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. HOOVER
TOLSON
TAMM, E. A.
CLEGG
GLAVIN
LADD
NICHOLS
ROSEN
TRACY
ALDEN
CARSON
COFFEY
CUNNINGHAM
EGAN
FITCH
HARBO
HENDON
HINCE
HOLLOMAN
KIMBALL
KRAMER
LAUGHLIN, R. H.
McGUIRE
MEASE
PATTERSON
PENNINGTON
RENNEBERGER
SKOUSEN
STRICKLAND
TAMM, Q.
TIMM
TRAYNOR
AND SUPERVISORS

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Declassify on: OADR 9/14/91
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DECLASSIFIED BY 8123 mcm/tdy
ON 8/14/91
per Army letter dated 5/29/91

RE: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
INTERNAL SECURITY - G

5/15/98 SLC by
Classified by
Declassify on: OADR

SP8B1COL 10-16-90

Dear Sir:

For the immediate investigative attention of all offices, there are attached hereto copies of a summary memorandum prepared by the Bureau, dated February 13, 1942, regarding the America First Committee.

In addition to the information set forth therein, reports have recently been received indicating that members of the America First Committee entertain the hope that the Committee may again become a political force; that they are biding their time in contemplation of this eventuality, despite the fact that the organization ostensibly concluded its activities following the entrance of the United States into the war. It has been reported that the Committee has gone underground under the leadership of Charles A. Lindbergh.

With regard to Lindbergh, information was received from the Military Intelligence Division, Washington, D. C., that on December 17, 1941, he addressed a dinner meeting of individuals who had been associated with the America First Committee, assembled at the home of Edwin S. Webster, Jr., 35 Beekman Street, New York City. Webster was the New York Secretary of the America First Committee.

On this occasion Lindbergh is reported to have stated that for years America has been speaking of the "Yellow Peril," yet we are now fighting on the side of the Russians and Chinese. He is stated to have appeared discouraged with the United States Government on account of the fact that, in his opinion, it has no plan nor does it

FOLDER # 62-2252
APPEAL #
CIVIL ACT. #
R.O. 62-2252
Date 9/16/92 INITIALS SLC

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAY 19 1942
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

know for what it is fighting. (S-1)(C) CONFIDENTIAL

With further regard to the remarks made by Lindbergh on December 17, 1941, it was stated that he remarked there is only one danger in the world, namely, the yellow danger; that China and Japan in reality are allied against the white race; and that Germany itself could have been used as a weapon against this alliance. He is reported to have said that the ideal program would have included Germany's taking over Russia and Poland, in collaboration with the British, as a bloc against the yellow race and Bolshevism but that "the British and the fools in Washington had to interfere." Further, he is stated to have said that the British envied the Germans and wanted to rule the world; that Britain is the real cause of all the trouble in the world today. (C)(S-1)(C)

Lindbergh is reported to have pointed out that the America First Committee cannot, of course, be active now but that it should be on the alert for the time when the American people, by reason of the lists of the missing and statements of war losses, realize that they have been betrayed by the British and the Administration. He is indicated to have stated that then the America First Committee can again become a political force; that it must remain quiet for a while and await the time soon when the Committee can advocate a negotiated peace. (C)(S-1)(C)

[redacted] b2D

Further, it has been reported that a series of house parties are to keep alive contacts of the America First Committee and that the backbone of the Committee, particularly in the East under the leadership of the followers of Reverend Charles E. Coughlin, is soon to come out with a new organization.

Numerous other reports from unverified sources have indicated that the America First Committee, at least in some sections of the country, intends to continue operation or maintain such contact that will permit its open activities at some time in the future. The known national leaders of the America First Committee have officially announced the disbanding of the organization, and it is evident that certain groups and individuals who apparently intend to continue the activities of the America First Committee are doing so without the knowledge or consent of the former national organization. These individuals are apparently taking advantage of the organization already established to retain a nuclei which may later possibly be used in a way detrimental to the present war effort. It is this particular situation that should be the subject of investigation in each field office district.

CONFIDENTIAL

Definite efforts should be made to determine whether the America First Committee is possibly being kept alive and in operation by individuals and groups who may plan at some time in the future using the organization in a manner detrimental to the internal security of this country. The investigation along these lines should be immediately initiated following a review of the files in your office for background information, and should be made in a discreet manner so as to cause no undue publicity.

CONFIDENTIAL

It is suggested that confidential informants be used where possible and in some instances the cooperation of sincere isolationists, who formerly were active in this Committee and who now realize the necessity for an all out national defense, may possibly be utilized. Approaches to persons who were formerly connected with the America First Committee should be very discreet and should only be made after it has reasonably been ascertained that they are not a part of the underground organization now functioning. To follow any other line of procedure would be fatal to an effective investigation along the lines set out hereinbefore.

The primary purpose of the inquiries at this time is to ascertain whether the structure set up by the America First Committee is now being used by foreign interests, or by individuals cooperating with foreign interests, in such a manner as to interfere with the national defense effort.

As the Bureau comes into the possession of information of interest to the individual field offices, it will be transmitted to the interested office for attention.

It is my desire that this case be placed in a preferential investigative status, in view of the fact that the Attorney General has approved this inquiry and will be interested in any pertinent information along the lines suggested.

The Chicago Field Division is to be considered the office of origin in all reports, in view of the fact that the national headquarters of the America First Committee before disbanding was located in that city.

The Bureau should be kept advised of any significant developments indicating that the America First Committee is operating as an underground organization inimical to this country.

Very truly yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover

4-750 (Rev. 12-14-88)

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
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☐ (b)(5)	☐ (b)(9)	☐ (k)(6)
☐ (b)(6)		☐ (k)(7)

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INDEXED

CONFIDENTIAL

March 16, 1942

[redacted]

SAC ALBANY	DETROIT	MEMPHIS	PROVIDENCE
ATLANTA	EL PASO	MIAMI	RICHMOND
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CHARLOTTE	JACKSON	NORFOLK	SAN FRANCISCO
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DENVER	LOS ANGELES	PITTSBURGH	SPRINGFIELD
DES MOINES	LOUISVILLE	PORTLAND	WASHINGTON, D. C.
			QUANTICO

RE: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
INTERNAL SECURITY - G

Dear Sir:

For the immediate investigative attention of all offices, there are attached hereto copies of a summary memorandum prepared by the Bureau, dated February 13, 1942, regarding the America First Committee.

In addition to the information set forth therein, reports have recently been received indicating that members of the America First Committee entertain the hope that the Committee may again become a political force; that they are biding their time in contemplation of this eventuality, despite the fact that the organization ostensibly concluded its activities following the entrance of the United States into the war. It has been reported that the Committee has gone underground under the leadership of Charles A. Lindbergh.

With regard to Lindbergh, information was received from the Military Intelligence Division, Washington, D. C., that on December 17, 1941, Lindbergh addressed a dinner meeting of individuals who had been associated with the America First Committee, assembled at the home of Edwin S. Webster, Jr., 35 Beekman Street, New York City. Webster was the New York Secretary of the America First Committee.

On this occasion Lindbergh is reported to have stated that America has been speaking of the "Yellow Peril," yet we are now fighting on the side of the Russians and Chinese. He is stated to have appeared discouraged with the United States Government on account of the fact that, in his opinion, it has no plan nor does

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COMMUNICATIONS SECTION MAR 16 1942 P.M.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

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know for what it is fighting. (S-NR)

With further regard to the remarks made by Lindbergh on December 19, 1941, it was stated that he remarked there is only one danger in the world, namely, the yellow danger; that China and Japan in reality are allied against the white race; and that Germany itself could have been used as a weapon against this alliance. He is reported to have said that the ideal program would have included Germany's taking over Russia and Poland, in collaboration with the British, as a bloc against the yellow race and Bolshevism but that "the British and the fools in Washington had to interfere." Further, he is stated to have said that the British envied the Germans and wanted to rule the world; that Britain is the real cause of all the trouble in the world today. (S-1)(C)

Lindbergh is reported to have pointed out that the America First Committee cannot, of course, be active now but that it should be on the alert for the time when the American people, by reason of the lists of the missing and statements of war losses, realize that they have been betrayed by the British and the Administration. He is indicated to have stated that then the America First Committee can again become a political force; that it must remain quiet for a while and await the time soon when the Committee can advocate a negotiated peace. (S-1)(C)

[redacted] b7D

Further, it has been reported that a series of house parties are to keep alive contacts of the America First Committee and that the backbone of the Committee, particularly in the East under the leadership of the followers of Reverend Charles E. Coughlin, is soon to come out with a new organization.

Numerous other reports from unverified sources have indicated that the America First Committee, at least in some sections of the country, intends to continue operation or maintain such contact that will permit its open activities at some time in the future. The known national leaders of the America First Committee have officially announced the disbanding of the organization, and it is evident that certain groups and individuals who apparently intend to continue the activities of the America First Committee are doing so without the knowledge or consent of the former national organization. These individuals are apparently taking advantage of the organization already established to retain a nuclei which may later possibly be used in a way detrimental to the present war effort. It is this particular situation that should be the subject of investigation in each field office district.

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Definite efforts should be made to determine whether the America First Committee is possibly being kept alive and in operation by individuals and groups who may plan at some time in the future using the organization in a manner detrimental to the internal security of this country. The investigation along these lines should be immediately initiated following a review of the files in your office for background information, and should be made in a discreet manner so as to cause no undue publicity.

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It is suggested that confidential informants be used where possible and in some instances the cooperation of sincere isolationists, who formerly were active in this Committee and who now realize the necessity for an all out national defense, may possibly be utilized. Approaches to persons who were formerly connected with the America First Committee should be very discreet and should only be made after it has reasonably been ascertained that they are not a part of the underground organization now functioning. To follow any other line of procedure would be fatal to an effective investigation along the lines set out hereinbefore.

The primary purpose of the inquiries at this time is to ascertain whether the structure set up by the America First Committee is now being used by foreign interests, or by individuals cooperating with foreign interests, in such a manner as to interfere with the national defense effort.

As the Bureau comes into the possession of information of interest to the individual field offices, it will be transmitted to the interested office for attention.

It is my desire that this case be placed in a preferential investigative status, in view of the fact that the Attorney General has approved this inquiry and will be interested in any pertinent information along the lines suggested.

The Chicago Field Division is to be considered the office of origin in all reports, in view of the fact that the national headquarters of the America First Committee before disbanding was located in that city.

The Bureau should be kept advised of any significant developments indicating that the America First Committee is operating as an underground organization inimical to this country.

Very truly yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Enclosure

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

FORM NO. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT PHILADELPHIA, PA. FILE NO. 100-2651 [redacted]

REPORT MADE AT	DATE WHEN MADE	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE	REPORT MADE BY
PHILADELPHIA, PA.	4/1/42	10/31/41 - 3/24/42	[redacted]

TITLE
O AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

CHARACTER OF CASE
INTERNAL SECURITY (X) G

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS: File review reflects America First Committee dissolved an[redacted]

b7C
b7D

R 10-16-90 SP8B5/COL
X INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 7-14-92 BY SP6 byelteg

C

EDITION

RECEIVED b7C

REFERENCE: Report of Special Agent [redacted] dated 10/23/41 at Philadelphi

Letter to Bureau from the Philadelphia Field Division dated 2/23/42.

DETAILS: Under date of September 30, 1941, a report was submitted to the Philadelphia Field Office concerning [redacted]

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b7C
b7D

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: J. Sears SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

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282

APR 4 1942

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☐ (b)(4)	☐ (b)(8)	☐ (k)(5)
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PHILADELPHIA, PA. FILE NO. 100-2651

[redacted] b7D

A check of the Philadelphia indices reflects that [redacted] b7

[redacted] who is presently the subject of the investigation being conducted by the Philadelphia Office under Philadelphia File No. 65-1654 . Investigation of [redacted] reflects that he is an Isolationist, and that comments in [redacted] follow along the lines of those who are members of the America First Committee.

[redacted]

[redacted] b7D

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☐ (b)(5)	☐ (b)(9)	☐ (k)(6)
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The Philadelphia indices reflect that [redacted] Philadelphia, Pa., is presently the subject of an espionage investigation under Philadelphia File No. 65-624. Information is reflected in this file that [redacted] was formerly the [redacted] and that during the time that the German Consulate was opened in Philadelphia that [redacted] maintained the highest degree of friendship with [redacted] the German Consul and his assistant respectively.

b7C

The Philadelphia indices of the Philadelphia Office reflect that [redacted] is the subject of an espionage investigation under Philadelphia File No. 65-1111; and that, subsequent to the time that the United States went to war with Japan, [redacted] was apprehended and interned as an undesirable alien. [redacted] was a member of the following German clubs in Philadelphia and vicinity: [redacted]

The name of [redacted] appears as the subject of an espionage investigation in the Philadelphia Field Division under File No. 65-145. He is reported to be extremely pro-Nazi and in sympathy with the present movement of Hitler being conducted in Europe.

[redacted] is presently the subject of investigation in the Philadelphia Office under File No. 61-126 entitled "Mothers and Daughters of Pennsylvania". She was recently subpoenaed by the Dies Committee to appear before a Congressional hearing in Washington, D. C. She is reported to anti-Communistic and anti-Nazi.

[redacted] is reported to associate with one [redacted] and to assist the latter in distribution of Nazi literature and propaganda in Philadelphia.

The name of [redacted] appears in Philadelphia File No. 100-2651 in which he is the subject of an "Internal Security (G)" investigation of the Philadelphia Office. According to information contained in this file, he is [redacted] He is also mentioned in numerous other files of the Philadelphia Field Office.

b7C

The name of [redacted] appears in Philadelphia File No. 100-[redacted] in which he is the subject of an "Internal Security (G)" investigation presently being conducted by this office. This file reflects that he is a German sympathizer and is apparently receiving German literature mailed from Philadelphia, and that his name also appears on [redacted]

b7D

b7C Special Agent [redacted] found in his personally-owned automobile on 10/31/41 a piece of literature entitled "People of America", which is quoted as follows:

"Today we stand at a momentous cross-road of world history. As the armies of the Nazi gansters sweep nearer and nearer to America, the necessity for united and tremendous effort becomes clearer. Yet, at this very time, a small group of native fascists have launched a campaign to divide and confuse the American people. Their purpose is obvious--they want Hitler to win. But their methods are subtle. They cry peace but they want war--against the American people instead of Hitler. Their game is to persuade Americans to aid Hitler, by allowing him to cut off his enemies one by one.

"John L. Spivak, America's ace reporter and investigator of subversive activities, has written a startling expose of these fascist sympathizers. They hide behind the patriotic slogan of 'America First,' but their activities are directed against America and toward making Germany first!

"The evidence shows that 'America First' is controlled by seven wealthy industrialists and financiers who are known to be pro-Fascist and anti-Labor. The atmosphere of the national office is one of secrecy and conspiratorial plotting. The organization works with notorious fascists like Merwin K. Hart and Harry Jung. They have collected over $1,000,000 and refuse to deny that a large part of it has come thru Nazi channels. Notorious anti-Semites are its official

[redacted] speakers; Henry Ford's private office files and catalogues Lindbergh's mail [redacted] keeps lists of prospects.' The owners of Scribner's Commentator, their [redacted] magazine, are pro-Fascists whose dealings with Nazi emissaries have [redacted] exposed.

"This is 'America First.' Nazis and anti-Semites run it, subsidize it, speak for it, write for it. Gauleiter Lindbergh of the Nazi medal is its official spokesman. Senators Wheeler, Clark, and Nye are its Washington agents. And YOU AMERICANS are expected to be their dupes—tools of this Nazi gang!"

"READ THE 'NEW MASSES' FOR THE COMPLETE EXPOSE INCLUDING PHOTOSTATS OF THE DOCUMENTS!"

"WIRE YOUR CONGRESSMAN TO INVESTIGATE THIS FASCIST OUTFIT!" "OUST THE APPEASERS FROM OFFICE TO DEFEAT HITLER AT HOME AND ABROAD!"

"READ THE DAILY AND SUNDAY WORKER FOR TRUE AND ACCURATE REPORTING!"

"Section #8 Branch #7 Communist Party of Philadelphia"

b2
b7D On November 21, 1941 [redacted] whose identity is known to the Bureau, corresponded with the Philadelphia Office and advised them that the America First Committee ran a two-column advertisement in the "Courtier Post", Camden, New Jersey, on November 13, 1941; and that the gist of the advertisement was that the only way to "halt the march of the war makers" was to communicate immediately with Congressmen, expressing desire that they vote against the repeal of the Neutrality Act. The name of [redacted] was mentioned.
b7C

The following information is contained in a memorandum of this file dated November 28, 1941, submitted by Special Agent [redacted]
b7C

"The Philadelphia Bulletin for November 17, 1941, carries the following article:

'Failure of President Roosevelt to get a majority of more than eighteen votes for the amendment to the Neutrality Act 'is a plain sign of mounting opposition to the policies and methods of his personal government', ISAAC A. PENNYPACKER, Chairman of the America First Committee in Philadelphia, said today.'"

On January 15, 1942, it was ascertained from a strictly confidential source and by the Special Agent in Charge, J. F. SEARS, that [redacted]
b7D

A search of the indices of the Philadelphia Field Office reflects that [redacted]
b7C

PHILADELPHIA, PA. FILE NO. 100-3452

[redacted] name is mentioned in Serial Number 200-54-1268, 1205, 1692; 200-[redacted]-42-0-3456, 3457. A review of these files does not reflect any information which would be pertinent in this case.

b7C [redacted] is reflected in file number 61-55-104, 185. A review of this file does not reflect any information concerning this individual that would be pertinent to this case.

The remaining names which were mentioned in paragraph three on page nine of reference report of Special Agent [redacted] dated 10/23/42 at Philadelphia do not appear in the indices of the Philadelphia Office.

b2 b2D [redacted] submitted the following information which was taken from an article which appeared in the Philadelphia Herold on January 31, 1942 on page four, and its substance is as follows:

It is pointed out that while the America First Committee dissolved, another organization, whose name used to be Citizens Keep America Out of War Committee and that later changed the name to Citizens Committee, will continue to work.

Quoting from a resolution by this committee, the writer states that we should no longer share our resources with other countries but see to it that we get the use of our resources first. At the same time he suggests that not only the soldiers and their mothers, but everyone in the nation should make sacrifices. He warns against war profiteering and states that the new taxes which are higher than ever before may help to prevent war profiteering.

The writer of this article finally points out that the Americans must admit, as much as they hate Nazism, that they have imitated many of the Nazi methods and ideas, one of them being--no profit for the individual out of war; no blood money.

It is pointed out that the Philadelphia Herold is a paper which is printed in the German language [redacted]

b7C [redacted] This organization is the subject of an investigation in the Philadelphia Field Division and is reported to be an official organ of the German-American Bund.

Inasmuch as the America First Committee has dissolved, no further investigation is being conducted in this case; and, on the authority of the Special Agent in Charge, this case is being closed.

- C. I. & E. D. -

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WAR DEPARTMENT
WAR DEPARTMENT GENERAL STAFF
MILITARY INTELLIGENCE SERVICE, G-2
WASHINGTON, D. C.

APR 3 1942

Subject: Letter of transmittal.

To: Lt. Col. J. Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Department of Justice

The attached communications are forwarded for your information and such action as you consider advisable.

For the Chief, Military Intelligence Service:

John T. Bissell

J. T. BISSELL
Colonel, General Staff,
Asst. Executive Officer, M. I. S.

1 Enclosure:

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
APR 6 1942
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

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FBI b7c

9 APR 14 1942

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WAR DEPARTMENT

MID 201 America First Committee 3/11/42

M.I.D. MIS/CI JTP

March 31, 1942
(Date)

Subject: America First Committee Activities

Summary of Information:

Information has been received from a confidential reliable source as follows:

Under date of September 22d, 1941, a telephone operator, had placed through several long distance telephone calls of the America First Committee to other cities at the time of the Lindbergh speech in Oklahoma City. She became acquainted with a man whose last name is Foulis (first name unknown) and who is one of the field representatives of the America First Committee. She stated that several of the telephone calls of Foulis to other Committee members were unintelligible which led her to believe that they were in code.

Before Lindbergh was to make his speech in Oklahoma City, Foulis turned over to the telephone operator his locked brief case which seemed to be crammed full of material, to keep for him as he thought that the FBI was on his trail. Other persons telephoned by Foulis included Richard Jeffrey and Joe Palmer Etheridge, both of whose addresses are unknown.

The Tulsa Police Department furnished a report dated October 28, 1941, advising that there was practically no activity in that area on the part of this Committee at that time. It was stated that the Chairman of this Committee, a Mack Shrodes, Tulsa, is violently anti-New Deal and it was felt that Shrodes would not do anything against this country.

Mrs. Eugenie Howard is Secretary of the Tulsa Organization and her sister, Mrs. Ella Cessel is Treasurer. Both are natives of the state of Nebraska and have resided in Tulsa for many years. It is believed that they are pacifists and are not un-American.

Declassified per Army letter dated 5/29/91 8/23 mch/ltr 8/13/91

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Evaluation

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X Reliable	X
Credible	
Questionable	
Undetermined	

[redacted]

b7c

Special Agent in Charge
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

RE: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 10-16-90 SP8BT5/cal

Dear Sir:

Reference is made to Bureau letter to all Special Agents in Charge dated March 16, 1942, in the above-captioned matter.

For your information there are enclosed herewith copies of an article entitled "America Firster Fans Blaze of Ersatz Anti-Labor Fire," which appeared in the PM Daily, New York City, on March 24, 1942, and dealing with the activities of Mack Schrodes of Tulsa, Oklahoma.

This article is being furnished to you in view of the possibility that Schrodes may be active in extending the policies of the America First Committee or attempting to revive this organization.

Any inquiries should be made under the procedure outlined in reference Bureau letter to all Special Agents in Charge.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Holloman
Mr. McGuire
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease

12 APR 11 1942

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APR 2 1942 P.M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Enclosure

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100-47123-323

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
18 APR 6 1942
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

b7c

THE NATION

America Firster Fans Blaze Of Ersatz Anti-Labor Fire

Mack Schrodes, Lindbergh Admirer Last August, Staged Meeting in Tulsa to Frame Protest Against Overtime Pay

By L. F. Stro[illegible]
PM Staff Reporter

WASHINGTON, Mar. 24.—At least one America First leader is playing a part in the ersatz "prairie fire" rolling up against labor from the Southwest.

He is Mack Schrodes, of Tulsa, Okla.

Schrodes helped organize the anti-labor mass meeting held in Tulsa last Wednesday.

Last August he tried to get Lindbergh to speak in Tulsa instead of Oklahoma City.

Schrodes was then chairman of the Tulsa chapter of the America First Committee.

The link between the two movements, discovered by this correspondent in a check over the few Oklahoma papers available at the Library of Congress, tends to confirm a suspicion widely held in official and labor circles here and one which will be investigated by the Truman Committee.

This suspicion has been voiced twice in the last few days.

William Green, AFL president, asked the Military Affairs Subcommittee of the [illegible] Committee last week to find out whether the America First crowd was behind the campaign against extra [illegible]

[illegible], the new Wage-Hour Administrator, charged that "the Nazi [illegible] is behind this whole [illegible] with wage and hour [illegible] not cite chapter and [illegible] pers have been [illegible]

[illegible] ing would [illegible] independent [illegible] played by

Sponsored Mass Meeting

The first reference to Schrodes was found in last Tuesday's issue of the Tulsa *Tribune*. He was among those who signed the call for the Wage-Hour Law mass meeting in Tulsa.

The call said:

"Knowing that our country is in great danger both from within and without, the undersigned citizens of Tulsa issue this call for a mass meeting . . . to consider and adopt resolutions to be sent to Congressmen, Senators and to the President, demanding the stopping of strikes in industries, which should be working 24 hours per day in the making of guns, planes, tanks, ships, powder and other weapons for the defense of this Nation, and for the defeat of our powerful and advancing enemies: the suspension of the law that forces a 40-hour work week, and demanding the redress of other slave grievances . . .

The previous connection of Schrodes with America First appeared in Oklahoma newspaper stories at the time of the Lindbergh meeting.

One Tulsa newspaper man also figured in those stories.

The Tulsa *World* of Aug. 30 reported

PM DAILY
Page 11

MAR 24 1942

[redacted]

Ltr to Okla City - 4/1/42 bmc

[redacted]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 10-16-90 BY SP6T5/LCL

[redacted]

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT Chicago, Illinois FILE NO. 100-1800

REPORT MADE AT	DATE WHEN MADE	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE	REPORT MADE BY
Portland, Oregon	4-2-42	3-27,28,30-'42	[redacted]

TITLE	CHARACTER OF CASE
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE	INTERNAL SECURITY - C

DECLASSIFIED BY SP2 STC/cc
ON 10-16-90

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SYNOPSIS OF FACTS: Files reviewed and pertinent information set out. Same reflects speakers with pro-[redacted] Facist tendencies have addressed meetings of instant organization prior to present war.

-P-

REFERENCE: Bureau letter to all SACs dated March 16, 1942.

DETAILS: AT PORTLAND, OREGON

Information contained herein has been obtained from a review of the files of the Portland Field Division which information is contained wholly in newspaper articles printed by the local press. No active investigation has as yet been conducted by this office concerning the past or present activities of the America First Committee.

On March 2, 1941 MAURICE O'CONNER, an investment banker from Chicago, Illinois, in a statement contained in the "Oregonian" of March 2, 1941 indicated that he was visiting Portland in the interests of the America First Committee for the purpose of holding conferences with a number of Portlanders who were actively interested in the work of the Committee. O'CONNER indicated that he was a volunteer worker. He further stated to the press that the America First Committee figured that it was on the right track when it talked pro-Americanism and he indicated that he felt very strongly on the subject and believed in going out and doing something about it. He further indicated that the committee was definitely not "anti" anything and was very definitely not pacifists. His further statement revealed that in his opinion eighty-five percent of the people in this country were with the America First Committee and the other fifteen percent seemed to want to take actions that would push

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10 APR 14 1942 RM:lmk

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Cy. 9 Para graph 3 Cont.
Cy 10 Reclassified per Navy letter dtd 7/25/91 8123 mch ltr 8/16/91

the country into war. O'CONNER furnished the local press with a statement signed by General ROBERT E. WOOD, the acting national chairman of the organization which set forth that the "America First Committee believes that the United States must build an impregnable defense for America; that no foreign power or group of powers can successfully attack a prepared America; that American democracy can be preserved only by keeping out of the European war."

"And that the cash and carry provision of the existing neutrality act are essential to American peace and security. Aid to a belligerent, beyond the limits of the Act, weakens our defense at home and may involve us in war abroad. Any change in the law to permit American vessels to enter the combat zone would inevitably plunge the country into Europe's war".

O'CONNER concluded by stating that the American people are keenly interested in international affairs and that he was limiting his contact to friends who were already in the organization. He advised that he was neither a promoter nor an organizer and emphatically denied that either he or his organization were in any way connected with the VERN MARSHALL group or any other group. According to O'CONNER the state of Oregon was being organized by people in Oregon and the Oregon headquarters were to be in Portland.

A notation published in the "Oregonian" in the April 12, 1941 edition stated "Keep Out of Foreign Wars" - "Join America First Committee, 728 Failing Bldg., BE 1763." It should be noted that [redacted] b7c in connection therewith the "Oregonian", April 16, 1941 issue, stated that DELMORE LESSARD, acting chairman for the Oregon Chapter of the America First Committee, on a previous Tuesday addressed a letter to HAROLD L. ICKES, Secretary of the Interior, protesting ICKES verbal attack on Colonel CHARLES A. LINDBERGH. LESSARD's letter also denounced ICKES for his criticism of leaders of the America First Committee and charged the Secretary with "evading facts in your anxiety to discredit patriotic citizens whose sincere convictions compell them to disagree with you". According to the April 17, 1941 issue of the "Oregon Journal" the Portland chapter of the America First Committee was scheduled to meet at 7:30 P.M. the following day in the central library. At that time WALTER T. GILLES, Oregon organizer, was to discuss "Convoys Mean Coffins". It also was indicated that LESSARD, acting Oregon chairman, had named OSCAR TUQUAY as Portland chairman. It should be noted that [redacted] b7c notation in the last-mentioned newspaper dated April 24, 1941 indicated that instant organization was to hold its meetings every Friday at 7:30 P.M. in the Portland Hotel and on the following day, G. C. GILLIS of Salem, Oregon, was to address the Committee gathering. It was further indicated that the public was invited to the meeting. It should be noted that a

b7C
b7D [redacted]

There appeared in the "Oregonian" of May 3, 1941 an article indicating that the America First Committee at a meeting on May 2, 1941 formally adopted a resolution demanding the resignations of the Secretary of the Navy FRANK KNOX and Secretary of War, HENRY L. STIMSON. It was indicated that the resolution was based chiefly on the declaration that KNOX and STIMSON had shown by their actions and public speeches that they were committed to a policy of foreign wars for the United States which was against the will of eighty three per cent of the American people. That meeting was addressed by DELMORE LESSARD, indicated as president of the local organization, and ROY METCALF. It should be noted that

b7C [redacted]

An article appearing in the morning "Oregonian" dated May 3, 1941 indicated that DELLMORE LESSARD, Chairman of the Oregon Chapter of the American First Committee" was to address the student body at Reed College the following day on a topic entitled "What is the 5th Column", and on the evening of the same date LESSARD was to speak on the same subject at a rally of the America First Committee which was to be held at the Shattuck School auditorium. It was further indicated that the aforementioned rally was open to the public.

On May 9, 1941, according to an article in the "Oregon Journal", LESSARD and HUGH DeLACEY of the America Peace Mobilization, spoke on "The Case For Non-Intervention" under the auspices of the Reed Union Committee at Reed College. It was indicted that the America First Committee believed in the US Navy as the nation's first line of defense without the help of any other fleet and that the United States could defend American shores without outside help and that there was no danger from eighty million Germans when they couldn't conquer forty million Englishmen. It should be noted that

b7C [redacted]

At the time of the meeting at the Shattuck School as above pointed out, PETER ZIMMERMAN,, according to the May 10, 1941 issue of the "Oregonian" addressed the gathering. He allegedly stated that "war mongers headed by Secretary of War STIMSON are trying to force the American people into a war which will lead to their destruction". ZIMMERMAN further asserted that this organization was laying the truth before the people and showing them the untruth of the propaganda now inspired by the international bankers". It should be noted that

b7C [redacted]

In connection with activities of women members of the America First Committee, the May 15, 1941 issue of the "Oregonian" carried a notation indicating that a chief speakers at a ladies' meeting of the Oregon Chapter of the America

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First Committee on the same date would be Mrs. ROSE WAGNER and Mrs. ERNEST MILLER and at a following meeting, according to the "Oregonian" of May 22, 1941 on that date the "Bundles for American", a new unit of the womens' organization of the America First Committee, held a meeting at which gathering GRACE WICK made an address on "LINDBERGH, a Great American", and at that time Mrs. ROSE WAGNER, above-mentioned, was also active. Attention is called to Portland file [redacted] that [redacted]

b7c

The June 5, 1941 issue of the "Oregonian" notes a meeting of instant organization which was to be held the following night at the W.O.W. hall at which time E. E. KLINE was to be one of the speakers and was to discuss "Unseen Dangers Ahead for America." It was further indicated that Chairman DELLMORE LESSARD was to report on a conference with the Washington Chapter of the Committee and plans drawn at that time for the appearance in Portland of CHARLES A. LINDBERGH.

The June 5, 1941 issue of the "Oregon Journal" indicates that CHARLES LINDBERGH was to speak at Jantzen Beach Park at a night meeting of said Committee, according to LESSARD, State Chairman who had just returned from a trip to the national headquarters in Chicago. It was further indicated that OTTO CASE of Washington state America First Committee had accompanied LESSARD to Chicago.

The June 7, 1941 issue of the "Oregonian" contained an article concerning a protest made by the executive board of the Portland Americanization Council to the Public School Board against the use of the public auditorium and public school buildings by instant organization. Protest was lodged on behalf of the Americanization Council by Circuit Judge JAMES W. CRAWFORD, President of the Council. In answer to the protest, LESSARD, himself a member of the Americanization Council, declared that the individuals who had inspired the resolution were really the Fifty Column in America, in view of the fact that they would deny the constitutional right to free speech to those in disagreement. LESSARD further stated that the public auditorium at that time had not been sought by the group for meetings and that LINDBERGH and Senator B. K. WHEELER, scheduled to speak in Portland, would appear at Jantzen Beach Park.

The June 19, 1941 issue of the "Oregonian," carried an announcement by LESSARD, Chairman of instant organization to the effect that DAVID WORTH CLARK, U.S. Senator from Idaho and a member of the non-interventionist block of the senate, was scheduled to address a large gathering of the America First Committee the following Tuesday. It was indicated that Senator CLARK was a graduate of the old Columbia University Academy in Portland and was scheduled to speak on "Why America Should Keep Out of War". The address was to be made at the Benson High School auditorium on the aforementioned date. The same issue of the aforementioned newspaper contained a contribution by LESSARD entitled "Emergency Without Law?". In said article, LESSARD

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In addressing the editor of the "Oregonian" indicated in substance that there was a mistaken ideal prevelant in the minds of many people as to just what constituted an "unlimited emergency" which had recently been declared by President ROOSEVELT. LESSARD pointed out that no one had attempted to define its meaning; that even the President did not make himself clear. He further stated that he had searched the provisions of the United States constitution which did not disclose any authority whatsoever for an "unlimited emergency". He also indicated that the laws of the United States were silent as to any granted presidential authority to declare an "unlimited emergency". As a result the American public was bewildered, according to LESSARD, and he stated that some people were under the belief that such an emergency meant the end of free speech and the confiscation of private property. In conclusion he said that in the absence of constitutional or statutory authority the president's declared "unlimited emergency" was merely an expression of the president's own private opinion and for that reason the America First Committee would continue its work of unmasking the war mongers and their malicious propaganda. LESSARD's article was answered in an editorial published in the same edition. Further comment will not be made herein in view of the fact that the editor's answer contained quotations from various statutes contained in U.S.C.A.

On June 14, 1941, according to an issue of the "Oregonian", on the previous date A. E. KUHNHAUSEN and Miss DAIZY REVINS were to address a meeting of instant organization. [redacted]

b7c

On June 27, 1941 OSCAR FUQUAY spoke at the meeting of the America First Committee at which time his subject was "Should America Fight for Russia to Save England". This was in accordance with an article which appeared in the "Oregonian" on the same date.

On July 4, 1941, according to an issue of the "Oregon Journal" on that date, LESSARD addressed instant organization at a public meeting in the W.O.W. hall and his subject at that time was "American Independence in 1776 and 1941".

There was some comment indicating that the America First Committee had been subsidized to some extent in this area by pro-German interests. In connection therewith attention is called to an article which appeared in the "Oregonian" under date of August 2, 1941 which indicated that WILLIAM D. BROWNE, Chairman of the Subversive Research Committee of the American Legion, Department of Oregon, and a Portland detective connected with the Portland Police Department, had information which proved conclusively that the America First Committee had been supported financially in part by one of the close Nazi front organizations. In that article LESSARD allegedly termed the accusations of the Legion committee as "preposterous" and averred that "no German organization had ever helped the America First Committee". LESSARD further commented

that the Oregon committee received only "slight help" at first from America First Committee headquarters in Chicago and since had been entirely on its own feet, receiving contributions only from individuals. LESSARD [redacted] at that time and in that article suggested that Detective BROWN and the American Legion of which he, LESSARD, was a member, make an investigation of the America First Committee without accepting hearsay testimony of war mongers who were calling the Committee names. This article further indicated that leaders for the America First Committee would be happy to appear before the Legion and answer any questions. He also stated that his committee did not accept members of the Bund or members of any other subversive organization as members and was in no way connected with any un-American organization.

b7C Reference is made to the report of Special Agent [redacted] at Portland, Oregon dated August 20, 1941 entitled [redacted]

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[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

It is noted that the August 19, 1941 edition of the "Oregonian" contained an announcement of an appearance by Senator RUSH D. HOLT who was appearing under the auspices of the Portland Chapter of the America First Committee. The announcement was as follows: "Who will be WORLD RULER when war is ended? Senator Holt will name the first KING of 'Union Now'. No admission charge." In substance, HOLT's remarks during the course of his speech were, according to the August 20, 1941 edition of the Oregonian, directed against America fighting to save England and it was his suggestion that no lives of American boys should be sacrificed to save the British empire. He indicated that war was the result of an economic dislocation in Europe and the destruction of HITLER was not going to end it. HOLT was indicated as being the "boy senator" and it was revealed that his talk was punctuated with the words hypocracy and subterfuge and also dishonesty and he criticized the sea meeting of President ROOSEVELT and WINSTON CHURCHILL. HOLT also struck at the proposal of a lend-lease arrangement with Russia and stated that the same was an insult to the intelligence of every thinking person in the United States. It was revealed that HOLTs references to President ROOSEVELT, CHURCHILL and STALIN brought loud boos from the crowd present.

Various publications of the "Oregon Journal" and "Oregonian" for September 17, 18 and 19, 1941 indicated negotiations by the America First Committee with the City Council of Portland for the use of the public auditorium in Portland for a speech by Senator BURTON K. WHEELER and it was indicated that instant organization paid the sum of $224.00 for the rental of the auditorium.

Senator WHEELER spoke on September 22, 1941 in the auditorium at which time, according to the "Oregonian" for September 23, 1941, he denounced the foreign policies of the ROOSEVELT administration. Approximately 4,300 persons were present. WHEELER publicly stated that he had been informed by high military authorities that an invasion of the United States would require the simultaneous landing of two million men at key American points. The only demonstration came at the mention of the names of CHARLES A. LINDBERGH and WNDELL WILKIE, both of whom were booed with impartiality. In an interview with WHEELER prior to his speech, he indicated to the "Oregonian" reported in accordance with the September 23, 1941 issue of said paper that a British victory in the present struggle was not essential to the United States and he avowed that the United States Navy has never depended upon the British Navy or anyone else and no country depending upon any other nation for protection is any longer an independent nation. WHEELER's address was prefaced by opening remarks of DELMORE LESSARD mentioned herein.

[redacted]

b7C

On October 10, 1941 according to an issue of the "Oregonian" of that same date, Dr. R. A. PHILLIPS was the speaker at a meeting of the America First Committee in the W.O.W. Hall. It was indicated that members of the committee between the ages of seventeen and twenty five planned to organize a youth committee against foreign war. It should be noted that Portland Field Division file [redacted]

b7C

An article appearing in the October 19, 1941 issue of the "Oregonian" mentioned that persons attending a recent meeting of instant organization in Portland endorsed a resolution urging congress to consider impeachment of the president and to vote for the retention of the Neutrality Act. Among other things the article pointed out that charges were that the president, secretary of war and secretary of the navy had without authority of the congress ordered American troops into Iceland to serve under the command of officers of the belligerent nations; further that government orders were for the U.S. Navy to shoot on sight ships of another belligerent nation which had not attack the United States and also to commit many other overt acts to plunge the United States into war under the false pretext of keeping America out of war. Congress was urged further to vote for retention of the present neutrality act which had been passed for just such a period as the country was now facing.

[redacted]

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At a meeting on October 24, 1941, according to an article in the "Oregon Journal" of that date Captain MICHAEL KECK, a former member of the Russian Imperial Army, addressed an America First Committee rally in the west side W.O.W. Hall and his subject was "The Communist Revolution in Russia As I Saw It". It was indicated further that there would be a discussion at said meeting of the administration's action relative to repeal of the Neutrality Act. [redacted]

b7C

Attention is called to an article appearing the the "People's World" west coast Communist newspaper, in the October 15, 1941 issue in which it is pointed out that at a convention of the C.I.O. International Wood workers in Everett, Washington, said labor union, after a skirmish on the floor, voted unanimously to condemn the America First Committee. It was further indicated that the slap against the America First Committee came during the report of the committee on officers' reports. H. L. THOMPSON of Lebannon, Oregon, the committee member, recommended to the union gathering that a section of the officers' report condemning the America First Committee be stricken. When questioned on the refusal to condemn the America First Committee, THOMPSON explained that his committee felt that that section was condemning the America First Committee and was contradictory to the section on civil liberties because it came out on one side on the page and upheld the action of certain individuals while on the other page it condemned the actions of other individuals. The persons upheld, according to said article, in the report were HARRY BRIDGES, HAROLD KING, ERNEST RAMSAY, and FRANK CONNER; all members of the labor movement whose cases were cited as examples of abrogation of civil liberties. O. M. ORTON, President of the I.W.A., delivered a slashing attack on the America First Committee which finally led to a denouncing of the activities of instant organization by the I.W.A. Union.

An article appearing in the October 20, 1941 issue of the "Oregonian" reflected that DELLMORE LESSARD had announced his resignation as chairman of the America First Committee in Oregon in a letter sent to General R. E. WOOD, Chicago, Illinois, National Chairman of the America First Committee. LESSARD was reported to have resigned for the reason that he could no longer continue as America First Chairman and simultaneously conduct his law practice. It was indicated further that America First members had made efforts to induce Colonel CHARLES E. ROBERTSON, of West Salem, Oregon to accept the chairmanship. However, ROBERTSON at that time had not consented. LESSARD in a statement to the press in said article indicated that he was proud of the fact that the membership of the Oregon chapter at that time numbered in the thousands and that the regular Friday night meetings were well attended by an audience whose seriousness and patriotism could not be questioned. He further stated that although he would cease to act for instant organization in an official capacity, he wanted it known that he thoroughly believed in the principals and thoroughly appreciated the patriotic efforts of that organization in trying to save this country from participation in Europe's and Asia's wars. LESSARD felt that regardless of the results of the efforts of the Committee, when the terrible war was over, history would demonstrate the rightousness of the committee's stand. Subsequent to LESSARD's resignation the "Oregonian" for November 20, 1941 indicated that LESSARD was to be the speaker for the America First Committee meeting the following day and that he was formerly the state chairman.

It should be noted that a report from [redacted] dated August 22, 1941 indicated that literature of subject organization was circulated on August 19, 1941 in Seattle, Washington by that city's branch office which had been established at 300nInsurance Building, Seattle, Washington. (S)

and that the propaganda distributed listed the members of the National Committee and the aims and activities of subject organization with the announcement "The Path to War is a False Path to Freedom." It was indicated that a sample of the literature was on the file in the office of [redacted] (S)(C) U

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It should be noted that Portland Field Division file [redacted] with aliases - INTERNAL SECURITY - G" has been closed and that [redacted] name has not been considered for custodial detention by this office.

b7c

P E N D I N G

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UNDEVELOPED LEADS

THE PORTLAND FIELD DIVISION

AT PORTLAND, OREGON

will conduct an investigation of instant organization for the purpose of determing whether or not said organization is presently active and will conduct said investigation along the lines indicated in reference Bureau letter.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

FILE NO. 100-894

KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE	4-10-42	4-24, 25, 26; 5-8-42	[redacted] b7C

TITLE OF CASE: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

CHARACTER OF CASE: INTERNAL SECURITY - G

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS: No America First Committee local or chapter ever formed in Knoxville, Tenn. or Johnson City or vicinity. Knoxville Peace Council sponsored speech by Dr. CHARLES MORRISON, Editor of Christian Century, an America First Committee speaker, [redacted] b7C b7D Knoxville Peace Council continues to hold meetings of informal and social nature, but has formulated no clear policy.

- RUC -

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 10-16-90 SP8TJ/ksl

REFERENCE: Bureau letter to all Field Offices dated March 16, 1942.

DETAILS: [redacted] b7C b7D

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: [redacted] SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

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[redacted] b7C

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[redacted] b7C b7D

b7D [redacted] Dr. CHARLES [redacted], Editor of the Christian Century, spoke at the Lyric Theater in Knoxville on May 26, 1941; that NORMAN MOORE, presided, and that the audience was urged to send postcards and telegrams to the President expressing the general theme "Stop where we are." The invocation at this meeting was given by Reverend C. L. SIMPSON and the benediction by Reverend STEWARD BUTTON, while G. C. McHARRIS instructed the audience in filling out America First membership cards. In the speech given by MORRISON, he stated that the American people owed allegiance to the President; that he swore and promised American mothers that their sons would not fight on foreign soil. MORRISON stated that this was the President who was elected to an unprecedented third term in the fall of 1940 and not the President who by propaganda and aid to Britain was leading this country to war. MORRISON stated that he was a non-interventionalist and not a pacifist. MORRISON further stated, "Economic life is now ascended over the political power of nations. The usurpage threatens every national state as a political entity. America should not tie herself up in preserving the British empire, for the world today is in the grip of a revolution that should not be identified with the present conflict. For America to hang her destiny upon the existence of another nation is to drive nails into rotting timber." MORRISON further stated that there were certain hangers-on, Nazis and Bolsheviks, that intrude in this non-interventionalist movement who also share the desire to keep America out of war, and whose presence at meetings cause critics to take their appearance as symbols of the movement itself. MORRISON stated that he hated Hitlerism and in his paper, The Christian Century, had attacked MUSSOLINI before HITLER and STALIN were ever known to the legislators.

An editorial appearing in the Knoxville Journal on May 26, 1941 advertised a speech to be given by MORRISON and urged the people of Knoxville not to identify the America First Committee with Communists and Nazis who might turn out to hear the speakers. This editorial pointed to the public denouncement by JOHN T. FLYNN of a group of Nazi sympathizers who were sitting near the platform at a speech

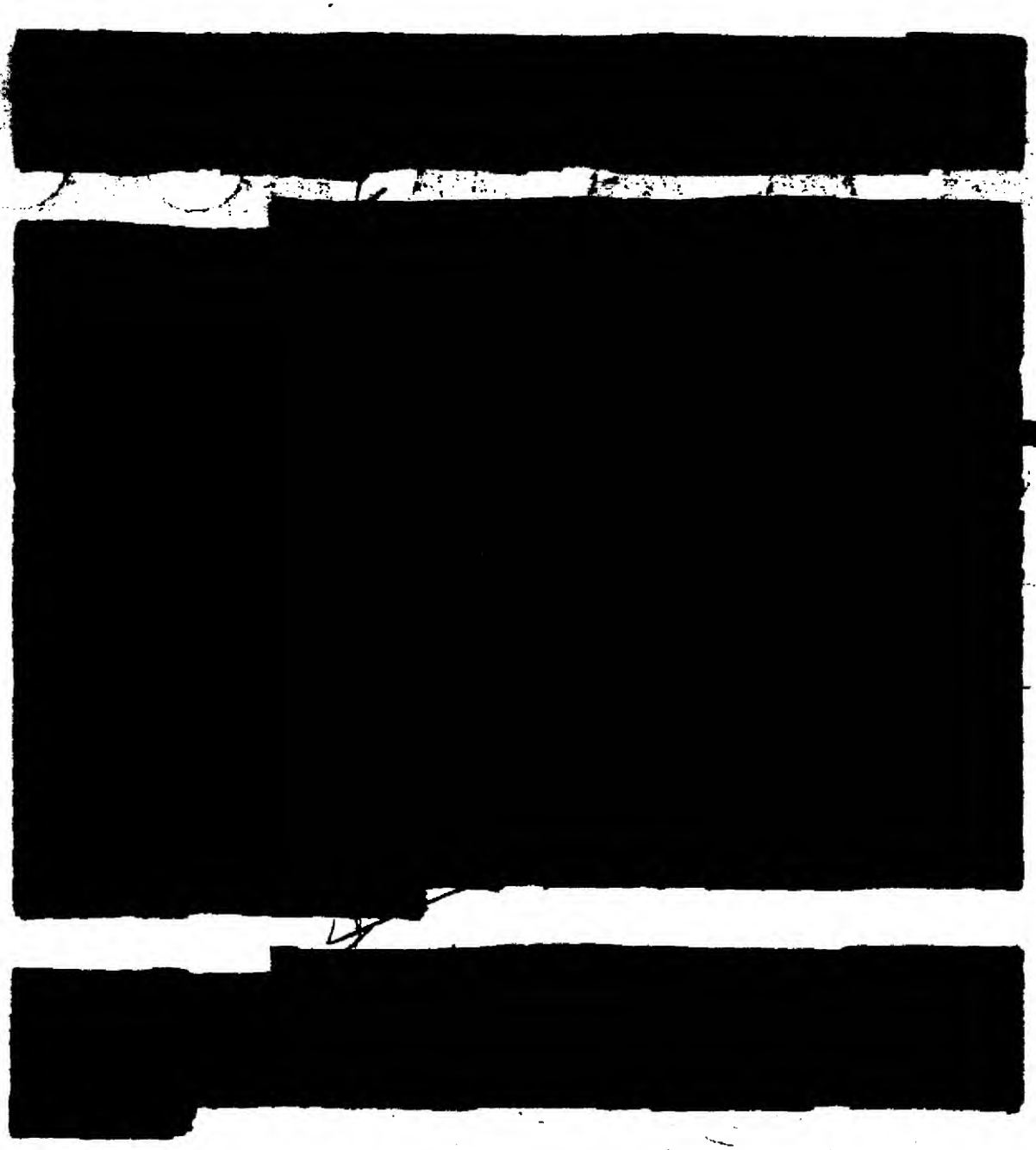
[redacted] given by CHARLES A. LINDBERGH in New York on the week of May 20, 1941, which indicated that the America First Committee did not desire any [redacted] from the Nazis.

b7D [redacted] In addition, the News-Sentinel stated that MORRISON's speech was sponsored by the Knoxville Peace Council and reported that MORRISON said that the people have lost control of their Government and that the President in a series of talk and propaganda was leading the people into war by heightening the present dilemma. MORRISON was quoted as follows: "If he knows he does not have the united support of the people, the die will not be cast for war. The power of public opinion is the only power greater than the President's." A branch of the America First Committee was planned to be formed in Knoxville following this meeting. However, it will be noted that on May 27, the day following the meeting, the President proclaimed a national emergency; that through this talk of the President, those persons who were isolationists and pacifists consequently did not take any action to form an America First Committee branch at this time.

b6C [redacted]
b7D

all advised that to the best of their knowledge, no branch of the America First Committee had ever been formed in the city of Knoxville.

[redacted]



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A review of the file entitled Knoxville Peace Council, Knoxville file number 65-14, reveals that the Knoxville Peace Council

has continued to operate through occasional informal social meetings [redacted] but with the members of that Council [redacted] have previously been reported to have Communistic leanings rather than leanings toward Nazism, and that the discussions held at these meetings have a tendency to favor Communism rather than Nazism. Although at the present time there appears to be no definite policy followed by this Council, there has been no information received which would indicate that any of these individuals are cooperating with foreign interests in such a manner to interfere with national defense efforts.

Inasmuch as it appears that there never was any branch of the America First Committee in the territory of the Knoxville Field Division, this case is being referred upon completion.

The file entitled Knoxville Peace Council is being kept in a pending status, and any additional information which would indicate a tie-up between the Knoxville Peace Council and the national headquarters of the America First Committee will be reported. This case will also be re-opened in the event that the Bureau comes into possession of information of interest to the Knoxville Field Division.

- REFERRED UPON COMPLETION TO THE OFFICE OF ORIGIN -

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

FORM NO. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS — FILE NO. 100-451

REPORT MADE AT	DATE WHEN MADE	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE	REPORT MADE BY
ATLANTA, GEORGIA	4/9/42	3/24/42	[redacted] b7c

TITLE	CHARACTER OF CASE
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE	INTERNAL SECURITY - G

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS: Files reviewed and information contained therein set forth in instant report. No indications that America First Committee is holding meetings in Atlanta, Georgia. Senator BURTON K. WHEELER cancelled scheduled speech for Atlanta, Georgia on July 10, 1941. Background of individuals responsible for above scheduled meeting set forth. Confidential informant contacted with negative results.

100-[illegible]-10 SERIALIZED
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DATE 6-28-82 BY SP6 bjs/tcb

- RUC -

REFERENCE: Bureau letter to all field offices Re: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE, Internal Security - G, dated March 16, 1942.

DETAILS: A review of newspaper clippings contained in the Atlanta file discloses that Senator BURTON K. WHEELER cancelled a speech scheduled for Atlanta, Georgia on July 10, 1941. A review of these same articles disclosed that the following individuals were interested in having WHEELER speak in Atlanta, Georgia.

[redacted] b7c

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: F. B. Hammack — SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

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[redacted] b7c

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[redacted] b7C

Of the above individuals [redacted] appeared to be the chairman and the leader of the group desiring to have Senator WHEELER come to Atlanta to speak concerning the keeping of America out of war.

b7C
b7D

[redacted]

In reference to the America First Committee, [redacted] searched his files and advised that he has not had any inquiry concerning the above committee and therefore doubts the fact that the above committee is holding meetings in Atlanta. [redacted] stated that he knows [redacted] is not heading any committee in Atlanta at the present time, but is giving his entire support to America's war efforts. [redacted] advised that if he should ascertain in the future that the America First Committee is active in Atlanta, Georgia, he will communicate with the writer and apprize him of such information. [redacted]

Of the other individuals listed above, the Atlanta Office has an Internal Security file on [redacted]

b7C

[redacted]

Atlanta 100-431

b7C

[redacted]

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b7D

[redacted] that he has no knowledge of any meetings being held in Atlanta by the America First Committee.

[redacted] was contacted and also advised that he has no knowledge of any meetings being held in Atlanta by the America First Committee. [redacted] advised that he has never received any literature from the America First Committee and stated to the best of his knowledge [redacted].

[redacted] advised that they have not heard of any meetings being held by the America First Committee. [redacted] advised that if they should ascertain that the America First Committee is holding meetings they will immediately notify the Atlanta Office.

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Inasmuch as the America First Committee does not appear to be active in the Atlanta Field Division this case is being referred upon completion to the office of origin.

- REFERRED UPON COMPLETION TO THE OFFICE OF ORIGIN -

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS. Honolulu FILE NO. 100-2130

REPORT MADE AT	DATE WHEN MADE	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE	REPORT MADE BY
HONOLULU, T. H.	4/8/42	3/28,31/42	[redacted] b7C

TITLE	CHARACTER OF CASE
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE	INTERNAL SECURITY - G

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS: No branch organization of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE has ever exisited in Honolulu, T. H. [redacted] b7C b7D

- R. U. C. -

RECEIVED

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 6/24/86 BY SP6 Bjs 10-16-96 SP8BTS/62

REFERENCE: Letter from the Bureau dated March 16, 1942.

DETAILS: [redacted] advised that he b2 b7D is very much opposed to the principles of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE and, therefore, followed the activities of that organization with interest. Ever since the inception of the organization on the mainland, he has observed activities in the local community to determine if a branch organization might be created in Honolulu. As a result of his observations, he has never noticed any activity of the AMERICA

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R E Shivers		100 4712 - 327	RECORDED & INDEXED

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2 - Chicago
1 - G-2, Honolulu
1 - ONI, Honolulu
2 - Honolulu

COPY IN FILE 4712 [redacted] b7C

APR 20 1942

LS - 19

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100-2180

FIRST COMMITTEE in Honolulu and he is quite certain that no branch of the organization was ever initiated in the Territory of Hawaii.

[redacted] b2 b7C b7D

He further advised that he has been constantly on the lookout to determine if the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE ever became active in Honolulu. He is certain that the organization was never promoted in the Territory of Hawaii, which fact, he believed, was due to the influence of an individual by the name of [redacted] b7C

[redacted] revealed that he had received several letters from the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE in Chicago, requesting him to start a branch organization of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE in Honolulu. He particularly received a letter from HAMILTON FISH, Congressman, asking him likewise to start a branch of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE, to which individual he addressed an indignant refusal. b2 b7D

[redacted] b7C b7D

Informant related, however, that there were undoubtedly prominent individuals in the community who would have been interested in this organization if it had ever been initiated in Honolulu.

[redacted] advised that he had no knowledge of the existence of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE in Honolulu. He was quite certain that if this organization had ever become active locally, he would have received information concerning its activities. b2 b7D

[redacted] informed the writer that [redacted] has been bitterly opposed to the principles of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE, as well as the individuals who associated with that organization since its inception. b2 b7D

[redacted] b7C b7D

In the Honolulu "Advertiser" of July 24, 1941, an article entitled, "LINDY ASKED TO TALK HERE BY ISOLATIONIST," appeared. This article stated, "Charles A. Lindbergh has been invited to speak in Honolulu with transportation paid in addition to whatever his fee might be, it was learned yesterday. The offer was made by a group of Honolulans, remaining anonymous, who are sympathetic tothe 'America First Committee' and other groups for whom Lindbergh is a leading spokesman."

[redacted] was unable to trace the identity of the above-mentioned anonymous Honolulans, although he admitted that [redacted] b2 b7D

[redacted] b7C b7D

4-750 (Rev. 12-14-88)

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[redacted]

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b7C
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Since the above investigation failed to indicate that the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE functioned in Honolulu during the period of its existence, this case is being referred upon completion to the office of origin.

REFERRED UPON COMPLETION TO OFFICE OF ORIGIN.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT CHICAGO

FILE NO. 100-2549

REPORT MADE AT	DATE WHEN MADE	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE	REPORT MADE BY
ST. PAUL	4-15-42	4-14-42	b7C [redacted]

TITLE	CHARACTER OF CASE
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE	INTERNAL SECURITY - G

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS: [redacted] b7C advises that at his suggestion and instructions from General Leonard Wood, the America First movement has been definitely abandoned in this district. All records have been sent to Chicago, no meetings have been held either by Officials or by internal groups formerly affiliated with the Committee. [redacted] emphatically denies any activity, official or otherwise, on the part of committee or its membership.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE [illegible] 10-16-90 SP8 [illegible]

- RUC -

REFERENCES: Bureau form letter dated March 16, 1942.

DETAILS: [redacted] b7C b7D advises very emphatically that both on their own suggestion and instructions of General Leonard Wood, the activities of the Committee have been definitely and conclusively terminated. They further state that records have all been sent to General Wood in Chicago, that no internal groups or committees have held meetings or engaged in any activities whatever, that the Committee insofar as Minnesota is concerned is definitely behind the War effort and the Administration, and officially or otherwise will not countenance subversive effort, unofficial meetings or gatherings under the guise of the America F:

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		100 - 4712 - 328

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APR 17 1942

[redacted] b7C

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Committee and that no such meetings have been held.

Both informants further stated that they have taken every means possible to preclude any such activity.

[redacted]

b7c

- RUC -

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FBI/DOJ

[redacted]

b7C

April 9, 1942

Special Agent in Charge
New York, New York

10-16-90
SP 8B Tsl CoC

RE: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

[redacted]

Dear Sir:

There are attached hereto, for your information only, copies of a communication, dated April 3, 1942, together with copies of the enclosure, received from [redacted], concerning [redacted]. b7C

[redacted]

For the completion of your files, please be advised that [redacted] b7C b7D

[redacted]

In conclusion, information is contained in the files of the Bureau that [redacted] has received communications from [redacted] is described as the type of person whose statements are given little weight. However, he was apparently active in the America First Committee and other isolationist groups. b7C

The above material may be of some assistance to you in continuing the investigation of the above-captioned organization.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Holloman
Mr. McGuire
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Nease
Gandy

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED 4
APR 11 19[redacted] P.M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

RECORDED & INDEXED

100-4718-329
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
APR 21 1942
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Enclosure [redacted]

b7C

XX234

CONFIDENTIAL
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Mr. Tolson	
Mr. E. A. Tamm	
Mr. Clegg	
Mr. Glavin	
Mr. Ladd	
Mr. Nichols	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Tracy	
Mr. Carson	
Mr. Coffey	
Mr. Egan	
Mr. Kramer	
Mr. McGuire	
Mr. Quinn Tamm	
Mr. Nease	
Miss Gandy	

WAR DEPARTMENT
WAR DEPARTMENT GENERAL STAFF
MILITARY INTELLIGENCE SERVICE, G-2
WASHINGTON, D. C.

APR 23 1942

Subject: Letter of transmittal.

To: Lt. Col. J. Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Department of Justice

The attached communications are forwarded for your information and such action as you consider advisable.

For the Chief, Military Intelligence Service:

John T. Bissell
J. T. BISSELL
Colonel, General Staff,
Asst. Executive Officer, M. I. S.

1 Enclosure:

cc- Enclosure to Boston 5/8/42

[redacted] FBI b7C

RECORDED & INDEXED. 100-4712-B30

APR 24 1942

1 ENCLO. 16

[redacted] FBI b7C

Declassified per Army letter dtd 5/29/91 8123 mch/tcg 8/13/91 FBI b7C

DCJ 4/27

EX-8

CONFIDENTIAL

XX235

WAR DEPARTMENT

Office of A. C. of S., G-2
First Corps Area
(Office of Headquarters)

806 Commonwealth Avenue
Boston, Massachusetts
(Place)

April 6, 1942.
(Date)

Subject: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

Summary of Information:

The following information has been received at this office from a reliable source:

It is reported that the Subject Committee has reorganized and is holding meetings at "The Hideaway", Boston Café, on the first Saturday of each month.

TUDOR GARDINER is reported as one of the prime movers in the reorganization.

Declassified per Army
letter dtd 5/29/91
8123 mch/ltr 8/13/91

Previous Distribution:

Distribution:

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G2
ONI
File — File

Evaluation
—of source —of information
X Reliable X
Credible
Questionable
Undetermined

4-22-42

CONFIDENTIAL

16—17067-1 GPO

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b7C

[redacted] 100-4712-330

May 8, 1942

Special Agent in Charge
Boston, Massachusetts

Re: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
INTERNAL SECURITY -

Dear Sir:

For your information only there is attached information which was received at the Bureau on April 23, 1942, from Military Intelligence Service, Washington, D. C.

10-16-90 [redacted]

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED 1
★ MAY 8 1942 P.M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Very truly yours,

J. Edgar Hoover b7C

John Edgar Hoover
Director

[redacted]

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Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
New York, New York

b7c

[redacted]
100-9887

CONFIDENTIAL

April 24, 1942

Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

[redacted]

10-16-90 SP8T5/cac

RE: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
INTERNAL SECURITY (G)

DECLASSIFIED BY [redacted] LED/cc
ON 8-10-90

Dear Sir:

Reference is made to Bureau letter, dated March 16, 1942, directed to all Special Agents in Charge, and captioned as above, and the summary memorandum prepared by the Bureau dated February 13, 1942, transmitting therewith, information pertaining to the America First Committee.

Reference is also made to Bureau letter dated March 18, 1942, directed to the New York Field Division, under the same caption, which enclosed copies of communications received by the Bureau from the Military Intelligence Division, Washington, D. C.

During the course of the investigation presently being conducted, in New York City, relative to the information furnished in the above-mentioned communications and their enclosures, it has been noted that the information pertaining to recent activities of the America First Committee personnel in the New York Area, which was furnished to the Bureau by the Military Intelligence Division, was apparently secured by the M.I.D. from Mr. GEORGE J. MINTZER of the American Jewish Committee, 39 Broadway, New York City. This belief is based upon the fact that the copies of the M.I.D. report furnished by the Bureau to this office, are exact copies of the original reports in the possession of Mr. GEORGE J. MINTZER, which were mailed to him by one of his regularly paid informants, and Mr. MINTZER has advised that he had already made such information available to G-2, New York City.

[redacted]

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RECORDED: 100-4712-333

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
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100-9887

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Letter to Bureau

April 24, 1942

I wanted to call the above information to the Bureau's attention, for the reason that I am instructing the Special Agent who is handling this investigation to make direct contact with

[redacted]

b7C
b7D

Very truly yours,

P. E. FOXWORTH.
Assistant Director.

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER
DIRECTOR

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

February 13, 1942

[redacted]

MEMORANDUM FOR THE DIRECTOR

DECLASSIFIED BY 8/234mch/tky
ON 8/14/91
per Army letter dtd 5/29/91.

RE: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE [redacted]

On the basis of information which has been developed in the course of investigating [redacted] and her family of New York City, together with information supplied by G-2 and a Bureau informant, it would appear that members of the America First Committee entertain the hope that the Committee may again become a political force; that they are biding their time in contemplation of this eventuality, despite the fact that the organization ostensibly concluded its activities following the entrance of the United States into the war. The above-mentioned Bureau informant has reported that the Committee has now gone underground under the leadership of Charles A. Lindbergh.

With regard to Lindbergh, you will recall my memorandum of January 29, 1942, setting forth the fact that it was developed through technical surveillance in the course of investigating [redacted] that Lindbergh spoke at length on December 17, 1941, at a dinner meeting of members of the America First Committee assembled at the home of Edwin S. Webster, Jr., 35 Beekman Street, New York City. Webster was New York Secretary of the Committee. It is recalled that Lindbergh stated that for years America has been speaking of the "Yellow Peril," yet we are now fighting on the side of the Russians and Chinese. It was reported that Lindbergh appeared discouraged with the United States Government on account of the fact that in his opinion it has no plan nor does it know for what it is fighting.

It is also recalled that my memorandum of January 29, 1942, set forth a communication received from G-2 with regard to this meeting addressed by Lindbergh on December 17, 1941. This communication

100-4712-334
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
APR 24 1942
U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

RECORDED & INDEXED

5 APR 30 1942

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XX218

CONFIDENTIAL

sets forth the gist of Lindbergh's remarks, according to reports of two persons who were present, as follows: (S-1)(Q)

"There is only one danger in the world - that is the yellow danger. China and Japan are really bound together against the white race. There could only have been one efficient weapon against this alliance, underneath the surface. Germany itself could have been this weapon. The ideal set-up would have been to have had Germany take over Poland and Russia, in collaboration with the British, as bloc against the yellow people and bolshevism. But instead, the British and the fools in Washington had to interfere. The British envied the Germans and wanted to rule the world forever. Britain is the real cause of all the trouble in the world today (S-1)(Q)

"Of course, America First cannot be active right now. But it should keep on the alert and when the large missing lists and losses are published the American people will realize how much they have been betrayed by the British and the Administration. Then America First can be a political force again. We must be quiet a while and wait the time for active functioning. There may be a time soon when we can advocate a negotiated peace." (S-1)(Q)

[redacted] b7D

CONFIDENTIAL

XXIX

CONFIDENTIAL

ACTION

Inasmuch as it appears that the America First Committee is being revived and may be contemplating activities detrimental to the war effort of the United States, a memorandum has been prepared relative to the structure, activities, and connections of the Committee as it was organized prior to its allegedly going out of existence following our entry into the war. A memorandum of transmittal of the above-mentioned memorandum has been prepared for the Attorney General, together with an appropriate letter of transmittal to the White House. The cover memorandum to the Attorney General and the letter to the White House contain the pertinent information relative to the recent reports concerning the revival of the America First Committee as an underground organization.

The activities of the America First Committee will be closely followed on the basis of reports concerning its revival as an underground organization. In this connection the Attorney General is being advised that an investigation will be conducted into the various ramifications and connections of the Committee, unless in his opinion reason obtains for not conducting such investigation.

Respectfully,

D. M. Ladd

CONFIDENTIAL

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2/25/86 SAI-AG. SC
[redacted]

F.B.I. COMMITTEE.

318,519
Spetsko
10-4-90

SHOULD LIKE YOU TO KNOW OF THE RUMOR, BEFORE WE ENTERED THE WAR — IT WAS THIS, THAT MR. HENRY FORD, PACIFIST, CHARLES LINDBERGH AND MRS. KELLOGG FAIRBANKS, OF CHICAGO, BOTH "AMERICA FIRST" ADVOCATES, HAD PLANNED TO FORM A NEW ORGANIZATION, TO OVERTHROW THIS GOVERNMENT, NO HARM IN KEEPING AN EAGLE EYE ON THIS TRIO.

RECORDED 100-4712-335
INDEXED FBI - BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
APR 24 1942
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

VERY TRULY YOURS,

Wadleigh
[redacted]
[redacted]
5/28/42

MAY 27 1942

[redacted]

b7c

and [illegible]

- 0 American Legion Committee

FREEDOM OF INFORMATION AND PRIVACY ACTS

SUBJECT: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

FILE NUMBER: 100-4712

PART: 7 OF 19

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

FILE DESCRIPTION

BUREAU FILE

SUBJECT America First Committee

FILE NO. 100-4712

SECTION NO. 7

SERIALS 336

through

370

[redacted]
4/17/42
100-4712

Classified by SP8CTC
Declassify on: OADR 10-17-90
318,519

b7C

MEMORANDUM FOR ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL
WENDELL BERGE

Re: [redacted]
AMERICANS FOR PEACE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

8/14/91 per Army letter dtd 5/29/91

For your information and consideration at this time, there is summarized hereinafter the material contained in the files of this Bureau with reference to the above captioned individual, and the organization initiated by him, namely, Americans for Peace.

[redacted] who apparently is identical with the above captioned individual, first came to the attention of the Federal Bureau of Investigation when he addressed a letter, dated June 11, 1940, to [redacted] the National Interfraternity Conference, 26 Broadway, New York City, enclosing a leaflet entitled "To The Youth of America". For your complete information, a copy of this letter and enclosure are attached hereto. The Interfraternity Conference took no action whatsoever on the basis of the above communication.

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[redacted] was one of those present at a meeting held on December 17, 1941, in the home of Edwin S. Webster, New York City, which meeting was addressed by Charles A. Lindbergh. The gist of Lindbergh's speech was as follows: (S-1(2))

RECORDED & EX-20

100-4712-334

APR 25 1942

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

"There is only one danger in the world--that is the yellow danger. China and Japan are really bound together against the white race. There could only have been one efficient weapon against this alliance, underneath the surface, Germany itself could have been this weapon. The ideal set-up would have been to have had Germany take over Poland and Russia, in collaboration with the British, as a bloc against the yellow people and [redacted] But instead, the British and the fools in Washington had to interfere. The British envied the Germans and wanted to rule the world forever. Britain is the real cause of all the trouble in the world today." (S-1(2))

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAIL ROOM
APR 21 1942 P.M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Holloman
Mr. McGuire
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

CONFIDENTIAL

XX 272

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"Of course, America First cannot be active right now. But it should keep on the alert and when the large missing lists and losses are published the American people will realize how much they have been betrayed by the British and the Administration. Then America First can be a political force again. We must be quiet for a while and await the time for active functioning. There may be a time soon when we can advocate a negotiated peace." (S-7 (X)) (File No. 100-4712-271)

After this speech by Lindbergh, [redacted] declared in substance (S-1 (X)). b7C

"I do not quite agree on one point with the Colonel. It is obviously necessary for the leaders of America First such as Wood and Webster to keep quiet. But the organization should not be destroyed. I have never been in the line light and have nothing to lose. I can remain active in a quiet way. I should like to offer to keep the files, etc. We must get ready for the next attack which must be made on this Communistic administration. We must combat Union Now. If and when the great moment comes, I feel sure that our leaders--and especially the Colonel--will take the leadership and lead us to victory." (G-2 communication, File No 100-4712-271) (S-1 (X))

There were about fifty persons present at this meeting, including the leadersof the former America First Committee. The expressions by others present were similar in sympathy with those set forth hereinabove (S-1 (X))

Information was developed by this Bureau during the investigation of [redacted] indicating the affiliation of [redacted] with the America First Committee. It should be noted, however, that [redacted] is allegedly a Nazi sympathiser and himself a participant in the affairs of the America First Committee. [redacted] at one time was employed by [redacted] b7C

[redacted] During the inquiry concerning [redacted] information was secured from a confidential source that [redacted] was a close friend of [redacted]

334

XX 213

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[redacted] active in the affairs of the American First Committee, and are allegedly violently anti-British.

Under date of December 30, 1941, this source revealed that [redacted] was active in the Brooklyn chapter of the American First Committee, and [redacted] It was alleged further that he belonged to a Pelham Parkway wing of the American First Committee. His general line of thinking was allegedly in favor of a revolution on the basis that "This is not our war. Impeach the President". The [redacted] mentioned is allegedly a very close friend of [redacted] This source also revealed that [redacted] approached parents of the victims of the U. S. destroyer "Reuben James" and secured their signatures to a statement which in effect contended that "they did not intend that their sons should die in President Roosevelt's private war on behalf of the British". [redacted] has been known to boast that he had a girl friend [redacted] who was in a position to give him [redacted] information. The same source revealed on January 8, 1942, that [redacted] mentioned hereinabove was discharged on that date.

b7D

Under date of January 13, 1942, [redacted] directed a letter to the [redacted] Office of this Bureau enclosing a communication signed [redacted] This communication read as follows:

"Dear Sir: As you probably know my present occupation does not permit me to be active as an air raid warden. Being an author and editor, I am constantly on the move, particularly in the evening. While retaining [redacted] as my legal settled address, I am seldom there and when in town must work and frequently grab a few hours sleep at my office. Hoping this will explain all. I am, very truly yours.

b7C
b7D

/s/ [redacted]

(File No. 100-56788)

[redacted] further stated that [redacted] was a very active member of the American First Committee, having sponsored meetings and given lectures in this regard. (File No. 100-56788)

[redacted] on two occasions has made available to this Bureau correspondence between her and [redacted] For your complete information, there are attached hereto copies of this correspondence described as follows:

Letter dated March 19, 1942, addressed to [redacted] and signed [redacted] enclosing a mimeographed sheet beginning "Fellow American" and signed "Americans for Peace", Room 203, 1155 Broadway, New York;

B-36

CONFIDENTIAL

XX214

CONFIDENTIAL

mimeographed sheet captioned "From the Atlantic to the Pacific Americans for Peace", beginning "We Believe"; and mimeographed sheet beginning "about the temporary chairman of Americans for Peace." (File No. 100-81322-2)

Letter dated March 24, 1942, addressed to [redacted] and signed National Director.

Letter dated March 27, 1942, addressed to [redacted] and signed [redacted] enclosing a mimeographed sheet "To Organization Heads and Secretaries", signed "Americans for Peace".

[redacted] in the past has been closely affiliated with various isolationist groups.

There has also been made available copies of a letter dated March 7, 1942, addressed to the "Editor, America, 320 W. 110th Street, New York City", signed by [redacted] to which was attached a leaflet beginning "Fellow American" which was mentioned hereinabove and a mimeographed sheet beginning "whether you join as a member..." Copies of this letter and the second enclosure are attached hereto for your information. (File No. 100-81322-3)

b7C

An unknown source under date of March 23, 1942, advised that [redacted] one of the former leaders of the America First Committee, has formed a new group in New York City [redacted] and stated that he is making talks demanding that America get out of the war and that the "first objective of the new organization is the earliest possible peace". It is further alleged that meetings to which [redacted] makes speeches are generally sponsored by [redacted] of an organization [redacted] in turn is stated to have once served as the leader of the League of the German National Societies, and has on occasions sponsored meetings where former Silver Shirt officials spoke. [redacted] is also formerly alleged to have prepared articles for the Deutscher Weckruf und Beobachter, an official organization of the German-American Bund.

[redacted] was also supposed to be associated with one [redacted] who allegedly has considerable information on the Monetary System. The headquarters of this latter organization is stated to be the Single Tax Club, Room 203, 1165 Broadway, New York City.

[redacted] resides in [redacted] New York, and in conclusion it was stated that his grandparents came to the United States from Amsterdam, Holland in 1870. (Outside unknown source File No. 100-81322-4)

33

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XX215

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Advice is requested as to whether the above information and enclosures if widely distributed, as is suggested, would constitute a violation of any existing Federal statutes, and particularly the wartime sedition statute.

This Bureau is presently conducting an investigation into the background and activities of [redacted] and his attempts to distribute b7c material and initiate organizations that may possibly interfere with the present war effort. Upon receipt of additional information it will be brought to your attention.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

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336

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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Form No. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS FILE NO. 100-1461

REPORT MADE AT	DATE WHEN MADE	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE	REPORT MADE BY
CINCINNATI, OHIO	4-25-42	4-10,17-42	[redacted] b7c [redacted]

TITLE	CHARACTER OF CASE
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE	INTERNAL SECURITY (G)

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS: Informants advise that subject organization in Cincinnati disbanded and their executive offices closed immediately following the U. S. declaration of war. There is no known nuclei carrying on activities in this Field Division. All records of the America First Committee are presently in the custody of [redacted] b7c

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 10-12-90 BY SP8BTS/cal RUC

REFERENCE: Bureau letter dated March 16, 1942.

DETAILS: On April 10, 1942, [redacted] b2 b7D of the Cincinnati Field Division was contacted relative to the instant matter.

He advised that to the best of his knowledge the America First Committee had completely disbanded in Cincinnati and that no further activities of any kind were being carried on by that organization. He suggested that [redacted] be contacted to secure complete information. According to the Informant, [redacted] b7c b7D

DEBA Oc 10/21/91

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: [redacted] SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES

100-4712-337

RECORDED & INDEXED

APR 27 1942

b7c

COPY IN FILE

Bureau
Cincinnati

[redacted]

7—9094

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
INTERNAL SECURITY (G)

[redacted] advised that he had been [redacted] of the America First Committee in Cincinnati; that he entered the organization upon the invitation of [redacted] one of the organizers of that committee in Cincinnati during the fall of 1940. When he was convinced that the U. S. was going to enter the war, he resigned from the organization and so advised that group of his opinion. He stated that all of the records of the organization are presently in the custody of [redacted]

[redacted] was certain that the organization had completely disbanded following the declaration of war and that no further activities of any kind were being carried on. He said that he knew the leaders of the group very well and has seen them innumerable times since December 1941. Had there been any activity whatsoever he believed he would know about it. He suggested, however, that this information be verified by contacting [redacted]

While interviewing [redacted] on another matter, the subject of the America First Committee came into the conversation and [redacted] discussed openly and freely the activities of that organization in Cincinnati. He stated that he had been [redacted] since its very inception; that they had enjoyed considerable success in their organization during the latter part of 1940 and the first part of 1941. Their membership at one time reached 13,000 members. He stated that at the beginning of the organization in Cincinnati, he had no idea that the organization would assume such large proportions. [redacted]

On the day following the Declaration of War, [redacted] ordered the offices of theorganization closed and called a meeting of the Board of Directors of the Committee for the following day. At that meeting the organization was officially dissolved, and there has been no activity whatever in Cincinnati since that day.

[redacted] added that he knew the America First Committee had kept offices open in some cities in the country and were

continuing their activities. However, he saw no purpose to be served by the organization now [redacted] He stated that there had never been any connection between the America First Committee and any other organization in Cincinnati. He knew of no organization or of no group of members who might be attempting to carry on the work under another name. b7C b7D

Inasmuch as there appears to be no activities of this Committee in the Cincinnati Field Division and no further leads to be covered here, the instant case is being

REFERRED UPON COMPLETION TO THE OFFICE OF ORIGIN

"XXIII"

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10-17-90 BY SP8BTJ/CL

Detroit, Michigan

April 23rd, 1942

Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D.C.

Gentlemen:-

I am quite interested in the protection, etc. of the United States and the Allies, being an American citizen and British descent.

I am very well aware of the fact that there is a lot of feeling in this City for Germany, whether they are naturalized or not - it makes no difference with most of them. I have a lady friend who long before the war became a very good friend of mine - she is from Germany and is a naturalized citizen. She told me herself that she has three brother-in-laws here in Detroit and they work in defense plants and that they did everything they could do, to the last, to keep from doing defense work, as, of course, they are helping make things which the allies are using to fight their own relatives in Germany.

So I feel that these naturalized Germans are the boys who cause a lot of trouble in the factories here - they tell me that plenty of these large machines break down, for no good reason, and that production is held up in many ways. I do not trust one of them as far as I can see them and I guess no good loyal American does.

Another thing, I heard over the radio from some radio commentator that the America First Committee was going to be investigated, contributions, where to, from whom, etc., I do hope that the FBI will do this very thing, especially in this City, it will maybe do a lot of good and show where the most of the feeling lies. There is a man by the name of Gerald L. K. Smith here, who is no better.

RECORDED 100-4112-33

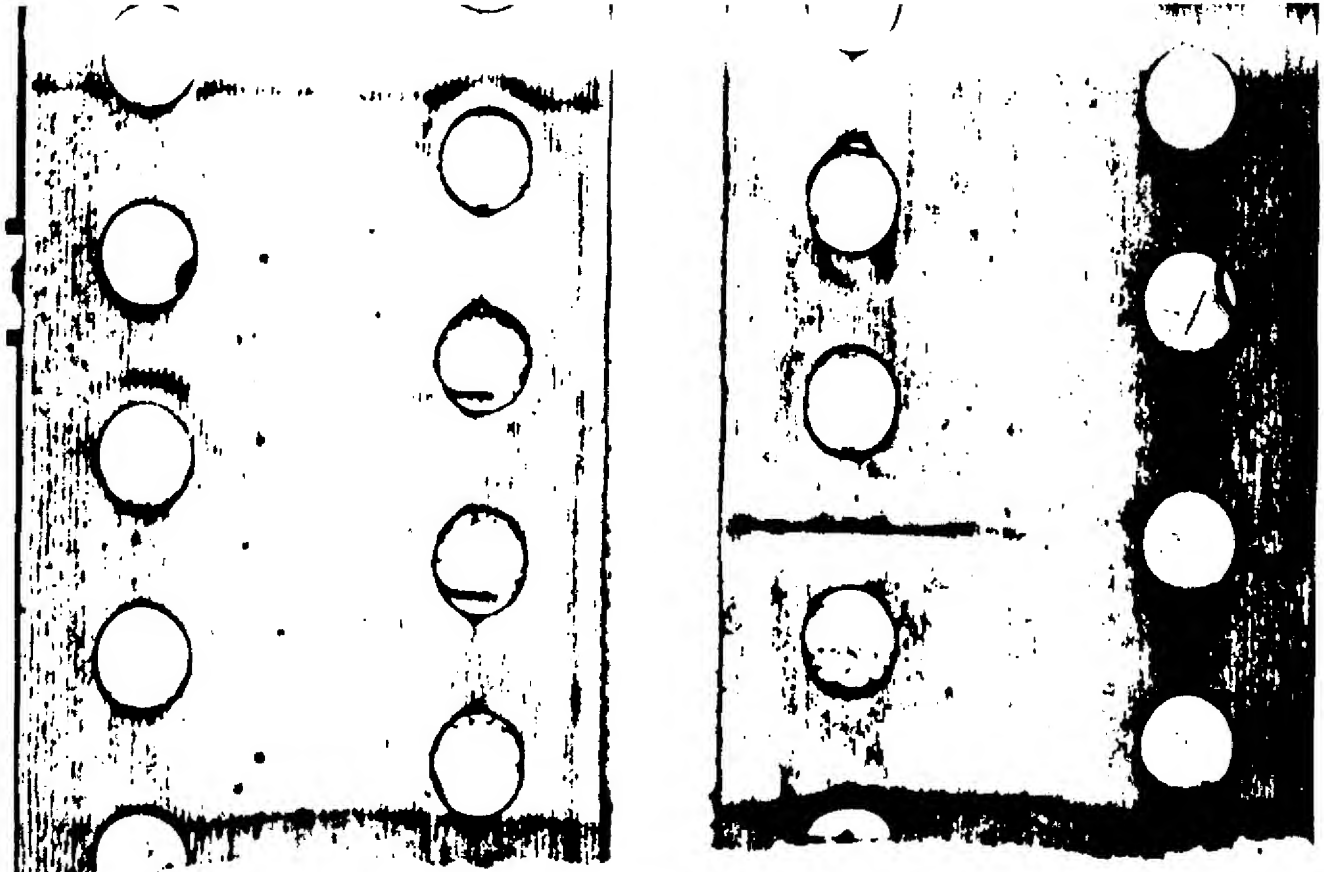
Yours very truly,

An American Cit

[redacted] b7C

3 MAY 25 1942

P.S. I happen to know some 282 things about it.



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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10-17-90 BY SP8BTJ/COL

Federal Bureau of Investigation

Washington, D.C.

161-4717-1331

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XX 192

ADDRESS REPLY TO "THE ATTORNEY GENERAL" AND REFER TO INITIALS AND NUMBER

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

WASHINGTON, D.C.

April 22, 1942

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. E. A. Tamm	
Mr. Clegg	
Mr. Glavin	
Mr. Ladd	
Mr. Nichols	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Tracy	
Mr. Carson	
Mr. Coffey	
Mr. Bowden	
Mr. Kramer	
Mr. McGuire	
Mr. Quinn Tamm	
Mr. Nease	
Miss Gandy	

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. J. EDGAR HOOVER, DIRECTOR
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In reference to your memorandum of January 7, 1942 relating to the examination of material in the possession of [redacted] of New York City, we have communicated with [redacted] and he suggests that the material is dispersed at this time. b7c b7D

We are asking Mr. Samuel Bisgyer of this Unit to contact [redacted] in New York in an effort to locate the material and have asked him when the material is located to communicate with Mr. Foxworth in your New York office, in order to give him an opportunity to review the material if he so desires.

DEFERRED RECORD

memorandum 4/17/42 FBI [redacted] b7c
Ltr to SACNY 4/17/42

Lawrence M. C. Smith
Chief, Special Defense Unit

By Frank W. Crocker
Frank W. Crocker
Assistant Chief

COPY

FOR DEFENSE

COPY IN FILE

RECORDED & [redacted]

100-4712-339
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
15 APR 28 1942
[redacted]

FBI b7c

7X190

J. EDGAR HOOVER
DIRECTOR

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

[redacted]

10 P.M.
4/23/42

April 23, 1942

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. LADD

Re: Examination of Material in
Possession of [redacted]
New York, New York

b7C
b7D

Reference is made to the attached memorandum dated April 22, 1942, which was received from the Special Defense Unit of the Department relative to the examination of material in the possession of [redacted] of New York City. In this memorandum it is stated that Mr. Samuel Bisgyer of the Special Defense Unit would contact [redacted] in an effort to locate the material and that Mr. Bisgyer was instructed to communicate with the New York Office of the FBI in the event the material was located, in order that the Bureau could review it.

On April 22 [redacted] telephoned me stating that he was proceeding to New York City on the following day for the purpose of reviewing the material in [redacted] possession. He advised that he would like to have an Agent of the New York Office assist him in reviewing the data, and that he could be reached at his residence in [redacted] indicated that the material to be examined might be located in the office of "The Hour" organization, but that he contemplated making arrangements in order that the material could be examined somewhere other than in this office. Supervisor [redacted] telephoned Special Agent [redacted] of the New York Office on the evening of April 23, 1942 concerning this matter, stating the Bureau desired that an Agent of the New York Office immediately get in touch with Mr. Bisgyer in order to assist him in the examination of [redacted] material. It was pointed out to Agent [redacted] that [redacted] was reported to have material pertaining to Fifth Column activities in the United States, and that Mr. Foxworth would personally recall plans which were made several months ago whereby a representative of the Department and an Agent of the New York Office were to examine this material, and that these plans fell through at that time.

b7C
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b7C

A letter has been directed to the New York Office confirming the instructions issued relative to assisting Mr. Bisgyer in the examination of the material referred to above.

Respectfully,

E. A. Tamm

100-4712-339

RECORDED & INDEXED

APR 28 1942

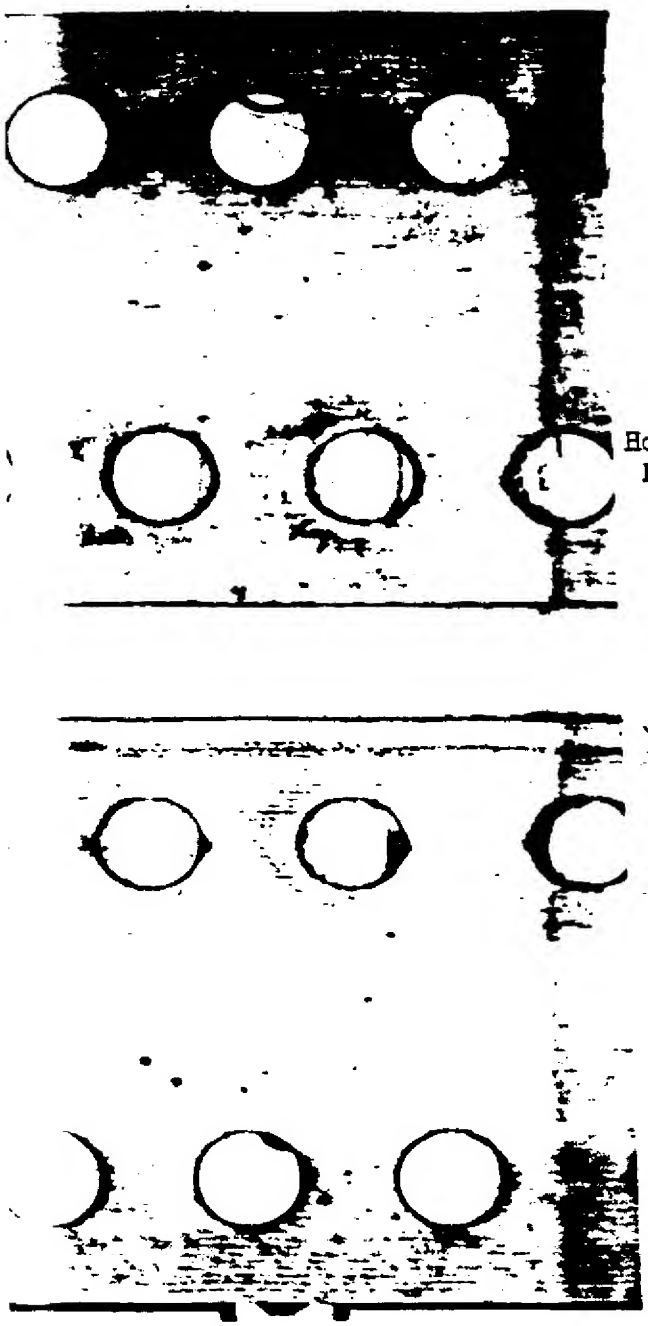
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

E. K. Mumford

5 MAY 1 1942

1 ENCLO. 15

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 10-17-90 SP3B/sdc



United States Senate

April 7, 1942.

Respectfully referred to

Hon. J. Edgar Hoover,
Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation,
Washington D.C.

with thanks for such favorable consideration as the communication herewith submitted warrants, and for a report thereon, to accompany return of inclosure.

By direction of H. C. Lodge, Jr.

H.C.Lodge, jr. U. S. S.

100 - 4112-34

APR 4 1942

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b7C

April 6,1942;

Senator Henry Cabot Lodge,
Washington D.C
Dear Senator Lodge.

I am hoping that this letter will reach you after you have returned refreshed from your Easter recess. It is about something which troubles me very much because of its sinister implications

We all know that the Amtorg Company in New York formerly was the headquarters of the OGPU but now that Russia has become sacro sanct and no one must breathe a word of criticism about her I fear that thosheadquarters have spread all over the country. And that Boston is not free from their sinister practices.

To be specific. At the out-break of the warthe younger men of American First enlisted. And quite privately entre nous from what I have observed in the face of one of them at least,I should say that the War Department was making him pay for his beliefs. I saw him to-day and he looked like a man who had been tortured. I hardly knew him. They made him kitchen police and i it is possible that hard work has produced the change. To go on— The women of the party continued to keep in touch with each other by meeting once a month at lunch,but of course not carrying on their former activities. Now suddenly they have been subjected enquiry by the FBI on charges of subversive activities. It came to them as a complete surprise. They have no idea who is at the bottom of it but suspect that one of their members is a traitor At least,she brought one day two women as guests and throughout the meeting these women took notes of what was happening in shor hand, Nobody asked why because they had been accepted as guests of a friend. And it was after their visit that the investigation began.

Also the Secretary was visited by women who urged her to bring the members into a peace society and she thought that they were trying to trap her. But she kept clear of them.

Now my contention is - that if we are not to be treated to the methods of the OGPU,they have a right to know who sent the investigators and why.

I do not altogether accept their explanation because another seems just as plausible to me . It could be the Wilkie campaign carried on under coverhe having announced his intention of purging the Republican party of America First members. Of course there is Bushnell to help with all his power - he could be an OGPU all by himself and no one who heard him speak at the Republican meeting can doubt where he stands. Claiming Wilkie as a leader. Then there was Wilkie's rally at the Women's Republican Club a short while ago when he spoke of the Republican leaders adding modestly " Of which I am one."

And then there are the Agar-Eichelberger combinatio who held the red rally in Symphony Hall last winter,shrieking with joy when the red flag was unfolded. To play the Internationale it seems has become a commonplace.

I am writing to you entirely on my own iniative without the knowledge of the others. But this is what I am insisting - if we are not already a totalitarian state they have a right to know the names of their accusers and of what they are accused. With specific, explicit statements. Let those short hand women read to some authority what they wrote - although I am not sure that it would not be a garbled version of what ever they heard

Please help me in this. Once before you showed a letter of mine to J. Edgar Hoover and got his advice. Cannot you put the case to him hypothetically without names or places ?

Yours very sincerely,

b7c

XX188

[redacted]-4712-340

April 24, 1942

Honorable H. C. Lodge, Jr.
United States Senate
Washington, D. C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10-12-90 BY SP3BTS/cc

My dear Senator:

I was glad to receive your letter of April 7, 1942 and its enclosure and have noted with considerable interest the content of the letter directed to you by [redacted] on April 5, 1942. b7c

It was indeed kind of you to forward me this information and I want you to know that this matter will be given appropriate consideration.

The enclosure which you forwarded with your letter of April 7, 1942 is being returned to you herewith.

With expressions of my highest esteem and best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. McGuire
Mr. Holloman
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

Enclosure

5 MAY 8 1942

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED 6
APR 24 1942 P.M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

APR 24 4 11
RECEIVED-DIRECTOR
F B I
U.S. DEPT OF JUSTICE

b7c

[redacted]

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

FILE NO. 100-1789

REPORT MADE AT	DATE WHEN MADE	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE	REPORT MADE BY
HUNTINGTON, W. VA.	4-27-42	4-1,12,15,19,20,21,24-42	[redacted] b7C

TITLE	CHARACTER OF CASE
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE	INTERNAL SECURITY-C

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS: Surveys conducted in West Virginia and no indication found of activity of America First Committee or endeavor to keep same alive.

EUC

REFERENCE: Bureau letter dated 3-16-42.

DETAILS: Surveys were conducted in Huntington, Charleston, Bluefield, Wheeling, Wellsburg, Weirton, Fairmont, Moundsville, Parkersburg, Clarksburg, New Martinsville, and Morgantown, West Virginia, to ascertain if there is any activity in connection with the America First Committee or if the Committee is being kept alive in an underground manner. The surveys were thorough and were absolutely negative, there being no indication of any activity of any kind on the part of the America First Committee. No evidence was obtained that the America First Committee has ever been active in the State of West Virginia.

The names of the persons contacted in connection with the surveys are on file in the Huntington Office but are not being set out herein.

REFERRED UPON COMPLETION TO THE OFFICE OF ORIGIN

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10-12-90 BY SP8BTS/COC

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: R. J. Unterseher SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

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100 + 4712 + 341

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3-Chicago
2-Huntington

[redacted] b7C

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[redacted]

XX174

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS — Phoenix FILE NO. 100-779

REPORT MADE AT	DATE WHEN MADE	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE	REPORT MADE BY
Phoenix, Arizona	4-28-42	4-20,28-42	[redacted] b7C

TITLE: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE — CHARACTER OF CASE: INTERNAL SECURITY - C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 10-17-90 BY SP9B15/cal

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS: Information from informant indicates AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE is inactive at present time. However, [redacted] b7D was transmitted to its Chicago Headquarters prior to termination of organization.

- RUC -

REFERENCE: Bureau letter to all offices dated March 16, 1942.

DETAILS: AT PHOENIX, ARIZONA

b2 b7D

[redacted] advised that at the time the Arizona Branch of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE disbanded, immediately after the outbreak of the war, the following persons were officers:

FRANK HILGEMAN, Chairman.
WALTER C. DAY, Vice-President.
Mrs. LOIS MUNSIL, Secretary.
Mrs. HELEN PERKINS, Treasurer.

Information was furnished by informant that at the time the organization was disbanded it was composed of approximately 200 persons and further, that the names of the members appear upon the charter of the organization, which charter was to have been sent to the National Headquarters in Chicago, Ill. However, informant advised [redacted] was sent to the National Headquarters while the organization was functioning. He stated that since the termination of the organization there has been no agitation on the part of any former members to continue any semblance of an organization. b7D

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: [redacted] SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

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100 + 4712 + 342
252 APR 30 1942 RECORDED & INDEXED

4 COPIES OF THIS REPORT
5 - Bureau
2 - Chicago
2 - G-2 Phoenix
1 - ONI Tucson
2 - Phoenix

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b7C [redacted]

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE 7—9034

YY 175

Phoenix file No. 100-779
Re: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
SA: [redacted]

b7C

However, informant stated that at the time the organization was disbanded a resolution was passed by the members authorizing the president, at any time deemed necessary, to notify all the members to call a meeting at some subsequent time. Informant advised that even though this was done there is no plan at the present time to hold any meetings in the future, but the resolution was passed in order to meet any contingency which might arise.

[redacted] advised that there is no activity by any of the former officers of this organization. She stated that some of the members feel that their motives were not properly understood and feel rather keen when accused of being responsible for this country's not being properly prepared for war. She advised that [redacted] of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE, is primarily anti-administration and while he is thoroughly loyal to the Government at the present time, as far as the war effort is concerned, he is almost constantly associated with some reform movement and at the present time he is trying to start a money reform movement in Phoenix, Arizona.

b2 b7D

b7C

Informant advised that in the event there is any activity in the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE at any time, she will immediately advise this office.

- REFERRED UPON COMPLETION TO THE OFFICE OF ORIGIN -

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

1 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

☑ Deletions were made pursuant to the exemptions indicated below with no segregable material available for release to you.

Section 552		Section 552a
☐ (b)(1)	☐ (b)(7)(A)	☐ (d)(5)
☐ (b)(2)	☐ (b)(7)(B)	☐ (j)(2)
☐ (b)(3)	☑ (b)(7)(C)	☐ (k)(1)
_____	☑ (b)(7)(D)	☐ (k)(2)
_____	☐ (b)(7)(E)	☐ (k)(3)
_____	☐ (b)(7)(F)	☐ (k)(4)
☐ (b)(4)	☐ (b)(8)	☐ (k)(5)
☐ (b)(5)	☐ (b)(9)	☐ (k)(6)
☐ (b)(6)		☐ (k)(7)

☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.

☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.

☐ Documents originated with another Government agency(ies). These documents were referred to that agency(ies) for review and direct response to you.

_____ Pages contain information furnished by another Government agency(ies). You will be advised by the FBI as to the releasability of this information following our consultation with the other agency(ies).

_____ Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s): _____

_____

☐ For your information: _____

_____

☑ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

100-4712-342 pg. 3

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXX

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X DELETED PAGE(S) X
X NO DUPLICATION FEE X
X FOR THIS PAGE X
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

FBI/DOJ

[redacted]-342
100-4712-[redacted]

May 14, 1942

RECORDED

Special Agent in Charge
New York, New York

RE: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
INTERNAL SECURITY (C)

Dear Sir:

There are attached hereto copies of a memorandum dated May 1, 1942, received at the Bureau from the Special Defense Unit of the Department of Justice dealing with certain contacts made in New York City regarding the captioned organization. It is noted therefrom that the information in the files of the Anti-Defamation League, New York City has been made available to Special Agent [redacted] in accordance with the arrangements of Samuel L. Risgyer of the Special Defense Unit.

In view of the interest of the Special Defense Unit in securing a completed report in this regard, you are directed to give preferred attention to the completion of the review of this material and the submission of a report.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10-17-90 BY SP8BTS/bc

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E.A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Kramer
Mr. McGuire
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

Enclosure

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED 7
★ MAY 15 1942 P.M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

DEPT OF JUSTICE
RECEIVED-MAIL ROOM
MAY 12 3 55 PM

MAY 21 1942

b7c

XX 172

ADDRESS REPLY TO "THE ATTORNEY GENERAL" AND REFER TO INITIALS AND NUMBER

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

WASHINGTON, D.C.

May 1, 1942

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Kramer
Mr. McGuire
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy
Files

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. J. EDGAR HOOVER

DIRECTOR, FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Re: [redacted] b7C b7D

In accordance with arrangements made by this Unit with [redacted] of New York City and the Bureau, referred to in the memorandum from the Bureau to this Unit dated January 7, 1942 and further referred to in the memorandum of this Unit to the Bureau dated April 22, 1942, Mr. Samuel S. Bisgyer of this Unit conferred with [redacted] together with [redacted], a Special Agent attached to your New York office, on April 28, 1942 at the office of Life and Time magazines, 14 W. 49th Street, New York City. FBI b7C

[redacted] informed the representatives of the Department that the material which he had in connection with the proposed publication of the Nazi influence on the America First Committee, had been returned by him shortly after the declaration of the state of war. The bulk of this material came from the files of the Anti-Defamation League in New York City. Mr. Bisgyer made arrangements with the League to facilitate the examination of this material by [redacted] FBI b7C for a cursory examination only could have been made in the limited time at Mr. Bisgyer's disposal in New York.

After [redacted] has abstracted this material, we will appreciate your forwarding a copy of his report to this Unit. FBI b7C

Lawrence M. C. Smith
Chief, Special Defense Unit

By Frank W. Crocker
Frank W. Crocker
Assistant Chief

COPIES [illegible]

RECORDED & INDEXED

100-4712-343

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
18 MAY 1 1942
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
[redacted]

EX-9

FBI b7C

XY 169

5-2
NH

[redacted]

April 25, 1942

b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10-17-90 BY SP4 [illegible]
[illegible] Paragraphs [illegible]
[illegible] Cover Letters
dtd 5/30/91
9123 Chestnut 8/14/91

Special Agent in Charge
New York, New York

Dear Sir:

100-4712-26

Reference is made to your letter dated December 18, 1941 and to Bureau letter dated January 7, 1942 concerning the desire of the Special Defense Unit to review material in the possession of [redacted] of New York, New York, pertaining to Fifth Column activities in the United States. You will recall that several months ago arrangements were made for a representative of the Department and a Bureau Agent to examine this material, but these arrangements fell through and the material was never examined.

b7C

This is to confirm the information and instructions furnished Special Agent [redacted] of your office by Supervisor [redacted] on April 23, 1942.

On April 22, 1942, the following memorandum was received from the Special Defense Unit of the Department concerning this matter:

"In reference to your memorandum of January 7, 1942 relating to the examination of material in the possession of [redacted] of New York City, we have communicated with [redacted] and he suggests that the material is dispersed at this time.

b7C
b7D

We are asking Mr. Samuel Klagsbrun of this Unit to contact [redacted] in New York in an effort to locate the material and have [redacted] when the material is located to communicate with Mr. Farnsworth in your New York office, in order to give him an opportunity to review the material if he so desires."

On April 22 Mr. Samuel Klagsbrun of the Special Defense Unit of the Department communicated with the Bureau stating that he would proceed to New York City the following day for the purpose of examining the material in [redacted] possession. He requested that an Agent accompany him to examine the data and pointed out that he could be reached at his residence in [redacted]

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. McGuire
Mr. Holloman
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED 10
APR 28 1942
P.M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

100-4712-344
[redacted]

b7C

XX 170

[redacted] Mr. Ringer stated that the material to be examined might be located in the office of "The Hour", and that if this was the case he wanted to make arrangements so that he and the Agent assisting him could examine the material at some other location. b7c

In accordance with the instructions furnished Special Agent [redacted] of your office on April 23, 1942, the Bureau desires that an Agent of your office contact Mr. Ringer and assist him in an examination of the material in [redacted] possession. All information obtained from this examination which appears to be of interest should be forwarded to the Bureau at the earliest possible date. b7c

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

XX-163

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
New York, New York

[redacted]
100-9887

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 10-17-90 BY Segoe/CC

May 2, 1942 b7c

Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Re: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE;
INTERNAL SECURITY - C.

Dear Sir:

Reference is made to Bureau letter dated April 25, 1942 confirming information and instructions telephonically communicated to Special Agent [redacted] of this office by Supervisor [redacted] of the Bureau, on April 23, 1942 and concerning the examination of material relating to subversive activities in the possession of [redacted] by Mr. SAMUEL BISGYER, of the Special Defense Unit of the Department.

On April 28, 1942, following several days of contact with Mr. BISGYER, Special Agent [redacted] of this office, accompanied Mr. Bisgyer in his call upon [redacted] New York City. However, at the time of this interview [redacted] informed that all of the material in question had been returned by him some time ago to [redacted] and who is known to the Bureau and the New York field office. b7c b7c

At this time [redacted] advised that he had secured such material which pertained to subversive activities, particularly concerning the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE, in contemplation of writing a series of articles or a book exposing certain Fifth Column activities in the United States. He spoke considerably, and with apparent sincerity, about the necessity of exposing such activities through journalistic efforts and his hope that such could be accomplished with the cooperation of the Department of Justice and other governmental agencies.

It should be noted that at the time of this interview, [redacted] mentioned that he understands that [redacted] mentioned above, and from whom he had secured his material and to whom he had returned it, is about to publish a book of a similar nature, although he indicated that he questioned the veracity of any matter set forth by [redacted]

100-4712-345

Subsequent to the interview with [redacted] Mr. BISGYER indicated to accompanying agent that it was his belief that most of the material in ques-

1 MAY 6

[redacted] b7c

8 MAY 1942

5/14/42 [redacted] 282 343

XX 164

tion which [redacted] had secured from, and returned to, [redacted]

b7C
b7D

[redacted] had furnished considerable material upon the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE and similar organizations. Such material was produced by [redacted] and upon examination proved to be reports of his informants relating to activities and personnel of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE prior to its official dissolution in December of 1941. A preliminary examination of such proved it to be largely worthless material in the nature of bare allegations, Mr. BISGYER so expressing his opinion. However, arrangements were made with [redacted] for further and more detailed examination of the material in his possession and for the furnishing of duplicate copies of such to the New York Field office where such is possible. It is anticipated that this will be accomplished within the near future and any material of value concerning the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE will be included in reports of the investigation of it which is presently being conducted and any other information of interest from such source will be promptly furnished the Bureau.

Very truly yours,

P. E. Foxworth

P. E. FOXWORTH,
Assistant Director

XX 128

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

FORM NO. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT Chicago, Illinois FILE NO. 100-3819

REPORT MADE AT	DATE WHEN MADE	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE	REPORT MADE BY
Springfield, Illinois	5/8/42	3/31; 4/2,14, 16,17,28,30/42	[redacted] b7C

TITLE	CHARACTER OF CASE
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE	INTERNAL SECURITY:G

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS: Investigation has disclosed that the America First Committee has apparently never been active in downstate Illinois, although a few meetings were held prior to the outbreak of war with Japan, and that no activities of the Committee are presently being carried on in the Springfield division. The Lincoln Park Chapter of this Committee was chartered on July 24, 1941 by the Corporation Division, Secretary of State, Springfield, Illinois, but no information available at Springfield as to its present activities as same are apparently centered in and around Chicago.

- R.U.C. -

REFERENCE: Bureau letter dated March 16, 1942.

DETAILS: Upon receipt of referenced Bureau letter appropriate inquiry was instituted in all principal communities in the Springfield division with a view to ascertaining the extent of activities of the America First Committee prior to United States entry into this war, as well as the extent of the Committee's present activities in this division.

AT SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS

Interviews were conducted by the writer with numerous sources of information in this city, including the following:

[redacted] b7C b7D

APPROVED AND FORWARDED:	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES
MAY 23 1942		100-4712-346 RECORDED

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5 Bureau
3 Chicago
2 Des Moines
2 Springfield

[redacted] b7C

FX-14

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE—O— 7—2004

Newspaper Morgues, Illinois State Journal and Illinois State Register.

It was ascertained through these sources that the America First Committee had never had an organization in Springfield and had never held any meetings here, nor is there any indication of any present membership in Springfield in this organization.

It may be stated that about one year ago Agent attended a public debate held at the Centennial Building, Springfield, between a representative of the America First Committee and a representative of the Committee to Defend America by Defending the Allies. This was attended in a personal and not an official capacity. The writer does not recall the names of the speakers but does recall that both were from Chicago, the representative of the America First Committee being an instructor at the University of Chicago. Debate was very mild and nothing was mentioned which could be construed as subversive.

AT DECATUR, ILLINOIS

Agent personally contacted the individuals listed below regarding this matter:

[redacted]

It was ascertained from the above individuals that this Committee had never had a branch in Decatur, although a public meeting was held in Decatur in the early part of 1941, at which a Chicago America First speaker gave an address. All of the above informants advised that the Committee is totally defunct so far as Decatur is concerned and that there is no indication of any underground movements allied with this organization.

b7C
b7D

AT PEORIA, ILLINOIS

[redacted] advised Special Agent [redacted] that only two meetings of the America First Committee were held in Peoria and that these were during summer of 1941. An effort was made at that time to get the organization going in Peoria and the American Legion kept in close touch with the situation. However, the entire project fell through due to the fact that no one could be prevailed upon to be a candidate for any of the official positions in the organization. [redacted] He advised that since those meetings there has been no attempt whatever to revive the organization.

[redacted] advised reporting Agent that there is no semblance of the America First Committee left in Peoria.

YX/3b

AT DANVILLE, ILLINOIS

The following individuals were contacted by Special Agent [redacted] b7c relative to this matter:

[redacted] b7c b7D

These informants stated that the Committee had never been active in Danville and that it has never had nor does it now have any semblance of an organization here.

AT CHAMPAIGN, URBANA, ILLINOIS

The following investigation was conducted by Special Agent [redacted] b7c

[redacted] was contacted and he advised that at one time an attempt was made to organize an America First Committee [redacted] but their petition to organize was tabled [redacted] and no further attempt was made. Since that time no other organizations of similar nature have sprung up. [redacted] could provide the petition and other correspondence regarding the Committee.

[redacted] which stated that a petition was received from [redacted] b7c b7D acting Chairman and requesting permission for the recognition of the America First Committee.

[redacted]

[redacted] also furnished the petition in this instance which listed the following people as petitioners: [redacted] b7c

There was a letter in the files [redacted] dated [redacted] addressed to the America First Committee, [redacted] quoted as follows: "Dear Friends: We wish you success in the organization of an America First Chapter and should like to contribute to your chapter if you will please write that you received this letter. Father O'BRIEN is doing so much for our cause that we should gladly help to defray the expense of bringing him here as a speaker. With sufficient publicity we feel Father O'BRIEN would draw a large audience and create such enthusiasm that America First would grow strong in this locality" and was signed [redacted] and [redacted].

[redacted] advised he had never had any indication that the America First Committee was ever organized or ever held any meetings in Champaign-Urbana and neither were there organizations of similar character in existence at the present time.

[redacted] He advised that the America First Committee was never organized in Champaign-Urbana but was only in the discussion stage; that not too much interest was taken in it and so it just faded out of the picture. [redacted] said that [redacted] had been the most active one in getting the petition signed [redacted] Further, he stated that there were no organizations of a similar nature that he knew of now located in Champaign, Urbana.

AT ROCK ISLAND AND MOLINE, ILLINOIS

The following investigation was conducted by Special Agent [redacted]

[redacted] advised that the Chairman of the America First Committee Chapter in Moline was J. R. ROSBOROUGH a young attorney who is highly reputable and thoroughly patriotic and loyal. He stated that Mr. ROSBOROUGH could be contacted discreetly for any information desired concerning the activities of the America First Committee.

[redacted] advised that he agreed [redacted] inasmuch as he honestly believed at one time that every effort should be made to prevent this country's becoming involved in the war. He stated that the Committee did not meet with much success in Moline and Rock Island; that it had about two meetings which were fairly well attended and received a small number of memberships in this locality. [redacted] advised further that in accordance with the expressed position of the Committee he was certain that all activity had ceased in this chapter [redacted]

b2 b7D

[redacted] whose identity is known to the Bureau, advised that so far as he knows there has been no attempt made to retain a nucleii within the now defunct Moline Chapter of the America First Committee, which was the only one in Rock Island and Moline, Illinois. In this connection he advised, however, that he had heard that there had been some such attempt to maintain some organization among the former members of the Davenport, Iowa Chapter of the Committee. He could furnish no more specific information regarding this report.

AT EAST ST. LOUIS, ILLINOIS

b7c

The following investigation was conducted by Special Agent [redacted]

E. R. MCHALE, Assistant United States Attorney, who is a member of the American Legion and who follows civic affairs closely, advised that he had never seen any indication of the above Committee in East St. Louis.

[redacted] stated that there had been no indication that this Committee had functioned in this city. He checked the [redacted] with negative results. He mentioned that [redacted] who had been an Officer of the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies, would be able to furnish definite information in this regard.

[redacted] stated that the America First Committee apparently never established a branch in East St. Louis. He said on one occasion it was announced that a speaker representing this committee would speak at the City Hall, and he said a check revealed that either two or three people attended this meeting. He commented that this Committee apparently had a good deal of strength in St. Louis, Missouri and he thought it likely that a number of residents of East St. Louis had attended some of the public rallies of the Committee in St. Louis.

The persons interviewed stated there was not the slightest indication of any activity on the part of the Committee in the vicinity at present.

AT SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS

Reference is made to Chicago letter dated April 17, 1942 in which this office was requested to obtain certain information concerning the incorporation of the Lincoln Park Branch of the America First Committee.

In accordance with that request the records of the Corporation Division, Secretary of States's office in Springfield were checked and it was ascertained that the Lincoln Park Chapter, America First Committee, was chartered by the Corporation Division on July 24, 1941, certificate #11366. The object of the corporation, as set out in its certificate of incorporation, is quoted as follows: "To encourage and maintain in the United States of America, 1. peace and the democratic ideal, 2. program of adequate defense, 3. in furtherance of peace in this continent a policy of non-intervention in the affairs of other continents."

The Incorporators and Directors for the first year are listed in order.
E. T. KIEHL, 440 West Huron street, Chicago
H. E. LARSON, 1044 West Byron Street, Chicago
C. O. SANDS, 111 West Washington street, Chicago

The business office of the Corporation is listed as being located at 3752 North Clark Street, Chicago.

It was further ascertained that this corporation had not yet filed the annual report of its activities, which was due in February 1942, and that unless same is filed in the immediate future steps will be taken by the Secretary of State to dissolve the Corporation. No further information concerning this organization is available at Springfield.

REFERRED UPON COMPLETION
TO THE OFFICE OF ORIGIN

XXIV

UNDEVELOPED LEADS

THE DES MOINES OFFICE AT DAVENPORT, IOWA

Will ascertain whether the America First Committee or former members thereof are attempting to carry on any activities in this vicinity which might be inimical to the national defense.

REFERRED UPON COMPLETION
TO THE OFFICE OF ORIGIN

XX127.

RECORD OF WI[redacted] TO ALL SACS

RECEIVED _____

CALL PLACED _____

COMPLETED:

CONFERENCE 101 _____ By _____

CONFERENCE 117 5:27 pm By JH

CONFERENCE 118 6:25 pm By JH

CONFERENCE 119 6:55 pm By JH

JUNEAU - coded by Lab. Sent to laboratory 4PM

~~HONOLULU~~ from Quigley - coded by Lab. Sent to laboratory 4PM

SAN JUAN - coded by Lab. Sent to laboratory 4PM

REMARKS: ALL [redacted] TAINED HEREIN [redacted] NED DATE 10-17-90 BY SP1BTJ/CAL

100-4712-347

1/1

XX 122

[redacted]

100-4712

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

b7c

To: COMMUNICATIONS SECTION. May 11, 1942

Transmit the following message to: ALL SAC's [redacted]

ATLANTA
CINCINNATI
HONOLULU
HUNTINGTON
KNOXVILLE
PHOENIX
PORTLAND
ST. PAUL
SAVANNAH

San Diego by Radio

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE; INTERNAL SECURITY - C. IMPERATIVE EARLY ATTENTION BE GIVEN THIS CASE IN ALL DISTRICTS. ALL OFFICES DIRECTED TO SUBMIT INITIAL REPORT WITHIN FIFTEEN DAYS.

HOOVER

INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10-17-90 BY SP8BCK

Green to Sat. 4 PM
5-11-42

RECORDED

100-4712-34

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
15 MAY 12 1942

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5 AUG 17 1973

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Overton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Miss Gandy

MAY 23 1942

Conf 117 explaining [redacted] activities

b7c

SENT VIA [redacted] RADIO 6-00 PM Per

XX121

[redacted]
HEREIN [redacted]
LAT: 10-12-90 BY SPBotkin

100 4762-348

CANCELLED

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER
DIRECTOR

XX 73

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

LBN:NWD

March 20, 1942

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. TOLSON

DATE 10-17-90 BY SP1 [illegible]

On March 12, 1942, Mr. Henry Paynter of the War Productions Board called at my office with reference to the attached clipping covering the recent speech of Donald Nelson. He pointed out that the WPB was very much disturbed since it appeared that the Navy Ordnance was on the verge of breaking relations with the WPB.

By way of background, Paynter advised me confidentially that the full conversion program of the automobile and other industries would not be worked out until August or September, and right now the WPB schedule was only 50 per cent on schedule in production; that the only possible way of making any progress was to speed up industry by putting pressure on for longer hours and fuller use of productive equipment. Further, that Nelson is exerting terrific pressure on industry to speed up and there is some fear that labor might revolt.

The fear that the Navy might break with WPB is based upon the fact that the Navy has indicated they feel that Nelson's pressure might have a tendency toward Sovietizing American industry.

Paynter has reason to believe that the Navy opinion came as a result of [redacted] pointed out that [redacted] is very close to [redacted] and that [redacted] had apparently persuaded [redacted] and in turn [redacted] the Navy, that at present the production drive had dangerous ramifications in that Nelson was asking labor to give up its rights.

ENCLOSURE

RECORDED 100-4712-349

Paynter wanted to know confidentially if we could furnish him any information on [redacted]. In turn I told Paynter confidentially that if he would check the records he would [redacted]

[redacted]

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FOR DEFENSE
BUY UNITED STATES SAVINGS BONDS AND STAMPS

[illegible]

Paynter told me that the Timkin Ball Bearing Company was a competitor of S.K.F. [redacted] one of the high officials of the WPB; that a story is being circulated around Washington that S.K.F. is affiliated with the Swedish Ball Bearing Company which is controlled by Axel Wenner-Gren who also controls the Bofors Company and the Swedish Munition Trust. [redacted] according to Paynter, has no connection whatever with Wenner-Gren.

Paynter also pointed out that [redacted] on the recommendation of [redacted] was employed on a consultant basis with the Navy Department. [redacted] it will be recalled, is [redacted]

Late yesterday I received a telegram from Paynter advising that [redacted] was secretly paid by [redacted] was the chief secret financial backer of the America First Committee and that [redacted] was a secret paid adviser to Mr. Lindbergh, General Wood, and Senator Wheeler. [redacted] according to Paynter, told a former partner that he would fight for Germany under certain conditions. Paynter pointed out he expected more information within the next day or two.

b7C

RECOMMENDATION:

Insofar as the Henry Paynter request is concerned no action is necessary on the part of the Bureau, although an Assistant Secretary of the Navy did write a letter to the Bureau requesting information on [redacted] last week. As soon as Paynter returns to Washington I will get all of the details from him, and it is entirely possible that some of his information might be of assistance in the current investigation of the America First Committee.

Respectfully,

L. B. Nichols

LBN:NHT

ADDENDUM: March 21, 1942

Henry Paynter called at the office this morning and advised that he had just returned from New York. While he was there, he talked to [redacted] is now with [redacted] He advised Paynter that the partner of [redacted] is now [redacted]; that [redacted] left

3-19 b2 b2

b7c

[redacted] about a year ago on account of [redacted] connection with the America First Committee. [redacted] further pointed out that in January, 1941 [redacted] tried to raise $50,000 to open an office in Washington to direct a publicity campaign against the President, Leon Henderson and Harry Hopkins. He did manage to raise $30,000 of this sum. Among the contributors were [redacted]

[redacted] has considerable information regarding [redacted] activities and he told Henry Paynter if the FBI came to him he would furnish a complete statement under oath if desired.

[redacted] introduced [redacted] to various individuals in Chicago when the America First Committee was just organized and [redacted] subsequently became an adviser to Lindbergh and Senator Wheeler and counseled Lindbergh on his speeches.

Paynter talked to [redacted] who paid [redacted] through [redacted] In this connection [redacted] stated that [redacted] did not want payments made in such a way that they could be checked. [redacted] told Paynter he still shares the views of the America First Committee but feels that now we are in the war we must win, or do everything we can to win, although he, [redacted] does not think we will win. [redacted] is now in opposition to [redacted].

Paynter stated a friend of his called [redacted] on the phone; that [redacted] stated [redacted] had stumbled on to a plot to make industr walk the greased plank. In this connection, [redacted] told Paynter that [redacted] hates Russia, and that prior to the German invasion of Russia, he made the statement that he would fight with Germany should Germany ever fight Russia.

I asked Paynter if they were going to advise any high officials in the Government. He stated he didn't think so.

I feel that we should talk to [redacted] immediately, and certainly if he makes a statement about Bard, the Assistant Secretary of the Navy, I believe the White House should be advised about it.

Respectfully,

L.B.N.

3211

XXgl

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

MAR 19 1942

WESTERN UNION

WH28 48 DL

NEWYORK NY 19 449P

J B NICHOLS

CONFIDENTIAL [redacted] SECRETLY PAID BY [redacted]

[redacted] SECRET FINANCIAL BACKER AMERICA FIRST. [redacted] b7c

WAS SECRET PAID ADVISER LINDBERGH, WOOD AND WHEELER. [redacted]

TOLD FORMER PARTNER HE WOULD FIGHT FOR GERMANY UNDER CERTAIN CONDITIONS EXPECT MORE TOMORROW

HANK.

505PM

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10-12-90 BY SP8BTJ/cal

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R-V4

3-31-42

100-4712-349

Produce Now Or Be Slaves, Nelson Says

Blunt Notice Served On Management and Labor by WPB Chief, Fears Public Wrath

Production Director Donald M. Nelson last night delivered labor and management a blunt warning that they had "a last chance" to cooperate in an intensified drive for munitions manufacture, and that if they failed the "flames of public wrath" would consume the standards of American freedom and force production by totalitarian methods.

Speaking in the second of his series of radio broadcasts to the Nation, Nelson said the way he proposed to increase production was for the Government to set the schedules, supply the materials and make the facilities available, leaving labor and management to "bend every conceivable effort" from that point on.

But if this method fails, he said, in the face of an enemy who uses the "way of bondage, of force," the necessity of having weapons so "transcends all other matters in the public mind, either political or economic," that neither free labor nor the principles of free enterprise by management could survive the resulting public wrath.

Dramatically Simple

In one of the most dramatic appeals for labor-management cooperation in recent months, Nelson painted a simple picture of "tackling this thing in the traditional American way—getting together, cooperatively, to fight the thing through to a finish."

[redacted] want to buy [redacted] and quick," Nelson declared, "We tell you, now as that today before the American people. That is our last chance to show that a free economy can survive and be strong. If free men in America don't use the strength which freedom gives to turn in a far better job than the slaves of [redacted] economies, then freedom [redacted] and that, I may add, includes the freedom of enterprise to which we are looking to deliver these goods."

The public, Nelson said is far from complacent and wants production with such "intensity of feeling" that it will make sure it gets it "one way or another."

Wants Part-time Use

Indicating the possibilities of the drive he announced last week to raise existing production rates by 25 per cent, Nelson said that if all equipment now involved in war production were used 24 hours a day, seven days a week, "we would practically double the man-hours" now going into military production.

Nelson noted that 20 per cent of American war plants now operate only five or five and one-half days a week. Many plants, he added, close on Sundays. In many others, the second shift uses only 40 per cent of the plant facilities, and the third shifts use only 20 per cent.

This, he concluded, means that thousands of machines needed for

See NELSON, Page 2, Col. 6.

Nelson Serves Blunt Warning

NELSON, from Page 1.

munitions work now stand idle part or all of every weekend and from 9 to 16 hours every weekday.

In another illustration, the production boss said that if the facilities of all the Nation's 31 aircraft engine and propeller plants were used to the same extent as those of the three with the best records, production could be increased immediately by 26 per cent.

Similarly, if all of America's 180 machine-tool factories operated at the same level of utilization as the top three, machine-tool output would be stepped up by 45 per cent, he said.

Admitting a "slack" production, Nelson insisted there was no single cause, and that blaming any one group, or "smearing," or "name-calling" would not help.

Nelson acknowledged that the cooperation he asked between labor and management would not be easy and said he was aware of the "tradition of mutual rivalry and suspicion in some plants vital to our war production."

Also Must Share Sacrifice

"But," he added, "I was never surer of anything in my life than I am that we either work together for the common good or we shall inevitably share the common evil of defeat."

"We have but little time. That time has been bought at the price of American boys fighting on lonely islands, in steaming jungles; by American boys aboard storm-tossed warships warding off the death that strikes from the clouds and from beneath the wave; by American boys fighting in the best warplanes in the world, planes of which we must make more and more fast. If through selfishness, inertia, indifference or any other cause we let them down, then the American people will damn us forever more," he said.

[redacted]

WASHINGTON POST
March 11, 1941

[redacted] 10-17-90 Several col

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

6 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

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☐ (b)(4)	☐ (b)(8)	☐ (k)(5)
☐ (b)(5)	☐ (b)(9)	☐ (k)(6)
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100-4712-349 enclosure

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FBI/DOJ

XX7/

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.
March 23, 1942

LBN:WHT

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. TOLSON

Call: 8:15 p.m.

Henry Paynter called to advise me concerning [redacted] He does not want to be contacted at his office at all.

[redacted] He has had somewhat of a change of heart since then, although not a complete change. He has very strong ideas on witch-hunting and he does not wish to be a party to anything of that sort. He is willing to tell all about America First, including his relations with [redacted] but he does not want his name involved in any way. b7c

Paynter further advised that this contact was made for him through a man by the name of [redacted] talked to [redacted] on long-distance today and arranged for Paynter to talk to him.

I told Paynter to tell [redacted] that we would have an agent contact him within the next few days.

Respectfully,

L. B. Nichols

[redacted]
DATE 10-17-90

100-4712-350

RECORDED

5 MAY 22 1942

INDEXED

COPY IN FILE

[redacted] b7c

FOR DEFENSE
BUY UNITED STATES SAVINGS BONDS AND STAMPS

RECORDED 100-4-2-350

[redacted]

March 26, 1942

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 10-12-90 BY SP2 [illegible]

b7c

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

As of possible interest to you, information has recently been received from a confidential source that a disagreement has arisen between the Navy Ordnance Bureau and the War Production Board over acceleration of production. It was stated that this possible rift was based upon the fact that the Navy feels that the program as outlined by Donald M. Nelson is a step toward Sovietizing American industry.

The informant continuing, states it is his belief that [redacted] had persuaded [redacted] of the Navy and others that the production drive had dangerous ramifications. It will be recalled that [redacted] presumably upon the recommendation of [redacted] was retained on a consultant basis with the Navy Department [redacted] you will recall, is [redacted]

With reference to the background of [redacted] in addition to his affiliation with [redacted] it is reported that he was formerly a [redacted] It is also alleged that [redacted] was formerly paid by [redacted] a leading stock exchange firm, to serve as [redacted] for the America First Committee.

Collateral to the information set forth heretofore, it is reported that [redacted], became a partner with [redacted] [redacted] now holds a responsible position with [redacted] When [redacted] first joined [redacted] as a partner, it is alleged that they both held strong isolationist views and, as a consequence, became interested in the America First Committee from its outset. [redacted] however, as time went on, gradually drew away from the isolationist viewpoint and at the present time, is not in sympathy with the aims and purposes of the America First Committee.

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SENT FROM D. O.
TIME 7:10 PM
DATE MAR 28 1942
BY [illegible]

[redacted]

XXCP

At about the time of the origin of the America First Committee, [redacted] allegedly made the acquaintance of [redacted], the arranged to influence him with a view to guiding the activities and policies of the America First Committee. In this regard, he reportedly lavishly and continuously associated Charles A. Lindbergh, General Robert E. Wood, Senator Burton K. Wheeler, and other leaders associated with the America First Committee, although he kept his affiliation carefully concealed.

[redacted] in January, 1941, reportedly proposed to [redacted] and others that he felt it desirable to raise a fund of $50,000 to open an office in Washington, D. C., for the purpose of magnifying developments and creating publicity which would embarrass the President, Harry Hopkins, Leon Henderson, and others. This Committee would also provide material which could be used against the Administration in the coming Congressional elections. Along these lines, it is reported that [redacted] was successful in raising between $35,000 and $40,000 for the establishment of this office through the following individuals:

[redacted]

b7c

Further, [redacted] reportedly with the assistance of [redacted] mentioned above, arranged a meeting in Chicago during January or February, 1941, with leading figures in the America First Committee, for the purpose of soliciting funds to open the above-mentioned office in Washington, D. C. [redacted] on one occasion, expressed his sympathies to the effect that if Russia entered the war against Germany, he would join the German Army and fight for Germany. It was stated to be the opinion of those who should know, that [redacted] was making an effort to sabotage the American war effort, and that he had completely justified his position in his own mind.

Tolson
E. A. Tamm
Clegg
Glavin
Ladd
Nichols
Rosen
Tracy
Carson
Coffey
Mendon
Holloman
McGuire
Quinn Tamm
Mease
Gandy

Another individual has reportedly explained the activities of [redacted] in discrediting the production drive as follows, [redacted] has uncovered a plot of a group in Washington to make American industry walk the greased plank." It has also been stated that [redacted] is apparently of the belief that it is his duty to "rescue the country from the New Deal even if we lose to Hitler."

XXTO

Memorandum for the Attorney General -3-

With further reference to [redacted] he admittedly has financed the America First movement and has taken an active part in furthering its policies. He also admits close association with [redacted] in that work. However, he reportedly has not recently been in [redacted] with him. It is understood also that the business associates of [redacted] are somewhat concerned over his attitude toward the present war since he has expressed himself to the effect that the President should have kept the United States out of war and that he expected this country to lose the present conflict. b2c

I thought it desirable to bring this matter to your personal attention since [redacted] is now affiliated with the Navy Department, and in view of the allegation by the confidential source mentioned hereinbefore that he was possibly responsible for the rift stated to now exist between the Navy Ordnance Bureau and the War Production Board.

This material is being submitted to you for any action deemed appropriate, and I wish to state for your guidance that I am in no position to vouch for the reliability of the sources of the information supplied.

Respectfully,
J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Tolson
E. A. Tamm
Clegg
Glavin
Ladd
Nichols
Rosen
Tracy
Carson
Coffey
Mendon
Olloman
McGuire
Quinn Tamm
Case
Sandy

350

XXX

March 21, 1942

Confidential

Mr. Robert H. Horton
Director, Division of Information
Office for Emergency Management
Washington, D. C.

[redacted] CLASSIFIED
[redacted] CLASSIFIED
DATE 10-17-90 BY SP3BTSI/cal

Dear Bob:

On my trip to New York, I ran into something quite unrelated to the purpose of my trip that I thought I ought to tell you about.

I may be taking too grave a view of the circumstances, but what I ran into seems to me to be a serious, organized threat to sabotage our production drive from very questionable quarters.

In short, it would appear that a man now retained by the Navy to handle their end of the drive is actually a man who was the secretly paid publicity adviser of the America First movement, Lindbergh, Wood, Wheeler, and a man who also has secretly solicited large sums of money to maintain and operate an office here in Washington set up for the sole purpose of embarrassing the Administration in its war effort, with a view to the coming Congressional elections.

The man is [redacted] and he was retained by James Forrestal, Under Secretary of the Navy, by letter dated March 4, 1942.

[redacted].

[redacted] was secretly paid by [redacted] became a principal financial supporter of the America First movement.

[redacted]. While I was in New York, I called on several of them for the purpose of

b7C

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explaining the nature and urgency of our production drive. As you know, this was not my mission in New York, but I had some time between appointments and thought it would be useful to tell personal acquaintances about the campaign. I told them it seemed to me that our national safety might depend on how much complete, wholehearted cooperation we got from industrial and financial management circles in the next six weeks.

I found that a number of them had the impression that the Management-Labor Committee plan, adopted from English experience, was said to be a "plot to Sovietize America." I explained to them that the origin of this version was the Berlin radio on March 4 (about which we have talked before and about which Mr. Nelson made his speech last week). One friend of mine mentioned the name of [redacted] in this connection. I do not wish to embarrass this friend under any circumstances as it so happens that he is a man who does have and will continue to have occasional personal relations with [redacted].

However, as a result of the statement, I naturally made some further inquiries.

Among other persons, I talked to [redacted] formerly with [redacted] has been an acquaintance of mine for some years. He left that firm and became the partner of [redacted] in January 1939. [redacted] now holds a responsible position [redacted].

b7c

[redacted] told me that when he first went to work with [redacted] that he, [redacted] both held strong isolationist views. When the America First movement developed, they were interested in it. [redacted] made the acquaintance of [redacted]

[redacted] arranged to finance [redacted] in order to have [redacted] guide the America First movement, according to [redacted] said that [redacted] insisted on concealing the payments that were being made through [redacted].

In this connection, [redacted] regularly and continually counseled Lindbergh, Wood, Wheeler and other leaders associated with the America First movement, although he kept his connection carefully concealed.

XXF3

[redacted] said that about a year ago [redacted] proposed to [redacted] and to others that it would be a good idea to raise a fund of $50,000 to open an office in Washington for the purpose of magnifying developments here in order to creat publicity which would embarrass the President, Harry Hopkins, Leon Henderson, and others in order to provide material which could be used against the Administration in the coming Congressional Elections.

[redacted] said that he was beginning to change his views about the America First movement and that this latest plan of [redacted] caused him to decide to break with [redacted] Prior to his break, he said that [redacted] gave him to understand that [redacted] had raised all but about $10,000 or $15,000 of the $50,000 from the following persons:

[redacted]

[redacted] made it clear that he had no evidence that these men had put up the money, but said that [redacted] had told him that. He said that [redacted] also told him that [redacted] helped him arrange a meeting in Chicago during January or February of 1941 with a number of figures active in America First financing in order to solicit funds for the purpose of maintaining the Washington office to discredit the Roosevelt Administration.

b7C

In the course of their discussion about dissolving their partnership, [redacted] said that [redacted] told him that if Russia went to war with Germany, [redacted] would join the German army and fight for Germany.

[redacted] told me that he would be willing to tell the above story under oath to the Federal Bureau of Investigation, to Congress, or to any other appropriate Federal questioner.

He said that it was his honest belief that [redacted] was making an effort to sabotage our war effort and that he thought [redacted] had completely justified his position to himself. [redacted] said that he called [redacted] had explained [redacted] present activities in discrediting the production drive by saying:

"[redacted] has uncovered a plot of a group in Washington to make American industry walk the greased plank."

[redacted] said that [redacted] believed it was his duty to "rescue the country from the New Deal even if we lose to Hitler."

I was informed by responsible men in Wall Street that [redacted] has recently been in close communication related matters with former president, Herbert Hoover.

[redacted] admitted to me on a rather personal basis that he had been dealing with [redacted] in this matter, but he was quite surprised when I told him the above connections of [redacted] Since [redacted] talked quite frankly to me on a personal basis, I should not like to embarrass him in this connection. b7C

I talked to [redacted] in his office at [redacted] and he admitted that he had financed the America First movement and had taken an active part in it and had had close association with [redacted] in that work. [redacted] told me he has recently married and has not recently been in touch with [redacted] and said that he would get in touch with him and request him not to do anything to interfere with the war production effort. [redacted] said that he thought the President could have and should have kept us out of war and that he expected we would lose the war. He did not seem greatly disturbed about this prospect. He did say that he thought no one should interfere with the war effort but did believe that "an opposition must be maintained."

Through mutual friends, I learned that [redacted] other partners are and have been considerably disturbed by his attitude on the war, but do not know what to do about it.

Needless to say, I have launched a good many other inquiries through personal friends.

I realize that I have no direct official concern in all the above, but I do believe I would be remiss in my duty as an American citizen and as a government employe if I did not do everything proper to bring this matter to the attention of the appropriate persons.

I do believe this is a shocking situation in which a man who is the secret and guilty acting adviser of an agency that has persistently performed Hitler's work in this county — and who has secretly solicited money to set up an agency in Washington for the express purpose of embarrassing our war administration at a critical time — should certainly not be permitted to remain a responsible officer of government in a position where he can effectively and apparently has been effectively attempting to sabotage the war effort.

I do not like to meddle in things which do not directly concern me and I certainly have plenty to do to keep myself busy, but I did think it was my duty to look into this thing within the time and means I had available; I believe it is my duty to acquaint you of these facts; and I earnestly urge you to acquaint Mr. Nelson, Secretary Knox, and the President with these facts. I think also you should pass this information along to Messrs. Hopkins and Henderson since they were also involved. At the very least, I think this entire matter should be thoroughly investigated by the appropriate agency and if the statements made to me are borne out, I believe the proper authorities should seriously consider federal criminal action to determine whether an effort has been made to obstruct our war effort.

Sincerely,

Henry M. Paynter
Chief, Liaison Branch

TRUE COPY
DMM

XXCT

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

OFFICE FOR EMERGENCY MANAGEMENT

WASHINGTON, D.C.

April 2, 1942

Dear Mr. Nichols:

I was unexpectedly out of town Sunday and Monday, which is why I did not phone you Sunday afternoon.

[redacted] informed my friend [redacted] that on reconsideration and that since his story would involve third persons in an unpleasant way, he thought he should tell it only after a specific request, "preferably from the FBI."

I had asked [redacted] who was going to follow through and talk to him in my absence, to let you know the outcome, but he thought that since [redacted] did not show up there was no point in calling you.

As it now stands, we do not propose to do anything more about the matter.

[redacted] told [redacted] that he could offer definite proof that [redacted] did have active connections as advisor for the America First Committee. [redacted] whose first name is [redacted] can be reached any evening at [redacted]. He now works for the leading Wall Street law firm of [redacted] but specifically requested that he not be questioned at the office, but would be agreeable to answering questions, provided you people asked them.

Please let me know if you wish any other information on this subject.

Sincerely yours,

Henry V. Paynter
Chief, Liaison Branch

Mr. L. B. Nichols
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D.C.

100-4772-351
RECORDED
MAY 14 1942
INDEXED

[redacted]

FOR DEFENSE BUY UNITED STATES SAVINGS BONDS AND STAMPS

b7C

b7C

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER
DIRECTOR

XXCC

LBN:NWD

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

April 10, 1942

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. TOLSON

From time to time Henry Paynter has been furnishing leads as to some of the secret backers of America First. On March 20 in a memorandum I set forth considerable of this material and the Director stated "I think we should get to the bottom of this mess." This information was furnished to the Attorney General. However, it does not appear that any of the individuals were interviewed who had a part in the backing of America First.

I am now in receipt of a letter from Henry Paynter which is attached with reference to [redacted] of New York who was [redacted] for the America First Committee and who has agreed to furnish the Bureau complete details regarding the formation of America First. [redacted] has stated that since his story would involve third persons in an unpleasant way he thought he should tell it only after a specific request, preferably from the FBI. I think our investigation of America First would certainly not be complete unless we do make these interviews.

b7C

Respectfully,

L. B. Nichols

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10-17-90 BY SP2 BXW/cb

memo to [redacted]

FOR DEFENSE
BUY UNITED STATES SAVINGS BONDS AND STAMPS

RECORDED 100-417[illegible]-352
INDEXED
10 MAY 14 1942
U. S. [redacted]

b7C

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER
DIRECTOR

LBN:KED

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

April 19, 1942

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. TOLSON

There is attached hereto an item pertaining to [redacted] who has been working as a consultant in the Navy Department.

Henry Paynter has furnished us with considerable information, and I am confident that he is the source of the information set forth in the attached writeup which appeared in PM on April 17.

Respectfully,

L. B. Nichols

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10-17-90 BY SP8BTS/CoL

1 ENCLO. 10

RECORDED

INDEXED

100-4712-35

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

10 MAY 14 1942

FOR DEFENSE
BUY
UNITED
STATES
SAVINGS
BONDS
AND STAMPS

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☐ (b)(4)	☐ (b)(8)	☐ (k)(5)
☐ (b)(5)	☐ (b)(9)	☐ (k)(6)
☐ (b)(6)		☐ (k)(7)

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FBI/DOJ

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

FILE NO. 100-1007

REPORT MADE AT	DATE WHEN MADE	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE	REPORT MADE BY
SAN DIEGO, CALIFORNIA	5-9-42	4-20,21,24,27, 28,29-42	b7C [redacted]

TITLE	CHARACTER OF CASE
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE	INTERNAL SECURITY - C

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

A notice in the San Diego Union newspaper advised that a Local Unit of the America First Committee was being organized in San Diego on February 10, 1941. This Local Committee operated first under the Chairmanship of Colonel GEORGE W. FISHER and later under JAMES B. ABBEY. Financial difficulties were incurred through the existence of the Committee. Units were organized in neighboring towns under the sponsorship of the San Diego Committee and a Women's Division was also organized but operated under considerable dissension. An attempt was made by members of the Executive Committee to discontinue operations on October 15, 1941, but was over-ruled by other members. [redacted] b2 b7D states that there has been no activity in the San Diego Committee since its discontinuation in December of 1941.

- P -

REFERENCE: Bureau letter to all Special Agents in Charge, dated March 16, 1942.

[redacted]
DATE 10-17-90 BY SP8BTK/cc

APPROVED AND FORWARDED:	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES
		100-4712-354

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1-G-2, San Diego
1-G-2, San Francisco
2-San Diego

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INDEXED

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U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE : 1941—O-261888

DETAILS: AT SAN DIEGO, CALIFORNIA

This report is being written at the request of the Bureau made by letter dated March 16, 1942, which requested that a review of the files in the Field Division be made for background information and that following that investigation be made to determine the present activity existent.

No active investigation has been conducted, however the following information has been obtained from the files of [redacted] and to some extent from memoranda in the Field Office file. b2 b7D

The files [redacted] reveal that a newspaper article dated February 10, 1941 announced the organization of a Local Committee of the America First movement in San Diego with offices at 644 San Diego Trust and Savings Bank Building. Appearing as Chairman was Colonel GEORGE W. FISHER of the United States Army Reserve, who is stated to be a politician closely identified with the Republican Party who has in the past been accused of Anti-Semitism. . It is noted that [redacted] b7

The first meeting which is known to have been held by this Organization to which the public was invited was held on March 13, 1941 at the Russ Auditorium where Governor LaFOLLETTE appeared. LaFOLLETTE delivered a speech which the files [redacted] revealed to have been Anti-British and Anti-Administration. These files further indicated that the Auditorium was only partially filled and that from the applause the impression was gained that the gathering was made up principally of Anti-British individuals as everything that was said in ridicule of Britain was readily applauded while remarks which were pro-American received only moderate applause. b2 b7D

[redacted] b7D

It is to be noted that [redacted] is the subject of file [redacted] in the San Diego Field Office where memoranda indicate that he was against this country's entry into War but that he was not pro-German. The file also indicates that he was in opposition to the ROOSEVELT administration. b7C

XX 43.

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b7D

Information from the files [redacted] indicated that at the time of this meeting the organization in San Diego had 416 members.

The next meeting revealed was held on May 22, 1941, at which time Colonel FISHER stated that it was his intention to resign from Chairmanship on May 28th as he had been recalled to active duty in the United States Army. The thought was expressed by members of the Committee that the next Chairman should be an individual with a military title or a businessman of consequence with a good reputation.

The files [redacted] revealed that JAMES B. ABBEY was elected to the position of Chairman effective July 1, 1941. ABBEY was formerly District Attorney in San Diego.

On June 6, 1941 another public meeting was held at the Lincoln School, at which time Dr. RICHARD F. CARLYLE delivered the address. The files [redacted] revealed that this speech was decidedly Anti-Administration and that the statement was made by CARLYLE that the Government was crooked and was really in the hands of criminals. He criticised the infirmities of the President's Cabinet. That file also indicated that those in the audience had stated that there were approximately 340 persons present, most of whom were judged to be past 45 years of age and more than half of whom were thought to be of German descent. [redacted] In the front of the building [redacted] a number of Communists were distributing pamphlets advertising a peace mobilization meeting to be held on the following Friday.

b2
b7D

Information from this informant's files revealed that the Committee in San Diego was having some difficulty in obtaining adequate finances to carry on its operations and that on June 10, 1941 had circularized all of its members and those on its mailing lists offering 100 "Defend America" seals at $1.00. [redacted]

[redacted] b7D

The next large meeting to be held in Southern California was on June 20, 1941 at which time Colonel LINDBERGH addressed members of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE at Los Angeles. Active solicitation was made in San Diego to obtain a sufficient number of reservations to charter a special train from this city but only 104 reservations were gotten. Of these only 44 actually traveled to Los Angeles by train although approximately 150 others were reported to have driven there.

The expense involved in preparing posters and in the effort to obtain a large number to attend this meeting caused the Committee to have a deficit of approximately $200.00. It is reported by the informant's files that at this meeting the Socialist Labor Party and members of other groups distributed circulars. On this trip this informant states that many derogatory remarks were made concerning President ROOSEVELT and his Cabinet.

In an attempt to improve finances, a meeting of the Budget Committee was held on July 1, 1941 and it was approved that dues of $1.00 per month would be charged for each member who could possibly afford to pay that sum. Previously the organization had been operating chiefly on a contribution and membership fee basis.

In July of 1941 the files [redacted] revealed that a colored section of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE was organized in San Diego. Those members belonging to that organization were very mild in their ideas and favored aid to England, although they were apparently not anxious to send any men to foreign countries for purposes of war. The files of this informant failed to reveal any activity on the part of this colored section. b2 b7D

On August 1, 1941, at a meeting of the members of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE, it was announced that a Women's Group was to be organized with the first meeting to be held on August 7th. At the first meeting of that Group there were 18 members present and by August 19, 1941, the membership had grown to 38. Also in the month of August, chapters under the supervision of the San Diego Committee became active in La Mesa, Chula Vista and Imperial Valley, California. Each of these had its Local Chairman, but operations were conducted through a Headquarters Office in San Diego under the direct supervision of the San Diego Committee. Membership in these groups was not large

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there being approximately 50 in La Mesa and Chula Vista and in the vicinity of 100 members in Imperial Valley.

On October 3, 1941 a large public meeting was held at the Ford Bowl in Balboa Park, San Diego, at which time Senator BERTRAM K. WHEELER was the feature speaker. The files [redacted] revealed that b2 b7D there was an attendance of approximately 5,000 people and that a large percentage of those attending appeared to be members of the Industrial Class. It was estimated that approximately 75 men in uniform were also in attendance. These files further indicated that there was a good representation of Local Communists and Bund members present. There was stated to be no enthusiastic applause and it was also commented that literature was placed on all cars parked within the vicinity of the auditorium by those alleged to be Communists announcing a speech to be delivered in the following week entitled, "Foe of Appeasers." At this meeting FRANK O'FARRELL is stated to have said that the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE telephone wires had been tapped and that membership rolls had been checked for Communists by the FBI.

The following morning on October 4, 1941, there appeared in the San Diego Union and reappeared in the afternoon paper the following quotation, "Frank O'Farrell, of the America First Committee, under auspices of which Wheeler spoke, charged the Federal Bureau of Investigation had 'tapped' our wires and looked over our membership lists looking for Communists."

Special Agent in Charge HAROLD NATHAN contacted [redacted] b7C who stated that as far as he knew no such activities had been participated in by the San Diego Office of the Bureau and that he himself did not hear the statement made by O'FARRELL. He stated that he regretted that O'FARRELL had made that statement.

Special Agent in Charge HAROLD NATHAN also contacted [redacted] b7C b7E

The matter was brought to the attention of the Editor-in-Chief of the San Diego papers, Mr. E. T. AUSTIN, by Special Agent in Charge NATHAN and the morning issue for October 7, 1941 of the San Diego Union covered a statement that the FBI had not been active whatsoever in that direction.

An apology was made by General WOOD who was a National Leader of the organization.

YYNG

[redacted] b7C

On November 10, 1941 a public meeting was held at the ROOSEVELT Junior High School and was conducted entirely by the Women of the San Diego America First Committee. The speaker was Dr. HYMAN [redacted]ISCHNER who is of Jewish descent. The attendance which amounted to 633 individuals was indicated by the files [redacted] to have been made up principally of those of German extraction. A contribution of $100.00 was taken up in the form of a collection. b2 b7D

It was noted that the files [redacted] indicate that considerable dissension arose among members of the Women's Division of the America First Committee and that meetings frequently were accompanied by personal arguments among those present with regard to individual beliefs.

On November 22, 1941, 100 local members of the America First Committee were addressed by Judge EDWARD J. KELLEY, who at that time stated that he was not a member of the Committee. It is noted, however, that the files [redacted] indicate that KELLEY was one of the early members of the Committee. KELLEY'S speech indicated an Anti-British inclination as revealed by the files of this informant and stated that Britain "was a real disturber of the World for generations past." Some disorder was noted at this meeting and the audience had to be brought to order by those on the platform.

[redacted] was consulted on May 1, 1942, as to any information that he may have of activities of this Committee at the present time and it was stated by him that there is no activity whatsoever existent. He said that his informants had been very closely connected with the Committee and would be aware the moment that any activity began. It was further stated that [redacted] will be obtained and will be supplied to this Field Office.

- PENDING -

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UNDEVELOPED LEAD

THE SAN DIEGO FIELD DIVISION

At San Diego, California, will obtain the [redacted] which will be available from [redacted] in the near future.

b2
b7D

-PENDING-

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

FILE NO. 100-1036

REPORT MADE AT	DATE WHEN MADE	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE	REPORT MADE BY
NORFOLK, VIRGINIA	5-12-42	4-3,4,10,21-42	[redacted] b7C

TITLE	CHARACTER OF CASE
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE	INTERNAL SECURITY - G

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS: Investigation at Norfolk reflects that the America First Committee was unsuccessful in affecting an organization. The membership was negligent. On about November 25, 1941 an attempt was unsuccessfully made to reorganize.

- P -

REFERENCE: Bureau letter dated March 16, 1942.

[redacted] DATE 10-17-90 BY S-8875/c

DETAILS: AT NORFOLK, VIRGINIA

[redacted] b7C b7D advised the writer that he did not have any knowledge concerning the organization of the America First Committee and that it apparently had not made any inroads in this area due to the fact that Norfolk is well known as a service town and organizations of a pacifist nature were not well received.

[redacted] advised that the America First Committee had not been very successful in the Norfolk area but had attempted to organize and apparently had not obtained worthwhile results. He mentioned that [redacted] was active in this organization. He stated that [redacted]

[redacted] advised that he has a slight knowledge of [redacted] and that he recalls his activities to be particularly active along prohibition interests. He stated

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: MAY 21 1942 SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

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100-4712-355

RECORDED & INDEXED [redacted] b7C

MAY 14 1942

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100-1036

that he had never had any knowledge that the America First Committee was a working organization in the Norfolk area and believes that if it had obtained any degree of success it would have come to his attention. [redacted] b7C b7D

He stated that a meeting was held at 8 p.m. [redacted] informed that he took an interest in their meeting in that he did not know its purpose but stated that he did not hear anything subversive and that as far as he was concerned it was not very much in the nature of a meeting as the place was not filled and apparently no activity was going on.

[redacted]

A perusal of the morgue records at the Norfolk Virginian Pilot reflected that on September 13, 1941 an article was printed entitled "DUNNING Warns Against War." The article reflected that acting chairman A. J. DUNNING, JR. told members of the local America First Committee on September 12, 1941 at Birtcherd's Dairy that they should make their voices heard against this effort to entangle us in the eternal bickerings and strife and murder in old world affairs. It is noted that [redacted]

[redacted] Norfolk, Virginia advised that he was in his office on November 25, 1941 and [redacted] came in seeking directions. He advised that [redacted] gave his address as [redacted] and stated to him that he had an appointment with members of the America First League and was desirous of contacting a dentist at Newport News.

b7C
b7D

With the assistance of [redacted] called Newport News, [redacted] which is the office of [redacted] Street, Newport News, Virginia, and shortly thereafter [redacted] left and went to Newport News, Virginia. [redacted] advised that in his conversation it was noted that [redacted] exhibited an attitude that was very much anti-British and admitted that he was very anxious to foster an advanced cause of the America First Committee as he believed it essential to the national welfare. [redacted] stated that he disagreed with him and was rather surprised to note that a member of the clergy should have such an outspoken attitude.

In view of the fact that the America First Committee has been unsuccessful in the city of Norfolk it was not deemed advisable to contact [redacted] in order to ascertain from him any information regarding its activities since persons contacted could not vouch for his reliability and indicated that he was one who sought publicity for his own means.

For the information of the Boston Field Division a copy of this report is set out as it is noted that [redacted] stated he was associated with [redacted]

- PENDING -

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100-1036

UNDEVELOPED LEADS

NORFOLK FIELD DIVISION

AT NEWPORT NEWS, VIRGINIA

Will conduct a very discreet investigation to determine whether the set up by the America First Committee in the Newport News area is now being used by foreign interests or by individuals cooperating with foreign interests in such a manner as will interfere with national defense effort.

It is suggested that approaches to persons who were formerly connected with the committee should be made only after it has reasonably been ascertained that they are not part of any underground organization now functioning.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

FORM NO. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT Chicago, Illinois

FILE NO. 100-1924

REPORT MADE AT	DATE WHEN MADE	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE	REPORT MADE BY
Seattle, Washington	5-11-42	4/12 - 5/8/42	b7C [redacted]

TITLE	CHARACTER OF CASE
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE	Internal Security - G

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

List of officers, sponsors of meetings and members set out. [redacted] b2 b7D reports that organization in the state of Washington has disbanded and all papers, etc. have been returned to Chicago. No evidence of foreign interests or operating underground.

R.U.C.

10-17-90 SP8 TJC CL

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 9-20-95 BY SP2 MAS #24113

REFERENCE: Bureau letter dated March 16, 1942.

DETAILS:

A review of the files of the Seattle Field Office reflects the following persons to have been affiliated with the America First Committee and also other information regarding the activities of these individuals.

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: W. B. Hatcher SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

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MAY 1 [illegible] 1942

[redacted] b7C

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The leaders of the America First Committee in the state of Washington are as follows:

FRED H. SUKRY, Regional Director. [redacted]

MARGARET KALBERG, executive secretary of the Seattle Chapter of the America First Committee, [redacted] Seattle, Washington,

EARL KENNELL, vice-chairman of the Seattle Chapter of the America First Committee. [redacted]

MARY KNOX, president of the Northwest America First Women's Committee.

Miss B. N. McCLOUD, Secretary of the Northwest America First Women's Committee.

Mrs. A. E. JACOBS, [redacted], Spokane, Washington, regional director of the America First Committee. [redacted]

Dr. H. H. SCHLOMER, Inland Empire organizer for the America First Committee. [redacted]

Miss RHEBA HURN, organizer of the America First Committee at Spokane, [redacted]

YYS

Mrs. ELIZABETH SLATTNER, [redacted], is director of the America First Committee of Washington.

Mrs. ROBERT LEA, [redacted] Tacoma, Washington, is director of the America First Committee. b7C

OTTO A. CASE is director of the America First Committee and had been named to the executive committee. Case resides at [redacted]. He is Washington state treasurer and state chairman of the America First Committee.

The biggest function of the America First Committee in this area was held on April 18, 1941, at Spokane, Washington, at which time Senator BURTON K. WHEELER of Montana addressed the organization and in his speech criticized the present American foreign policy. The functionaries of the meeting were as follows:

EDWARD M. CONNELLY, presided at the meeting. He has recently been appointed U. S. Attorney at Spokane.

REV. C. E. HATERIUS, pastor of the Salem Lutheran Church, delivered the invocation.

REV. FATHER JAMES V. LINDEN, Gonzaga University, introduced Senator WHEELER.

MRS. W. B. MASECAR led the salute to the flag.

The following persons sponsored the meeting:

NELLE C. ADAMS
MRS. PEARL AORES
MRS. H. H. BECKLEY
H. H. BECKLEY
EWING P. DAVIS
MRS. EWING P. DAVIS
E. B. DOBBIE
MAGDALINE DOOSE
REV. EDWARD G. ERNST, [redacted] b7C

MRS. GERTRUDE FALK
N. C. FINROW
CHARLES FREBURG
MRS. CHARLES FREBURG
MRS. JAME GABLE

HARRY HARDER
REV. AND MRS. C. E. HATKRIUS
REV. U. F. HAWK
RAY HERRLING
LOWELL E. JACOBS
FRANKLIN JACOBS
EMMA ATKINS JACOBS
MISS MARY KEATING
MRS. LOIS KEKLER
MRS. LOUISE LARKIN
BETTY LEGRANT
G. R. LINDEEN
MAURICE LINDHOLM
DR. MARY MacMILAN RODNEY
MRS. DORA McGARRY
EARL MORRISON
HAROLD PEDERSON
HELEN R. PETERSON
HENRY A. PIERCE, JR.
EDWARD J. RING
DR. FRANCES E. ROSE
LUCIE R. ROYCE
J. SANDERS
H. O. SCHUMAKER, [redacted]

FRANK P. WEAVER
RUTH WEST
FRED LEE WOOD

The following were also reported as members of the American First Committee: b7C

EUGENE BRUNNER, reported to be organizer of America First Committee
V. P. PRINGEE, [redacted]

GEORGE ELMER BROWN, chairman at meeting at which RUSH HOLT spoke
Leader of Steuben Society at Spokane, [redacted]

ROYE E. LOWE
JOSEPH E. HURLEY, Spokane legislator who introduced RUSH HOLT at meeting on November 23, 1941
ORVILLE BODDY, [redacted]
MARGARET STRONG, [redacted]
DR. JACOB THORKLESON

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[redacted] was contacted by Special Agent in Charge H. B. FLETCHER and he subsequently advised this office that he had information from two very reliable sources that the America First Committee had folded up after Pearl Harbor and that all of the papers of every kind and nature under the control of the state organization had been shipped back to Chicago.

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b2D

The Bureau will be kept immediately advised by the Seattle Field Office as to any information received by this office that the subject organization is under domination of foreign interests inimical to the welfare of the United States or is still operating in this area.

REFERRED UPON COMPLETION TO THE OFFICE OF ORIGIN

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

This case originated at CHICAGO, ILLINOIS — N.Y. File No. 100-[redacted]

Report made at	Date	Period	Report made by
NEW YORK, NEW YORK	5/13/42	4/9-11,13,15, 17,18,21-25/42	[redacted]

Title	Character of case
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE	INTERNAL SECURITY - C

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS: Apparently no united effort being made by extremist element of dissolved America First Committee, N.Y.C. since its dissolution. New organizations created and supported by members of such element include Americans for Peace headed by Horace J. Haase; Gifts for Our Boys headed by Mrs. Alice Holmes; Women United headed by Mr. and Mrs. Charles Wicker-dorf and Beatrice Brown; Salute Our Men, Inc. headed by Mrs. Esther Bennett and Post War World Council headed by Mrs. Marie D. Hilliard. All such organizations and leaders apparently attempting to gain support of former isolationists and anti-administration elements of America First Committee and majority advocate a negotiated peace. Indications that some possibly possess partial files of New York America First Committee. Foreign elements within such organizations as yet undetermined. However, such officers of New York America First Committee, including John T. Flynn, chairman; Edwin S. Webster, Jr., secretary; H. Dudley Swim, treasurer; and Robert L. Bliss, are apparently refraining from open affiliation with, or support of, new organizations. Americans for Peace publishing weekly news letter and chapter of such reported being formed St. Louis, Mo.; Philadelphia, Pa.; Kenton, Ohio; Indianapolis, Indiana; Buffalo, N.Y.

- P -

#219,863
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 7/1/97 BY SP6BTJ/RBG 10-17-90 SP6BTJCAL

REFERENCE: Letter from Bureau to all field offices dated 3/16/42. Letter from Bureau to N.Y. Field office dated 3/18/42, Bureau file 100-4712.

Approved and forwarded: [redacted] SAC

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100 - 4712 358

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EX-1[illegible]

100-9287

DETAILS: At New York City

In view of Bureau reference letters indicating that efforts were possibly being made to keep the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE alive and active and the possibility that such might be used in a manner detrimental to the best interests of the United States, a review of miscellaneous information on file in the New York Field office and concerning the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE disclosed the following information:

Under date of December 12, 1941, [redacted] whose identity is known to the Bureau, in a memorandum to the New York office reported as follows: "A highly confidential source has reported that E. V. GREGORY, head of the speakers' bureau of the subject committee, presented a teletype message that he had received from General WOOD which read 'Don't give up the sponge. The America First Committee will continue on a changed platform against Communism, totalitarianism, etc.'".

b2

A memorandum from the same source dated January 9, 1942 reported that, "Since the outbreak of the war many committees were started by America First members and their affiliates of the 'Christian Front'. The official purpose of these committees is to provide entertainment and social facilities to soldiers and sailors and to do a lot of flag waving. But in many cases the under-lying motive is to establish contacts with the Army or Navy for propaganda purposes, impressing upon the men that they will only fight and die so that Communism may flourish here.

"These committees are particularly active in the Queens and Brooklyn sections of New York City and the driving personalities behind them are the same that used the America First Committee for anti-administration and anti-Jewish propaganda prior to the outbreak of hostilities".

Under date of January 12, 1942 a memorandum from the same source stated as follows: "At the recent meeting of the executive board in Chicago, General Wood had a fight on his hands before he could put through a resolution dissolving the America First organization. The New York crowd favoring LINDBERGH wanted to keep it alive because the organization was going into politics and they had spent $34,000 for advance publicity books, etc., which is now almost a total loss. However, the New York crowd which is also connected with a good many Catholics in the New York-New England area, has decided to carry on. They are trying to think up some special patriotic outfit under which they are going to work. No matter what the outfit's name is, the same mess of pro-Nazis, Coughlinites, etc. will be connected with same."

Attention is also called to the reports forwarded by the Bureau to the New York Field office secured from a confidential source which report the meeting held at the home of Mr. EDWIN S. WEBSTER, JR., Beekman Place, New York City, former New York secretary of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE, and attended by approximately 50 persons formerly active in the New York organization. It should particularly be noted that following the speech by COLONEL CHARLES A. LINDBERGH at such meeting, in which Lindbergh stated that America First can not be active at the present time, Mr. HORACE J. HAASE voiced his sentiments for keeping the organization active inspite of the necessity for the leaders of the AMERICA FIRST, such as General WOOD and EDWIN S. WEBSTER, JR., to remain quiet. At such time HAASE is reported as having indicated his intentions of keeping the organization active in a quiet way and of offering to maintain the organization files and records.

Also contained in the copies of such confidential reports is a report of a similar and smaller meeting at the apartment of MRS. MARIE D. HILLIARD, 7 Park Avenue, New York City, on December 17, 1941, the attendance of which was largely composed of former active members in the New York organization of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE. It is reported that HORACE J. HAASE spoke at this meeting concerning the needs for a new organization and it is reported that a desire for such was indicated by such former members as MRS. HILLIARD; Mr. CULLEN, former chairmen of the Bay Ridge unit of the America First Committee; MRS. MARJORIE LANE, now connected with Women United; AMOS R. E. PINCHOT; EDWIN S. WEBSTER, JR.; and JOHN G. SCOTT, editor of "Money", who it was reported would print the advertising for the new organization in his paper "Money" and would mail out 10,000 copies.

A copy of a confidential report dated January 17, 1942 from the same source and transmitted to the New York Field office by the Bureau stated in substance that the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE is going to be kept intact and it is believed that the FORD interests in Detroit, Michigan are going to finance it in a careful manner; that the organization is not going to mix into the war very much but will be kept intact for the purpose of carrying on the hate campaign against President Roosevelt. It was further reported that GERALD L. K. SMITH of Detroit, Michigan has secretly been on the FORD payroll for at least 3 years and that the Central Control Commission of the Communist Party believes that GERALD SMITH has the complete mailing lists of the AMERICA FIRST group.

The New York files also contain a memorandum from Confidential Informant A dated January 24, 1942 captioned AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE; MISS MARJORIE KENNEDY, 1711 Popham Avenue, Bronx, N.Y.; and which states as follows: "On January 22, 1942 a meeting and dinner of former workers of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE was held at JOE KING'S RATSKELLER located

on Third Avenue and 17th Street, New York City. Miss Kennedy was in charge of this dinner committee and mailed out notices. She was a stenographer with the NO FOREIGN WAR COMMITTEE and later with the America First Committee. She is described as a rabble rousing type of person. ————".

A confidential memorandum from the same source under date of January 31, 1942 states as follows: "It is believed that the AMERICA FIRST group in the east under the leadership of the COUGHLIN followers are soon to come out with a new outfit. When they do, JOHN L. LEWIS will quietly approve. LEWIS has been receiving praise from the Coughlin followers recently and this praise is being used in almost every section of the country. According to reports from the CIO at Washington the group has carefully set up the country into districts. They have revised all the mailing lists and in addition they have made arrangements with other groups which can be classified as pro-Nazi for an exchange of mailing lists. This arrangement is now in effect and many of these pro-Nazi groups are circularizing so called patriots with the sale of literature, etc. These lists are not being carelessly handled because of the fear that some may demand a government investigation of their activities. However, it has been learned that the AMERICA FIRST and their so called supporting groups have now a secret mailing list of 8,476,000 names of people in this country. A vast number of this list are on the West Coast and lately a great many of the foreign speaking groups have been circularized. There is no doubt but that certain sections of names from the major lists have been used in sending out this mail."

Under date of February 9, 1942, [redacted] in a memorandum furnished the following information to the New York Field office: "An AMERICA FIRST underground organization under the leadership of CHARLES A. LINDBERGH is being formed. The first evidence of this is two secret meetings which were held at the homes of persons high in the AMERICA FIRST organization on December 17, 1941. More than 50 persons were present at 10 Beekman Place, New York, home of AMERICA FIRST leader EDWIN S. WEBSTER, JR., to hear CHARLES A. LINDBERGH counsel the continuation of the AMERICA FIRST type of organization. The second meeting, held a few days before in an apartment on lower Park Avenue, was sponsored by a women who was one of the New York heads of WOMEN UNITED, America First auxiliary. It is understood that these are the first of a series of house parties which will keep alive America First contacts.

"The meeting at the Beekman Place address was a dinner given for the members of the speakers' bureau of America First. Those present were the minor subleaders; borough heads, district heads and leading speakers ————. The second meeting held at the lower Park Avenue address discussed the formation of a new organization with a more open anti-Semitic

program than the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE utilized. Present at the meeting were the persons active in WOMEN UNITED, an America First auxiliary, and an editor of a small financial magazine whichhas spread the of Zion.————————" Undoubtedly the last portion of the memorandum quoted above refers to JOHN G. SCOTT, editor of "Money", 1165 Broadway, New York City.

Under date of February 25, 1942 the Boston Field office in a letter to the Bureau and under the caption GIFTS FOR OUR BOYS, AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE GROUP; INTERNAL SECURITY with a copy for New York advised as follows: "From a reliable and confidential source it has been reported that literature and requests for contributions are being distributed under the title of 'GOB'. The letterhead lists the office as being 150 Broadway, New York City. The Gifts Headquarters is room 1144, Plaza Hotel, New York City. Literature states that if we must have a war we must win the war and claims that the intent and purposes of the group is to boost the morale of our men. It is suggested that these gifts be not less than the amount of $500. Active are MRS. IDA M. COOPER, Mr. and Mrs. HOLMES, JOHN BURKE, THELMA BERRICK, MRS. De LUCA, Mr. and Mrs. AMOS PINCHOT, Mr. and Mrs. NIXDORF and ANDREW SMITH, who is Bronx chairman of the America First Committee, and MRS. BENNETT of the No Foreign War Committee. These names will be recognized as active America Firsters which proves that this organization is not disbanded but intends to operate in an underground fashion."

In an effort to ascertain more definitely the nature and extent of the alleged present activities of the America First Committee in New York City, agent contacted [redacted] Informant at such time stated that he has not been in close contact with any of the members of the organization or reliable informants concerning same for some time. However, he stated that it had been his observation that numerous of the more radical members of the original America First Committee in New York City were carrying on their anti-war, anti-administration agitation through other new organizations. He stated that he believes the most active of these newly formed groups are AMERICANS FOR PEACE at 1165 Broadway, New York City, which has recently been organized by HORACE J. HAASE, who was formerly quite active in America First Committee particularly in the Brooklyn section of New York City; and WOMEN UNITED under the leadership of Mr. and Mrs. CHARLES NIXDORF and BEATRICE BRONT, 54 West 46th Street, New York City. He exhibited to agent a copy of a mimeographed statement recently circulated by HORACE J. HAASE and AMERICANS FOR PEACE and bearing Haase's name as acting executive chairman of such organization, such statement setting forth the principles and aims of the new organization, informant remarking that he believed such statement indicated that this group

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#163

100-9887

is presently acting for the America First interests in New York City. Informant made such statement available to agent and photostatic copies of such are being retained in this file in the New York office and also will be furnished the Bureau and interested offices.

At the time of this interview [redacted] stated that he believes considerable information pertaining to any present activities of the America First Committee in New York City could be obtained from [redacted] are mentioned by the Bureau in its memorandum concerning the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE forwarded with reference letter of March 16, 1942. However, inasmuch as the files of the New York Field office contain considerable questionable information concerning [redacted] it is not deemed advisable to make contact with him at this time. Informant advised that he would attempt to discreetly secure any information available concerning the present activities of the American First group which he would promptly furnish to the New York Field office.

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[redacted] upon interview by agent advised that [redacted]. He stated that during the summer of 1941 it had become apparent to him that the organization membership was becoming largely foreign and possibly subversive. He stated that he had maintained some doubts concerning the organizers and officers but because of his belief in the basic isolation principles of the America First Committee he had continued working with it although from time to time he would furnish information concerning questionable members to the New York Field office. He further stated that during the summer of 1941 definite friction had developed in the New York organization because of the radical tendencies of some of the officers, principally upon the anti-Semitic issue, and that a radical group headed by EDWIN S. WEBSTER, Jr., secretary, who is himself violently anti-Semitic, and a group which in his opinion is more conservative although called radical by its opposition headed by JOHN T. FLYNN, chairman, were distinctly divided and friction was prevalent principally because of the anti-Semitic issue. He stated that it was his understanding that because of the differences and friction in the New York organization, [redacted] had been sent from Chicago to New York City to attempt to effect a reconciliation and the smooth operation of the New York organization. According to informant, [redacted] main job in the New York organization had been in this line.

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Concerning the actions of the New York organization following the opening of hostilities on December 7, 1941, [redacted] advised that upon December 8, 1941 representatives from all chapters had congregated at the Committee headquarters, 515 Madison Avenue, New York City. VINCENT GIACQUINTO [redacted] the chairman of the Bronx chapter, was selected as spokesman for the group and following a conference with JOHN T. FLYNN, AMOS R. E. PINCHOT, EDWIN S. WEBSTER, Jr., and EVELYN PALMER, all members of the New York executive committee, GIACQUINTO advised the chapter representatives that an executive committee meeting with all members present would be held at headquarters that afternoon, December 8. At the afternoon executive committee meeting, it was decided unanimously (after telephonic communications with national headquarters in Chicago) to suspend all further activities pending a final decision of the national committee at an executive meeting to be held in Chicago on December 12. Pending this meeting, only county headquarters were to remain open, no more literature was to be distributed and all posters were to be taken down.

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On December 13, JOHN T. FLYNN returned from the national executive committee meeting in Chicago and immediately sent a report to chapter chairmen advising them of the decisions of the national committee, which were briefly as follows:

1. Official dissolution of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE in the interests of a national unity.
2. The forwarding of all records and money on hand to the national executive committee in Chicago for a final accounting and disposal.
3. The destruction of all signs, posters, literature, letterheads, etc. and discontinuance of all activities under America First auspices.
4. The payment of two weeks advance salary to all employees, terminating their employment on December 27, 1941.

[redacted] continued, saying that JOHN T. FLYNN had carried out the mandates of the national committee. He had stationed a guard from the Holmes Protective Agency at the New York headquarters to insure the safety of the records until they could be delivered to Chicago. The employees were paid and all offices were closed. The general consensus of opinion of the organization was that although they did not want war the best thing was to pitch in and help win the war in the interests of national unity. However, informant stated that the extremist or radical element referred to previously has, in his opinion, constantly refused to recognize the mandate of the national executive committee. He stated that the first sign of an attempt to carry on activities against the administration and the war was the party held for the former street speakers of America First at the home of EDWIN S. WEBSTER, JR. on December

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#165

100-9887

17, 1941 at which LINDBERGH spoke, which meeting was referred to previously in this report.

Immediately following this meeting, former AMERICA FIRST members were quietly sounded out as to their opinions and feelings for continuing AMERICA FIRST activities under an entirely new setup. The spark plug of this movement is MRS. ALICE HOLMES, formerly in charge of the America First chapter office at 67 Liberty Street, New York City, and whose husband has been a stock broker in New York City for many years. MRS. HOLMES is violently anti-Semitic and has openly boasted that she can raise unlimited funds. Informant stated that she is known to have displayed checks totaling several thousands of dollars the morning after LINDBERGH's speech at Des Moines, Iowa in September of 1941. Informant further stated that although the meeting of AMERICA FIRST personnal which was held at JOE KING'S RATHSKELLER, Third Avenue and 17th Street, New York City, on January 22, 1942 and which has been referred to previously in this report, was sponsored by MARJORIE KENNEDY, who worked on the filing system at America First headquarters, New York City, he stated that Miss KENNEDY has neither the brains nor the initiative to formulate or control group activities. He said that it is known that MRS. HOLMES was responsible for such meeting and is one of the key persons in the present activities of keeping the America First group alive. He advised that MRS. HOLMES is sponsoring a new organization entitled, "Gifts For Our Boys" which is situated at 150 Broadway, New York City, and that the meeting on January 22 referred to above was the first open attempt to reorganize the old America First members.

Although more than 100 invitations were sent out for this meeting, only 66 attended, among whom were MRS. HOLMES; KATHERINE LARKIN; MARY NORTON, sponsor of the Impeach Roosevelt Movement; ANDREW SMITH, secretary and treasurer of the Bronx county chapter of America First; TRUMAN BLACKWOOD, [redacted] HOPE SKINNER; and FRANCES ZIMMER, all of the above mentioned individuals having been active participants in America First work in New York City. It was agreed at this party that similar parties would be held for the express purpose of reorganizing America First members but it is significant that it was also agreed not to mention AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE but to organize an ostensibly new organization. b7C

MRS. ROSE De LUCCA, former secretary of Queens County America First, is working with MRS. HOLMES and ANDREW SMITH to organize the new group. [redacted] stated that MRS. De LUCCA is not anti-Semitic and has an abundance of energy and makes friends easily but stated that he believes she is impressed by the meetings and because of the fact that she has a son in the Army and because she had been to dinners with several b2 b7D

#166

100-9887

prominent people she is easy prey for any scheme similar to that of the new organization.

Informant stated that a second meeting was held on January 23, 1942 at the Forest Hills Inn, Forest Hills, Long Island, invitations having been sent out by MRS. ARTHUR G. JUST, former chairwoman of the Elmhurst unit of the Queens chapter of America First Committee. He stated that approximately 80 people attended this meeting and he believed it significant that no collection of funds or solicitations were made to help defray the reunion expenses, indicating in his mind that some of the original financers of the America First group in New York are behind the new organization. [redacted] stated that at this meeting Mr. HENRY CHRIST, former chairman of Queens County America First, spoke against forming any new organizations and expressed the hope that those members would do all in their power to aid the war effort. However, informant expressed his opinion that Mr. CHRIST's sincerity along such lines is doubtful and he does not believe contact with him in this investigation would be advisable. He stated that none of the parties present who were at the former meeting on January 22 at JOE KING'S RATHSKELLER made their presence known although it is probable that more than a few were present. He stated that he believes that unless many of the former members of the America First Committee are completely fooled by this small group of extremists who are trying to promote disunity under the guise of helping the boys in the Service, the new organization, GIFTS FOR OUR BOYS, will be limited to the same small extremist element which created the organization.

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It should be noted that according to Informant, following the official order of dissolution of the America First Committee, all funds and membership records were to be forwarded to Chicago headquarters for final accounting, distribution and disposal. However, he stated that he is sure some of the individual chapters had retained most of their membership files and that these are now in the possession of individuals. As an example of this, he stated that he knows that [redacted] still maintained in her personal possession most of the membership records of that unit. He stated that he believes he has access to those records and has no doubts that [redacted], who he advised seems now to be mainly interested in CHRISTIAN FRONT activities, is making them available to other organizations.

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He also stated that the directors of the New York America First organization had maintained a special file record of all contributors of $500 and over which, he stated, was always closely guarded and supervised.

#167

100-9887

Following the dissolution of the organization, according to [redacted] this file was taken by Mr. E. DUDLEY SWIM, treasurer of the New York organization, and removed to his office at the NATIONAL INVESTORS CORPORATION, 120 Broadway, New York City. He pointed out that possession of this file is deemed highly advantageous, particularly from the standpoint of securing further contributions in movements along the same line and stated that he feels sure such is being preserved by Mr. SWIM at his office for future use.

At the time of this interview, [redacted] made available to agent [redacted] informant stated that in his opinion the following listed units of the America First Committee in the New York City area are continuing their efforts and activities more or less as a group:

BRONX SECTION:
The South Bronx Unit - ANGELO LANGELLO, chairman
The Westchester Square Unit - FRANK E. KAHL, chairman
The Wakefield Unit - DOMINIC D. MATTURO, chairman

BROOKLYN SECTION:
Bay Ridge Unit - MRS. GERTRUDE WILLIAMS, chairwoman

QUEENS SECTION:
Astoria Unit - MRS. K. K. FRANK, chairwoman
Corona Unit - MRS. ROSE De LUCCA, chairwoman
Elmhurst Unit - MRS. ARTHUR G. JUST, chairwoman
Richmond Hill Unit - MR. BUNK, chairman

WESTCHESTER COUNTY SECTION:
New Rochelle Chapter - W. J. BAXTER, chairman
Mt. Vernon Chapter - D. A. TESTA, chairman.

[redacted] as furnished Special Agent [redacted] by [redacted] is being maintained in this file in the New York Field office.

[redacted] expressed his desire to cooperate further in this investigation and advised that he will discreetly resume his contacts with the individuals and organizations which are evidently continuing to function and that all information he can develop will be promptly furnished the New York office.

Special Agent [redacted] contacted [redacted] b2 b7D b7C concerning information which he might have in his possession indicating the continued activities of individuals and organizations connected with, or springing from, the America First organization in New York City. It should be noted that under date of March 3, 1942 informant had furnished to the New York office a report concerning the organization AMERICANS FOR PEACE and HORACE J. HAASE, the pertinent contents of which in connection with this investigation are hereinafter set forth.

Female Psych

HORACE HAASE [redacted] b7D At the same time he informed NYE about his new organization and while he stated that he knows NYE can not participate in building up the organization, he asked NYE his views. SENATOR NYE [redacted] allegedly stated that he is too busy to participate or read HAASE's book but stated that "his views are still the same" and wished HAASE every success; "that he believes a peace now would be much better than peace later but unfortunately our leadership does not even try to negotiate".

[redacted] both active supporters of AMERICA FIRST, are interested in opening chapters of AMERICANS FOR PEACE in Brooklyn. Both endorse the program heartily, particularly with regard to the fight against Union Now and the reelecting campaign in the Fall. They also stand for a quick, negotiated peace and against the administration.

[redacted] known for his America First activities in New York City, seems to be quite interested. [redacted] b7D

ERNEST E. WHEELER, formerly of the New York executive committee of America First, answered that he was not interested in joining AMERICANS FOR PEACE. [redacted] b7D However, informant's personal note indicates disbelief in WHEELER's statement.

AMOS R. E. PINCHOT advised HAASE that he is writing a book against the administration, claiming to have no money free to contribute, but he is interested and endorses the four points of the program against Union Now, against Communism, against the administration and for a quick, negotiated peace.

[redacted] and with them their 100 members

#169

100-9387

of WOMEN UNITED want a close cooperation with HAASE. They also agree upon every single point of the program.

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[redacted], all of America First, promised help and endorsed the 4 points heartily. [redacted] New York and a frequenter of Brooklyn America First headquarters, answered favorably although regretted that he cannot become a member because of his being drafted. However, he sent a $2 contribution to HAASE.

KURT MERTIG and his CITIZENS PROTECTIVE LEAGUE, well known to the Bureau and the New York Field office, even took up a collection for HAASE, HAASE having spoken twice before MERTIG's group within two weeks, both times demanding that America get out of the war and saying that, "our first objective is the earliest possible peace". A report of HAASE's speeches before the above mentioned meetings was contained in the New York World Telegram for March 20, 1942 entitled, "Peace Speaker 'Found No Nazis in Yorkville'". Informant's report indicated that HAASE had excused himself to MERTIG for what he had told the newspaper reporter and assures MERTIG that he considers him a good citizen.

[redacted] of St. Louis, Missouri, an active member of the America First Committee and believer in the single tax, is forming a chapter of AMERICANS FOR PEACE in St. Louis, and endorses four points of the program. Informant's report included [redacted]

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MRS. A. C. PATERSON, Hotel St. George, Brooklyn, 75 year old speaker for America First Committee; JOHN G. SCOTT, editor of "Money"; and CHARLES INGERSOLL, editor of DEMOCRACY, are all reported 100 percent with HAASE. It should be noted that investigation has disclosed that both SCOTT and INGERSOLL share office space with HAASE at 1165 Broadway, New York City and MRS. PATERSON is actively working for HAASE in his office.

A Queens group of America First Committee members grouped around [redacted] do not want to cooperate with HAASE because he is not radical enough in their estimation.

[redacted] endorses the program and makes propaganda of it.

[redacted]

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#170

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[redacted] b7C b7D

[redacted] made available to agent [redacted] pertaining to and indicating continued activities of the AMERICA FIRST organization in New York City [redacted] b7D The following information is set forth [redacted] and is being set out in chronological order as of its receipt by him:

January 1, 1942 Informant reported a definite split between the followers of JOHN T. FLYNN and EDWIN S. WEBSTER, Jr. The Webster group felt that FLYNN is too radical although he has been, and always will be, opposed to the introduction of the Jewish question into the organization. Report indicated that Informant was in contact with WOMEN UNITED organization and secures the sentiments of America Firsters from such source.

This also reported a meeting of women at the Hotel Plaza for the purpose of organizing GIFTS FOR OUR BOYS, such meeting having been organized by [redacted].

On January 12, 1942 Informant's reports indicated that GIFTS FOR OUR BOYS was composed principally of [redacted], who it was indicated, were the real originators of the organization; MRS. ROSE De LUCCA of the Queens chapter of the America First Committee, who allegedly stated that she could circularize 45,000 members and raise $1,000 in a week; MR. ANDREW SMITH, leader of the Bronx County chapter of America First Committee. However, Informant reported that there was a definite split between [redacted] and [redacted] because of irregularities on the part of [redacted] in handling contributions received and because of differences in views, it being reported that [redacted] was severing her relations with the

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#171

100-9887

organization and forming an organization of her own entitled SALUTE OUR MEN, INC.

On January 15, 1942 Informant's report stated that so far as known EDWIN S. WEBSTER, Jr. has not attempted to organize a new group of old America First members. However, it reported that [redacted] of the Brooklyn organization of America First had made such an attempt but that such had bogged down for lack of leadership. b7C

On January 24, 1942 Informant reported that LAWRENCE DENNIS, who is known as the author of "The Coming American Fascism", and publisher of the Weekly Foreign Letter, was planning for continuance of America First Committee propaganda with the help of GENERAL WOOD and DOUGLAS STUART. The purpose of the new program was allegedly to stop the war and by advertising the menace of the white nations, America, Britain and Germany, weakening or destroying themselves by continuing the war to the advantage of Russia and Asiatic countries. It was reported that DENNIS was attempting to get backing for his program from the old guard of the America First Committee.

On February 3, 1942 [redacted] reported that there was a move underway to solidify AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE members into a new organization to fit the present situation or to merge it with some organization friendly to the America First Committee and operating on a basis to the liking of the leadership of America First Committee. It was reported that in Detroit, Michigan negotiations were in progress between America First Committee leaders and GERALD L. K. SMITH of the COMMITTEE OF ONE MILLION for unification and consolidation of these two organizations. Informant stated that the America First Committee in Detroit and vicinity would probably move enmass into Smith's organization. b2 b7D

On February 9, 1942 [redacted] reported [redacted] b2 b7D

[redacted]

#177

100-9887

[redacted]

On February 9, 1942 [redacted] reports indicated that HORACE J. HAASE was beginning work as assistant editor on the STATE COURIER of the State Republican League, Union City, New Jersey under CHARLES INGERSOLL who is editor of DEMOCRACY and who reportedly shares office space with HAASE. Informant reported that HAASE in this work helps to gain influence in Republican Party politics which would permit him to tie it in with revised America First groups. b2 b7D

On February 11, 1942 informant reported that HAASE had received no reply concerning his request for aid from EDWIN S. WEBSTER, Jr. [redacted]

Also reported was [redacted] reported that HAASE's principal concern is to reorganize and to bring together in one large group all of the former Isolationists and anti-administration elements. It was stated that he is restive in his present flag waving job but hopes to get a permanent, organizing job from whatever new movement emerges from the remnants of the America First Committee. It was stated that he desires to enlist the support of the German-American element. b2 b7D

On February 16, 1942 [redacted] reported that [redacted] formerly of the KEEP AMERICA OUT OF WAR CONGRESS and COMMITTEE FOR A DEMOCRATIC PEACE and now organizing the POST WAR WORLD COUNCIL, [redacted], was urgently seeking the support of b2 b7D b7C

#173

100-9887

the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE membership for her new organization but was opposed to any support from the CHRISTIAN FRONT element. [redacted] b7C b7D [redacted] It was reported that there would be a meeting in the near future between AMERICANS FOR PEACE and [redacted]'s organization.

On February 24, 1942, [redacted] reported that WOMEN UNITED under the leadership of [redacted] and [redacted] were very active in anti-war groups and were corresponding a great deal with MRS. BURTON K. WHEELER and SENATOR NYE, formerly active in America First. Informant reported that most active participants in WOMEN UNITED, in addition to those mentioned, are [redacted] It was also reported that this organization was largely financed by [redacted] It was reported that this organization was extremely anxious to enlist in the organization any women formerly active in the America First Committee and their platform was based upon anti-Communism and anti-Union Now principles. [redacted] was reportedly doing the printing for the organization and very active in raising funds. b2 b7D b7C

On February 25, 1942 [redacted] report stated that MRS. ALICE HOLMES, former chairwoman of the America First unit at 67 Liberty Street, New York City, was continuing the organization and promotion of GIFTS FOR OUR BOYS at 150 Broadway, New York City but little was known concerning the results of her efforts as yet. b2 b7D

On March 2, 1942 HORACE J. HAASE was reported as collaborating with Mr. and Mrs. CHARLES NIXDORF of WOMEN UNITED who had promised him 100% aid from their organization. It was also indicated that support would be forth coming from [redacted] and [redacted], formerly active in Brooklyn America First organization. b7C

Informant's report dated March 14, 1942 stated that EVELYN PALMER of New York America First had arranged a meeting between LAWRENCE DENNIS and COLONEL LINDBERGH, DENNIS desiring to convince Lindbergh to

#174

100-9887

solicit funds from HENRY FORD for the continuation of America First activities. However, it was reported that LINDBERGH declined any proposal made by DENNIS, it further being indicated that most of the America First members looked upon EVELYN PALMER as an Nazi agent and feared too close association with her.

Under date of March 19, 1942 [redacted] reported that HAASE in his efforts for AMERICANS FOR PEACE was securing aid from AMOS R. E. PINCHOT and was maintaining close contact with WOMEN UNITED. HAASE's association with, and speeches before, [redacted] the CITIZENS PROTECTIVE LEAGUE, were also reported. It was reported that HAASE was communicating with SENATOR NYE, CHARLES LINDBERGH and numerous others in an effort to secure the support of prominent individuals. It was further reported that [redacted] indicating strong support and desires of forming chapters of his organization, AMERICANS FOR PEACE, in St. Louis, Missouri by [redacted] and from [redacted] in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

b2 b7D b7C b7A

Under date of March 19, 1942 Informant's report contained the following allegations secured from a source of information in Chicago: GENERAL WOOD is reported to have choice documents of the America First Committee from all overthe United States, secured at the time the organization was dissolved, in his SEARS ROEBUCK COMPANY office. Whenever former leaders of the America First Committee in Chicago meet they talk about the absolute necessity of a compromise peace with the Axis. On their program, the drive for such a peace will follow the pre-election campaign. LINLBERGH's name is frequently mentioned but apparently he is completely silent, which is probably part of a well planned scheme.

On April 7, 1941 [redacted] reported that EDWIN S. WEBSTER, Jr. had apparently refused to become a member or to contribute to HORACE J. HAASE's organization, AMERICANS FOR PEACE; also that H. DUDLEY SWIM, former treasurer of the organization, had apparently indicated no desire to cooperate with HAASE although he had not flatly refused cooperation. This report stated that WEBSTER does not trust HAASE and he not only refused to become a member of AMERICANS FOR PEACE or to contribute, but even refused to give HAASE recommendations to any other America Firsters. Also reported was the fact that DR. BUCHANAN and REVEREND OLSON were the only members of the executive board of the former Brooklyn America First Committee who had favorably reacted to HAASE's letters. It was reported that REVEREND OLSON was arranging a meeting at his Lutheran Church in Brooklyn for the 15th of April for the express purpose of affording the opportunity to speak and further his organization plans. At this time it was also reported that HAASE intended publishing a semi-monthly news letter, the purpose of which was to coordinate all peace movements.

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#175

100-9887

It was stated that he had suggested the idea of unification and coordination to approximately 50 organizations.

On the same date it was reported that [redacted] b2 b7D

It was also reported that an individual named [redacted] b7C

For the information of the Indianapolis Field Division, there was also reported [redacted] who expressed her b7C desire to organize a chapter of AMERICANS FOR PEACE in Indianapolis and who stated that she is willing to personally pay some of the expenses for a mass meeting in a hall seating 2,000 persons if BLASE would come to Indianapolis to deliver an address on "All Out Against the Administration".

Also reported was that DR. BUCHANAN and REVEREND OLSON were making efforts to organize a Brooklyn chapter of AMERICANS FOR PEACE, the meeting place of which was to be Rev. Olson's Lutheran Church in Brooklyn. It was reported that former America, Firsters would meet there to discuss effective measures of building up AMERICANS FOR PEACE to a strong organization in Brooklyn.

On April 24, 1942 [redacted] b2 b7D However, it was indicated that BLASE's efforts to date had been largely negative and he was having difficulty in securing financial assistance.

For the information and attention of the Buffalo Field Division, on such date was also reported [redacted] b7D indicating 100% agreement with the organization of AMERICANS FOR PEACE [redacted] and indicating a possible effort toward the formation of a chapter of this organization in Buffalo.

[redacted] under date of April 20, 1942 furnished the New York office with [redacted] b2 b7D b7C

#176

100-9887

[redacted]

Informant also furnished [redacted]

[redacted].

Also furnished to the New York office was a copy of [redacted] b7C b7D

[redacted]

also obtained photostatic copies of two printed statements made by her in opposition to war and the draft bill and asking for peace, one being addressed to the Congress of the United States and bearing date of December 15, 1941. In such statement, dated December 15, 1941, [redacted] states in effect that the war is an inside job and a plot to get the United States into a world revolution; that she has had inside information prior to Pearl Harbor through sources in Naval Intelligence concerning a "mass murder" in some outpost; that the President should be impeached and has been working more for foreign interests than for the United States and calling for a negotiated peace and "traditionary policies of Isolation".

In the other statement of [redacted], dated March 4, 1942, she discusses her association with the late SENATOR LUNDEEN and the injustice done to GEORGE SYLVESTER VIERICK. She defends Congressman HAMILTON FISH

#177

100-9887

and terms PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT a deliberate traitor.

Also furnished to the New York office with the above was a photostatic copy of a statement of [redacted] b7c indicating his accord in a "general peace offensive" outlined by the AMERICANS FOR PEACE organization and expressing his belief that such movement, under the leadership of HORACE J. HAASE, will loom as a formidable force in the months to come. However, this statement does not indicate any more than passive agreement with the activities and sympathies of such organization.

Attention is directed to the article appearing in LIFE magazine of April 13, 1942 entitled, "The Voice of Defeat", specific attention being directed to that section of the article dealing with New York City, much of which has reference to HORACE J. HAASE and the AMERICANS FOR PEACE organization. It should be noted that such article states that the real aim of AMERICANS FOR PEACE is to "break down the united American war effort" and it also attributes to HAASE the claim that such would be done through "small peace groups led by comparative unknowns" being organized in various localities which would carry on their work locally and not seek to form a national organization. HAASE reportedly stated that such groups will carry different names and appeal to all kinds of political prejudice. The article referred to also states that "Haase has used the Brooklyn mailing list of America First to circularize more than 400 chapter chairmen and other leaders in this movement." It should be noted that the article referred to also makes mention of the meeting of top ranking America Firsters held at the home of EDWIN S. WEBSTER, Jr. in December, 1941, and mentions the continued activities of a few leading American Firsters such as MRS. LIVINGSTON ROWE-SCHUYLER, [redacted] b7c

[redacted]

Also furnished by the Bureau is a copy of a letter dated March 7, 1942 addressed to the "Editor, America, 329 West 110th Street, New York City"

#171

100-9887

and signed by HORACE J. HANSE, which is also apparently an effort to interest such individual in the newly formed organization and secure publicity for such. In the publication AMERICA, also furnished by the Bureau, is a copy of a communication addressed to HORACE by "National Director" under date of March 24, 1942 indicating an interest in HANSE's organization and his desire to cooperate. The Bureau also furnished photostatic copies of a mimeographed sheet beginning, "Fellow American" and published by AMERICANS FOR PEACE and a mimeographed sheet beginning, "About the temporary chairman of Americans for Peace".

Copies of all the mimeographed or printed material which have to date been put forth by HORACE J. HANSE and the AMERICANS FOR PEACE organization have been secured through Confidential Informants listed in this report.

[redacted]

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100-9887 #179

UNDEVELOPED LEAD

All offices receiving copies of this report, and in the light of information contained herein, will continue investigative efforts for the purpose of determining whether the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE is being kept alive and active by individuals or organizations which may plan at some time in the future using this organization in a manner detrimental to the best interests of the United States.

- PENDING -

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXX

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
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FBI/DOJ

July 21, 1942

100-4722-358

[redacted]

#151

b7C

Special Agent in Charge
New York, New York

Re: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
INTERNAL SECURITY - R

Dear Sir:

Reference is made to the report of Special Agent [redacted] dated May 13, 1942, at New York City in the above captioned matter. From a review of this report it is noted that numerous organizations which have sprung up as an aftermath of the America First Committee are mentioned. However, there is no indication that these organizations are being treated from the investigative standpoint by your Office.

It is requested that a complete review of this report be made in those instances where no separate investigation has been initiated, this be done in the immediate future.

[redacted]

b7C

A current investigation of the America First Committee should be directed toward determining whether this organization, as such, in any way continues its operation. In this regard it will be noted that this case is currently delinquent in your Office, and it is desired that an early report be submitted.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

RECEIVED-HVF 9:00
JUL 21 2 30 PM '42

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[redacted]

COMM[redacted]ONS SECTION
[redacted]LED 3
JUL 21 1942 P.M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

25 1942

Tamm
Nichols
Gandy
Clayton
Tolson
Ladd
Nease
Quinn Tamm

b7C

[redacted]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/6/87 SP8BIJ/RBG
10-12-90 SP8BTJ/CAL

#153

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
New York, New York

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. E. A. Tamm	
Mr. Clegg	
Mr. Glavin	
Mr. Ladd	
Mr. Nichols	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Tracy	
Mr. Carson	
Mr. Coffey	
Mr. Hendon	
Mr. Kramer	
Mr. McGuire	
Mr. Quinn Tamm	
Mr. Nease	
Miss Gandy	
Files	

[redacted]
100-9857

b7c
May 18, 1942.

Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D.C.

[redacted]

Re: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

RECLASSIFIED BY [redacted] ON 5-9-97 SP6B3/cal 10-17-90

Dear Sir:

Transmitted herewith for the information of the Bureau is a photostatic copy of a letter addressed to [redacted].

It will be noted that such letter in speaking of the America First Committee refers to "the desperate need that will prevail for such a Committee as it function again" and speaks of its "rebirth". Also mentioned is the need for patience "lest we move too soon".

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b2D

For your information this copy was obtained from [redacted].

COPY IN FILE

Very truly yours,

P. E. Foxworth
P. E. FOXWORTH,
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR

Encl. 1 ENCLO.

cc. New York File 100-21235

Memo to Asst. to A.G. James Rowe Jr.
cc to Asst Atty Gen Berge
5-26-42

[redacted]

RECORDED & INDEXED
100-4712-35
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
16 MAY 20 [illegible]
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
[redacted]
b7c

[redacted]

100-4712-359
Tr. 5-26-42
RECORDED

Date: #152

To: The Assistant to the Attorney General, Mr. James Rowe, Jr.

From: J. Edgar Hoover - Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

Subject: [redacted] 100-[illegible]

Reference is made to my memoranda dated April 14, April 20, April 28 and May 4, 1942, directed to Mr. Wendell Berge, Assistant Attorney General, in the above-captioned matter.

Through a confidential source this Bureau has secured copies of a letter dated [redacted]

[redacted] however, no further action is contemplated in regard to the above-referred to letter from [redacted]. For your complete information there are attached hereto typewritten copies of this communication.

Enclosure

CC: Assistant Attorney General Wendell Berge

[redacted]
DATE 10-17-90 BY [redacted]

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Holloman
Mr. McGuire
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED 11
☆ MAY 28 1942 P.M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

[redacted]

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FBI/DOJ

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS — FILE NO. 100-1077

REPORT MADE AT	DATE WHEN MADE	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE	REPORT MADE BY
KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI	5-15-42	4-15-17-20-27-30-42 5-4-6-7-8-42	[redacted] b7c

TITLE	CHARACTER OF CASE
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE	INTERNAL SECURITY - C

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS: DATE 10-17-90 BY SP5 [illegible]

America First Committee disbanded at Kansas City, Missouri, 1-8-42, and files forwarded Chicago headquarters. [redacted] b7c b7D

Individual case files on these organizations opened to determined officers and activities in this district. No known subrosa meetings of former members of America First Committee. History of this committee in Kansas City area set forth. Not incorporated in State of Kansas. Activities confined mainly to Kansas City, Missouri. Reliable informants at Columbia and Jefferson City, Missouri, state America First Committee has never existed at either of those places and at present does not exist. Springfield, Missouri, chapter inactive. Records office Secretary of State reflect America First Committee, St. Louis chapter, granted proforma incorporation decree 7-26-41 having submitted testimony for this decree in Circuit Court, City of St. Louis, State of Missouri, on Thursday, 7-17-41. No evidence that incorporation of this chapter has been abandoned. Photostatic copies of file in office of Secretary of State obtained. Investigation at Wichita, Kansas, fails to reveal the America First Committee was ever active in that locality to the extent where meetings were held or that the group was headed by any known individual.

P.

REFERENCE: Bureau letter dated 5-15-42.

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: Dwight Bradley SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES: 100-47121-362 b7c

COPIES OF THIS REPORT:
5-Bureau
2-St. Louis
2-Chicago
1-Kansas City

MAY 18 1942

INFILE

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE 7—2034

DETAILS:

[redacted]

[redacted] the motivating forces responsible for the activities of the America First Committee in Kansas City, Missouri, were all respectable business men, widely known in the community and believed to be sincere isolationists.

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No evidence of any subversive activities on the part of the America First Committee or any influence of subversive organizations upon this committee was discovered [redacted]

Accompanied by [redacted] the writer interviewed [redacted] He advised that he had never been affiliated with this organization, although he had been asked to join it. [redacted] related that [redacted] of the America First Committee upon the authority of [redacted] who had telephoned him and invited him to attend a meeting of this organization at the Kansas City Club. [redacted] stated that [redacted] he attended the meeting out of courtesy, but that his reaction was negative and he did not attend any other meetings.

[redacted] commented that prior to the conception of the America First Committee he had been active in Kansas City, Missouri, for the United Campaign Committee. This committee was interested in local politics. [redacted] was also interested in this United Campaign Committee.

[redacted] advised that he had talked to [redacted] who had told him [redacted] although she was never a member of this committee.

[redacted] stated that [redacted] might have taken the names of people who were active in the United Campaign Committee and attempted to interest them in the America First Committee [redacted]

[redacted] advised that his name was removed from the America First Committee after he had attended the above mentioned meeting.

[redacted] stated in his opinion [redacted] efforts in connection with the America First Committee movement were sincere. It is to be commented that [redacted]

[redacted] stated that [redacted] was active in forming the America First Committee and that [redacted] was a sincere isolationist. [redacted] is now in the armed services of the United States. b7C b7D

[redacted] stated that he had not seen [redacted] since November 1941 and knew nothing further concerning the America First Committee. He suggested that [redacted] be contacted and expressed the opinion that [redacted] was a sincere isolationist. [redacted] is truly a patriotic American and is a highly respectable citizen of Kansas City.

[redacted] advised that [redacted] a prominent individual in Kansas City, had organized a group of people known as the "Keep Out of Foreign Wars Committee" which functioned in the fall of 1939. In about December 1940 when the Neutrality Bill was repealed [redacted] was instrumental in organizing the local America First Committee. [redacted] stated that he had made small donations of $5.00 or $10.00 to [redacted] former organization and that in about December 1940 [redacted] visited his office to interest him in a new organization to be known as the America First Committee. [redacted] had become interested through some contact made with her from Washington, D. C., and Chicago, Illinois.

[redacted] called an organization meeting and about twelve persons attended. [redacted] stated there was no specific date for subsequent meetings of the executive committee and they were held when desired, on an average of two a month, and were generally held in

#15

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[redacted] added that he, as well as others, would often leave his own business to attend a called meeting, only to find that [redacted] had gone out of his office and was not present. He said that he, as well as other members, became disgusted with [redacted]

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[redacted] continued that these three men did not take any active part in the organization from that time on. He related that anyone who attended meetings or contributed to the organization was listed as a member. It was also permissible to visit the organization's offices and sign a card as a member. The signers were not compelled to attend any meetings. All of the employees in the office of the group were voluntary workers and received no payment for their work.

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[redacted] stated that he believed the America First Committee in Kansas City and vicinity was a dead organization and that he had not been approached nor did he know of any activity on the part of any former members of the America First Committee since its formal disbandment in December 1941.

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[redacted] furnished Agent with a copy of a history of the America First Committee of the Kansas City Chapter which was prepared by [redacted] and this history is being set forth below for informational purposes:

> The Kansas City Chapter of the America First Committee had its inception at a luncheon given at the Hotel Muehlebach, 11-20-40. This luncheon was given by Mr. H. W. Luhnow, President of the Wm. Volker Company. Present by invitation from Chicago were, Mr. Regnery, Mr. R. Douglas Stuart, Jr., Mr. Bliss, and Mr. Hanford McNider. Thirty-five or forty other local guests were also present. Among these, Mr. Ray P. Moseley, President of Moseley

#16

and Company, organizer of a similar idea "Stay Out of War Society," presided at this meeting. After speeches by the America First group and an explanation of what they stood for, the meeting voted Mr. Luhnow should, as a committee of one, select a working organization.

Out of this meeting was formed a Kansas City Chapter with Mr. Ray Moseley Chairman, Mr. Porter Hall and Mr. H. W. Luhnow as Vice-chairman, Mrs. E. H. Vincent, Secretary, and Mr. David Childs, Treasurer. Included also in the Executive Committee were, Mr. Roy K. Dietrich, Mr. Heath Moore, Mrs. E. C. Meservey, Jr., Mrs. Franklin Murphy, Dr. Bruce R. Trimble and Mrs. R. J. Higgins. Approval from Chicago was granted this line-up but no charter sent. Whereabouts of notification unknown.

The first office was opened at 1017 Baltimore Avenue, with Mrs. E. H. Vincent in charge. After a period of six weeks the office was closed, due to lack of urgency in the war situation and the loss of office space to permanent renters. In May, when conditions seemed to justify the reopening of an office, one was opened at 1008-1010 Main Street, with Miss Lenore Harline in charge. The opening of this office followed the Clark Rally which was held at the Scotish Rite Temple. Both Senator Bennett C. Clark and Ex-Governor Alf Landon spoke to a capacity crowd. Among those who came to the Main Street address was Mrs. Ethyle A. Stevenson, who made a filing system and stayed to assist Miss Harline. On June 9th this office space was also rented permanently and necessitated the AFC moving to 1006 Baltimore Avenue.

On June 19th, the Nye meeting was held at the same place as the Clark Rally, after which a small steady influx of new members made their appearance. We began to receive numerous threatening notices through the mail and a huge red "V" was painted on the window one night. Mrs. Meservey resigned from the Executive Committee. Norman Stamps, University of Kansas City student came to assist with the work, thereby bringing the number of volunteer office workers to three.

The Executive Committee participated in so far as some of them gave discourses over the radio, introduced guest speakers, and attended Executive meetings to decide the activities of the Chapter etc., Mr. Moseley asked to resign at this time, due to heavy business demands of his company. He was persuaded to remain and the Committee was reorganized with him as Chairman of the Advisory Committee exception, being Dr. Bruce R. Trimble, who was elected Executive Director of the new Executive Committee - Lenore Harline, Secretary, Ethyle Stevenson, Treasurer. Mr. Roy K. Dietrich resigned from the Executive Committee before the Committee became

#17

the Advisory Committee. One of the main reasons for reorganization was the definite need for a more active local office to hold local meetings, have speeches and keep the people interested — the members of the Executive Committee could not devote all their time to the furtherance of this goal due to business demands.

On August 9th the office moved again to 1009 Grand Avenue. This was by far the best location having a large display window. The Committee went forward with new impetus and a small news bulletin was planned and started. We were doing fine with as many as thirty-five people coming in a day, when the owners decided to sell the building. The entire window space, with the exception of about five feet was blocked up with a huge yellow and black "For Sale" sign. Callers fell off and a mild depression set in — but the situation readjusted itself and though the number of callers was never the same, we still were going forward. Incorporation papers had been filed but had not been approved.

By the first of September the organization depended mostly upon the publishing of "Shield America" in its endeavor to keep the country out of war and availed themselves of the use of radio programs and letters sent to members along with the telephone groups lending their support. With the start of cool weather there was a period of intensive propaganda used against us. Almost every morning before opening up it was necessary to remove empty liquor bottles from in front of the door and erase red swastikas from the small available window space. After about ten days this stopped. With the organizing of the gigantic letter writing campaign through Chicago for all Chapters to write to Congressmen, the Kansas City Chapter organized a letter writing group, the effectiveness of which far exceeded our idea of successful cooperation. Thousands of letters were sent to both Houses of Congress from Kansas City. This was all done in the attempt to persuade Congress to uphold the Neutrality law.

Advised that there was to be a national convention in Washington, D. C. the Committee sent Dr. Trimble and Ethyle Stevenson to represent the Kansas City Chapter. From this convention, new enthusiasm was instilled in the Kansas City office and the letter writing campaign completed. A series of radio speeches and round table discussions were heard over the radio stations -- eight in number. On November 14 Mr. Moseley resigned from the Advisory Committee. The office again moved to 642 Law Building, 12th and Grand, the last home of the America First Committee in Kansas City.

#18

On December 8th, following the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, Mr. David Childs resigned from the Advisory Committee and the remaining committee voted to follow the lead of Chicago and dissolved.

The America First Committee in Kansas City was a continuous up hill fight with not a single newspaper or public instrument on our side. However, with all the stumbling blocks in our path, we slowly and steadily gained numbers and I am sure that we will not be forgotten.

[redacted] also furnished a copy of a letter addressed to him by [redacted] Kansas City, Missouri, dated 1-10-42, which advised that the day following Japan's attack upon Pearl Harbor the America First Committee at Kansas City, Missouri, received a telegram to stand by for further orders. Subsequently a letter came which asked for a committee meeting to ascertain the opinions of committee members as to the future status of the America First Committee. A meeting was held and a telegram was sent to the Chicago headquarters that the majority of the advisory committee favored adjournment. Subsequently all files of the America First Committee at Kansas City, Missouri, were forwarded to the Chicago headquarters. [redacted] stated these files were to be stored in General WOOD'S safe at Sears Roebuck and Company, Chicago, Illinois, and their reports on the committee's activities would be sent by the Chicago headquarters to the Dies Committee.

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b7

[redacted] advised that the committee was formally disbanded by the vote of the executive committee on 12-9-41 and that the files of the America First Committee had been transmitted to the America First Committee headquarters in Chicago, Illinois.

[redacted] advised that at no time since the formal disbanding of the group has she ever been approached by any organization or individual with the idea of reviving the America First Committee and she knows of no activity on the part of any members of the America First Committee to revive the organization.

[redacted] She stated that the America First activities in this area were confined mainly to Kansas City, Missouri, and vicinity and that she knew

#19

of no active promotion of the America First Committee in any cities in the Western District of Missouri.

[redacted] advised that in October 1941 a [redacted] visited her and that she was apparently the head of an organization known as the Fellowship of Reconciliation. This group was apparently endorsed by [redacted]

The indices of the Kansas City Field Office reflect no information concern[redacted]

The indices of the Kansas City Field Office reflect that on 2-4-41 the Bureau transmitted a copy of a memorandum dated 8-16-40 summarizing information in the Bureau's possession concerning the organization known as "Fellowship of Reconciliation." This memorandum revealed that this organization is a known pacifist organization formed after the World War. A separate case file is being opened in the Kansas City Field Office in order to determine the officers and activities of the Fellowship of Reconciliation in this district.

[redacted] stated also that in January 1942 two men whose names she did not know but who she believed were connected with the Kansas City Power and Light Company, approached her and advised they were connected with an organization known as the Circle Council of the Constitution. This organization is located in Kansas City, Kansas, and its address, membership, purpose and officers are not known. It was [redacted] impression that this group is a neighborhood organization which has meetings and discussions on the Constitution, Article by Article. The men who visited [redacted] said if the people understood the Constitution the present war could have been side tracked. [redacted] remarked that she did not give these individuals [redacted]

The indices of the Kansas City Field Office do not reflect any information concerning the Circle Council of the Constitution and a separate case file is being opened by the Kansas City office to determine the officers and activities of this organization.

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#31

[redacted]

Special Agent [redacted] ascertained at the office of the Secretary of State, State House, Topeka, Kansas, that the America First Committee is not nor has it been incorporated under the laws of the State of Kansas. b7C

Special Agent [redacted] advised he was unable to locate any evidence of the existence of the America First Committee in Topeka, Kansas, or vicinity.

The following investigation was conducted by Special Agent [redacted]

- At Columbia, Missouri -

The following persons who are reliable sources of information for matters reflecting political trends and development of political organizations were contacted at Columbia.

[redacted] stated he had never b2 b7D heard of any attempt to organize an America First Committee in Columbia and he was positive there had been no action on the part of this committee in that vicinity during recent time.

[redacted] and who is definitely opposed to the idea of the America First Committee as it previously existed and stated he has never received any information that there was an attempt to organize an America First Committee at Columbia, Missouri. He advised however if there had been such a movement in this vicinity [redacted] would have knowledge relative to this matter. b7C

#32

[redacted] stated the America First Committee in the State of Missouri, so far as he knew, was now non-existent. He stated at one time he heard that [redacted] who resides at [redacted] Missouri, was somewhat of an isolationist and was sympathetic towards the ideas of the America First Committee. He stated if he were in it, he would probably so advise; that he was considered as a fine, patriotic man and would disclose any information he might have.

[redacted] stated also that a Miss EVA JOHNSON, deceased, had likewise been sympathetic with the movement in Columbia, Missouri.

b7C
b7D

Outside of these two people he stated he has never heard of any activity on the part of the committee. He stated there was some local talk about the America First Committee but no organization had ever taken place and no one had ever attempted to organize it in Columbia generally. He stated the community around Columbia was generally very bitter toward the committee and due to BENNETT CLARK'S connection with this committee he had lost favor with the voters of Missouri.

[redacted] advised that [redacted] as a result of CLARK'S attitude he knew that he could not win another election in Missouri and many people who had formerly stood by CLARK in the Democratic Party had expressed their disapproval of his stand.

[redacted], stated that while in St. Louis, Missouri, he was approached by members of the America First Committee to join their organization but that he had no stock in the group and did not sympathize with them. He stated he was in favor of all out war on the part of the United States and he would cooperate to the greatest of his ability to aid in that cause.

b7

[redacted] advised he had been connected with [redacted] for the past 52 years. He stated he kept abreast of political times; that he had been [redacted] and he had never heard of any activity on the part of the America First Committee in Columbia, Missouri. He stated if there had been such a move he believed he would have some knowledge of it. He stated he knew of no members of that organization in this part of the state.

b7C

- At Jefferson City, Missouri -

[redacted] office of the Secretary of State, and the writer examined the records of the Secretary of State which contained therein a file for the America First Committee, St. Louis Chapter.

b7C

#33

This organization was granted a proforma decree for incorporation by the Circuit Court in the City of St. Louis, State of Missouri, on Thursday, 7-17-41. The incorporators of this organization were:

JOSEPH FORSHAW	Chairman
OSCAR E. BUDER	First Vice Chairman
OSCAR CORMAN	Second Vice Chairman
HARRY S. BROOKS	Attorney

An examination of the file failed to indicate any attempt had been made to disband this group or discontinue their rights under the incorporation.

Photostatic copies were made of the entire file of the America First Committee of St. Louis, Missouri, and these are being retained as a part of this file in the Kansas City Field Office. The secretary of this group apparently is GEORGE P. MUELLER inasmuch as a letter addressed to the Secretary of State is signed by him.

[redacted] stated he was well acquainted with political movements in the State of Missouri; that he himself was a politician and had been connected with the Secretary of State's office for many years; that his home was in Springfield, Missouri, and he had never heard of any attempt to organize the America First Committee in Jefferson City, Missouri, and he did not know of anyone in this vicinity who belonged to that organization.

The following persons were contacted, all of whom are reliable and are closely connected with political movements in the State of Missouri: b2c b7c

CHARLES SEIBOLD — United States Commissioner

[redacted]

[redacted] said that last summer he had heard some talk relative to the America First Committee in Jefferson City but that he had never heard anything specific about it and had never heard of anyone in Jefferson City being connected with it.

[redacted] stated that he was on a committee in charge of the Lindbergh trophies and had come into contact with the America First Committee in St. Louis, Missouri, and for that reason he had taken a vigorous part in the Committee to Defend America in opposition to the America First Committee. He stated he had never heard of any attempt being made to organize the America First Committee in Jefferson City; that

#34

it was his belief it never had existed there and did not exist there at the present time.

[redacted] stated he had traveled throughout the State of Missouri with his inspectors and had never heard the America First Committee mentioned outside of Kansas City and St. Louis, Missouri.

The following investigation was conducted by Special Agent [redacted]

b7C
b7D

- At Springfield, Missouri -

[redacted] who had attended all America First Committee meetings prior to his departure for the West Coast during the fall of 1941, related there was no activity in the above organization in Springfield at the present time. She based this belief on her knowledge of the past activities of the committee and her knowledge of its membership. She assured Agent that in the event any information of any kind or character was received, she would immediately communicate such information to Agent or the Kansas City Field Office.

#35

The following investigation was conducted by Special Agent [redacted]

At Wichita, Kansas

Inquiry made of several individuals in Wichita, Kansas, including [redacted] Special Agent of the Bureau of Internal Revenue, [redacted] United States Probation Officer, Wichita, Kansas and [redacted] failed to reflect that the America First Committee ever acted openly and actively in Wichita or vicinity.

In discussing this matter with [redacted] he stated that he had never heard of any meetings of the America First Committee being held in Wichita, Kansas and he had never heard any individual being mentioned as being the leader of such a group in Wichita, however he did state that [redacted] a noted attorney at Wichita, Kansas, with offices [redacted] Building, would in his general attitude come as close to being an adherent of the America First Committee as any individual that he knew.

[redacted] was also questioned regarding his knowledge of whether the America First Committee had ever operated in Wichita and whether it was now defunct. [redacted] stated that he had no information indicating that the America First Committee had ever operated in Wichita and pointed out that [redacted] was decidedly opposed to the isolationist policy of the America First Committee; that also to his knowledge there had never been any meetings of the America First Committee at Wichita, Kansas, and that possibly the nearest place the America First Committee had received any prominence was in Oklahoma City on the occasion when Col. CHARLES LINDBERGH was to address a large audience there.

[redacted] stated that on two occasions during the latter part of 1941 [redacted] ran an advertisement for the America First Committee, [redacted]

[redacted]

#36

[redacted]

It was considered possible, therefore, that because of the fact that [redacted] had been mentioned as a possible member and leader of the America First Committee, that the new group now being formed might be an organization of the nature indicated by the Bureau, formed for the purpose of keeping alive a nucleus which might later be used in a way detrimental to the present war effort.

b7c
b7

[redacted]

In connection with the America First Committee, it is recalled by the writer that one ZELLA BOSSENBONSKA, who has written articles for the paper "Publicity" published by ELMER J. GARNER at Wichita, Kansas, at one time in an article appearing in "Publicity" signed as the secretary of the America First Committee. [redacted]

b7c

PEND ING

#37

UNDEVELOPED LEADS:

KANSAS CITY FIELD DIVISION

At Joplin, Missouri, will conduct an investigation in line with reference letter in order to determine if the America First Committee is active at present or if any members of the America First Committee have attempted to continue the function of the America First Committee.

At Wichita, Kansas, will maintain contact with [redacted] in an effort to develop information regarding the nature and activities of the organization being formed of which [redacted] is alleged to be the head.

b7c

At Salina, Kansas, will conduct appropriate inquiry to determine the activities of [redacted] to determine whether the America First Committee is continuing to operate under that or another name in that locality.

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Form No. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

LR FILE NO. 100-555

REPORT MADE AT	DATE WHEN MADE	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE	REPORT MADE BY
LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS	5-18-42	5-13-42	[redacted] b7c

TITLE	CHARACTER OF CASE
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE	INTERNAL SECURITY - G

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS: America First Committee apparently not active in Arkansas and inquiries concerning same, negative.

-REC-

REFERENCE: Bureau letter to all Special Agents in Charge, March 16, 1942.

DETAILS: Reference is made to Bureau letter of March 16, 1942, which requested that the Bureau be kept advised of any significant development indicating that the America First Committee is operating as an underground organization inimical to the best interests of the United States.

A review of the files in the Little Rock Field Division reflects that no complaint whatever has been received relative to any activity of the America First Committee in Arkansas.

b7c

[redacted] advised that they have heard nothing whatever concerning any activity of the America First Committee in the State of Arkansas.

The two leading newspapers in the State of Arkansas are the "Arkansas Democrat" and the "Arkansas Gazette", both of which have offices at Little Rock, Arkansas.

b7c

[redacted] advised that they have never had a news release, nor have they heard anything whatever of any activities of the America First Committee within the State of Arkansas. [redacted]

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b7c

[redacted] b7C b7D

It appears, therefore, that the America First Committee is not operating at the present time within the Little Rock Field Division in any manner whatsoever.

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Form No. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS JAX FILE NO. 100-747

REPORT MADE AT	DATE WHEN MADE	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE	REPORT MADE BY
JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI	5-16-42	5-16-42	[redacted] b7c [redacted]

TITLE	CHARACTER OF CASE
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE	INTERNAL SECURITY - C

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS: No indication that America First Committee is or has been active in the State of Mississippi.

- MJC -

REFERENCE: Bureau letter dated March 16, 1942 and Bureau teletype dated May 11, 1942.

DETAILS:

At Jackson, Mississippi

The files of the Jackson Field Division fail to disclose any information which would indicate that the America First Committee has been active in the State of Mississippi at any time.

[redacted] advised that he had never received any information which would indicate that this organization was active in Jackson or vicinity. [redacted] advised that because of the very nature of the people in Jackson, he felt that any organized movement under cover of the America First Committee, would have been reported to him immediately. [redacted] advised that his men have been on a constant lookout for activities of organizations such as the America First Committee, and that they have discovered nothing that would indicate their presence. b7c b7D

Discreet inquiries were made of [redacted] to ascertain if any organization such as the America First Committee had come to his attention. [redacted] advised that an organization

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INDEXED [redacted] b7c

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such as the America First Committee would not need a permit or charter of any kind to meet in the state, but he advised that if such an organization had existed here, he was certain someone would have made inquiries to determine if they needed a charter or permit. [redacted] stated that he is well acquainted with organizations in the state, but he has never heard of the America First Committee being active. He stated that it was his personal belief that this organization has not and is not organized in Mississippi. b7C

It might be noted that [redacted] b7C b7D

Other than this, nothing in connection with this group appears in the Jackson file.

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FILE NO. 100-1.

REPORT MADE AT	DATE WHEN MADE	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE	REPORT MADE BY
DALLAS, TEXAS	5-18-42	5-14,15-42	[redacted] b7C

TITLE	CHARACTER OF CASE
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE	INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Title 10-12-78 BY SP3 RJC

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS: Investigation to date reflects America First Committee is presently inactive in the Dallas Division.

P.

REFERENCE: Bureau Letter dated March 16, 1942.

DETAILS:

[redacted] advised that the America First Committee was somewhat active in Dallas about 1939. Sometime during 1939 he recalls that [redacted] in Dallas, Texas, received a call from some individual whose name he does not recall, requesting [redacted] to deliver a speech at a rally to be held by the America First Committee and also requesting him to take a leading roll in organizing the Dallas branch of this organization. Both requests were refused by [redacted] has since been called into active service in the United States Army and is out of the state. b2 b7D b7C

[redacted] stated since 1939 the America First Committee has been inactive, so far as he knows, in this territory. [redacted] stated he believes he can ascertain definitely if the America First Committee is active at all in the Dallas District at the present time by contacting his sources of information and will advise upon completion of this task.

The 1941 Dallas City Directory lists RICHARD P. JEFFREY as Secretary of the America First Committee. The 1941 Dallas Telephone Directory failed to list the above individual.

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PEW

DALLAS #100-1338
[redacted] 5-18-42

92207

It is noted that the San Francisco Office in a letter to the Bureau dated October 1, 1941, listed [redacted]

[redacted]

b7C

92208

UNDEVELOPED LEADS:

THE DALLAS FIELD DIVISION

At Dallas, Texas: Will check the newspaper morgues of the Dallas Morning News and the Dallas Times Herald and ascertain [redacted]

b7C

Will re-contact [redacted] in an effort b2 b7D to determine if there is any activity on the part of the America First Committee in the Dallas Field Division at this time.

[redacted]

b7C
b7E

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Form No. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

FILE NO. 100-917

REPORT MADE AT	DATE WHEN MADE	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE	REPORT MADE BY
DENVER, COLORADO	5-18-42	4-25;5-5-1942	[redacted] b7c

TITLE	CHARACTER OF CASE
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE	INTERNAL SECURITY - G

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS: No information secured to the effect that America First Committee is continuing operations in the Denver Field Division. List of officers and members in Denver submitted.

- R U C -

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 8/31/11 BY SP5 BS/lw

Compt 2nd 942

REFERENCE: Bureau letter dated March 16, 1942.

Teletype from the Bureau dated May 11, 1942.

10-17-90 SP8 BS/lw

DETAILS: AT DENVER, COLORADO:

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The America First Committee had a rather uncertain career at Denver. It was organized in the Spring of 1941 and on October 28, 1941 COLONEL E. W. DUNCAN of Lowry Field declared it off the reservation for members of his command. This action was taken on information that members of his command had not only frequented the headquarters of the America First Committee, but had also been active in the distribution of pamphlets, buttons, etc.

Later on the Committee sponsored the appearance of LAURA INGALLS at Denver, and on the outbreak of the war it was dissolved. At the time of the Committee's dissolution in Denver, according to newspaper reports, ARTHUR A. BROOKS, State Chairman, was quoted as follows:

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"Between one-half and two-thirds of our active workers of military age already have volunteered to serve in the armed forces andin a week or so I imagine the number will have increased to 90 percent."

He estimated the state membership at 12,000, of whom 10,000 are in Denver. This story appeared in the Rocky Mountain News at Denver, December 12, 1941.

b7c
b7D

Agent interviewed [redacted] is very familiar with the make-up of the America First Committee and is personally acquainted with many of the Committee members. She stated that as far as she has been able to learn the America First Committee has carried on no activities since the outbreak of the war. It is her understanding that some of the Committee members, of course, meet socially but there has been, to her knowledge, no plans laid or active steps taken to continue its existence as an organization.

[redacted] furnished the following list of officers and Committee members of the America First Committee:

ARTHUR A. BROOKS, Chairman, Attorney, University Building;
THOMAS McCARTHY, Vice-President;
CHARLES THOMAS, Executive Secretary;
HARRY C. SCHNIBBE, Public Relations Committee.

STATE COMMITTEE

REVEREND HUGH L. McMENAMIN, [redacted] Denver, Colorado;
JUDGE J. FOSTER SYMES, [redacted] Denver, Colorado;
THOMAS A. DINES, [redacted] Denver, Colorado;
VERY REVEREND PAUL ROBERTS, [redacted] Denver, Colorado;
JEAN CHAPPELL CRANMER, [redacted]
B. F. CLARK, [redacted]
REVEREND SAMUEL D. MARBLE, [redacted]
ELMER HARTNER, [redacted]
THOMAS B. STEARNS, [redacted]
REVEREND EDGAR WAHLBERG, [redacted]
W. H. HUTCHINSON; [redacted]
REVEREND RAYMOND B. WASEE, [redacted]

b7c

[redacted]

HUBERT THOMAS,
R. H. SUMNER,
REVEREND CLARENCE W. KOOPER,
WILLIAM TANNER,
HAROLD WAGNER,
REVEREND EVERETT J. HENDRICKS,
RAYMOND C. ERB,
ARNOLD GRAF,
DEAN JOHN LAWSON,
BISHOP WILBUR HAMMAKER,
all Denver, Colorado.

b7C

[redacted]

b7C
b7D

In case any information is brought to the attention of the Denver Office suggesting a revival of subject organization, the Bureau will be promptly advised.

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Form No. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

FILE NO. 100-897

REPORT MADE AT	DATE WHEN MADE	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE	REPORT MADE BY
GRAND RAPIDS, MICHIGAN	5/16/42	5/15/42	[redacted] b7C

TITLE	CHARACTER OF CASE
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE	INTERNAL SECURITY - C

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS: At the inception of the America First Committee the Executive Committee was found to contain names of both Communists and German sympathizers, as well as conscientious isolationists. The organization did not have a large following in the Grand Rapids Field Division territory. The organization was disbanded December 7, 1941, and no activity has been noted since that time.

- RUC -

[boilerplate: DECLASSIFIED ... DATE 10-17-90 ... SP8BTS/60]

REFERENCES: Letter from the Bureau to all Special Agents in Charge dated March 16, 1942.
Teletype from the Bureau to all Special Agents in Charge dated May 11, 1942.

DETAILS:

At the inception of the America First Committee in Grand Rapids, Reverend LELAND SUMNER was Executive Chairman. [redacted] b7C

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(Grand Rapids file 100-397)

b7C
b7D

[redacted] The greater portion and the control of the Executive Committee appears, however, to have been made up of those individuals who were conscientious isolationists.

This information was furnished by [redacted] of excellent character and reputation, was on this committee and was familiar with the activities of the organization. He further informed that JOHN W. BLODGETT, JR., was elected President or Executive Chairman after the group began to function. The activity in Grand Rapids consisted primarily of sending out bulletins and also the feature event was a speech on May 15, 1941, by Senator NYE. [redacted] informed that on December 7, 1941, MR. BLODGETT forwarded a bulletin to all members advising that the Committee had ceased to function, and that everyone should strive to their utmost towards full cooperation in prosecuting the war to the fullest extent. [redacted]

Any information coming to the attention of this office, which may indicate that the America First Committee may be continuing under other auspices or other names, will be given immediate attention, and the results thereof will be furnished to Chicago.

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Form No. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED A CHICAGO, ILLINOIS FILE NO. 100-2293

REPORT MADE AT	DATE WHEN MADE	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE	REPORT MADE BY
INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA	5-17-42	5-8,12-42	[redacted] b7C

TITLE	CHARACTER OF CASE
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE	INTERNAL SECURITY - C

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS: Names of the Directors of the Indianapolis Chapter of the America First Committee were obtained as well as the State and Indianapolis Committee chairmen. The State organization disbanded on December 12, 1941 under the direction of MERLE H. MILLER, Indiana State Chairman. [redacted] is of the opinion that the majority of the membership of this organization was composed of Republicans who were dissatisfied with the administration's policies and took this means of expressing that dissatisfaction. b2 b7D

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 4-23-91 BY 9145/AG/CC 264.350

REFERENCES: Letter from the Bureau to all Special Agents in Charge dated March 16, 1942. 10-17-90 SP8 DS/GL
Teletype to the Bureau dated May 11, 1942.

DETAILS: AT INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA.

On May 8, 1942 the writer contacted [redacted] who advised that he was acquainted with several of the leading figures in the America First Committee particularly in the city of Indianapolis. The Informant stated that it was his opinion that the great majority of these people were members of the Republican political party who were dissatisfied with the apparent aims and objectives of the administration and took this means of fighting it. [redacted] expressed the opinion that these people were not b2 b7D

1 ENCLO.

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disloyal Americans, but rather sincere isolationists who believed that the United States should stay out of foreign entanglements, and were willing to go to almost any means to avoid entering the European conflict. He further advised that he believes since the attack on Pearl Harbor by the Japanese, these people have truly abandoned the America First Committee and have no longer any sympathies with the program formerly promogated by that organization.

The Informant stated that he had been reliably told that all of the State records were in the possession of MERLE H. MILLER, local attorney who was State chairman of the America First Committee [redacted] b7c

A review of the file in the Indianapolis office discloses that [redacted] and said that his committee had received newspaper clippings from the Chicago Daily News of February 12 and 22, 1941 indicating that the German-American National Alliance was financially supporting the America First Committee. He said that the Indiana Committee for national defense was opposed to the America First Committee and had sent a story to the newspapers to the effect that the German-American Alliance was lending financial support to this particular committee. b7c b7D

A clipping appeared from the Indianapolis Star, dated February 23, 1941 which set forth that WILLIAM FORTUNE, director of the United States Chamber of Commerce, was appointed as chairman of the board of directors of the local chapter of the America First Committee. The clipping set forth the following information: Mr. FORTUNE is also a member of the central committee of the National Red Cross.

The local chapter of the America First Committee was organized February 22, 1941, following a meeting at the Indianapolis Athletic Club. MERLE H. MILLER, temporary executive committee chairman, announced that the bulk of the work would be carried on by a group of younger men, but that policies would be directed by a board of directors composed of the following citizens, in addition to Mr. Fortune:

> JOHN W. ESTERLINE, chairman of the board of Esterline-Angus Company; president of the Community Civic Association, and leading figure in the city-manager movement from 1921 to 1929.

A. E. BAKER, 1941 honored citizen of the Indianapolis Community Fund.

MRS. BRANDT C. DOWNEY, a member of the board of directors of the Indianapolis Council of Federated Church Women, and member of the House of Representatives of Marion county.

JAMES I. ROBB, president of the State Council and regional director of the CIO.

DAN FLICKINGER, captain 30th infantry, 3d division, who served overseas in the last war; past president of the Indianapolis Association of Life Underwriters and past president of General Agents' and Managers' Association of Indianapolis.

RAYMOND C. FOX, of Fox & Fox Insurance Agency, and past president of the Indianapolis Insurance Board.

ROBERT L. BROKENBURR, member of the State Senate from Marion county; past president, Indianapolis branch of National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; director of Flanner House; member Community Fund Budget Committee, and assistant manager of Madame C. J. Walker Manufacturing Company.

The REV. C. H. McPHEETERS, pastor of the North Methodist Church.

Offices of the chapter were to be opened immediately at 30 North Pennsylvania Street. Among those attending the meeting were WILLIAM L. FORTUNE, BURCH NUNLEY, JOHN BRUHN, RALPH SWINGLEY, GORDON CUTTLER, DAN YOUNG, HARRY T. ICE, STANLEY LAWTON, FRED WELLMAN, EDWARD McLAREN, DOYLE ZARING, BRUCE PALMER, TED NICHOLAS AND EDWARD J. GREEN.

On February 11, 1941 a letter was directed by this office to the Bureau setting forth that [redacted] A speaker before the group was one McCARTHY, first name unknown, but well known in Cincinnati and connected with the Veterans of Foreign Wars at Norwood, Ohio. McCARTHY is said to speak occasionally on radio programs in the Gibson Hotel, Cincinnati.

b7
b7C

During his talk, McCARTHY stressed the point that the United States should do absolutely nothing to assist Great Britain in her present struggle against the Axis Powers. He condemned the British for their attitude in the past toward the United States and during the course of his talk he mentioned in somewhat complimentary terms the organization, America First, Inc. He did not attack the United States in any way and did not especially make any pro-Nazi utterances but as indicated above his talk was particularly anti-British. He left the impression that he particularly favored such an organization as America First, Inc., although he did not definitely state that he was in any way connected with that organization. The only information contained in the files of the Indianapolis Field Division concerning America First, Inc. is contained in a memorandum on subversive organizations in the United States sent out to the various field divisions and the Bureau by the Chicago Field Division by letter dated November 27, 1939. A copy of this letter was furnished the Cincinnati office for its information and assistance should the Bureau desire further inquiries made with reference to the identity and activities of speaker McCARTHY.

A clipping dated April 3, 1941 from the Indianapolis Star announced that a forum was planned to follow a talk by JOHN T. FLYNN, writer and economist, who would discuss "The Next Step to War" on that date in the Cadle Tabernacle under sponsorship of the America First Committee of Indianapolis. The meeting was opened to the public without charge as announced by MERLE H. MILLER, executive chairman of the committee who was to preside at the talk. Dr. ERROL T. ELLIOTT, pastor of the First Friends Church, was to give the invocation, and Miss JANET AYER FAIRBANKS of Chicago, former Illinois member of the Democratic national committee, was to introduce Mr. FLYNN. Community singing was led by CURT DAVIS and MYRON RODABAUGH was the organist. The reception committee which was to greet Mr. FLYNN upon his arrival in Indianapolis included BURCH NUNLEY, DOYLE ZARING, EDWARD McLAREN, DAN YOUNG and Mr. MILLER. Mrs. BRANDT C. COWNEY was the hostess for the dinner to be held at the Athletic Club. At this dinner Mr. NUNLEY was to be chairman and toastmaster.

Another clipping from the Indianapolis Star, dated March 2, 1941, stated that MERLE H. MILLER addressed a group of [redacted] hundred women at an America First Committee meeting on May 1, 1941. Mr. MILLER at this meeting explained the purpose of this committee, and said that "the difference between a dictatorship and a democracy is that in the latter people don't have to take stuff lying down".

The people can say whether they want to go to war. At this meeting the following committee chairman: Publicity, Mrs. J. B. BOYLE; arrangements, Miss MAY HAYES; attendance, Mrs. H. BURCH NUNLEY; finance, Miss JANE DECKER; membership, Miss EVELYN VICK. The committee was to meet on May 2, 1941 for the purpose of perfecting plans for Senator Clark's speech.

[redacted] b7c b7D

had attended the meeting scheduled for mothers of draftees. This meeting was in charge of Mrs. BRANDT DOWNEY, [redacted] Indianapolis, Indiana. b7c

The speaker was Mr. MERLE H. MILLER, [redacted] Indianapolis, Indiana, a local attorney.

The meeting was attended by approximately 105 ladies, the majority of whom were under 35 years of age, and apparently of a high type and of good appearance. We did not attend the meeting personally, but obtained the following information from several different ladies with whom we talked after they had left the meeting.

The meeting was mostly for the purpose of organizing, and much time was spent in appointing committees, etc. The campaign for members is to be conducted mostly by telephone.

The purpose of this organization, as far as could be learned, is to avoid sending troops to Europe, at any cost; they are not opposed to aiding Britain short of war, but believe this country should first adequately arm itself before sending supplies to England, and when supplies are given to England they should be hauled, and convoyed, by the English Navy, and the United States should not,

at any time, haul any war materials to England or convoy any vessels. They are evidently of the opinion that Hitler cannot possibly attack this country, and that it is unnecessary for this country to send an expeditionary force to Europe.

We talked to an unknown lady, who left the meeting during the time Mr. MILLER was speaking, and she said she interrupted his speech when he mentioned something about this country being able to survive if completely isolated. She said he did not answer her question, and that she was asked to sit down by Mrs. DOWNEY; and she then left the meeting and as she did so, Mrs. DOWNEY requested her name and she gave it to her.

After Mr. MILLER had completed his address, he left the meeting and he was followed into the corridor by a lady whom we believed to be Mrs. DOWNEY, and she thanked him for his speech and asked him to try to make arrangements to have CHARLES LINDBERGH come to this city to address one of their meetings, and Mr. MILLER replied he had already tried to make such an arrangement and that he probably would be able to get LINDBERGH here in the near future.

A clipping dated December 2, 1941 was taken from the Indianapolis News and was headlined "America First in '42 Campaign". This clipping was headlined in Chicago on December 2 and added that the America First Committee would support Congress Candidates who have approved war policies. This clipping is quoted as follows.

The America First Committee reported last night that it will take a hand in the 1942 congressional elections by supporting senators and representatives who "have kept faith with the people's mandate to avoid participation in the war."

The committee said flatly, in announcing the program, that "it will not be used as an attempt to build a third political party."

The organization, opposed to American intervention in conflicts abroad and sponsor of a series of rallies in all parts of the nation, outlined its political policies in a statement issued by its national committee.

"Today America is confronted with a condition which strikes at the basic principle of the American way of life--government by consent of the governed," the manifesto sets forth.

"We know from the experiences of other countries that Fascism results when the legislative branch of the government surrenders to one man its power to make decisions for the people. In the face of this same trend toward Fascism in America the immediate duty of the American people is to return to congress only those representatives who faithfully execute the people's trust.

"This program will be undertaken in a spirit free from partisanship and without regard to the political affiliations of the candidates."

The statement contends that congressmen who oppose steps toward war had been subjected to "drastic pressure by the administration," and adds:

"Mr. WENDELL WILLKIE, too, has indicated his intention to attempt to purge Republican senators and representatives who dare to support the pledge in their own party platform against entering the war. The America First Committee, therefore, now feels it to be its duty to enable its members in any state or district to counteract these pressures and themselves to mobilize their supporters behind those public officials who oppose further steps to involve us in war."

On December 13, 1941, a clipping was taken from the Indianapolis Star which set forth that the America First disbanded in Indianapolis. This clipping reads as follows:

> Indiana headquarters of the America First Committee will be closed immediately and members will be notified by letter during the week end that the committee has been disbanded, MERLE H. MILLER, Indiana chairman, said yesterday.
>
> Mr. MILLER's announcement followed a statement in Chicago by national directors announcing disbanding of the organization.
>
> However, an American Red Cross unit organized under auspices of the local America First Committee will continue in operation, Mr. MILLER said.
>
> Two other services operated by the local America First group will be retained. One is a group which has supplied Sunday night dinners at the local Service Club. The other helps to

provide recreational programs at Fort Benjamin Harrison.

[redacted]

These people have been, according to their own statements, very active in the America First Organization, financially and personally.

[redacted] and the writer checked the "morgue" of the Indianapolis Star and obtained the following information:

In a meeting held May 29, 1941, an address was given by BURTON K. WHEELER, senator from Montana, before eight thousand persons. Chairman of the meeting was JOHN. ESTERLINE, and Senator WHEELER was introduced by MERLE H. MILLER.

On July 2, 1941, a meeting was held at 40 North Pennsylvania Street, at which WILLIAM H. REMY, attorney, was the principal speaker.

On July 25, 1941, GLEN M. FUNK addressed a gathering at 40 North Pennsylvania Street, Indianapolis, Indiana.

On August 6, 1941, Professor CLARENCE MANION, Notre Dame University, gave an address at the World War Memorial. This meeting was presided over by JOHN BRUHn.

A meeting was held at 40 North Pennsylvania Street on August 14, 1941, and was addressed by Miss ALICE WALK of Hobart, Indiana, who is a teacher in the Calumet area of immigrants. Mrs. HAZEL THOMSON, Indianapolis, was in charge of the meeting.

On August 11, 1941, a clipping appeared which set forth the State Committee. This Committee was organized along the lines of permanent Congressional districts and political subdivisions. A chapter was to be organized in each county of the State. This

statement was made at a meeting at which MERLE H. MILLER presided and the following persons were leaders at the meeting:

NAME	ADDRESS
Mrs. O. C. BARON	Elkhart, Indiana
VERA SESSLER	Fort Wayne, Indiana, who is chairman of publicity and out of town delegates.

Also present was Mr. and Mrs. E. JORGENSEN.

The following people were named as State committee members:

PAUL SALLEE and PHILIP LONG	Columbus, Indiana
FRANK FELDER	Rensselaer, Indiana
J. PAUL BASSETT and HENRY WARD	Kokomo, Indiana
VERA SESSLER	Fort Wayne, Indiana
LESTER B. SANDS	Greencastle, Indiana —
GEORGE BRADLEY	Marion, Indiana
EDWARD and HARVEY RUTENBECK	Fair Oaks, Indiana
Mrs. HARRY W. HELMEN	South Bend, Indiana
H. J. LINK	LaPorte, Indiana
CLARENCE and KENNETH RAUB	Gilbert Lane
REX B. WOOD, Mr. and Mrs. OTTO REISING, and Mrs. VICTOR COONRAD	Gary, Indiana
E. M. WARD, and J. P. FIENERAN	Elwood, Indiana
NATHAN M. ELY	Terre Haute, Indiana
CLEM WILLIAMS	Bluffton, Indiana
A. F. NAGEL and HOMER DRESBACH	Chalmers, Indiana
FRED RAUER	Wolcott, Indiana
THOMAS S. COWGER	Monticello, Indiana

On September 12, 1941 CLARENCE E. BENADUM of Muncie, Indiana, an attorney, addressed a meeting of America First, 40 North Pennsylvania Street, and on September 19, 1941 WILLIAM A. MULFORD addressed a meeting at the same place.

On September 13, 1941 a statement appeared by WALTER FRISBIE and MERLE H. MILLER in which they criticized CHARLES A.

LINDBERGH for his speech at Des Moines, Iowa shortly prior to that date.

On October 31, 1941 A. R. YOUNG, for whom no residence was given but who was born in England, gave a talk for the America First Committee at 40 North Pennsylvania Street. A meeting was held on October 3, 1941 at Caleb Mills Hall at Indianapolis, at which Reverence EPHRAIM D. LOWE, secretary of the Indiana Christian Missionary Association, gave the invocation. MERLE H. MILLER was the chairman, and Dr. JOHN A. BRIEN, University of Notre Dame, was the principal speaker.

A clipping dated May 3, 1941 announced the meeting on May 4 at which United States Senator BENNETT CHAMP CLARK was to give an address on the subject "Shall We Go to War" at the Cadle Tabernacle. This article announced the meeting of out of town delegates which was under the supervision of EARL JEFFRY, who is in charge of State organizational work for the national America First Committee, and WALTER SHIRLEY, who was head of similar activity for local groups.

On May 4, 1941, an article appeared stating that Senator CLARK was to be introduced by WILL H. REMY, former county prosecutor, and that the invocation was to be given by Father JOHN PATRICK REIDY of Ladywood School. BURCH KUNLEY, vice-chairman of the Indianapolis chapter, presided. At the time of his arrival, Senator CLARK was met by a group of overseas veterans, under the leadership of DAN FLICKINGER. This article also set forth that various committee heads had been chosen, and the chairman of the womens' organization was Mrs. DAN YOUNG; vice-chairman, Mrs. MERLE MILLER and Mrs. VEDNA CARTER. The secretary was Mrs. H. F. GILLIE, and the corresponding secretary was Miss LYDIA BATES. The secretaries of various committies, publicity arrangements, and attendance were the same as set forth previously in this report, and the co-chairmen of these committees were set forth as follows: publicity, Mrs. RUSSEL COX; Mrs. MARY PATTERSON, member; co-chairman of the arrangements committee was Mrs. FRANK ECK; members of the committee, Mrs. JOHN GAGE, Mrs. NORVIN STRICKLAND. The co-chairman of the attendance committee was Mrs. DON McINTIRE.

On May 22, 1942, an article appeared in which MERLE H. MILLER, executive chairman of the America First Committee in Indiana, announced that BURTON K. WELLER, Senator of Montana was to speak.

On October 28, 1941 an article appeared announcing that a state convention of the America First Committee would be held in Indianapolis on November 8 and 9, 1941. This convention would be under the leadership of Miss VERA SESSLER of Fort Wayne, who had charge of the membership committee. FRANK MURRAY of South Bend was in charge of the program, JOHN PAUL BASSETT, Kokomo, was in charge of meetings, KENNETH RAUB, Gary, Indiana, in charge of publicity, and FRED WELLMAN, Indianapolis, was to be in charge of finance.

On November 2, 1941 an article appeared in the Indianapolis Star stating that the State America First Committee was to convene on November 8 and 9, 1941, Indianapolis, and that FRED WELLMAN, Indianapolis business man, was to be the convention chairman of this first state convention of the America First Committee.

On November 9, 1941 the temporary state officers were announced as follows:

Temporary State Chairman	MERLE H. MILLER Indianapolis, Indiana
Co-chairman	Mrs. O. C. BARON Elkhart, Indiana
Temporary Secretary	Mrs. MILDRED GILLIE Indianapolis, Indiana

Of particularly interest at this time is to be noted that in the clipping dated March 13, 1941, at which time it was announced that the America First Committee was being disbanded, Mr. MILLER the state chairman advised that three service groups organized by the America First Committee would remain in existence. These were the American Red Cross Chapter organized by the America First Committee; the group which supplied Sunday night dinners at the local service club, and the group that aids in the recreational programs at Fort Benjamin Harrison for inductees. Efforts will be made to ascertain whether these three service groups are still in existence and who is directing their present activities, if such is determined.

[redacted] and received literature from him which is being forwarded to the Bureau. b7C b7D

In the first piece of literature was a copy of instructions on "How to Write a Letter to Washington". This leaflet, although not signed by the America First Committee, was obtained [redacted] but the source of the leaflet is not remembered by him. The leaflet sets forth the correct form for letters to be addressed to the Honorable FREDERICK E. VANNUYS, Senator RAYMOND E. WILLIS, and also Representative LOUIS LUDLOW. b7C b7D

A leaflet was obtained which was distributed by the America First Committee of Indianapolis, 30 North Pennsylvania Street, telephone Riley 1613. This leaflet quotes an article which evidently appeared in the Chicago Tribune February 26, 1941. This article set forth the reference should be made to encourage the establishment of new chapters, particularly in those regions in the east where internationalism is rampant, and it pointed out that the opposition to the America First is formidable. Another article obtained [redacted] was a booklet entitled "America and the War", by ROBERT M. HUTCHINS, president of the University of Chicago, with the sub-title "The Path to War is a False Path to Freedom". [redacted] was of the opinion that he obtained this booklet at the meeting at which Senator WHEELER spoke on March 9, 1941 at Cadle Tabernacle. [redacted] stated that these names were noted on the back because he believed they were recognized at the meeting. b7C b7D

Also obtained was a copy of a drawing by PARRISH, which was copyrighted by the Chicago Tribune in 1941, headed "Foreign Entanglements". This drawing showed President ROOSEVELT, WINSTON CHURCHILL, and JOSEPH STALIN seated above a barbed wire entanglement in which a United States soldier was helplessly entangled, and evidently mortally wounded.

A booklet entitled "Our Foreign Policy," by General ROBERT E. WOOD, acting national chairman, America First Committee, was also obtained [redacted] This booklet was a speech made by General WOOD before the Chicago Council on foreign relations. It bore the national address of the America First Committee, 141 West Jackson Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois, and stamped thereon was the address of the America First Committee of Indianapolis, 30 North Pennsylvania Street, Indianapolis, Indiana. On the back of the booklet appeared the national committee of the America First Committee, which is set forth below:

General ROBERT E. WOOD	Acting Chairman
R. DOUGLAS STUART, JR.	Director
J. SANFORD OTIS	Treasurer
CHESTER BOWLES	ALICE ROOSEVELT LONGWORTH
DR. A. J. CARLSON	FRANK O. LOWDEN
WILLIAM R. CASTLE	HANFORD MACNIDER
MRS. BENNETT CHAMP CLARK	THOMAS E. MCCARTER
IRVIN S. COBB	RAY MCKAIG
JANET AYER FAIRBANK	STERLING MORTON
JOHN T. FLYNN	AMOS R. E. PINCHOT
BISHOP WILBUR E. HAMMAKER	WILLIAM H. REGNERY
GEN. THOMAS HAMMOND	CAPTAIN EDWARD RICKENBACKER
JAY C. HORMEL	EDWARD L. RYERSON, JR.
GEN. HUGH S. JOHNSON	LOUIS J. TABER
CLAY JUDSON	MRS. BURTON K. WHEELER
KATHRYN LEWIS	DR. GEORGE H. WHIPPLE
	MAJOR ALFORD J. WILLIAMS

Another booklet was obtained [redacted] entitled b7c
"Can Hitler Invade America?" which was published by the America First Committee, 141 West Jackson Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois. This booklet was comprised of facts compiled for the America First Committee by JOHN T. FLYNN, from information gathered from military authorities and writers on military affairs. The sum and substance of the pamphlet as to the invasion of America is to the effect that no foreign power or group of powers can operate across the ocean and stand in combat with the American Navy and planes operating from home bases. On the back page of the booklet appeared the national committee of the America First Committee, and a statement to the effect that the greatest service to be rendered to the country is to write at once to your Senators, your congressman, the President of the United States and your local newspaper protesting against any further steps to involve the United States in any further wars. It also set forth that the individual should send in his name as a member of the America First Committee, which is working to save America from this war.

[redacted] turned over to the writer a form bearing b7c
the address of the America First Committee of Indianapolis, Inc., 40 North Pennsylvania Street. This card on one side had space for the person to "pledge opposition to Communism, Nazism and Fascism," and stated that "I want to help keep America out of Europe's war, and agree to write my congressman". This card had space for the name, address, and telephone of the individual, and at the bottom

had spaces to be checked if the individual wanted to "write letters, telephone, work with speakers bureau, do clerical work, organize others, whatever you need". On the back of the card appeared the principles of the America First Committee which are set out as follows:

1. The United States must build an impregnable defense for America.

2. No foreign power or group of powers can successfully attack a PREPARED AMERICA.

3. American democracy can be preserved only by keeping America out of this war.

Another leaflet obtained [redacted] was distributed by the America First Committee of Indianapolis, 40 North Pennsylvania Street, entitled "What Can I Do?" with the sub-heading "Democracy in Action". This leaflet sets forth that only the opposition of the people through their letters to Washington has thus far kept us out of war. Members of Congress and the President, too, are both guided and restrained by the views of the people back home. It goes on the say that it is the duty of the citizens to write to their Senators, Representatives, and the President on any important issue and that the most important issue at the present time is the question of the nation going to war. The leaflet further states that letters should be written at periodic intervals to the President reminding him of his pre-election promises. Letters should also be written to the editors of local newspapers and people should join the America First Committee in an effort to keep us out of war. On the back of the leaflet excerpts from the speeches made by President ROOSEVELT in Boston, New York, and Brooklyn are quoted, all of them to the effect that the President has stated that this country will not go to war.

b7C
b7D

There was also obtained [redacted] a leaflet entitled "Can Hitler Invade America?" which is a re-print from the Reader's Digest, April, 1941, the article having been written by JOHN T. FLYNN. This leaflet states in effect that possibility of invasion of the United States is extremely remote and that the United States could be entirely self-sufficient in event of a German victory. It would not be necessary for the United States to cooperate with the Germans after a possible victory by them, for they could economically best HITLER.

b7C
b7D

[redacted] furnished the writer with a copy of a printed letter which, although not distributed by the America First Committee, bears the heading of AMOS R. E. PINCHOT, counsellor at law, 101 Park Avenue, New York. It is to be noted that PINCHOT is one of the national committee of the America First Committee, and [redacted] thought that this letter would be of interest in connection with instant investigation.

The letter written by PINCHOT is addressed to President ROOSEVELT, dated October 24, 1941, and is extremely critical of the manner in which President ROOSEVELT allegedly was bringing the United States closer to war. PINCHOT compared President ROOSEVELT's actions and policies with those of Chancellor BISMARCK of Germany immediately prior to the Franco-German War in 1870, and expresses the opinion that President ROOSEVELT is just as responsible for the United States being brought into conflict as BISMARCK was in starting the Franco-German War.

Mr. PINCHOT also criticized the President for his handling of the firing upon of the United States destroyer GREER, and compares this incident with the Ems Telegram through which BISMARCK was able to bring about the Franco-German War.

The above letter is being forwarded to the New York office for its information in the event that it has not here to fore received copies of the same.

ENCLOSURES:

To the Bureau: 9 pieces of literature

To New York: Letter written by AMOS R. E. PINCHOT, dated October 24, 1941.

- PENDING -

UNDEVELOPED LEADS

THE INDIANAPOLIS FIELD DIVISION

At Fort Wayne, Indiana.

Will conduct an appropriate investigation to ascertain if the America First Committee is engaging in any present activities.

At South Bend, Indiana.

Will conduct appropriate investigation to ascertain if the America first Committee is engaging in any present activities.

At Gary, Indiana.

Will conduct appropriate investigation to ascertain if the America First Committee is engaging in any present activities.

At Hammond, Indiana.

Will conduct appropriate investigation to ascertain if the America First Committee is engaging in any present activities.

At Elkhart, Indiana.

Will conduct appropriate investigation to ascertain if the America First Committee is engaging in any present activities.

At Evansville, Indiana.

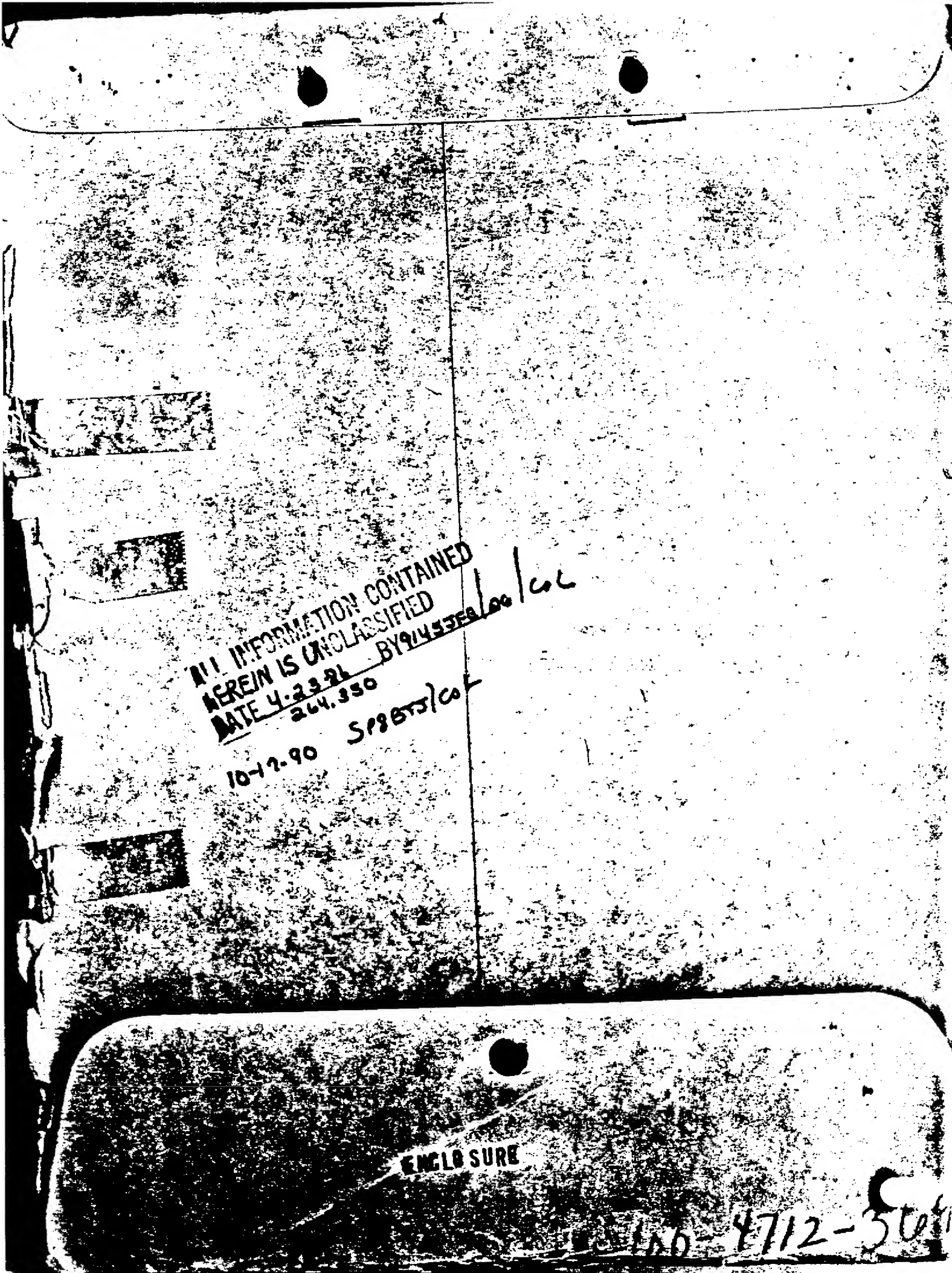
Will conduct appropriate investigation to ascertain if the America First Committee is engaging in any present activities.

At Terre Haute, Indiana.

Will conduct appropriate investigation to ascertain if the America First Committee is engaging in any present activities.

At Indianapolis, Indiana.

Will re-contac[redacted]for any information he may have obtained subsequent to the last interview. b2 b7D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for our troubles than to fight for democracy at home. As Hitler made the Jews his scapegoat, so we are making Hitler ours. But Hitler did not spring full-armed from the brow of Satan. He sprang from the materialism and paganism of our times. In the long run we can beat what Hitler stands for only by beating the materialism and paganism that produced him. We must show the world a nation clear in purpose, united in action, and sacrificial in spirit. The influence of that example upon suffering humanity everywhere will be more powerful than the combined armies of the Axis.

America and the War

by

ROBERT M. HUTCHINS
President, University of Chicago

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The Path to War Is a False Path to Freedom

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
30 N. PENNSYLVANIA INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANAPOLIS,

America and the War

Address by

ROBERT M. HUTCHINS

President of the University of Chicago

This address was broadcast over the NBC (Red) Network, January 23, 1941

I SPEAK tonight because I believe that the American people are about to commit suicide. We are not planning to. We have no plan. We are drifting into suicide. Deafened by martial music, fine language and large appropriations, we are drifting into war.

I address you simply as an American citizen. I do not represent any organization or committee. I do not represent the University of Chicago. I am not a military expert. It is true that from the age of eighteen to the age of twenty I was a private in the American army. I must have somewhere the very fine medal given me by the Italian government of that day in token of my co-operation on the Italian front. But this experience would not justify me in discussing tactics, strategy, or the strength to which our armed forces should now attain.

I wish to dissociate myself from all Nazis, Fascists, Communists, and appeasers. I regard the doctrine of all totalitarian regimes as wrong in theory, evil in execution, and incompatible with the rights of man.

I wish to dissociate myself from those who want us to stay out of war to save our own skins or our own property. I believe that the people of this country are and should be prepared to make sacrifices for

humanity. National selfishness should not determine national policy.

It is impossible to listen to Mr. Roosevelt's recent speeches, to study the lease-lend bill, and to read the testimony of cabinet officers upon it without coming to the conclusion that the President now requires us to underwrite a British victory, and apparently a Chinese and a Greek victory, too. We are going to try to produce the victory by supplying our friends with the materials of war. But what if this is not enough? We have abandoned all pretense of neutrality. We are to turn our ports into British naval bases. But what if this is not enough? Then we must send the navy, the air force, and, if Mr. Churchill wants it, the army. We must guarantee the victory.

WE USED to hear of "all aid short of war." The words "short of war" are ominously missing from the President's recent speeches. The lease-lend bill contains provisions that we should have regarded as acts of war up to last week. The conclusion is inescapable that the President is reconciled to active military intervention if such intervention is needed to defeat the Axis in this war.

I have supported Mr. Roosevelt since he first went to the White House. I have never questioned his integrity or his good will. But under the pressure of great responsibilities, in the heat of controversy, in the international game of bluff, the President's speeches and recommendations are committing us to obligations abroad which we cannot perform. The effort to perform them will prevent the achievement of the aims for which the President stands at home.

If we go to war, what are we going to war *for*? This is to be a crusade, a holy war. Its object is moral. We are seeking, the President tells us, "a world founded on freedom of speech, freedom of worship, freedom from want, and freedom from fear." We are to intervene to support the moral order. We are to fight for "the supremacy of human rights everywhere."

With the President's desire to see freedom of speech, freedom of worship, freedom from want, and freedom from fear flourish everywhere we must all agree. Millions of Americans have supported the President because they felt that he wanted to achieve these four freedoms for America. Others, who now long to carry these blessings to the rest of the world, were not conspicuous on the firing line when Mr. Roosevelt called them, eight years ago, to do battle for the four freedoms at home. But let us agree now that we want the four freedoms; we want justice, the moral order, democracy, and the supremacy of human rights, not here alone, but everywhere. The question is whether entrance into this war is likely to bring us closer to this goal.

HOW can the United States better serve suffering humanity everywhere: by going into this war, or by staying out? I hold that the United States can better serve suffering humanity everywhere by staying out.

But can we stay out? We are told it is too late. The house is on fire. When the house is on fire, you do not straighten the furniture, and clean out the cellar, or ask yourself whether the house is as good a house as you would like. You put out the fire if you can.

The answer is that the house is not on fire. The house next door is on fire. When the house next door is on fire you do not set fire to your own house, throw the baby on the floor, and rush off to join the fun. And when you do go to quench the fire next door, you make sure that your bucket is full of water and not oil.

But, we are told, we are going to have to fight the Axis some time. Why not fight it now, when we have Britain to help us? Why wait until we have to face the whole world alone?

Think of the mass of assumptions upon which this program rests. First, we must assume that in spite of its heroic resistance and in spite of the enormous supplies of munitions which it is yet to receive from America the British Empire must fall.

Second, we must assume that the present rulers of totalitarian states will survive the conflict.

Third, we must assume that if these regimes survive they will want to attack us.

Fourth, we must assume that they will be in a position to attack us. This involves the assumptions that they will have the resources to do so, that their people will consent to new and hazardous ventures, that their task of holding down conquered nations will be easily completed, and that the ambiguous attitude of Russia will cause them little concern.

Next, if Britain falls, if the totalitarian regimes survive, if they want to attack us, if they are in a position to do so, we must further assume that they will find it possible to do so. The flying time between Africa and Brazil, or Europe and America, does not decide this question. The issue is what will be at the western end of the line? This will depend on our

moral and military preparedness. A lone squadron of bombers might conquer a continent peopled with inhabitants careless of safety or bent on slavery. We cannot assume that any combination of powers can successfully invade this hemisphere if we are prepared to defend ourselves and determined to be free.

On a pyramid of assumptions, hypotheses, and guesses therefore, rests a decision to go to war now because it is too late to stay out. There is no such inevitability about war with the Axis as to prevent us from asking ourselves whether we shall serve suffering humanity better everywhere by going into this war or by staying out.

The chances of accomplishing the high moral purposes which the President has stated for America, even if we stay out of war, are not bright. The world is in chaos. We must give our thought and energy to building our defenses. What we have of high moral purpose is likely to suffer dilution at home and a cold reception abroad. But we have a chance to help humanity if we do not go into this war. If we do go into it, we have no chance at all.

THE reason why we have no chance to help humanity if we go into this war is that we are not prepared. I do not mean, primarily, that we are unprepared in a military sense. I mean that we are morally and intellectually unprepared to execute the moral mission to which the President calls us.

A missionary, even a missionary to the cannibals, must have clear and defensible convictions. And if his plan is to eat some of the cannibals in order to persuade the others to espouse the true faith, his convictions must be very clear and very defensible

indeed. It is surely not too much to ask of such a missionary that his own life and works reflect the virtues which he seeks to compel others to adopt. If we stay out of war, we may perhaps some day understand and practice freedom of speech, freedom of worship, freedom from want, and freedom from fear. We may even be able to comprehend and support justice, democracy, the moral order, and the supremacy of human rights. Today we have barely begun to grasp the meaning of the words.

Those beginnings are important. They place us ahead of where we were at the end of the last century. They raise us, in accomplishment as well as in ideals, far above the accomplishment and ideals of totalitarian powers. They leave us, however, a good deal short of that level of excellence which entitles us to convert the world by force of arms.

Have we freedom of speech and freedom of worship in this country? We do have freedom to say what everybody else is saying and freedom of worship if we do not take our religion too seriously. But teachers who do not conform to the established canons of social thought lose their jobs. People who are called "radicals" have mysterious difficulties in renting halls. Labor organizers sometimes get beaten up and ridden out of town on a rail. Norman Thomas had some troubles in Jersey City. And the Daughters of the American Revolution refused to let Marian Anderson sing in the national capital in a building called Constitution Hall.

IF WE regard these exceptions as minor, reflecting the attitude of the more backward and illiterate parts of the country, what are we to say of freedom from want and freedom from fear? What of the

moral order and justice and the supremacy of human rights? What of democracy in the United States?

Words like these have no meaning unless we believe in human dignity. Human dignity means that every man is an end in himself. No man can be exploited by another. Think of these things and then think of the sharecroppers, the Okies, the Negroes, the slum-dwellers, downtrodden and oppressed for gain. They have neither freedom from want nor freedom from fear. They hardly know they are living in a moral order or in a democracy where justice and human rights are supreme.

We have it on the highest authority that one-third of the nation is ill-fed, ill-clothed, and ill-housed. The latest figures of the National Resources Board show that almost precisely 55 per cent of our people are living on family incomes of less than $1250 a year. This sum, says *Fortune Magazine*, will not support a family of four. On this basis more than half our people are living below the minimum level of subsistence. More than half the army which will defend democracy will be drawn from those who have had this experience of the economic benefits of "the American way of life."

We know that we have had till lately nine million unemployed and that we should have them still if it were not for our military preparations. When our military preparations cease, we shall, for all we know, have nine million unemployed again. In his speech on December 29, Mr. Roosevelt said, "After the present needs of our defense are past, a proper handling of the country's peacetime needs will require all of the new productive capacity—if not still more." For ten years we have not known how to

use the productive capacity we had. Now suddenly we are to believe that by some miracle, after the war is over, we shall know what to do with our old productive capacity and what to do in addition with the tremendous increases which are now being made. We have want and fear today. We shall have want and fear "when the present needs for our defense are past."

AS FOR democracy, we know that millions of men and women are disfranchised in this country because of their race, color, or condition of economic servitude. We know that many municipal governments are models of corruption. Some state governments are merely the shadows of big-city machines. Our national government is a government by pressure groups. Almost the last question an American is expected to ask about a proposal is whether it is just. The question is how much pressure is there behind it or how strong are the interests against it. On this basis are settled such great issues as monopoly, the organization of agriculture, the relation of labor and capital, whether bonuses should be paid to veterans, and whether a tariff policy based on greed should be modified by reciprocal trade agreements.

To have a community, men must work together. They must have common principles and purposes. If some men are tearing down a house while others are building it, we do not say they are working together. If some men are robbing, cheating, and oppressing others, we should not say they are a community. The aims of a democratic community are moral. United by devotion to law, equality, and justice, the democratic community works together for the happiness of all the citizens. I leave to you the

decision whether we have yet achieved a democratic community in the United States.

IN THE speech in which Mr. Roosevelt told us, in effect, that we are headed for war, he said, "Certainly this is no time to stop thinking about the social and economic problems which are the root cause of the social revolution which is today a supreme factor in the world." But in the same speech he said, "The need of the moment is that our actions and our policy should be devoted primarily—almost exclusively—to meeting this foreign peril. For all our domestic problems are now a part of the great emergency." This means—and it is perfectly obvious—that if any social objective interferes with the conduct of the war, it will be, it must be instantly abandoned. War can mean only the loss of "social gains" and the destruction of the livelihood of millions in modest circumstances, while pirates and profiteers, in spite of Mr. Roosevelt's efforts to stop them, emerge stronger than ever.

The four freedoms must be abandoned if they interfere with winning a war. In the ordinary course of war most of them do interfere. All of them may. In calmer days, in 1929, the New York *Times* said, "War brings many collateral disasters. Freedom of speech, freedom of the press suffer. We think we shall be wiser and cooler the next time, if there is one; but we shan't." The urge to victory annihilates tolerance. In April, 1939, Alfred Duff-Cooper said that "hatred of any race was a sign of mental deficiency and of lack of a broad conception of the facts of the world." In April, 1940, Mr. Duff-Cooper said that the crimes of the German militarists were

the crimes of the whole people and that this should be kept in mind when the peace treaty was written.

WE CANNOT suppose, because civil liberties were restricted in the last war and expanded after it, that we can rely on their revival after the next one. We Americans have only the faintest glimmering of what war is like. This war, if we enter it, will make the last one look like a stroll in the park. If we go into this one, we go in against powers dominating Europe and most of Asia to aid an ally who, we are told, is already in mortal danger. When we remember what a short war did to the four freedoms, we must recognize that they face extermination in the total war to come.

We Americans have hardly begun to understand and practice the ideals that we are urged to force on others. What we have, in this country, is hope. We and we alone have the hope that we can actually achieve these ideals. The framework of our government was designed to help us achieve them. We have a tremendous continent, with vast resources, in a relatively impregnable position. We have energy, imagination, and brains. We have made some notable advances in the long march toward justice, freedom, and democracy.

If we go to war, we cast away our opportunity and cancel our gains. For a generation, perhaps for a hundred years, we shall not be able to struggle back to where we were. In fact, the changes that total war will bring may mean that we shall never be able to struggle back. Education will cease. Its place will be taken by vocational and military training. The effort to establish a democratic community will stop. We shall think no more of justice, the

moral order, and the supremacy of human rights. We shall have hope no longer.

WHAT, then, should our policy be? Instead of doing everything we can to get into the war, we should do everything we can to stay at peace. Our policy should be peace. Aid to Britain, China, and Greece should be extended on the basis most likely to keep us at peace, and least likely to involve us in war.

At the same time we should prepare to defend ourselves. We should prepare to defend ourselves against military or political penetration. We should bend every energy to the construction of an adequate navy and air force and the training of an adequate army. By adequate I mean adequate for defense against any power or combination of powers.

In the meantime, we should begin to make this country a refuge for those who will not live without liberty. For less than the cost of two battleships we could accommodate half a million refugees from totalitarian countries for a year. The net cost would not approach the cost of two battleships, for these victims, unlike battleships, would contribute to our industry and our cultural life, and help us make democracy work.

But most important of all, we should take up with new vigor the long struggle for moral, intellectual, and spiritual preparedness. If we would change the face of the earth, we must first change our own hearts. The principal end that we have hitherto set before ourselves is the unlimited acquisition of material goods. The business of America, said Calvin Coolidge, is business. We must now learn that material goods are a means and not an end. We want

them to sustain life, but they are not the aim of life. The aim of life is the fullest development of the highest powers of men. This means art, religion, education, moral and intellectual growth. These things we have regarded as mere decorations or relaxations in the serious business of life, which was making money. The American people, in their own interest, require a moral regeneration. If they are to be missionaries to the world, this regeneration must be profound and complete.

WE MUST try to build a new moral order for America. We need moral conviction, intellectual clarity, and moral action: moral conviction about the dignity of man, intellectual clarity about ends and means, moral action to construct institutions to bring to pass the ends we have chosen.

A new moral order for America means a new conception of security. Today we do not permit men to die of starvation, but neither do we give them an incentive to live. Every citizen must have a respected place in the achievement of the national purpose.

A new moral order for America means a new conception of sacrifice, sacrifice for the moral purposes of the community. In the interest of human dignity we need a rising standard of health, character, and intelligence. These positive goals demand the devotion and sacrifice of every American. We should rebuild one-third of the nation's homes. We must provide adequate medical care in every corner of the land. We must develop an education aimed at moral and intellectual growth instead of at making money.

A new moral order for America means a new conception of mastery. We must learn how to reconcile

the machine with human dignity. We have allowed it to run wild in prosperity and war and to rust idly in periodic collapse. We have hitherto evaded the issue by seeking new markets. In an unstable world this has meant bigger and bigger collapses, more and more catastrophic war. In Europe and Russia the efforts to master the machine are carried out by methods we despise. America can master the machine within the framework of a balanced democracy, outdistance the totalitarian despotisms, and bring light and hope to the world. It is our highest function and greatest opportunity to learn to make democracy work. We must bring justice and the moral order to life, here and now.

IF WE have strong defenses and understand and believe in what we are defending, we need fear nobody in the world. If we do not understand and believe in what we are defending, we may still win, but the victory will be as fruitless as the last. What did we do with the last one? What shall we do with this one? The government of Great Britain has repeatedly refused to state its war aims. The President in his foreign policy is pledged to back up Great Britain, and beyond that, to the pursuit of the unattainable. If we go to war, we shall not know what we are fighting for. If we stay out of war until we do, we may have the stamina to win and the knowledge to use the victory for the welfare of mankind.

The path to war is a false path to freedom. A new moral order for America is the true path to freedom. A new moral order for America means new strength for America, and new hope for the moral reconstruction of mankind. We are turning aside from the true path to freedom because it is easier to blame Hitler

Chicago Tribune Feb 26, 1941

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AMERICA FIRST.

The America First movement sprang into being as nearly spontaneously as any organization ever did. Many men and women at almost the same moment came to the conclusion that something had to be done and done quickly if this country was to avoid folly and the disasters which flow from folly.

The President and those about him were busily spreading the false fear of invasion. The administration was receiving the powerful assistance of the William Allen White committee as it was then called. Only a few newspapers and individual voices were expressing opposition. The war shouters were having things pretty much their own way.

The turning point may well have been Mr. White's gloating speech when the press agents gave him their annual award. That declaration of how he had put his campaign over made it all too clear that unless the common prudence of the country expressed itself the decision would go by default. We should find ourselves in a war which we had not made, for spoils which we did not want; and in that war we should lose our liberty as well as hundreds of thousands and perhaps millions of our young men.

And so the America First committee came into being and into action. It grew very rapidly. It drew its strength from all walks of life, from men and women of varying political and religious faiths. Because it was the expression of the common sense of the nation, the movement was blessed from the start with common sense leadership.

There were at least two groups of noisy hyphenates who would have liked to use the committee: The professional Irish-Americans and the professional German-Americans. The committee would have nothing to do with either of them. The America First movement was and is just what its name indicates. It is against participation in the war not because it hates England, which it doesn't, and not because it loves Germany, which it doesn't, but because it believes that America's foreign policy should be formulated with a view to the welfare of America and not primarily for the benefit or injury of any other nation or group of nations. Accordingly, the hyphenates and all others who had an ax to grind were given the bum's rush. Strenuous efforts have been made to get something on the committee but they have all failed. There isn't anything to get.

Today the America First movement, blessed as it is with a wise and patriotic leadership, is the most important as it is also the most promising political phenomenon in the United States. Naturally the movement got its start here in the heart of the continent because here the patriotism of the people is least alloyed. We have no colonial background; we have always been Americans. Our country is America. The instinct which led to the organization of the America First committee to combat organized internationalism was strongest here, but we have no monopoly of patriotism.

The movement is spreading rapidly and its spread should be given every encouragement. As quickly as possible chapters should be established elsewhere and particularly in those regions in the east, where internationalism is rampant.

The opposition to America First is formidable. Great names in what is called Society, great names in international finance, great wealth, are encouraging the American people to believe that they can enter the war without sacrificing life and liberty. The game is a reckless one. After the dictatorship bill comes war and after war the end of the republic. It is to avoid that chain of disasters that America First came into being. A nobler cause never invited the support of patriotic men and women. The finest thing an American can do is join America First.

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE OF INDIANAPOLIS, INC.

30 NORTH PENNSYLVANIA STREET ILEY 1613

HOW TO WRITE A LETTER TO WASHINGTON

Your President and your Representatives in Congress want to know what you think about this war. In writing them give your own thoughts in your own words in as short a space as possible. The correct form for your letter is as follows:

Address:	The President, Washington, D. C.
Salutation:	My dear Mr. President:
Complimentary Close:	Yours respectfully,

- - - - - - - -

Address:	The Honorable Frederick E. VanNuys, The United States Senate, Washington, D. C.
Salutation:	Dear Sir:
Complimentary Close:	Very truly yours,

You should also write to Senator Raymond E. Willis.

- - - - - - - -

Address:	The Honorable Louis Ludlow, The House of Representatives Washington, D. C.
Salutation:	Dear Sir:
Complimentary Close:	Very truly yours,

Mr. Ludlow is the Representative for the Twelfth District, which includes the western portion of Marion County. Mr. William Henry Larrabee is representative for the Eleventh District which includes the eastern portion of Marion County. If in doubt, write to both Messrs. Ludlow and Larrabee.

It would also be helpful to write to Senator Walter F. George, Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and Representative Sol Bloom, Chairman of the House Foreign Relations Committee.

U. S. Holds Upper Hand On Nazis In Trad

'A favorite argument of the interventionists is that if Hitler conquers Europe, he will be able to cut off our foreign trade, deny us necessary strategic materials for our defenses and other industries, and strangle us into submission to his Nazi regime. This theory holds that a Hitler victorious in Europe could declare economic war upon the United States still, without firing a shot, reduce us to a weak and helpless nation.

This argument is utterly false. It has been emphatically refuted by Bernard Baruch, head of President Wilson's War Industries Board during the World War; by John T. Flynn, George N. Peek, Samuel Crowther, and a host of other eminent and qualified economists.

The simple fact is that if Hitler wins the war—controlling even countries like Russia, Sweden, Spain and Portugal which he has not yet conquered—his trading position, his ability to choose the countries with which he will do business, will be weaker, not stronger. Every country in Europe that Hitler conquers not only makes him less able to cut off American trade, but also makes it more urgent for him to do business with the Western Hemisphere. For there is not one country that he has occupied that does not depend desperately on the outside world either for necessary raw materials to keep its industries going; for manufactured goods, such as clothing; or for food—for meats, fo[illegible] for grains.

Germany Always Forced
To Trade Outside Europe

Germany has always been forced to do business with the outside world to get food for her people and raw materials for her industries. She has always been forced to import huge quantities of oil, for her synthetic industry supplies well under half her needs. Without that vital fluid her panzer divisions could not roll, her trains could not run, her vast industries could not function. She has always needed copper—essential for her electrical industries. She has needed rubber, lead, tin, foodstuffs.

When this war is over and her reserve stocks are depleted, Germany will need these things again. They are not in her own soil for her to take. Where can she turn for them?

She cannot get them *from* the countries she has conquered, for those countries are all in the same desperate position. If Hitler takes France and Italy into his economic sphere, for example, his headaches will only be intensified. France and Italy likewise need food imports. They also need raw materials. A few countries—like Denmark, Spain, Hungary—produce some surplus foods, but hardly enough to serve the needs of a Nazified Europe. And they need raw materials. Some countries—like Albania, Greece, Norway, Sweden—can provide a few raw materials. But they need food—food which the already hungry continent cannot give them.

Nazis Dilute Own Strength
With Europe's Weaknesses

As a result, in Nazifying Europe, the Germans will have diluted their own economic strength with Europe's economic weaknesses. And, according to the Brookings Institution—a recognized, impartial economic organization—this Nazified Europe would have to buy from the outside world each year TWICE as much food, THREE TIMES as many raw materials as did Germany herself in 1937.

Clearly, these facts prove that Hitler will be in no position to dominate world trade. In a study on this subject, issued in June, the Brookings Institution said: "The important requirements of Nazi Europe are so large and so varied that she is scarcely in a position to buy or *refrain from buying* at will."

Nazi Europe therefore must import —or reduce itself to starving impotence. Without food imports, Europe's population would have always to suffer on short rations, lacking in cereals, fats, vegetable oils, meats and dairy products. Without raw material imports of cotton, wool, silk, jute, flax and hemp, the textile industries would be crippled—the people without clothing. Without industrial mineral imports, all manufacturing, mining, transportation, communication and farming would be seriously hampered.

Even Russia Cannot Give
What Germany Needs

Even with Russia under his thumb Hitler would be little better off. He would still have to depend strongly on imports from outside Europe. In 1937, Russia could provide only fourteen per cent of the total food the rest of Europe needed to import. Today food is rationed in Russia, and Stalin's policy of destroying farm lands when retreating before the Nazis means there will be food shortages for years to come. In 1937, Russia could provide only eight percent of Europe's raw material imports.

Nor could Russia provide Hitler with the vital oil he needs. The interventionist Fortune magazine itself admitted this June that Russia "has no oil to spare." Soviet oil is vitally necessary for the half-million tractors on Russia's collectivized farms. Oil today is strictly rationed in the Soviet, and Stalin is forced to import regular and high-octane gasoline from the United States to keep his war machine running. If Hitler took Russia's oil, the farms could not be cultivated, for—as a result of the destruction of 15,000,000 horses in the farmers' uprising against collectivism in the twenties—only tractors are available, and these tractors use sixty percent of all the motor fuel produced in Russia. If Hitler takes the oil he needs, therefore, he cannot get the food he needs; and if he takes the food, he cannot get the oil.

Plainly, a Nazi economy that included Russia and the Balkan countries formerly dominated by Russia would still need desperately to buy food and raw materials in the world market. Hitler would have to trade with the Americas. And we could set the terms. For here we produce what he sorely needs.

Western Hemisphere
Has Vital Raw Materials

We have here the copper, and in the past the now Nazified Europe drew on us for eighty percent of its supply. We have the lead—necessary for storage batteries of automobiles, trucks, tanks, tractors and submarines. In the past we provided Europe with two-thirds of its lead import requirements. Nazi Europe has virtually no nickel resources. Nickel is an essential alloy for armor plate. For this Hitler would have to trade with Canada, while holds a virtual world monopoly. He would need cotton, and even if he controlled cotton-producing Egypt, he would still have to trade with Canada, which holds thirds of his needed supplies. The United States is the world's largest producer of cotton. These are a few of the things that Hitler needs—things he will have to get by trade with the Americas.

To get food for a Europe starved after years of war, Hitler would have to trade with us. Already the United States and South America are storing up huge supplies of foodstuffs to ship to an emaciated Europe at the war's end.

While it is evident that Hitler must trade with the Western Hemisphere, however, by no means do the Americas have to trade with Hitler. With the exception of a few food items which are not essential to us, such as tea and spices, we have in the United States an abundance of every kind of food—meats, fruits, vegetables, cereals, dairy products. We are equally secure in the matter of raw materials.

There are fourteen "strategic materials" listed by the Army and Navy Munitions Board as vitally necessary for American defense and other industrial production that are either not produced in the United States or are produced in quantities inadequate for our needs. These materials are antimony, chromium, coconut shell char, manganese, manila fiber, mercury, mica, nickel, quartz crystal, quinine, rubber, silk, tin, tungsten. But every one of these essential materials can be obtained in the quantity we need from the other American countries, or completely serviceable substitutes for them can be found in North or South America.

Antimony Production Here
Relieves Dependence On China

For example, the United States now buys antimony from China. This is a necessary steel alloy, used in the manufacture of ammunition—shrapnel, shells and bullets. We produce some antimony in this country. Our own production, coupled with increased production in Mexico and Bolivia, can make us self-sufficient in that vital metal. We produce little nickel, necessary for armored plate in tanks, battleships, planes. But we can get more than we need of nickel from Canada, which produces 85 to 90 percent of the world's supply. Much of our tin now comes from the Netherlands Indies and British Malaya. We have a large reserve on hand; a new smelting plant in Texas is nearing completion [illegible] will turn out 18,000 tons a year; our smelters can be put in operation [illegible] Bolivia's large tin resources; and we can use glass as a substitute for tin products, such as tin cans.

With every other product essential to the United States the situation is the same. We can either get it elsewhere [illegible] the Americas have an adequate substitute. Almost raw materials, the [illegible] This country normally produces [illegible] fifths of the world's steel and could, if necessary, produce far more. One U. S. steel company today has an output equal to that of all Germany. We produce three-fifths of the world's oil, a third of its coal, a third of its copper, four-fifths of its sulphur, one-quarter of its lead, three-tenths of its zinc.

We are independent of Hitler, and even if all the products of a Nazi Europe and the countries under [illegible] domination were denied us, could continue to produce all we [illegible] for our own use and protection. United States does not have to do b[illegible] ness with Hitler or any combinatio[illegible] Hitlers.

U. S. Can Undersell
Nazis In World Markets

In view of America's impregna[illegible] trade position, it is obvious that [illegible] have nothing to fear from competiti[illegible] with Hitler for markets outside [illegible] Hemisphere and a Nazi-dominat[illegible] Europe.

Nations buy where they can get [illegible] most for their money, where they [illegible] sell their products in exchange. T[illegible] has always been true and will [illegible] to be true regardless [illegible] gaining the upper ha[illegible]

With her industri[illegible] the ravages of war, [illegible] undersell America in [illegible] The United States, havi[illegible] material resources and u[illegible] efficient mass-production m[illegible] in the past undersold the p[illegible] "slave labor" and can do it ag[illegible]

Bernard Baruch, one of A[illegible] most eminent economists who [illegible] an advisor to President Roosevelt, often scouted the argument that [illegible] country need fear competition [illegible] Hitler in post-war trade. In an [illegible] view with the Wall Street Jou[illegible] June 6, 1941, Mr. Baruch decla[illegible] Germany, not the United States [illegible] be "on the spot" economically [illegible] Nazis were to win control of t[illegible] rope—a continent.

Clearly, with Hitler facing a d[illegible] ate shortage of raw materials a[illegible] war's end, many of which he can[illegible] tain only from the Americas; with [illegible] hemisphere able, if necessary, [illegible] vide itself with every [illegible] necessary [illegible] for even defense [illegible] requirements; with th[illegible] United States [illegible] undersell Hitle[illegible] in trade with the outside [illegible] have nothing to fear from a Nazi [illegible] ropean victory.

Hitler cannot invade America wi[illegible] his tanks; he cannot invade us with [illegible] trade. If he should ever try, he wou[illegible] be writing the ticket for his own [illegible] struction.

WE NEED YOUR FINANCIAL SUPPORT NOW

The extent of our activities depends entirely on the contributions of our members.

Your contribution enables us to conduct meetings, publish literature and interest new minds in our work.

If you possibly can, will you please contribute now to carry on this important work? Your contribution, however small, will enable us to reach and influence others—to broaden the scope of this movement so that we will be able to reach thousands of new members weekly.

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Can Hitler Invade America?

(from the Reader's Digest of April, 1941.)

JOHN T. FLYNN

ans are told that the war in
s our war, because if Hitler
England the United States is
a will invade America. And
ople believe this so firmly that
willing to go to any lengths
British defeat Hitler. A great
al question of the day is, there-
AN Hitler invade America?

w we what Hitler would re-
n order to do so.

t of all, remember that the coun-
es he so far conquered are much
er, all put together, than the
d States. Their total populations
: 110,000,000. Ours is 130,000,000.
are seven different countries,
small compared with Germany,
(except Norway) right on Ger-
y's land frontiers. Hitler attacked
h one separately. All he had to do
s to roll across their borders with
vast mechanical equipment.

Germany has 80 million population, gigantic army and an air force THREE times the size of Britain's. England has only 40 million people. But when Hitler turned on England there was the English Channel—only 23 miles wide at its narrowest point. Ten months after France fell, he still had not even attempted to cross that narrow strip of water with soldiers or tanks. When he attempts to invade the United States—or Canada—he would face the problem of crossing with his armies 3,000 miles of the Atlantic Ocean and confronting 130,000,000 people on a small island with small natural resources, but a vast nation with 130,000,000 people and resources far exceeding his own.

This Map Shows the Vast Distances Hitler Would Have to Travel With Tremendous Numbers of Men, Food, Oil and All Kinds of Equipment If He Ever Tried to Invade America

[illegible] would be such that Hitler would have no [illegible] they are supplied with an endless supply of [illegible], armored trucks, machine guns [illegible] cannon and mortars, anti-aircraft [illegible] and anti-tank guns and motor- [illegible] squadrons and planes. If Hitler [illegible]pted to invade America he would [illegible]o bring not only his soldiers but [illegible]s equipment. Without it he [illegible]e helpless.

[illegible]n army leaders have always [illegible] attempt to conquer us with- [illegible]ring enough men here to do [illegible].

How many men would that [illegible]en Hitler went into Poland, [illegible]as his borders, he marched [illegible]0,000 men. When he moved [illegible]Holland, Belgium and France not less than 2,000,000 men. [illegible]t a fair assumption that to de- [illegible]e United States here he would [illegible]at least as many men as he took France? Could Hitler conquer country with less than three or [illegible]r million men?

But let us suppose that Hitler might [illegible] crazy enough to try to beat the United States with 1,000,000 men. How much equipment would he have to bring along? Figures based on the equipment carried by American army units show a staggering amount of equipment necessary for such a force, though they are very much under what the Germans carry. But, on the American system, Hitler's million invaders would have to bring with them, among other things, over 44,000 guns of various types; over 100,000 vehicles, including 4,500 tanks; and nearly 10,000 planes.

Such an army would have to bring its food, its oil, its ammunition until the country is conquered. It would require, each day, 9,000,000 pounds of rations and supplies, 1,500,000 gallons of gasoline, 150,000 gallons of oil. The quantities of shot and shell needed would be staggering. After Hitler's army got here, it would have to keep open a continuous flow of provisions, fuel, ammunition and replacements of arms and equipment. Transporting this vast army, and the equipment and supplies it would require, is beyond the power of any country.

Initial Force Of 50,000 Most That Can Be Sent

Hanson W. Baldwin, military expert of the New York Times, says: "The world's tonnage facilities are such that no combination of powers could possibly transport more than [illegible] men in a month. An initial expeditionary force of 50,000 would be the maximum that could be brought against us, if the size of convoy, number of ships and planes needed for proper [illegible] and the like are considered."

In the World War we sent 2,000,000 men to France. But we had the ships of twelve countries and the American, British and French navies. The Germans were without a fleet. [illegible] enemy shore and sent engineers and mechanics ahead of them to build ports and docks to unload the equipment.

Let us suppose that Germany has defeated England and taken the British navy. She now decides to send her army to America.

U. S. Navy Would Be More Formidable

Germany, even with the British fleet, would [illegible] complete command of the seas. The American navy would have to be wiped out. Two things must be remembered. First, at the end of this war the American navy would be larger than the German navy and the British navy combined. Second, Germany would have to do its naval fighting on this side of the ocean. Three thousand miles away from their own coasts this navy would be helpless against a navy merely its equal in numbers but three times its strength in effective fighting power.

Much is made of the point that our fleet would be divided or wholly engaged in the Pacific, or that it could be closed out of the Atlantic by bombing the Panama Canal. This is a decisive argument for keeping out of England's quarrel in the Orient and keeping the bulk of our fleet where it might be really needed. The weight of naval opinion is that Japan would never dream of carrying a war to these shores. Her interests are in the East.

If 30 or 40 Nazi ships with 50,000 men, convoyed by warships, attempted to land here, they would not sneak in on some dark night. Plane scouts would herald their approach days in advance. They could not empty their cargo on an open beach, but must first obtain possession of a secure harbor.

Warships convoying troop transports would be open to almost certain disaster from shore artillery, always considered superior to seaborne guns. When these coastal defenses are reinforced by shore-based air forces, no military commander would attempt landing. The inability of the British to land in Norway once Germany had gotten there first and the deadly power of manned airplanes against British convoying warships in the Mediterranean leave little doubt on this question. It was this which led General Hagood to say in 1937: "America is the strongest military nation on earth—that is, the easiest nation to prepare for defense." And in 1938 Rear Admiral Cook told a congressional committee: "I do not think that any fleet could make an effective landing on our coast, whether we had a navy or not, provided enough shore-based aircraft are available."

Even the planes used by this invading force must be transported to this country by ships. They cannot come as hostile craft and find a friendly landing here.

Invading Armada At Our Mercy

For every man transported there must be at least seven and a half tons of shipping. An attacking force of 100,000 thus would require 750,000 tons. Averaging 5,000 tons, this would require 150 vessels, convoyed by a flotilla of seven battleships, several aircraft carriers, seven light cruisers, a couple of minelayers and at least 70 destroyers. Imagine this immense armada, moving slowly over the seas 5,000 miles from its own base and at the mercy of our navy and air force, and compelled to land at a port protected by heavy guns and mine-sown seas. The idea is fantastic.

To come here after defeating England, Hitler would have to set out upon a vast military adventure, using up all the resources he has. And he would leave behind him on his rear Russia, which would welcome his plight, and 200,000,000 sullen people in Europe who would be watching the moment to cause him trouble. That moment would come when he was compelled to strip himself in Europe to fight here. Dictators don't take such chances.

President Admitted Invasion Is Impossible

The President said in his Message to Congress on January 6, 1941: "Even if there were no British navy it is not probable any enemy would be stupid enough to attack us by landing troops in the United States from across thousands of miles of ocean, until it had acquired strategic bases from which to operate." Here is a complete admission that invasion is impossible, from the lips of a man who has done more than any other to frighten us with the fear of invasion.

The President saves his point by insisting that Hitler would first have to acquire bases in this hemisphere. Those bases would have to be much closer to the United States than is Germany, otherwise there would be no sense in bases. Brazil is the South American base to which the President is found of referring. This is because Hitler could take over West Africa and concentrate his forces at Dakar, which is only 1,600 miles from Pernambuco in Brazil. Hitler will be able to cross over the Atlantic at this narrow stretch to Brazil and, as Senator Claude Pepper has described it, roll on through Venezuela, Colombia, Central America and Mexico to the Rio Grande.

This proposal is so grotesque that it hardly calls for an answer. Before he started from Germany he would be 3,300 miles from the United States. After traveling 5,000 miles to Brazil he would be farther away from the United States than when he started. And he would have to march a million men with all their supplies through tropical jungles and over rugged mountains!

Experts Discount Greenland Threat

Others tell us he will go to Greenland, but military and aviation experts know it is impossible to build bases there to accommodate either naval or airplane units large enough for attack here. Even if it were possible, Hitler could not do this unless he had command of the seas. And if he had command of the seas he wouldn't go to Greenland.

There are, however, other bases from which attacks might be launched: Newfoundland, Bermuda, the West Indies, or any British or Dutch or French possessions in the neighborhood of the northern coast of South America. But American warships could almost the very day that England fall take possession of these places without firing a shot, spending a dollar, or losing a man.

As for Newfoundland, there we would pursue the policy we would adopt for all of Canada. We would announce that we would resist with force any attack upon that country. The same arguments which prevent the impossibility of a frontal attack on the United States apply to Canada backed by the United States.

Conquest by fifth-column penetration is suggested. Secret agents can certainly AID an invader, but they could not be of decisive aid in a country as large as ours nor effect POSSESSION of any country in this hemisphere. Some go so far as to say Hitler could take over Brazil by telephone. I have been able to find no military authority who believes that Germany could seize a country on this continent except by military conquest and occupation.

Air Fleet Non-Existent That Could Conquer Us

But how about aerial conquest? Well, there is not in existence any fleet of planes that could menace us from Europe or from any base such as Greenland or the Azores. Some bombers could get over and drop a few bombs. But everyone knows by now that you do not conquer a country merely by dropping bombs on it. It must be occupied.

Americans are willing to aid Britain because they hate fascism, they are against Hitler, they look upon the English government, despite its aristocratic character, and its empire, as more civilized than Hitler's dictatorship. They are willing to help through a generous sympathy. But they should disabuse themselves of the panicky illusion that they must help Britain because a victorious Hitler would conquer America next.

We must provide this country with defenses that will make an invasion by any force, however great, impossible. But few Americans want to create a force capable of invading Europe or Asia and carrying on an aggressive war there. AND IT IS A SIGNIFICANT FACT THAT THERE IS NO MILITARY AUTHORITY IN THIS COUNTRY WHO BELIEVES THAT AN INVASION OF AMERICA BY GERMANY—WITH OR WITHOUT THE BRITISH FLEET—IS POSSIBLE.

FOREIGN ENTANGLEMENTS

PUBLICATION FILE
10-17-90 SP/BTS/CLC
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
BY 9NSSTA/SAC/CL
24,380

Courtesy Chicago Tribune

100-417C-3693

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586

Our Foreign Policy

by

GENERAL ROBERT E. WOOD
Acting National Chairman
America First Committee

Speech before the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations

10-17-90
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ALL INFO...
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
HERE...
DATE 4-23-96
264.350

America First Committee Principles

1. The United States must build an impregnable defense for America. With such a defense no foreign power, or group of powers, can successfully attack us.

2. Americans should and do cherish the ideals of democracy and abhor dictatorship, but the welfare of one hundred thirty million Americans and the preservation of democracy on this continent demand that the United States keep out of foreign wars.

3. The cash and carry provisions of the existing Neutrality Act are essential to American peace and security. Within the limits of that Act, Americans may properly aid Great Britain. Aid to her beyond the limitations of the present Neutrality Act would weaken our defense at home, and might well involve us in conflict. We oppose any change in the law which would permit American vessels to enter the combat zone or which would permit the American Navy to convoy merchant ships through that zone, as any such course would inevitably plunge this country into Europe's war.

4. With proper safeguards for the distribution of supplies and the maintenance of our neutrality, Americans should, to the limit of their ability, give humanitarian aid to the suffering and needy people of England and the occupied countries.

Introducing General Wood

By Clay Judson

Former President of the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations

We are at a crisis in our international relations. On the decisions now made by the people of this country and their leaders may depend our national welfare for generations to come.

At earlier meetings you have had presented to you dramatically, brilliantly, emotionally, the views of those who believe that the ideal of American life now demands a full participation in the war between England and Germany, and a willingness to take all the risks of war which that involves.

Now there is another view, equally patriotic, equally above question from the standpoint of ideals—but diametrically opposed in its spiritual and its practical approach to the problem. This view sees America's destiny as the preservation of peace for its 135,000,000 people; the abstention on any account, and no matter how emotional the appeal, from European and Asiatic wars; the maintenance of the processes of democracy and of civilization.

Those who hold this view are certain that we cannot enforce democracy on the rest of the world by force and arms. They believe war will be ruinous to everything we cherish most, and they believe we *can* avoid war, and should make every effort to do so.

This is the view of the man who addresses you today. He was born sixty-one years ago in the State of Missouri. Forty years ago he graduated from the United States Military Academy at West Point. His first military service was in the Philippine insurrection. As Chief Quartermaster at Panama during the days of the canal construction under General Goethals, he was charged with the duty of acquiring food, clothing, and supplies for the 40,000 employees and officials in the canal zone. During the World War he had a major responsibility for supplying our entire military establishment. After the war, in civil life, his ability gave him immediate recognition in the commercial world, where he served for ten years as President of Sears, Roebuck & Company, and is now the Chairman of its Board of Directors.

For his outstanding services during the World War he was awarded the Distinguished Service Medal. He is a Commander of the British Order of St. Michael & St. George. He is a Knight of the French Legion of Honor. At present he is the Acting Chairman of the America First Committee.

I am honored in presenting to you General Robert E. Wood, who will speak on "Our Foreign Policy."

General Robert E. Wood's Speech

"Our Foreign Policy"

I hesitated to accept the invitation of my friends, Dr. Lichtenstein and Mr. Utley, to address this gathering for two reasons—first, because I do not feel on a par as a speaker with the very eminent persons who have addressed these gatherings; second, because my views are opposed to those of a probable majority of my listeners—and I may add—opposed to those of some of my dearest friends and relatives. I have a brother-in-law on the William Allen White Committee.

But it is one of the beauties of a democracy that in time of peace, at least, men are free to express their opinions and honest men respect opposing opinions if those opinions are sincere and free of ulterior motive, and now is a time for all honest men to express their convictions.

The Hour of Decision

This country is on the eve of momentous decisions. The results of these decisions may be so far reaching that they may have an effect for good or bad on the life of this country for at least a generation. I am at the stage of life when I do not care as to the effect on myself or my own generation. I do greatly care what the effects will be on my children and grandchildren and their generation.

There are two schools of thought in this country on the subject of our foreign policy. They may be termed "Interventionists" and "Isolationists." These terms are not exactly descriptive, because all interventionists are not extreme interventionists and most isolationists are only isolationists as to Europe and Asia, but not isolationists as to the balance of North America and South America.

I except from my discussion those who have ulterior motives—anything except the welfare of our country. That would include the Communists who really desire to destroy our Government; the Nazis and members of the Bund who put the interests of Germany above those of this country; some ultra-pacifists who forget the interests of their country in their desire for peace at any price; a limited number of extreme Anglophiles who put the interests of Great Britain above those of their own country.

Our Common Ground

These schools of thought are in violent opposition, but there are certain points of agreement among all classes except perhaps what may be called the lunatic fringe of our population.

These points of agreement are:

First—The necessity for a strong defense—a strengthening of our army and navy and air force. Our people are practically unanimous on this subject—the only differences are on differences of detail. It is obvious that the richest nation of the world, in a world of force, must make itself impregnable.

Second—The belief that no foreign nation must obtain possession of any part of the two Americas and that the United States must be prepared to defend the North American continent, and at least that portion of the South American continent as far as the Equator. There is some difference of opinion as to whether military and naval protection should go as far as Cape Horn.

Third—Access to our great industrial plant by Great Britain within the limits of the neutrality law—that is, unlimited right of purchase by Great Britain of planes, tanks, munitions of war, raw materials from private manufacturers, provided she can pay for them and provide her own transportation. And this I may add is a very great aid.

Without this aid now being given, England could not long carry on the war, for her supplies of raw materials, her steel making capacity, munitions and plane plants are insufficient for a long major war. Without the production facilities of the United States she would be crushed. Theoretically, Germany is entitled to the same privilege—actually, on account of the British blockade, she cannot use our facilities, but she has no right to complain. I believe the overwhelming majority of the citizens are in accord with these three principles. I know I am.

Here Differences Begin

But it is when we get beyond the third point that opinion diverges sharply. The present administration in power, probably the majority of our editors and columnists, a very influential body of public opinion as represented by the Committee to Defend America by Aiding Britain is in favor of our government turning over some of our flying fortresses, more destroyers, more planes, and merchant ships. Others, even more extreme, favor an outright alliance with Great Britain and a declaration of war on Germany.

Now what are the fundamental arguments for this point of view? They may be reduced to three principal reasons:

First—The totalitarian state with its ideology, with its record of persecution, is repugnant to our ideals and should be destroyed, even if we have to enter a war to accomplish this result.

Second—Our own protection depends on Britain as our first line of defense, and if she falls, we are exposed to the onslaught of a totalitarian combination. Per se, it follows that we must give England all the aid we can, even at the risk of entering the war.

Third—If Britain is defeated, it will be impossible for a free competitive, unorganized and unmanaged industrial system to compete with a totalitarian system.

War Does Not Destroy Ideologies

As to the first reason, you cannot destroy an ideology by waging war on it. The conditions created in Europe by the Versailles Treaty were largely responsible for the rise of Hitler and the Nazi philosophy. The history of Europe for the last 100 years is a story of cruelties, persecutions, injustices. No government was more repugnant to our ideals and ideas than the old Czaristic regime of Russia—it had over many years a series of pogroms, but we remained on friendly terms with Russia. Up to 1917 we had always remained true to the principles of foreign policy laid down by the founders of our country: the policy of keeping aloof from the quarrels of Europe and Asia.

The Communistic regime of Russia under Lenin and Stalin was equally opposed to our principles and was detested by the majority of our people. Nevertheless, we have maintained our relations with Russia, and we have certainly had no idea of making war on that country.

Sentimentalists or Realists?

A nation cannot be a knight-errant. It must be realistic. Great Britain, during her entire history, has been coldly realistic, and her success in building up her Empire has been due to her realism. As individuals we can give vent to our generous impulses or even to our pet hates, but our statesmen, our editors, our moulders of public opinion must consider that it is not their individual fortunes and lives that are to be considered, but those of 130,000,000 of their fellow citizens.

Now as to the second reason—our military defense in the event of a German victory. Our country has gone through a curious transformation of thought since May 10th. From an underestimate of the military and economic strength of Germany, it has gone to the opposite extreme of overestimating that strength. From some of the remarks heard on the Eastern seaboard in June, we would have thought that New York and Boston were in imminent danger of being bombed.

Bombings Alone Cannot Win

Now the events in Spain, Poland, Belgium and France showed the major importance of the air arm when supported by tanks, infantry and a modern army. But Spain showed that bombing of cities, unsupported by an army, cannot win a war or even shake the morale of a population if the nation is of tough fibre like the Spanish and English peoples.

Apparently the Battle of England is demonstrating the same principle. Unless an army can cross the Channel, the German air force cannot impose a decision on England. Casualties and material damage —yes. The 15,000 casualties in London so far are but a drop in the bucket for a nation of 45,000,000 people; more casualties were incurred in single days of the Verdun, Ypres and Somme offensives. The destruction of apartment houses, stores, public buildings do not constitute a blow to the military strength of a nation. If the docks, railroads, power plants and munitions plants are put out of commission, it does affect the military effort, but unless it is done on a gigantic scale the nation cannot be subdued, and all evidence is to the effect that military damage thus far has not been of such a serious character as to severely impair the island's defense.

Can England Be Invaded?

As for an invasion, at the great risk of being called a false prophet, I doubt whether any invasion will ever be made, and if it is attempted, it will be decisively repulsed. To land 250,000 Germans in England, with mechanized equipment, ammunition and necessary supplies, would be a gigantic operation. Once landed, that force would have to face 1,500,000 Englishmen under arms, fighting on their own island behind strong defenses. And to land those 250,000 Germans means practically complete mastery of the air, blocking off the English fleet, complete control of the Channel—none of which objectives have yet been attained after more than a month of intensive

effort. To sum up, I doubt whether the island can be conquered, and I am quite sure the British fleet cannot be put out of commission.

Now we come to our own danger of invasion and the perfectly fantastic hysteria that pervaded this country after the battle of France. I think any competent military or naval expert, certainly the vast majority, will tell you that there is absolutely no danger of an invasion of the United States even if Germany is completely victorious, and I doubt whether she will be. The amount of shipping required for the transportation of even 250,000 men of a modern mechanized army with their ammunition and supplies over 3,000 miles of ocean is colossal and it is to be presumed that our own navy and air force will not be idle.

No Army Can Attack Us

If it is impracticable or at least exceedingly difficult for an army to cross 25 miles of Channel, what valid grounds are there for supposing that a large army can cross 3,000 miles of ocean to invade a continent?

Some will inquire—why should it not be possible for Germany to seize bases in Mexico or Central America and attack from those countries. Again, that presupposes an overwhelming sea power. But even if that sea power were present, there would again be the same difficulties of a 3,000 mile long line of communication for an invading army. And an army once landed must cross an exceedingly difficult terrain before ever arriving at the Texas border. I think that hypothesis may be safely dismissed.

Panic First—Then War!

Now we come to the favorite bogey—air attacks. I quote from Major Al Williams' recent speech, reprinted in the Congressional Record—"Oceans and extended lines of communications are still vital factors in modern warfare. President Roosevelt's panicky flight schedule for the air invasion of America is ridiculous, worthy of Hollywood and certainly not of the White House. To support my argument against the President's wild flight schedule for a foreign air invasion of the United States I offer a single incontrovertible reason. With all their air power the Germans could not attack and subdue England from air bases 300 to 500 miles distant. Instead they seized air bases on the north coast of Holland, Belgium and France 20 to 100 miles distant from the coast of England. Each and every stage of

the fantastic itinerary for the air invasion of America would have to be conquered for the establishment of major air bases for the enemy attempting the job. The President must know this—but apparently the pattern is panic first, and then war."

An Exhausted Germany Is Harmless

All of this presupposes a completely victorious Germany, ready at the end of a long and costly struggle, to immediately embark on a new and perilous adventure across 3,000 miles of ocean against a nation of 130,000,000 people. The present war represents seven years of preparation on the part of Germany. So-called total war represents a prodigal expenditure of labor, money and effort. Steel is rapidly consumed, aircraft and mechanical equipment are rapidly worn out, reserves of all kinds are exhausted, not to mention the wear and tear on human beings. A nation that for seven years has been given guns instead of butter is apt at the end of this war to demand more butter from its leaders.

So on every count it seems inconceivable to me that Germany at the end of the war, even if aided by its allies, who will be in a worse condition of exhaustion than Germany itself, will attack the United States. And if this country with its 130,000,00 people and its two great natural ocean barriers cannot defend itself unaided by Britain or anybody else, it does not deserve to survive. The great nation that has to trust to others for its defense is on the downward path to destruction.

Europe Must Have Our Goods

Now as to our economic problems. An economic war after the war—the loss of our European, Asiatic and South American trade. I have a high personal regard for Walter Lippmann's brains and ability, but I believe his picture of an unequal contest between a totalitarian economy and a free economy is misleading. After all, when two nations or two continents each have things the other needs trade eventually results regardless of the feelings each may have for the other. Europe needs us more than we need Europe—our materials and products are more important to her than hers to us. True, Germany has reduced largely its purchases from us, but more from necessity than choice. As far as South America is concerned, we can always obtain the lion's share of the trade of Mexico, Central America, Colombia and Venezuela because we buy the metals of Mexico, the coffee and bananas of Central America and Co-

lombia, the oil of Venezuela. In those countries, our geographical location must always give us the edge. We can take the coffee of Brazil but not its cotton; so its trade will naturally divide between Europe and the United States. It is in Argentina and Chile that our troubles come. We cannot take the meat, cotton and wool of the Argentina because we produce those products ourselves. The same applies to the copper and nitrates of Chile. We cannot sell unless we buy and that is a far greater obstacle than all Nazidom.

It must not be forgotten that Germany put on an intensive drive for trade in South America in the period 1936-1938, and if my recollection of the figures is correct, while Germany's percentage of the trade gained somewhat, the gain was not large, and it was largely at the expense of Great Britain; our trade declined only a fraction of one per cent.

We'll Get Our Share of Foreign Trade!

No man can foretell the future, but as long as we have products South America can use and above all, if they have products we can use, we will get our full share of the trade. As for Asia, the same remarks pertain as to Europe. Japan needs us far more than we need her. Our trade with Japan incidentally runs between five and six times the trade of China, whom we are making such great efforts to help. Even if Japan gets control of the Dutch East Indies—and that is not assured—she is going to be more anxious to sell us rubber and tin to obtain dollar exchange than we are to buy the products. And if war with Japan comes, we can get Bolivian tin and develop our synthetic rubber. We are certainly as resourceful as the Germans who are filling 90% of their rubber requirements with the synthetic article.

In 1937 Colombia's trade with us was 168,000,000 pesos, with Germany 40,000,000. Of Venezuela's trade, the United States took 12.5% of their imports and furnished 53% of the exports, Germany 13.6%. Of Costa Rica's imports, 42.5% came from the United States, 23% from Germany. Of her exports 45% went to the United States and 19.5% to Germany.

As for lack of organization, if needs be, we can meet fire with fire; we can set up export cartels and mass purchasing organizations and we can do this without danger to our system.

The Americas Must Stand Together!

Americans like myself feel that our true mission is in North America and South America. We stand today in an unrivalled position. With our resources and organizing ability we can develop, with our Canadian friends, an only partially developed continent like North America and a virgin continent like South America. The reorganization and proper development of Mexico alone would afford an outlet for our capital and energies for some time to come. And while I think we should try in every way to maintain the friendship of our neighbors to the South, I think we should also make it clearly understood that no government in Mexico, Central America and the Caribbean South American countries can be tolerated unless it is friendly to the United States and that we will make every effort to prevent the spread of totalitarian influence there.

Instead of what seems to be a sane objective we are on the verge of throwing our treasure and our blood into a European war, with consequences that no one can foretell.

I respect the honest views of honest Americans, no matter how opposed they may be to my own, but there are two matters that I resent: First is the attempt to smear any one opposed to what I might call the majority publicized viewpoint of what we should do in this war. When the editor of a New York "newspaper" denounces Col. Lindbergh as the head of the Fifth Column in the U. S., we have reached the summit of mud slinging. You may disagree violently with Col. Lindbergh, you may feel he has made serious mistakes, but you have no right to denounce a courageous, patriotic American citizen as a traitor merely because he disagrees with your views. This is as bad as the Nazis, an attempt to suppress freedom of speech.

The other point I resent is the way the issue is being presented to the American people. We are being edged into the war without the masses' knowledge. We have the anomalous situation of the polls showing a majority of the people favoring a course that is bound to get us into the war, while the same polls show 88% of the same people oppose actual entry into the war. That shows that the minds of the people are confused.

How Wars Are Sold to Us

Many of my hearers were adults at the time of the previous war and were familiar with the propaganda that led up to that war. If you want to know the

history of that propaganda and its falsity, read a book by Sir Philip Gibbs with the title of "Now It Can Be Told," in which he admitted the outrageous lies that were perpetrated on the American public. And Sir Philip Gibbs was no German but the leading English war correspondent, knighted by his King. The London Economist in a recent issue said it was only a question of time until American public opinion could be brought to the point where we would actively enter the war.

I believe a majority of the people who are advocating "aid short of war" do not desire us to enter the war. But there are others who do desire us to enter the war, who are taking the necessary steps to prepare the American people for active participation, who would enter it tomorrow if they dared, who are today in practical alliance with England, and unfortunately they are the people who are shaping our national policy today. You hear in Washington today that we are now in the war. You hear predictions from men, and men who ought to know, that we will actively enter the war within sixty days after the election.

The American people should think this matter through. The course we are pursuing is bound to involve us in the war. You cannot play with fire and not get burned. You cannot have your government, not private manufacturers, transfer its equipment to foreign powers, you cannot have your government in an unofficial alliance with a foreign power, you cannot be a meddler in Indo-China, berate Italy and Germany without eventually involving the nation in war, and if war comes I venture to predict that we will repeat the history of the last war. When the declaration of war was made in 1917 originally it was intended to send only the Navy to the assistance of the Allies.

Man-Power, Too!

Joffre came over in the spring of 1917, told the plight of the French Army after the 1917 spring Champagne offensive, where whole divisions of the French Army mutinied, and implored us to send over a token force, otherwise France would collapse. We sent Pershing and the First Division, about 30,000 men. Then came the impending collapse of Russia, frantic calls for more men, then the great German offensive of 1918 and the rout of the British Fifth Army, more frantic appeals, until finally we put under arms 4,000,000 men, sent 2,000,000 men

to France, spent 20 billion dollars and had 150,000 casualties. I need not refer to our treatment by our former allies after the Armistice. They took the loot, we did not even get thanks.

I do not often agree with the editorials on foreign policy in my friend Frank Knox's paper, but there is a recent editorial with which I am in 100% agreement. The editorial quoted two recent speeches by both Presidential candidates in which both pledged themselves never to send American boys to France. The editorial spoke of both these pledges as political bunk and very truly stated that if we entered the war we would enter it to win, and, if necessary to win, we would send an expeditionary force—and that is the absolute truth.

The People Must Know the Truth

The issue should be honestly presented to the people. If we aid Britain, short of war and beyond the limits of the Neutrality Act, it ultimately means war and should mean war. If we enter the war, we must enter it with all our strength in men and money. That is the only way to win a war.

If the military reports from abroad are correct, I feel there is no doubt that Great Britain can defend her island, her dominions like Canada, Australia and New Zealand. She may lose Egypt, the Suez and Gibraltar, though this is extremely doubtful. So far the Italians have shown no signs of real offensive strength. There is little doubt that England can make a negotiated peace by which she can keep her fleet and her colonies, but which will leave Germany the economic control of Western Europe. But she cannot decisively defeat Germany unaided. Her statesmen privately admit that, and say that for her to gain a decisive victory we will have to actively enter the war. One of the great mistakes made by the Allies in this war was that in its first six months they thought they could win a safe economical war, with France sitting behind the Maginot line and England maintaining its blockade, with little expenditure of blood and a minimum expenditure of treasure. For us to actively enter the war means ships, planes, money, men, expeditionary forces. That is the issue that must ultimately be presented to the American people, and it should be presented openly, honestly and squarely.

Our Own Democracy Will Be Sacrificed

In deciding this issue, the American people should face the costs. We start with a debt of $50,000,000,000. With the enormous cost of waging modern war, the cost of sending forces over 3,000 miles of ocean, of engaging our navy in the Far East, we would ultimately face a debt of from 100 to 150 billions. Victorious or defeated, we will be faced at the conclusion of such a war with great economic dislocations —the rich would face a capital levy, the middle classes impoverishment, and the masses a lowered standard of living and the loss of most of the social gains so far secured.

Competent observers believe that if the war is prolonged in Europe over one or two years, it will result in Communism in all Europe, and a species of National Socialism in England. If we are involved, it probably spells the end of capitalism all over the world.

Defend America First, Last, Always

I would unhesitatingly say to throw everything we have into a war to defend the United States or our own sphere of influence, which is the North American continent and part, if not all, of the South American continent. I do not think the American people should make these sacrifices to interfere in the quarrels of Europe and Asia, old, sick and overpopulated continents with ancient rivalries that cannot be healed. It is up to the American people to decide whether they want to make these sacrifices to preserve not England but the British Empire, and help regulate Europe and Asia. But they should make the decision with all the cards on the table, not misled by artifice and subterfuge.

But if that decision is given affirmatively, I think you will find Americans like myself, who sincerely believe such a course spells disaster to the nation, will be at their posts of duty in the service of this country. I am old fashioned enough to believe in the toast offered by Stephen Decatur back in 1816, "Our Country! In her intercourse with foreign nations, may she always be in the right: but Our Country, right or wrong."

10-4-40

Additional copies of this speech can be obtained from America First Committee, 141 West Jackson Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois.

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

Membership and Contribution Blank

I am a patriotic American citizen and agree with the principles of the America First Committee.

Enroll me as a member.

Name_____

Address_____

I contribute $_____ to the work of the Committee.
(You do not need to contribute to join the America First Committee.)

Send this application to

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

141 West Jackson Boulevard **Chicago, Illinois**

PV'S FERDINAND SMITH SPARKS WAR BOND DRIVE

Wilhelmina Adams, chairman, NYWomen's War Savings Committee; Nell Hunter, Washington War Savings staff and Robert Braddicks, deputy administrator, Negro War Savings staff, look on as Ferdinand Smith, NMU secretary and member, PV's board of directors, completes check for $50,000 purchase of war bonds by NMU.

Poll Tax Fight Gets Big Start; Victory Assured By Coalition

One of the greatest anomalies of modern times is slated to go. A condition in which 10,000,000 Negro and white American citizens are denied the right to vote while the nation spends billions to preserve democracy and extend the *Four Freedoms* to every corner of the globe, is about to be corrected. A coalition of congressional sponsors of anti-poll tax bills in the first session of the 78th Congress and a coalition of organizations behind these bills was made known last Tuesday to *PV* via phone immediately after the last signature to the congressional declaration was obtained.

A lesson was learned in last session's fight to remove this dead and disgraceful weight to American progress. The Geyer-Pepper Bill was not brought by petition to the House floor for a vote until the second session. The delaying tactics of the opposition, in the face of large appropriation bills, made possible a filibuser by the Southern block that killed the bill. This un-American filibuster still rankles in the minds of patriotic citizens and is predicted to be an important factor in further arousing the people to support the fight. Organized action has grown to such proportions over the last two years that a snow-balling effect is expected.

MARCANTONIO ENTERS BILL

The unified strategy has been placed behind Bill HR 7, introduced in the House by Vito Marcantonio (ALP of NY). Petition No. 8 to discharge the Judiciary and the Rules Committee is now on the Speaker's desk and 14 Congressmen had already signed. The main thing now is to get the rest of the 218 signatures as quickly as possible in order that the bill will come up for an early vote in the House so that it will get to the Senate in time to prevent a filibuster there late in the session.

The speed with which the requisite 218 signatures are obtained depends upon the power of the drive in each Congressional District. The people of one state can not oblige a Congressman of another state to sign. The fight must be made by the people, Congressional District by Congressional District, each Congressman moved by the people he represents.

Setting up of anti-poll tax committees in each Congressional District with white and Negro organizations, labor unions and progressive win-the-war organizations spearheading, to bring pressure on each Congressman to sign the petition, is the order of the day, according to leaders of the fight. Much of this strategy was planned at the Washington Conference called by the National Conference to Abolish Poll Tax.

ORGANIZATIONS JOIN

The entire labor movement and hundreds of civic, racial and political organizations participated and answered the conference call. The National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax, a superb machine representing all groups, voted the Friday preceding its Conference to support the Congressional coalition on the poll tax bills.

National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, with headquarters in New York, said, "This coalition inside Congress and out, is the biggest blow for progress of the American people and against the poll-taxers that has yet been struck." It was this organization that published last year, the most comprehensive Memorandum No. 3 explaining every phase of the poll tax question, and sent them to every Congressman and by the thousands throughout the country.

BROADCAST CAUSE

Congressman Vito Marcantonio in a recent broadcast over the National Broadcasting Company said, "In this war the effects of anti-poll tax legislation extend beyond our own borders. Not only will the abolition of the poll tax lift the morale of the 15 billion loyal Negro Americans in this country and thereby forge that national unity which is so essential to victory, but it will be living evidence and reaffirmation to our United Nations Allies and to the Colonial peoples, in India, Africa, Latin America, and the Caribbean of our earnest and high resolve to win the battle for a free and democratic world. The best demonstration of our sincerity to extend democracy all over the world is for us to extend it now, before the war is over, to everyone within our own borders."

The Congressman pointed out that this is not force legislation against the South. "We in Congress," he said, "have heard thousands of fine Southern people of all races and creeds who under understand the vital issue involved . . . and who want to see it through. . . . It is supported by all branches of the labor movement, CIO, AFL, and the Railway Brotherhoods. It has the overwhelming support of church people, Catholic and Protestant—of women's organizations, of organizations of Negro people and other minorities. . . ."

Here's Your Chance To Help:

$2,000,000 Bond Drive Gets Off With a Bang!

Spurred by a $80,000 purchase of war bonds by the National Maritime Union, the campaign to raise two million dollars in [illegible] bond and stamp purchases among Negroes in the northeastern [illegible] swung off to a fast start last week. Vice Ferdinand Smith, secretary of the powerful seamen's union and member of *PV's* board of directors.

The campaign is being conducted in Greater New York, including New Jersey, Connecticut and Rhode Island. Helping to coordinate the efforts of all groups in the campaign are *PV*, the *NYAmsterdam Star News*, *NYAge*, each of which papers is contributing $200 in bonds toward prizes to be awarded to the individuals or organizations selling the greatest number of bonds. A $100 bond is first prize for individual competitors. Second prize is a $50 bond. Third prize is a $25 bond.

PRIZES OFFERED

For the group competition (clubs) there are prizes of bonds valued at $100, $75, $50 and $25 for the four groups selling the most bonds.

There is also a special competition for women's auxiliary groups, with prizes of $100 and $50, in bonds.

Among children under 12 years of age, competition in sale of war stamps offers a prize of a $25 bon[d] for the child under 12 selling t[he] greatest number of stamps [among] school children.

For the New Jersey area t[he] *NJHerald News* is donating $[200] in bonds to be distributed as prize[s] as follows: Club selling highe[st] number of bonds, $75; individu[al] high sales winner, $75; child [sell]ing highest number, $25 a[nd] women's auxiliary topping its fi[rst] $25.

In Connecticut and Rhod[e] Island, the New England [edition] of the *Pittsburgh Courier* is donat[ing] $200 in bonds to be distribut[ed] in the same manner as those pri[zes] in New jersey.

TREASURY COOPERATING

The actual sale of bonds will [be] handled by a representative of t[he] USTreasury Dept. Competitors f[or] prizes need secure only the pledg[es]. Any club or group, having an a[c]tive membership of not less [than] five people can enter the competi[tion]. To secure credit for sales on a m[on]th it will be necessary for a speci[al] representative of the club t[o] actually purchase the bonds fr[om] the Treasury Dept. representati[ve]. Clubs or individuals may purcha[se] stamps to be applied against t[he] purchase of bonds when the mi[ni]mum price of $18.75 is reache[d]. Each bond then will be credi[ted] to the club's standing.

That's the scenario. It's a chan[ce] to do two things at one time, bo[th] of which are pretty important [to] everybody concerned. By selli[ng] war bonds and stamps, you c[an] help to build up rapidly the [re]sources of our country and t[o] bring victory sooner.

And, by selling as much as [you] can, you stand a good chance [to] cop a nice little war bond for yo[ur]self.

War bonds, you know, are [the] soundest investment today. C[ome] on in and inquire. You won't re[gret] it.

Maj. Gen. Johnson Heads Second Horse Cavalry

WASHINGTON. — Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson announced Thursday that Maj. Gen. Harry H. Johnson, National Guard officer from Texas, has been placed in command of the 2nd Horse Cavalry Division of Negro troops, being activated at Fort Clark, Texas.

The new division, the Secretary said, is an expansion of the 4th Cavalry Brigade which has among it elements of the veteran 9th and 10th Cavalry Regiments, oldest colored outfits in the army. The unit is entirely mounted. Gen. Johnson was assigned to the cavalry during most of his National Guard service, and is a veteran of the World War.

Ex-Servicemen Warned They're Still in Draft

To prevent embarrassing Brigadier General Amos Brown, NYState Director Selective Service, last week formed men who have separated from the armed forces that they are required to report their status to the local board with which they are registered.

Notwithstanding their previous military service, such men are warned that they may be prosecuted as delinquents if they fail to contact their board immediately upon their return hom[e]

Dead Woman's Identity Baffles Dixie Court; White, Negro Sue

ATLANTA—A white woman and a Negro man went to opposite ends of Atlanta in the Fulton County Superior Court here last week. Both claimed ownership to an estate of a deceased Negro woman, valued at only $10,000. Mrs. Margaret Irish, white, said to be a cousin of the dead, declared the deceased was "white" and Bill Jones who married her, held that she was a Negro.

Was she white? Was she a Negro? The court was to decide last Saturday. But, two of the all-white jurors became ill and the judge automatically ruled a mis-trial. It was the [illegible] in the history of Georgia courts. So touchy was it until not a single paper in the city or state carried a line for it, except the *Daily World*.

MARRIAGE IS CLAIMED

Testimony brought out during the trial showed that the deceased, the late Mrs. Maggie Petty Jones, was the child of a Negro father and a white mother. On this point the elderly Mrs. Irish contends to be the only living relative of the deceased.

On the other hand, Bill Jones, a middle-aged well-known Atlantian, declares he was married to Mrs. Jones and points out that her last name is his. He told the court he married her in 1914 and lived with her until her death in 1941.

Attorney H. A. Allen, representing Jones, produced witnesses who testified that the couple lived together as man and wife.

WAS ALMOST WHITE

The defense, represented by the firm of Mitchell and Mitchell, attempted to show that Mrs. Jones was "almost white" and wouldn't have considered marrying a man as black as Jones.

To prove that the deceased was a Negro, Attorney Allen secured testimony which showed that she was admitted to Spelman College's hospital and was funeralized by Ivey Brothers. Even workers employed with Jones in one case, spoke up in his behalf.

WAS WHITE UNTIL

Napoleon Thomas, brother-in-law of Bill Jones, told the court that Miss Petty was considered as a white woman until she adopted Jones. They became lovers after Jones reached manhood. The woman was 20 years older than the man. The witness also pointed out that the woman was jealous of Jones and cut him on one occasion.

After this switch-blade episode, according to Thomas, the woman explained to Jones' mother that they were married.

HOW COURT STRAINED

In attempting to show that the late Mrs. Jones was more white than Negro, defense attorneys declared that she was white up to 1927 and a Negro after that time. They went on to show that up to 1927, the Georgia law said that a person with one-eighth or less of African blood was white. The law changed in 1927, they said, making a person a Negro if he had any percentage of African blood.

864 QUESTIONS

Who will be the heir to the estate of the late Mrs. Maggie Petty Jones? Will the courts rule the deceased to be "White" or a Negro? Did the jurors fake an illness or were they really sick?

Answers to these questions will have to wait on father time. Maybe they will be answered during the April term of the Fulton County Superior Court when the case will probably receive another airing.

Negro Council Wears Nice Big Bandanna

WASHINGTON—The National Negro Council (NNC) and United Government Employees (UGE) met jointly here Sunday, Mar. 7, unveiled the biggest bandanna yet heard of, then stuck their heads under it. The groups adopted a number of resolutions, apparently on every subject that anybody thought to mention.

The bandanna knot was tied, however, with a resolution urging Negroes to support the Dies Committee which has confined two years of probing "unAmerican activities" to looking for communists and ignoring the Ku Klux Klan and other unAmerican activities of standing equal to that of the communists or anybody else.

Groups Discuss Plans For 'Carver' Launching

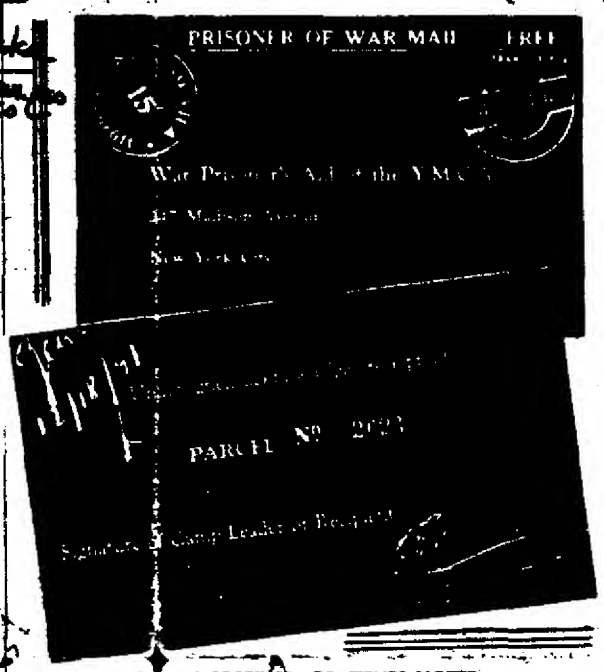
OAKLAND, Calif.—Plans for launching the liberty ship, SS *Dr. Carver*, from the Richmond yards have started widespread activity among citizens in the Bay area. Communications have already been sent to the Maritime Commission, expressing appreciation for its selection of this center for the ceremony.

The program committee, composed of representatives from union, civic, and press groups will meet this week to discuss further plans. Various sub-committees will also be appointed at the meeting.

US Offers Free Training In Various Trade Courses

Persons interested in receiving training for work in vital war industries should apply at the Metropolitan Vocational High School, 45 Oak st, between 10:30 am to 7:00 pm.

Eligible for training are males and females over 18 years of age. The courses, sponsored by the US government, include machine shop work, ship sheet metal, and other allied trades, and last from three to eight weeks.



GOODS RECEIVED—CONTENTS NOTED

The receipts shown are from Camp 7-Z in Bavaria, Germany, and were sent to the War Prisoners' Aid of the YMCA by the camp commandant. They prove Reginald Perry and Jack Taylor, former Harlem branch athletes now interned in the prison camp, received the clothing they wrote for months ago.

Harlem Athletes, Nazi Prisoners Given Clothing, Receipts Show

Last week, *PV* carried the story that the War Prisoners' Aid of the Young Men's Christian Association had received authenticated word from Camp 7-Z in Bavaria, Germany that two former Harlem branch "Y" members, Reginald Perry, wrestler, and Jack Taylor, boxer, along with six other men were confined there and had written for various article of clothing.

The YMCA has not only sent the articles the boys asked for, but forwarded to PV, Monday, photo-stats of receipts sent by the prison camp proving the articles were received by the prisoners.

In more than 600 war prison camps, YMCA representatives of the War Prisoners' Aid Committee help captive soldiers, sailors, marines, and all prisoners of war or interned aliens, regardless of nationality, race or creed. They report the most urgent needs of the prisoners to camp headquarters at Geneva, Switzerland, and from there supplies are sent to the camps.

The estimation is that some 6,000,000 persons are now prisoners of war in more than 40 countries on all the continents of the world, with Germany holding more than two-thirds of them.

Facing Induction, Commits Suicide

MARTINSVILLE, Va. — A Negro youth, apparently worried over the induction of his brother into the army and his slated induction within a few days, hanged himself, Monday, Feb. 22. Divers King, 18-year-old youth, was found hanged at his home by younger children.

Dr. H. G. Hammond, coroner, reported the hanging, and it was thought the youth committed suicide over the drafting of his brother the same day and his scheduled induction within a few days. It was reported that King was slated to go to the army in the city's Selective Service call on March 10.

Alice-Kip Affair:

$3600 Yearly Wo... By Alice Jones

ALBANY—New York's Co... Appeals reversed the lower co... Thursday, when it upheld the ... of Alice Jones, former wife of ... late Leonard Kip Rhinelande... collect $3,600 a year for life ... the estate of his father, ... Rhinelander.

Alice Jones and Leonard K... lander were married in 1924 ... lived together for approximat... month, when he made the ... covery that Negro blood ... through her veins. On that gr... he sued for an annulment of ... marriage in Westchester Co... but lost his case in one of the ... notorious jury trials of the 20...

He then obtained a divor... Nevada in 1929. Miss Jones ... meanwhile sued Philip Rhinel... for $500,000, claiming he ... alienated his son's affections ... her. She and the elder man ... an agreement July 8, 1930, ... which Miss Jones was paid $... a year until his death in 1940.

Adelaide R. Thomas and ... guardians and executors, ... that the agreement did not ... the elder Rhinelander's death ... the Appellate Division, Secon... partment, supported the ... Thursday's decision by the C... Appeals ruled that the agre... was enforceable. Judge De... read the prevailing opinio... Judge Conway was the lone ... ter.

Eleazer Gives Up Interracial Post

ATLANTA—R. B. Eleaze... served 20 years on the Comm... on Interracial Cooperation re... last week. According to the ... tion prepared on his retirem... Dr. Rufus E. Clement, Atl... president, few southern whit... —if any—have done more ... decades to improve interrac... operation. It said in part:

"The Commission expr... deep gratitude to Mr. Eleaz... his untiring, unselfish and ... faithful work. The Comm... realizes that this work, done ... out fanfare and publicity, ... to result in as great good ... have permanent effect as an ... gram which it had underta...

"The Commission acknow... its indebtedness to Mr. Rol... Eleazer and desires to hav... expression made a part of ... ficial history and record ... work in this highly significa... of social adjustment."

Dr. Eleazer came into the ... mission a comparatively ... man, gained the *dislike* of ... whites in carrying out his ... but continued to build up ... preciation of interracial pr... in the minds of white south... the majority of them being ... He retired from the staff ... Commission.

BUY WAR BONDS, STA... AND HELP LICK THE...

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

FORM NO. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT CHICAGO

FILE NO. 100-233

REPORT MADE AT	DATE WHEN MADE	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE	REPORT MADE BY
OMAHA	5/20/42	4/22,23,24,25, 27-5/4/42	[redacted] b7C

TITLE: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

CHARACTER OF CASE: INTERNAL SECURITY

[redacted] of solicitation of donations and a gro[redacted] attendance at Lindbergh rally in Des Moines, Iowa during September 1941. Temporary Chairman, [redacted] C. WARD, appointed about June 1, 1941 attempted to organize active group in Omaha. [redacted] b7C b7D No meetings held and no officers elected. Investigation [redacted] close any evidence of group activity. [redacted]

No indications of any activities [redacted] since December 7, 1941.

[redacted]

- P -

[redacted] DATE 10-17-90 SP8B3/cal

REFERENCE: Bureau letter to all Field Offices, dated March 16, 1942.

DETAILS: At Omaha, Nebraska

Omaha file of the America First Committee, which had been compiled without any investigative action, disclosed that [redacted] was interviewed at the Omaha Field Office at the request of Special Agent [redacted] b7C b7D

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: [redacted] SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES

100-4712-370

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10 JUN 2 1942

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[redacted] b7C

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Best copy available

furnished a copy of the pamphlet, "Our Foreign Policy", which was made a part of the Omaha file.

[redacted] b7C b7D

[redacted] at which time he furnished additional literature issued by the America First Committee, entitled "Here is the Road to War". This was also made part of the Omaha file.

On September 4, 1941, there appeared in the Omaha World Herald a news item, stating that FRANK C. WARD, printing and office supplies salesman, of 2719 Fontenelle Boulevard, had said that he was the temporary Chairman of the Omaha group of the America First Committee, and that a caravan was being arranged to attend the rally in Des Moines, Iowa, where CHARLES A. LINDBERGH would be the principal speaker. WARD refused to tell the names of the other officers, according to the paper, as well as the size of the organization, date, and place of the next meeting of the group. This article also disclosed that WARD formerly operated the Ward Printing Company and present office was 202 Patterson Building. WARD stated that the men whom he shared the offices were not interested in The America First movement.

[redacted] b7C b7D

The Morning World Herald, on October 3, 1941, carried a news article indicating that a America First group had been formed at the University of Nebraska, which was attended by two dozen students. At the meeting were STANLEY LOWE, Sophomore from Alma, Nebraska, who was organizer and acting Chairman of the campus group; former Congressman HENRY C. LUCKEY, of Lincoln, principal speaker of the evening; LUCKEY PAUL, his grandson; and Miss MARIAN AXFORD, Nebraska Wesleyan University student and former Youth Director for Lincoln's Trinity Methodist Church. LUCKEY was said to have declared, "If we hadn't gotten into the first World War, 'Nazi or Fascism' wouldn't have happened". He cited the terrible injustices of the treaty of Versailles on Germany and the attitude of England toward war deb and payment. LUCKEY stressed the terrible cost that participation in a European war would mean, charging such participation would only serve t make a few "international financiers" rich. During the forum, petitio

bearing resolutions that the Neutrality Act be retained in its present form and voicing the approval of the aims of the America First Committee were passed through the crowd. The newspaper article stated that there were only three signers, one signature of which was signed "ADOLPH HITLER".

On October 23, 1941, The Morning World Herald carried an article that a constitution establishing a University of Nebraska Chapter of the America First Committee was approved by the student council at its regular meeting. AXEL LOUI[redacted]QUIST, Assistant Professor of Germanic languages, was said to be the sponsor of the group. The principles of the group were outlined and included; keeping out of war, preserving democracy at home, keeping naval convoys and merchant ships on this side of the Atlantic, building an impregnable defense and aiding opposed peoples in occupied countries with supplies of food and clothing. Another principle was added by the campus group, declaring the committee stands for "tolerance, human idealism and American realism", and "condemning anti-Catholicism, anti-Semitism". The constitution provided for the immediate dissolution of the group should congress declare war.

On October 14, 1941, an article appeared in the Evening World Herald, disclosing that FRANK C. WARD, Chairman of the America First Group, in Omaha, had requested the use of one of the municipal courtrooms in the City Hall for the committee's meetings, once a week, at night. WARD was said to have advised that the committee membership had outgrown the capacity of the present meeting quarters. The motion was taken under advisement, and offered by Commissioner HARRY [redacted]USTIN.

[redacted]

b7C
b7D

On November 21, 1941, [redacted] telephonically communicated with Special Agent [redacted] and gave the information that he had overheard a conversation between a [redacted] and another woman, which lasted for about 3/4 of an hour. They discussed the fact that everyone should help LINDBERGH and Senator WHEELER and stated that they wished someone would poison Mrs. ROOSEVELT, and that all the money goes to the Jews. [redacted] also mentioned that in the course of the conversation [redacted] told the other party that she should get in touch with the lady at [redacted] as she could be of assistance. [redacted], was the number the telephone conversation was being had and which he had listened to, and that this number was listed under the name of [redacted] and was advised that there was [redacted] The Omaha City Directory lists a [redacted] a widow, residing at [redacted] and [redacted] who resides at [redacted]

The following investigation was made by the reporting agent.

b7C
b7D

[redacted] who had previously reported that [redacted] and [redacted] were active in the America First Committee, advised that he had tailed [redacted] three years ago and advised that he is a good friend of [redacted] however, could not offer any specific information as to why he had associated the two together. He had learned that [redacted] and [redacted] were in the America First Committee from a private source of information, and advised that he would disclose the identity of this person if her name would be held confidential.

[redacted], advised that his organization placed a surveillance on FRANK C. WARD because of his anti-semitic views. [redacted] explained that he himself, being a Jew, was naturally concerned about the activities of WARD. He produced reports [redacted] which were dated September 27, 28, and 29, 1939. These reports contained no pertinent information. [redacted] could not give any specific information as to anti-Semitic activities by WARD, but stated that he had been close to [redacted]

[redacted] who requested not to be quoted, was contacted and advised that she lived in the neighborhood where [redacted] formerly resided, and also close to the home of FRANK C. WARD. She could give no specific information as to the reason why she had connected [redacted] to the America First Committee, or why she thought WARD and [redacted] were friendly.

had advised the Field Office previously that had heard make pro-Nazi statements, however, advised that he did not know WARD. further stated that along about the time he had made the report to probably not over five or six in all, addressed to the America First Committee. After that they had ceased all together.

the matter of letting temporary Chairman, FRANK C. WARD, and the America First Committee, use rooms for a meeting place of that organization, was interviewed by Agent advised that this matter was never voted on and had not made available the use of any of their rooms to this organization as a meeting place. stated that he was told that previous meetings of this organization had been held in Crounce Hall, 16th and Capitol Streets.

there was no record that disclosed that the America First Committee had used this hall as a meeting place. The years 1940 and 1941 were examined.

b7C
b7D

She advised that she had read in the paper that WARD was connected with the America First Committee, but did not know anything about his activities in it.

[redacted]

In the fall of 1941, [redacted] stated that he had received a call from [redacted] who told him of seeing an article in the paper where WARD was Chairman of the America First Committee. [redacted] After discussing this matter, [redacted] said that he and [redacted] asked WARD not to [redacted] or in any way connect them with the America First Committee. [redacted] advised that he and [redacted] did not wish to be identified with this group at all.

[redacted]

b7C
b7D

4-750 (Rev. 12-14-88)

XXXXXX
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THE OMAHA FIELD DIVISION

At Lincoln, Nebraska

Will make appropriate investigation to determine the [redacted] and recent activities of [redacted] b7C

At Omaha, Nebraska

Will, through confidential sources, report any attempts to contact former America First members by subversive groups.

- P E N D I N G -

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

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FREEDOM OF INFORMATION AND PRIVACY ACTS

SUBJECT: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

FILE NUMBER: 100-4712

PART: 8 OF 19

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

FILE DESCRIPTION

BUREAU FILE

SUBJECT America First Committee

FILE NO. 100-4712

SECTION NO. 8

SERIALS 371

through

403

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

No. 2 CASE ORIGINATED AT: CHICAGO, ILLINOIS			FILE NO. 100-994 [redacted]
REPORT MADE AT: MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE	DATE WHEN MADE: 5-22-42	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE: 5-12,13,14,15, 18,20-42	REPORT MADE BY: [redacted] b7C
TITLE: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE			CHARACTER OF CASE: INTERNAL SECURITY - G

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS: No chapters of America First Committee ever existed in this Field Division. One meeting of an unaffiliated group characterized as Isolationists and proNeutrality, held at the Peabody Hotel, Memphis, Tennessee on 11-11-41, but no permanent organization effected and no activity noted after initial meeting.

EUC

REFERENCE: Bureau letter dated 3-16-42
Bureau teletype dated 5-11-42

DETAILS: 318,519

This investigation is predicated upon Bureau communications of reference which requested investigation to ascertain whether the America First Committee is being kept in operation with a view towards the use of this organization by individuals or groups in a manner detrimental to the Internal Security of this country.

AT NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE

The following investigation was conducted by Special Agent [redacted] b7C

[redacted]

[redacted]lle, Tennessee advised that the America First Committee had never operated [redacted]ville to the best of his knowledge. [redacted] stated that he knew it never [redacted] openly and believed it never operated under cover. [redacted] furnished [redacted] the names of [redacted] and [redacted] According

SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

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b7C

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to [redacted] these individuals would know of any operations on the part of the America First Committee in Nashville, Tennessee.

Agent [redacted] interviewed [redacted] Nashville, Tennessee, who advised that he had never heard of the America First Committee operating in any manner in Nashville, Tennessee. [redacted] further advised that if the subject Committee did operate at all in Nashville, or vicinity, he was sure that he would have heard of such operation.

[redacted] Nashville, related upon interview that he was formerly [redacted] He also advised that the America First Committee had never operated in Nashville in any manner. [redacted] advised the agent that if the America First Committee should attempt in any manner to set up a functioning organization in Nashville or if individuals known to harbor "Isolationist" sympathies attempted to spread any such propaganda, he would immediately advise this office.

[redacted] Nashville, [redacted] advised that the America First Committee never operated in any manner in Nashville, Tennessee to the best of his knowledge.

AT JACKSON, TENNESSEE

The following investigation was conducted by Special Agent [redacted]

In an effort to ascertain whether the subject Committee has ever operated or is now operating in Jackson, Tennessee or vicinity, Special Agent [redacted] contacted [redacted].

Each of these individuals advised they were virtually positive that no chapter of the America First Committee ever existed in Jackson, Tennessee or vicinity. Likewise, they added that no organized group, whatever which professed sympathies akin to the America First Committee ever existed in this area. Each of these men stated in substance that if such an organization had ever operated in Jackson, Tennessee, it was sure to have become known to them and each of them volunteered their cooperation with the Bureau, adding that should any information reflecting the activities of the subject Committee come to their attention, they would immediately report same to this office.

AT MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

The following investigation was conducted by the writer.

It should be noted that on the night of November 11, 1941, Special Agents [redacted] attended a meeting of the Fight For Freedom Committee at the Peabody Hotel.

As reported by these agents, the Fight For Freedom Committee, after gathering at the Peabody Hotel, learned that another group of individuals was then meeting in another part of the Hotel, which group, thought to be associated with the America First Committee, was called for the purpose of protecting the repeal of the Neutrality Act. Agents [redacted] reported that after learning of this information, [redacted] of the Fight for Freedom Committee suggested that his group visit this meeting of the "Isolationists" and thereupon all members of the Fight For Freedom Committee, together with Agents [redacted] and [redacted] went in and joined the alleged America First Committee. b7C

This latter group, according to the above agents, was led by MRS. C. ARTHUR BRUCE and [redacted]. Speaking at this meeting for the Isolationist Group were MR. ROBERT L. NOBLEY and MR. A. HORACE KELLY. It was also noted that in attendance at this meeting were [redacted]

According to the above mentioned agents' report, there ensued a heated debate between representatives of the two groups of the advantages and disadvantages of the Neutrality Bill. No further information of value with respect to instant meeting was furnished by Special Agents [redacted] b2 b7E

[redacted] press clippings from the Memphis Commercial Appeal Newspaper for November 12, 1941, which related to the instant meeting, were secured. The first such article captioned "Citizens Meet On Neutrality Act - Heckled" advised in substance that members of the Fight For Freedom Committee marched into an Armistice Night meeting of agroup of about thirty-five citizens assembled at the Hotel Peabody to oppose repeal of the Neutrality Act.

Continuing, the news article further advised that the scheduled meeting of those citizens opposing the repeal of the Neutrality Act had been called by MRS. C. ARTHUR BRUCE and MRS. RUTH C. O'DORNACH. It was stated that MR. A. HORACE KELLY of Kelly and Jamison Linotypers had the floor at the "time of the invasion by the Fight For Freedom Committee Members". The newspaper article in question reported that the Fight For Freedom Members heckled the speakers for the other group, charging them with being proLindbergh, antiRoosevelt and proNazi. MR. KERR JOHNSON of theFight For Freedom Committee, also charged , as reported in the newspaper, that this groupwas just "another renegade Lindbergh, Nazified America First Committee"."They did not use the name last night, but the Chairman, Mrs. Bruce, was personally a support of Lindbergh and his group of hireling Nazis". MR. JOHNSON also stated in the instant news article that the local Memphis Group was doing the same sort of

work the America First Committee is doing, and charging the Isolationist Group with "Jew-baiting" demanded of MRS. BRUCE, the Chairman, as to whether she supported Lindbergh, Wheeler and his crowd. When so questioned, the news article reported that MRS. BRUCE had replied that she, personally, was a supporter of Lindbergh. She denied, however, that LINDBERGH had ever been guilty of "Jew-baiting". It was stated that about thirty members of the proNeutrality Isolationist Group signed a petition directed to the Congress against repeal of the Neutrality Act.

The second article with respect to the instant meeting, likewise appeared in the Memphis Commercial Appeal, under date of November 12, 1941, captioned "Peace Advocates In Uproar Following ProWar Invasion". This article bore the by-line BRUCE TUCKER and since the information contained in this article is substantially the same as reported hereinbefore, it will not be repeated.

[redacted] was thereupon interviewed with b2 b7D respect to the proNeutrality Isolationist Group which held the meeting at the Peabody Hotel on the night of November 11, 1941. He advised that to the best of his knowledge, the group was closely akin in sympathies and purpose to the America First Committee. He stated, however, that after this initial meeting which was attended by a nebulous group of citizens of Memphis who advocated the Isolationist position, no organization was effected and, in his opinion, no further activities were carried on. He added that the militant activities of the Fight For Freedom Committee, together with American sentiment generally, at this period, was instrumental in preventing this group from ever attaining any wide support or working effectiveness in Memphis.

[redacted] stated that the prime movers behind this Isolationist Group were MRS. C. ARTHUR BRUCE, wife of the President of the E. L. BRUCE LUMBER COMPANY of Memphis, who is known to have held deep-rooted Isolationist sympathies. [redacted]

He added that they had always been exponents of a pacifist-isolationist point of view; however, he reported he could supply no information suggesting dangerous or unAmerican tendencies.

With respect to [redacted] advised that [redacted] is well known in Memphis as an active liberal, if not radical. It was stated that [redacted] is known to be [redacted] and was active at one time on behalf of the Spanish Loyalist Cause, aiding in securing contributions to this end. [redacted] was described as a militant liberal, known to harbor Isolationist sympathies. It was stated that she has taken one or two trips to South America

within the past several years and, according to the informant, this appears most unusual, in view of the small salary which her husband receives [redacted] The purpose of these visits to South America was not known to the informant.

[redacted] was likewise questioned with respect to the reputation of [redacted] but he could supply no detailed information of value, merely stating that [redacted] was thought to be a bitter opponent of this Administration's foreign policy.

b7D

[redacted] could furnish no further information of value concerning other members of the instant proNeutrality Group.

b7D

[redacted] advised upon contact that he knew little concerning the instant Isolationist Committee mentioned hereinbefore in this report. He advised, however, that MRS. C. ARTHUR BRUCE was a moving spirit in the organization which, in his opinion, never attained any importance and which, to the best of his knowledge, held only one meeting.

b7C

[redacted] advised that he, himself, had become interested in the Fight For Freedom Committee at the instance of MR. WENDELL L. WILLKIE, Former Republican Candidate for President of the United States and as a result of his activities on behalf of this Committee he had incurred the displeasure of several of the old Republican families in Memphis, noteworthy among which were Mr. and Mrs. C. ARTHUR BRUCE. [redacted] related that he was familiar with the "free for all" debate between members of theFight For Freedom Committee and the instant Isolationist Group at the Hotel Peabody inMemphis on Armistice Night, 1941, but stated that he opposed the tactics employed by the Fight For Freedom Committee and felt that they defeated their own purpose by resorting to such rowdy tactics.

In conclusion, [redacted] reported that his impression of the Neutrality Group headed by MRS. C. ARTHUR BRUCE was that it was composed of patriotic American citizens opposed to the Interventionist Policies of the Roosevelt Administration. He felt that there was no official connection whatever between this group and the America First Committee and added that he was sure that the group ceased to function after Pearl Harbor.

[redacted] was contacted at [redacted], Memphis, Tennessee and was questioned with respect to the America First Committee, as well as the proNeutrality Group which held a meeting at the Hotel Peabody on November 11, 1941. [redacted] advised that he was formerly [redacted] and, in that connection, was aware of the fact that an Isolationist Group did function for a short time in Memphis.

He stated that to the best of his knowledge, this group held only one meeting, which was the meeting referred to previously in this report. He advised that he was not then present at the meeting and, as a matter of fact, opposed his Committee's (The Fight for Freedom Committee) precipitating the fracas.

He advised that the other group was composed largely of women of the "It Can't Happen Here" variety, as well as pacifists and isolationists. He knew of no connection which the group had with the America First Committee and indicated that only one meeting was held, at which time a petition was sent to the Congress demanding repeal. [redacted] added that he knew of no unpatriotic or subversive individuals in the group.

[redacted] upon interview advised that he had been a former member of the Fight For Freedom Committee until this group abandoned upon the advent of America's entry into the war. When questioned with respect to the America First Committee and any alleged affiliates thereof in Memphis, [redacted] revealed that he was familiar with the small proIsolationist Group which held one meeting at the Hotel Peabody on November 11, 1941. He considered this group totally harmless, advising that it was composed largely of women who, by reason of sentimentality, were opposed to America's entry into any war, stating that this group was led by MRS. C. ARTHUR BRUCE. He related that she was considered thoroughly patriotic, however, much misguided. He also added that this group had no organization and for the purpose of this one meeting attracted individuals of wide shades of political opinions. He stated that persons of a pacifist, socialistic and Communistic tinge allegedly attended this meeting and he added this was in stark contrast to the old-guard Republicanism of MRS. C. ARTHUR BRUCE [redacted] b2C b7D

In conclusion, [redacted] revealed that he had heard no information whatever concerning the group since America's entry into war and he advised that this group was the only thing which even remotely resembled an America First Committee in Memphis.

[redacted] was interviewed with respect to the America First Committee at his residence [redacted] stated that he knew very little concerning the America-First Committee or any sympathizing organization in Memphis. He stated that he had read newspaper accounts of the meeting of the proNeutrality Group at the Peabody Hotel on Armistice Night but added he was in no position whatever to furnish information with respect to its aims, purposes or memberships.

It being noted that [redacted] had attended the instant meeting at the Hotel Peabody, [redacted] was questioned about this individual. He reported that he had only met [redacted] perhaps once or twice and therefore could not vouch for his character; however, he added that [redacted]

is a Nationally Known Group composed, for themost part, of high-minded Christian pacifists, who se purpose is not to foment disunity, but rather to promote respect among the American people for persons holding to a truly pacifistic position.

[redacted] advised that [redacted] is an instrument leader of this organization. Recalling that [redacted] had been forced to resign from this institution because of his pacifist views, the writer contacted [redacted] and inquired of him as to whether any demonstration from Isolationist Groups or America First Committee Chapters had resulted pursuant to [redacted] dismissal [redacted]

[redacted] thereupon stated that there had been a few disconnected protests as a result of [redacted] dismissal from the faculty [redacted]; however, he added that these protests came rather from isolated individuals than from any organized group. He was unable to furnish any information, whatever, with respect to any America First Committee in Memphis or vicinity.

b7C

[redacted] He was contacted and stated that he was familiar with the proNeutrality Group which held its meeting on Armistice Night, 1941, at the Peabody Hotel. He added that he was not present at this meeting, with other members of the Fight For Freedom Committee, inasmuch as he disapproved of the "rough house tactics" employed by some members of that group.

He stated, however, that from comment heard subsequent to this meeting and from newspaper accounts, he had gathered that the instant isolationist group in Memphis, though not officially known as a chapter of the America First Committee, was definitely aligned with the group in its political sympathies.

It was stated that the group in Memphis espoused WHEELER and LINDBERGH and was very much opposed to the Administration's foreign policies. Continuing, [redacted] advised that to the best of his knowledge the group had ceased to function altogether after this initial meeting and he added that he felt sure this one meeting was the only public expression of isolationist sentiment ever made in Memphis.

[redacted] could furnish no definite information as to the reputation of those individuals who attended this isolationist meeting; however, he said that they were for the most part, in his opinion, patriotic Americans who were sleep until after Pearl Harbor.

In a further effort to develop complete information concerning

the instant isolationist group, mentioned hereinbefore in this report and to discover if possible whether any connection existed between this group and the America First Committee, the writer contacted [redacted]

[redacted] told the writer that his convictions with respect to so-called Isolationism were a matter of public record, inasmuch as [redacted] in which he favored a noninterventionist foreign policy. He likewise indicated that his wife had shared his views and had not hesitated to express herself along these lines.

[redacted] reported, however, that after America's entry into the war, it was too late to do anything but contribute an all-out effort towards victory. He indicated that his wife also felt the same way. b7

With respect to the instant Isolationist meeting [redacted] on November 11, 1941, [redacted] stated that he, himself, [redacted] and therefore knew very little concerning the meeting except what he had learned upon his returned. He advised that [redacted] is a very militant woman with definite convictions and that she [redacted] together with other women in Memphis, who shared noninterventionist views, decided to call a public meeting at the Hotel Peabody on the night of November 11, 1941. b7C

[redacted] advised that he knew nothing of the suggested meeting and he added that he would not have opposed it had he known. He stated that its members were composed largely of a few elderly women in town, together with other people who generally shared the same view with respect to foreign policy.

[redacted] reported that [redacted] was very much embarrassed by the publicity received from the meeting and felt that the action of the Fight for Freedom Committee was totally unjustified. Nevertheless, [redacted] advised that to his knowledge, those citizens attending this initial meeting never organized in any manner, nor did they formulate any program calling for permanent organization. He described the meeting as purely a public demonstration, by a small group, the purpose of which was to demonstrate for retention of the Neutrality Laws.

[redacted] advised that he, himself, had been in sympathy with the America First Committee program, as had his wife, but he stated that neither of them was affiliated with the group and he added that the proNeutrality meeting in Memphis was not sponsored, nor did it have any connection with the America First Committee. He advised that he was not familiar with any group or chapter of the former America First Committee, which is at present op-

b7C

ing in Tennessee, or even the Nation,a and he advised that in the event he received information to this effect, he would immediately get in touch with this office.

[redacted], Memphis, Tennessee reported as being in attendance at the meeting of the Neutrality Group at the Peabody Hotel in Memphis on November 11, 1941, was interviewed by the writer at which time she advised that she had learned [redacted] that a meeting of individuals opposed to the Administration's foreign policy was scheduled for that date, November 11, 1941, at the Peabody Hotel. [redacted]

She advised,however, that she had had no official connection with the group, if such existed, prior to that time and she indicated that the one meeting was the only public expression of opposition to the interventionists that ever took place in Memphis.

[redacted] frankly admitted that both she and her husband were, at one time, members of the National subject Organization and had made contributions to its support. She stated, however, that the America First Committee disbanded immediately after Pearl Harbor and she said that she had not heard of its being revived in any form.

[redacted] was unable to supply further information of value reporting that she was away from Memphis [redacted] during most of 1941 and for that reason was not familiar with the local political situation.

She volunteered her cooperation stating that she would furnish this office with any information relating to the America First Committee which she should learn.

There being no further investigation to be conducted in this matter in this Field Division, this case is accordingly being referred upon completion to the office of origin.

REFERRED UPON COMPLETION TO THE OFFICE OF ORIGIN

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

FILE NO. 100-1395

REPORT MADE AT	DATE WHEN MADE	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE	REPORT MADE BY
DES MOINES, IOWA	5-22-42	5-21-42	b7c [redacted]

TITLE	CHARACTER OF CASE
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE	INTERNAL SECURITY (G)

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS: Des Moines Division files reflect America First Committee originally became active in Iowa in June, 1941 when local chapters were formed at Davenport, Des Moines, and Dubuque. Preliminary survey indicates committees activities in Iowa were limited in scope and backed mostly by prominent businessmen and Republicans.

-P-

REFERENCE: Bureau letter to Des Moines dated 3/16/42.

DETAILS: AT DES MOINES, IOWA

The information set forth in this report was obtained solely as the result of a review of the information that previously had been volunteered to the Des Moines Office by sources of information in this Division.

The America First Committee originally came to the attention of the Des Moines Office when a committee of individuals at Des Moines announces the opening of the Des Moines Headquarters of the America First Committee at 200 Fifth Avenue, Des Moines, Iowa in the Des Moines Tribune of June 21, 1941. A clipping taken from that paper states that the Committee is the first organization of the non-interventionist type reported to have set up headquarters in Des Moines. The Executive Committee consisted of ROBERT J. BANNISTER, DONALD EVANS, and ADDISON M. PARKER, all widely known Des Moines attorneys, Mrs. KATHERINE COLLINS, 1120-23rd Street, Des Moines, and S. W. LOWRY, President of the Lakeshore Tire and Rubber Company, Des Moines, Iowa.

b7c

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 12-27-83 BY SP2 mdc

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: [redacted] SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

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100-4712-372

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MAY 25 1942

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U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1941—O-281666

At the time the release was made to the press concerning the formation of the Executive Committee, Mrs. KATHERINE COLLINS stated that JANET AYER FAIRBANK, National Officer of the America First Committee, came to Des Moines about June 1, 1941 and called together a group of twenty-five or thirty persons who had shown interest in the organization by writing to the National Office.

In the Des Moines Register for June 22, 1941 there appeared an article reflecting that a meeting of the Dubuque Chapter of the America First Committee was held at Dubuque, Iowa, which was announced by HERBERT A. HAUPTLIE, Chairman. At that meeting, a United States Senator, BURTON K. WHEELER, and Archbishop FRANCIS J. L. BECKMAN of Dubuque, who introduced Senator WHEELER, were the principal speakers and their speeches were carried on a nationwide radio network. HERBERT A. HAUPTLIE announced to the press at that time that the Dubuque Chapter had a membership of seven-hundred.

[redacted] in a memorandum submitted by Special Agent [redacted] dated November 26, 1941 at Des Moines, advised that the Davenport, Iowa Chapter of the America First Committee had moved its offices from a building on Fourth Street [redacted] He stated that his curiosity was first aroused when he heard some very derogatory remarks concerning the Jewish people, and also in view of the fact that most of the women patronizing the offices of the America First Committee appeared to speak broken English with a German accent.

He stated that he then began to listen to some of the conversation, and he produced several notes which he had taken while listening to some of this conversation. He stated that a [redacted] who is unknown to him, recently stated that all Jews are lice and snakes from within; that Jews control all of the chain stores; and that the Russians and the English are gangster nations. [redacted] has also heard conversations between [redacted] and other unknown individuals, who insisted that ROOSEVELT should be impeached, and he stated that they frequently quote the editorial page of the Chicago Tribune, praising highly the derogatory remarks made by the Tribune concerning the administration. He stated that women are continuously going in and out of this office, and that he heard one woman explain the methods of the committee to a new convert, at which time this woman explained that they are daily contacting new members in order to build up their membership, and this same person also indicated that [redacted] is a lousy Jew who controls all of the newspapers.

[redacted] further advised that on one occasion, [redacted] who is

known to the Des Moines Field Office, came into the offices of the America First Committee and talked to some young lady who appeared to be from the East, presumably from New York City. He stated that this young woman, who had a very decided Eastern accent, advised [redacted] that she had only been in Davenport for a year, and during the conversation which followed, [redacted] made the remark that ROOSEVELT had doublecrossed the American people, and stated that what the America First Committee needed was more displays such as the one which they presently maintained in their old office quarters on Fourth Street across from the Police Station. It should be mentioned at this point that the America First Committee has plastered the windows of this office building with various editorials from the Chicago Tribune, as well as cartoons and bulletins issued by the America First Committee. The aforementioned young lady went on to tell [redacted] that only a few days previous, she had been speaking to [redacted] whom she referred to as a supporter of the America First Committee, and that [redacted] told her one day that she was looking at the clippings and posters displayed in the Fourth Street Office when a soldier in uniform came along and also began looking at these clippings. According to this young woman, [redacted] talked to the soldier, asking him what he was fighting for and questioning him about conditions in the army. According to [redacted] this young lady also advised [redacted] or someone else that she intended to contact [redacted] again to see if she could not get more money for the America First Committee. This latter remark would indicate that [redacted] has already made some contribution.

[redacted] also stated that a [redacted] who is believed to be [redacted] an officer of the local America First Committee, made the statement that the Germans have never done anybody any harm, and has generally berated ROOSEVELT, the administration, and anyone who seems to be in sympathy with democracy. He further stated that most of the people coming to the America First Committee office seem to talk broken English with a German accent, and he is very much of the opinion that these people are carrying their beliefs to an extent which is entirely unpatriotic as well as unethical. [redacted] pointed out that he realized his position in this affair, and stated that he would not object to an honest difference of opinion. He went on to point out, however, that the remarks he has heard have led him to believe that the people now running the America First Committee in Davenport are decidedly un-American, and, in fact, appear to be entirely in sympathy with the Nazi regime and philosophy.

[redacted] All of these individuals are known by the Des Moines Division to be reputable and patriotic; however, they are, for the most part, members of the Republican Party and have been strong isolationists and anti-administrati

From a review of the files, there doesn't appear to be any information to indicate that any of the leaders of the America First Committee in Iowa were disloyal or unpatriotic in any manner. However, there does appear to be information, as reflected previously in this report, that the local chapters of the America First Committee, especially the Davenport, Iowa Chapter, were gathering places for Nazi sympathizers and persons of Axis sympathies.

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-U N D E V E L O P E D L E A D S-

THE DES MOINES FIELD DIVISION

AT DES MOINES, IOWA

Will develop confidential informants and conduct investigation for the purpose of ascertaining whether or not the structure set up by the America First Committee in Iowa is now being used by foreign interests or by individuals cooperating with foreign interests in such a manner as to interfere with the war effort.

AT DAVENPORT, IOWA

Will conduct similar investigation.

AT DUBUQUE, IOWA

Will conduct similar investigation.

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Form No. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS — LOUISVILLE FILE NO. 100-1501

REPORT MADE AT	DATE WHEN MADE	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE	REPORT MADE BY
LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY	5/20/42	5/28, 4/1,17, 5/13	[redacted] b7C

TITLE	CHARACTER OF CASE
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE	INTERNAL SECURITY - G

[illegible] DATE 10-18-90 BY SP8T5/cbl

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS: Preparations for an America First Rally at Louisville, Kentucky, were inaugurated by O. K. ARMSTRONG, Field Representative of subject organization, in June, 1941. [redacted] b7C b7D [redacted] and advises that no subsequent activity in subject organization at Louisville, [redacted] stated he was an ardent promoter for an America First Rally in the city of Louisville until LINDBERGH's Des Moines speech, September, 1941, after which he dropped the entire project and has had no contacts with it nor anyone representing himself to be affiliated with this organization since that time. [redacted] b7C advises that he was approached by two men in September, 1941, who stated they were associated with the America First Committee.

- P -

REFERENCE: Bureau letter dated March 16, 1942.
Bureau teletype to all Field Divisions dated May 11, 1942.

DETAILS: The Louisville Times newspaper of June 5, 1941, carried an article relating the fact that preparations for a rally of the America First Committee were inaugurated by O. K. ARMSTRONG, Field representative of the subject organization in the early part of June, 1941, [redacted] b7D

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[redacted] was contacted by the writer in connection with another case and mention was made of the fact that [redacted] in connection with the America First Committee Rally. He freely volunteered the information that there had been no activity in the city of Louisville by the subject organization after the attempt to stage a rally at the Municipal Auditorium in the early part of June, 1941. He did state, however, that some time in the latter part of the summer in 1941, two men did approach him and [redacted] and that he declined this proffered position inasmuch as he felt that [redacted] he was not in a position to accept and further that he was not in complete accord with the program of the America First Committee. He stated that he did not recall the names of the individuals who approached him and that he had not given it a second thought until the matter was brought up by the writer.

[redacted] called at the Louisville Field Division as a result of a telephonic conversation with the writer and offered the following information with respect to the subject organization: He stated that his wife had written to the America First Committee in the early part of 1941 to obtain more complete information regarding this Committee's program. He stated that most likely as a result of her communications, Mr. O. K. ARMSTRONG, a field representative of the America First Committee, contacted him and advised that he would be in the city of Louisville sometime in June, 1941, and he requested that [redacted] assist him in [redacted] for an America First Rally. [redacted] stated that he was personally interested in the America First Committee in ascertaining the nature of their program. He stated that he liked to learn both sides of the question which was of paramount interest at that time, that is, the entry of the United States into war; and that in conjunction with this interest, he volunteered to do whatever he could to [redacted] for the purpose of holding the proposed rally. He further stated that Mr. ARMSTRONG contacted him and stated that he would hold a luncheon in Louisville in the early part of June, 1941, and that he wanted [redacted] and his wife to attend and at that time more definite arrangements would be made for the further staging of the proposed America First Rally. [redacted]

b7C
b7D

[redacted] continued by saying that Mr. ARMSTRONG arrived in the city of Louisville, [redacted] the above enumerated individuals were in attendance. [redacted] further stated that he attended this luncheon only after he had been assured by Mr. ARMSTRONG that there would be no publicity in connection therewith, but that several hours after the luncheon had terminated he picked up the Louisville Times newspaper and noted that an account of it together with the publication of his name and the others who were in attendance. To continue, [redacted] stated that [redacted] for the staging of the proposed Rally and that he had been promised that Senator WHEELER or LINDBERGH would make a speech in the Auditorium. He added, however, that the proposed Rally was postponed twice and never did materialize.

[redacted] He further stated that he had done considerable public work in an effort to ascertain the public's sentiments toward the holding of the proposed rally but that all of his efforts were to satisfy his curiosity in connection with the entry into war in question and that at no time did he have any political interest. He stated that after CHARLES A. LINDBERGH made his speech at Des Moines, Iowa, in September, 1941, and upon observing the caustic criticism thereof, he abandoned the entire project and has heard nothing of it since that time. He assured the writer that the organization in the Louisville area is defunct, and as far as he knows there is no activity on the part of anyone to revive it.

[redacted] and that he was approached in September, 1941, by two men at his home whom he had never seen before. He stated that one of these men showed him a calling card on which were printed the names WHEELER - NYE - LINDBERGH, and [redacted] He further stated that these men introduced themselves as [redacted] and [redacted] He stated that [redacted] appeared to be the spokesman and requested that [redacted] attend a meeting to be held by the America First Committee at Vernon Hall on Storey Avenue, Louisville, Kentucky. Two or three days from the date of this visit was the date the meeting was to be held. He further stated that [redacted] extolled the virtues of the America First Committee platform and stated that they had quite an organization of Bundists in the vicinity of Louisville. [redacted] advised the writer that he did not attend the meeting to which he was invited and had heard no more from either [redacted] regarding the meeting. [redacted] stated that he made some inquiries into the background of [redacted] but was unable to ascertain anything definite regarding any possible un-Americanism.

U N D E V E L O P E D L E A D S

LOUISVILLE FIELD DIVISION

b7C

AT LOUISVILLE: Will re-contact [redacted] and arrange to have him contact [redacted] in order to obtain further information regarding the possibility of the continued existence of the America First Committee in the Louisville area and any activities it might be engaged in.

- P E N D I N G -

CC-150

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

[redacted]
100-4712

MAY 26, 1942

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AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE; INTERNAL SECURITY - C. RETEL MAY ELEVENTH LAST. IMMEDIATE COMPLIANCE WITH PREVIOUS REQUEST DESIRED.

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C.C. - Wick Field (Special Messenger)

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Per [redacted]

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT CHICAGO

FILE NO. 100-1957

REPORT MADE AT	DATE WHEN MADE	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE	REPORT MADE BY
SAN JUAN, PUERTO RICO	5-21-42	5/13,20/42	[redacted] b7C

TITLE	CHARACTER OF CASE
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE	INTERNAL SECURITY-G

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS: Investigation conducted San Juan Field Division indicates subject organization never active in this area.

-0-

REFERENCE: Bureau letter dated March 16, 1942.
Bureau radiogram to the San Juan Field Division dated May 11, 1942.

DETAILS: This investigation is predicated upon request set out in reference letter.

[redacted] advised that he has never heard of subject organization existing in Puerto Rico.

[redacted] advised that subject organization has never existed in Puerto Rico.

A check of the files of the San Juan Field Division fails to indicate that subject organization ever existed in this area.

[redacted] advised that he has never heard of subject organization in Puerto Rico.

b3 b7D

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11 JUNE 1942		MAY 26 1942

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THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT CHICAGO, ILL. NH FILE NO. 100-1585 [redacted]

REPORT MADE AT	DATE WHEN MADE	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE	REPORT MADE BY
NEW HAVEN, CONN.	5/26/42	5/13,14,15,19,20, 21,22,25/42	[redacted] b7c

TITLE
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

CHARACTER OF CASE
INTERNAL SECURITY - G

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

In June of 1940 ROBERT DOUGLAS STUART, Jr., a student at Yale University, conducted a poll of the students at Yale regarding their feelings toward aid to the Allies. The poll showed a result of three to one against aid. The result was carried by Associated Press news dispatch. General Wood of Chicago, Ill. requested Stuart to come to Chicago for a conference which resulted in the formation of the America First Committee. Yale students were the first members of the nation wide group. There were five branch groups in the State of Connecticut, all of which have gone out of existence as such. All books of record of the Stamford branch were sent to Chicago where they were to be kept and be available for inspection by the Dies Committee or the FBI if they desired them. No foreign connections noted in Connecticut. Officers of the branches in Connecticut set out and information regarding them in New Haven file set out.

- RUC -

REFERENCE: Bureau letter to all SACs dated 5/16/42.
Bureau teletype to all SACs dated 5/11/42.

DETAILS: AT BRIDGEPORT, CONNECTICUT

In the New Haven file there is a letter dated 4/18/41 from [redacted] Fairfield, County at Bridgeport, Connecticut, requesting information for [redacted] of the City of Bridgeport. [redacted] had asked [redacted] for information regarding this organization because

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MAY 27 1942

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he was thinking of joining the Committee.

[redacted] was contacted on 5/13/42 regarding subject organization and whether [redacted] had joined the organization, and if he had would it be advisable for the reporting agent to contact [redacted] stated that [redacted] had joined the organization and had been active in it during the time that it was operating in Bridgeport. He further stated that [redacted] was a very reliable man and that he could be contacted without any fear of exposure. [redacted] went on to state that [redacted] was a firm believer in the theories of Father Coughlin and that he was a subscriber of the paper "Social Justice". [redacted] went on to state that the America First Committee has gone out of existence in and around Bridgeport and that there is no mention of it at the present time.

[redacted] was contacted and he advised that he had been a member of the America First Committee of the Bridgeport group. He stated that Mrs. FRANCIS PHILLIPS was secretary of this group which included Norwalk, Fairfield, Bridgeport, and Stratford. He stated that there were, according to Mrs. Phillips, approximately 750 members of their organization. [redacted] claimed that the organization had gone out of existence at the time of Pearl Harbor and that there were no activities at the present time. He claimed that he saw nothing during his membership that would lead him to believe that it was un-American to the slightest extent.

He stated that they had attempted to keep the branch in Bridgeport open to all people; that they were not anti-Semitic in beliefs or actions. He stated that after Lindbergh gave his speech in which he attacked the Jews that interest in the group somewhat slackened in Bridgeport. He stated that they had been careful in the selection of membership in that they attempted to keep out of it members of foreign inspired groups. The Bridgeport group had held a number of rallies;at one of these the speaker was Norman Thomas, former candidate on the Socialist ticket for President.

[redacted] went on to state that there were only five branch groups in the State of Connecticut. The Bridgeport Branch, the Stamford Branch, the Waterbury Branch, the New Haven Branch, and the Hartford Branch. He did not know what the total membership of these groups would be. He stated that Mr. HOWARD A. SMITH was President of the Bridgeport Branch. Mr. Smith is President of the La Resista Corset Co. in Bridgeport. He stated that although Smith was President, the main part of the activities of the Branch had been carried on by Mrs. Phillips who was very rabid in her opinions.

[redacted] was contacted and he stated that to the best of his knowledge the America First Committee had gone out of existence upon the entrance of the United States into the War.

AT STAMFORD, CONNECTICUT:

[redacted] was contacted regarding the subject organization. He stated that this organization has gone out of existence in Stamford; that there was an organization there and that the leading men in this group were Dr. GREGORY MASON of Riverside, who was Chairman of the Stamford Branch; JAMES L. DASHIELL of Stamford, who was secretary, and REV. LLOYD F. WORLEY, also of Stamford, who was Treasurer. He advised that for more detailed information, [redacted] be contacted; that he was entirely reliable and dependable.

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[redacted] was then contacted at his home at [redacted] and he stated that [redacted] which had been run on a voluntary basis with very little or ganization. He stated that they were having a meeting on the morning of Sunday, December 7, 1941, when the first word came through regarding the attack on Pearl Harbor. That night they held a meeting at which it was decided to disband the organization. He stated [redacted] received a telegram from JAMES L. FALLON of Chicago in which it was stated that all records, funds, etc. should be mailed to General Wood in Chicago. Fallon signed the telegram as being from the organization department, records to be mailed to General R. E. WOOD, C/o Mr. DUNDERSON, Department 176, Sears-Roebuck and Co., 925 South Homan Avenue, Chicago, Ill. He stated [redacted] mailed these records [redacted] He stated that his understanding was that the records were to be kept in Chicago and were to be available to representatives of the Dies Committee or to the FBI if they so desired.

He claimed they had nothing to hide in their records; that there were no foreign connections and no subversive activities. He stated that they had been very particular in the selection of membership to the Committee in Stamford and although Stamford is a community in which there are a large number of bund members that none of these were in the organization. He

further stated that they did not have any Jewish members in the organization. During the conversation with [redacted] it was very apparent that he was against the Jews, in all his thoughts and opinions. He was always claiming that the Jews were the Communists in that area and that they did not want any of these in their organization.

[redacted] further stated that they did not have any connection with Father Coughlin or Social Justice; that they did not believe in his philosophy. At one of their meetins held in Stamford, members of the Social Justice from New York had come to this meeting and had attempted to give away and sell copies of this magazine at the door. He stated that he had spoken to the police at that time and had them removed, as this was against the City Ordinance to distribute papers on the sidewalk. He stated that they had also had a run-in once later with this New York group.

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[redacted] stated that they had approximately 1,000 members in the Stamford Branch which included Stamford, Greenwich, and Norwalk, and the small communities in this vicinity. He stated that the reason for the organization ceased to exist at the time of Pearl Harbor and that the organization had gone out at that time. The Executive Committee of the Stamford Branch was composed of Mrs. E. M. HUNT, Stamford; Mrs. W. H. FAIN, Greenwich; Rev. HAROLD B. WILSON of Greenwich; Mrs. DANIEL GREGORY MASON, New Canaan; Mrs. HERBERT L. STONE, New Canaan; KENNETH WALSER, Darien; and Mrs. MILTON MACAULEY, Riverside.

[redacted] was re-contacted in regard to information supplied by [redacted] verified the information that they had been very careful in the membership of the committee; that they had not allowed members of the Bund or Jews to be members of the Committee. [redacted] further stated that all the members of the Executive Committee were very good Americans, reliable and dependable; that he did not believe that there were any foreign controlled groups connected with this organization; and that they have completely gone out of existence since the attack on Pearl Harbor.

AT NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT:

A search was made in the newspaper morgue of the New Haven Register and it was ascertained that the Chairman of this group was GUY H. LAGORE; that the sponsors were RICHARD M. BISSELL, Professor of Economics at Yale University; Professor FRED RODELL of Yale Law School; Mr. WENDELL HENDERSON, retired Yale Professor; Rev. R. H. CLAPP, Pastor of the United Church; JAMES K. FLACK, and J. FREDERICK KELLY.

[redacted] b2

Members of the Advisory Board were Mrs. EDWIN M. BORCHARD; EUGENE A. DAVIDSON; J. STEPHEN KNIGHT; Miss KATHERINE HOOKER; REV. C. LAWSON WILLARD; GORDON S. HAIGHT; DEANE KELLER; LYMAN SPITZER, Jr.; and ROBERT E. MONTGOMERY. There was also a newspaper clipping which stated that Mr. R. DOUGLAS STUART, Jr., had formulated the America First Committee and theYale students were the first members of the now nation-wide organization. He had formulated this organization while a student at Yale in the Spring of 1940.

[redacted], was contacted b7C b7D regarding this organization and regarding ROBERT DOUGLAS STUART. [redacted] stated that Stuart had come out very much opposed to CHARLES SEYMOUR's (President of Yale University) proposal for all aid to the Allies. Mr. Stuart believed that President Seymour did not speak for the majority of the members of Yale University. He therefore decided to conduct a poll of the Yale University students regarding aid to the Allies. This poll was conducted during the month of June, 1940 and results showed three to one in Stuart's favor. After this poll there was a nation-wide coverage in the Associated Press news dispatches.

General Wood of Chicago then contacted Mr. Stuart and asked him to come to Chicago for a conference. The America First Committee was the result of this conference in Chicago. The Committee was then organized and Mr. Stuart was made National Director and Secretary.

Mr. Stuart is the son of ROBERT DOUGLAS STUART, Executive Vice President of the Quaker Oats Co. of Chicago. His home address is 141 West Jackson Boulevard, Chicago, Ill. Mr. Stuart holds a B.A. Degree from Princeton in 1937. He entered the Yale Law School in 1939 and left in 1940 to accept a position with the America First Committee at 1806 Board of Trade Building, Chicago, Ill.

[redacted] stated that he had discreetly contacted a number of b7C b7D the Deans and other members of the University faculty regarding the Committee and they stated that the Committee was completely dissolved with the entry of the United States into the War. Of the group of boys at the University who were more or less pushing the group a number of them are now in the military or naval service. He stated that this group were not pacifists but were more isolationists; although there were a few pacifists in the group.

[redacted] stated that Stuart b7C b7D had talked to him regarding the Amerida First Committee and that Stuart felt that it was a personal calling for him to leave school and act as director for the organization. He made the request of the Law School in order that

he could re-enter later. [redacted] further stated that after Pearl Harbor that Mr. Stuart had re-contacted him and had stated that the entire picture had been changed and that he now was determined to enter some branch of the military service. [redacted] He stated that [redacted] and that he now understood that he was in some branch of the service. He stated that before Pearl Harbor Stuart was an out and out isolationist but that now he was 100% back of the Government efforts.

[redacted] was contacted and he advised that there are no activities of the America First Committee at the present time. He stated that they were active at one time but that all of the members were responsible citizens and he considered that they were entirely reliable Americans. He knew nothing derogatory regarding the organization. 67c 67

AT WATERBURY, CONNECTICUT:

[redacted] was contacted and he stated that at the present time the America First Committee is not active in and around Waterbury. According to information that he had received the America First Committee was dissolved by orders of the National Branch about a week after the start of the War. He stated that the Chairman of the Committee was JOHN [redacted]STA, employee of the Lux Clock Co.; FRED [redacted]RAZ, and E. JACKSON RYAN. He stated that this organization was in his opinion used somewhat by Ryan who was a candidate at that time for Congress on an anti-War platform. It was his opinion that Ryan was using it for his own purposes.

In the Waterbury Branch there were a number of Germans of pro-Nazi feelings who were members of the organization but he did not believe that it was foreign controlled or inspired. [redacted] did not advise contacting any of the former officers as he deemed it inadvisable. [redacted]

[redacted] was contacted and he stated that the America First Committee was no longer in existence. He checked his records and found a clipping on 12/18/41 stating that the America First Committee was dissolving in the interests of national unity. The funds of the organization were being distributed among men of Waterbury in camps throughout the country. This dissolution was on the

order of General Wood of Chicago. He also had another clipping which was from the United Press Service in Chicago and was dated 12/12/41 which gave information that the organization was being dissolved but that they still believed in the principals that they had followed and that there would be no war if these principals had been followed, but that they were now 100% for victory.

The records [redacted] showed that JOHN FESTA, [redacted] was President or Chairman of the group that he is a naturalized citizen of Italian descent. There was nothing in their records derogatory regarding him. Other members of the organization were LORETTA HESPELT, [redacted] Waterbury, who was Secretary, and Mr. E. JACKSON RYAN of Thomaston, Conn. Mr. Ryan has been active in political matters throughout the area. [redacted] also advised against contacting any of these officers.

[redacted] was contacted and he stated that the America First Committee was dissolved and was not at present holding meetings. He stated that Father J. F. DONNELLY had been connected with this committee. He stated that in the organization JOHN FESTA had been President and Father DONNELLY had been Vice President. He advised against contacting Father Donnelly as Father Donnelly is at present writing editorials for the Waterbury Democrat. His articles are somewhat critical of the Government and the war efforts. He stated, if an agent contacted him that it would be in the paper.

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b7D

AT HARTFORD, CONNECTICUT:

[redacted] was contacted regarding the subject organization and he stated that they were not in existence at the present time and that during the time they were in existence that they had had no complaints against the organization. He stated that the members of the organization were very high type people; that they were all considered good citizens and subjects of the United States. He stated that [redacted] was one of the leading men in this committee. He advised against contacting [redacted] He stated that none of the members of the Committee could be said to be un-American. He stated that there there were no outside connections to his knowledge.

[redacted] referred the writer to [redacted] who stated that he did not have very much information regarding subject organization. He stated that they were apparently OK, composed of good Americans, respectable citizens. He stated that for information regarding this organization to see [redacted] He stated that [redacted] and at present is working with the Home Defense. He stated that [redacted] is entirely reliable and dependable and information that he would give would be right. b7C b7D

[redacted] was contacted and he stated that he had been opposed to this organization from its beginning. He stated that the organization was composed of all the Irish in and around Hartford; that they were anti-British, not pro-anything, merely against England. He stated that these folks were not foreign controlled or sponsored but were merely a group of what he believed were isolationist. There were a few pacifists in the group. He stated that there were a few German members of the group but they were not in a position to control the activities of the group. He stated that the head of the Hartford Branch was Mr. WILLIAM P. BISSELL of the Hartford Fire Insurance Co. of Hartford. He stated that there were a number of large rallies held in Hartford by this Committee but that there were no activities since the declaration of war. The list of officers and members as given [redacted] were:

WILLIAM T. BISSELL; Chairman, [redacted], West Hartford
Executive Committee: GEORGE M. WHITNEY, [redacted], West Hartford
M. GAYER DOMINICK, [redacted] Bloomfield
BICE CLEMOW, [redacted], West Hartford
PAUL P. [redacted]ETT, Jr., [redacted] West Hartford
DOUGLAS B. WRIGHT, [redacted], West Hartford
A. HENRY MOSES, [redacted] Hartford
GEORGE WALL
[redacted] KUZAK
TIMOTHY W. GOODRICH II, [redacted], Bloomfield, Conn. b7C

He went on to state that all of these people were 100% Americans, nothing derogatory, with the exception of [redacted]

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100-1585

UNDEVELOPED LEADS:

THE CHICAGO FIELD DIVISION

AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Will attempt to determine if ROBERT DOUGLAS STUART has entered the military service as reported.

Will attempt to secure permission to examine records of organization by contacting [redacted] b7c

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

FILE NO. 100-922

REPORT MADE AT	DATE WHEN MADE	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE	REPORT MADE BY
OKLAHOMA CITY	5-25-42	5-20-42	b7C [redacted]

TITLE	CHARACTER OF CASE
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE	INTERNAL SECURITY - G

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS: No indication that America First Committee presently active in Oklahoma. Additional background of MACK SCHRODES, who was chairman of America First Committee, Tulsa, Oklahoma, set forth herein.

-RUC-

REFERENCE: Bureau teletype dated May 11, 1942.

DETAILS: At Tulsa, Oklahoma

b7C b7D [redacted] advised that he has received no report that the America First Committee has been in operation in Tulsa since the war began and he believes that if there was any such activity on the part of the America First Committee, some of his contacts within the organization would have notified him.

At Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

b7C b7D [redacted] indirectly furnished information to this office to the effect that there is no longer any activity in the State of Oklahoma on the part of the America First Committee.

[redacted] advised Special Agent [redacted] that he has not received any indication that the America First Committee is still active in Oklahoma City and to the best of his knowledge the organization has disbanded.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 10-18-90 BY SP8BDS/

b7C

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APPROVED AND FORWARDED: [redacted]

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100-4712-377

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b7C

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6 Bureau
2 Chicago
1 (1-2) Ft. Sam Houston, Texas
2 Oklahoma City

MAY 27 1942

[redacted]

A news item appearing in the Tulsa Tribune, December 8, 1941, reflected that MACK SCHRODES, Chairman of the Tulsa Chapter of the America First Committee issued a statement to the press to the effect that there was no further use for the America First Committee unless they could help the country and expressed the opinion of being wholeheartedly for the war and that the committee must now switch to a policy of backing the government.

By letter dated April 1, 1942, the Bureau furnished a photostatic copy of a news item which appeared in the P.M. Daily, New York City, on March 24, 1942, which reflected that MACK SCHRODES had been active in meetings held in Tulsa, Oklahoma, for the purpose of demanding the stopping of strikes in industries which should be working twenty-four hours per day in making national defense materials and for the suspension of the forty-hour week.

At Tulsa, Oklahoma

b7C
b7D

[redacted]

MACK SCHRODES in a recent city election in April, 1942 at Tulsa, ran for water commissioner on the independent ticket.

REFERRED UPON COMPLETION TO OFFICE OF ORIGIN

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORT MADE AT: ALBANY, NEW YORK	DATE WHEN MADE: 5/26/42	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE: 5/14/16/1942	REPORT MADE BY: [redacted] b7c
TITLE: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE			CHARACTER OF CASE: INTERNAL SECURITY - G

All information contained herein is unclassified DATE 10-29-90 BY SP8 T5/ca L

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS: A review of the files of the Albany Field Division and contact of Confidential Informants fails to disclose any activity of America First Committee in the Albany Field Division.

RUC

REFERENCE: Bureau letter to all SAC's, dated March 16, 1942; Bureau teletype to all SAC's, dated May 11, 1942.

DETAILS: AT ALBANY, NEW YORK.

A review of the files of the Albany Field Division fail to reflect any activity on the part of the America First Committee in this territory other than the distribution of a pamphlet entitled "Convoy, A Funeral Train". The distribution was made in the city of Syracuse, April 29, 1941.

[redacted] whose identity is known to the Bureau, advised that the "America First Committee" had never been active in this territory. [redacted] advised that at one time, approximately one year ago, the America First Committee had endeavored to hold a meeting in the City of Albany, but that they had been unable to secure a place to hold this meeting, and had never been able to obtain enough followers to form any organization in this territory. [redacted] advised that to his knowledge the America First Committee had never been active in this territory. [redacted] advised that to his knowledge the America First Committee had never been active in this territory.

RUC

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APPROVED AND FORWARDED: A. Conneline SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

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[redacted] 1942

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100-4712-378 in pg. 2

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FBI/DO

Federal Bureau of Investigation

United States Department of Justice

Washington, D. C.

[redacted]
100-6882

May 26, 1942

b7C

Director,
Federal Bureau of Investigation,
Washington, D. C.

Re: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE;
INTERNAL SECURITY - G

Dear Sir:

Reference is made to the report of Special Agent [redacted] dated May 26, 1942, at Washington, D. C.

JOHN ROY CARLSON, believed to be from New York City, author of an article entitled "Inside the America First Movement," published in American Mercury, 54:7-25, January, 1942, states that he has worked for three years as an under-cover man in the Nazi Fascist underworld of America; that he has been a card-bearing member of eleven pro-Fascist organizations, and has been friendly with leaders of subversive groups, such as FRITZ KUHN, head of the German-American Bund, JOSEPH McWILLIAMS, head of Christian Mobilizers, and JAMES TRUE. His article reflects that he maintains files containing considerable information about these various groups and also about the America First Committee and its subversive connections.

[redacted]

b7D

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10-18-90 BY SP8 BTJ/CC

Very truly yours,

S. K. McKEE,
Special Agent in Charge

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Letter to NYC
cc Washington
6-10-42
[redacted]
6/2

RECORDED & INDEXED
100-#712-379

FBI
MAY 27 1942
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

[redacted]

b7C

POP VICTORY BUY UNITED STATES DEFENSE BONDS AND STAMPS

COPY IN FILE

b7C

RECORDED [redacted] 100-4712-379 June 10, 1942

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10-18-90 BY SP8BTS/cs

Special Agent in Charge
New York, New York

RE: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE;
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Dear Sir:

There are attached hereto copies of the report of Special Agent [redacted] dated May 26, 1942, at Washington, D. C., and a letter of the same date emanating from the Washington Field Office in the above-captioned matter. b7C

It will be noted that [redacted] b7C b7D

It will be noted from the enclosed report that the [redacted]

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Holloman
Mr. McGuire
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

Enclosure
cc - Washington Field

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED 4
★ JUN 1 A.M. P.M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Federal Bureau of Investigation

United States Department of Justice

Washington, D. C.

[redacted]
100-6882

May 26, 1942

b7C

Director,
Federal Bureau of Investigation,
Washington, D. C.

Re: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE;
INTERNAL SECURITY - G.

Dear Sir:

Reference is made to the report of Special Agent [redacted] dated May 26, 1942, at Washington, D. C.

It will be noted that the America First Committee local chapter in Washington, D. C., was formed and most of its activities were completely under the direction of Senators, Congressmen, their wives, and other prominent persons connected with the government in Washington, D. C.

No investigation is contemplated regarding these persons unless otherwise advised by the Bureau.

Very truly yours,

S. K. McKEE,
Special Agent in Charge

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DATE 10-18-90 BY SP9BTJ/cal

b7C

[redacted]

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EX-15

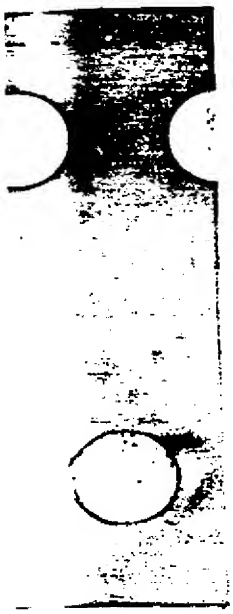
RECORDED 100-4912-380

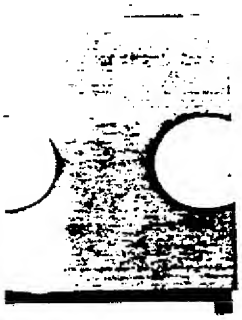
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
1 MAY 27 1942
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

b7C

FOR VICTORY BUY UNITED STATES DEFENSE BONDS AND STAMPS

1 JUN 5 - '42





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DATE 10-18-90 BY SP8BTJ/cal

100-4110-381

CANCELLED

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

FILE NO. 100-687

REPORT MADE AT	DATE WHEN MADE	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE	REPORT MADE BY
SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH	5-25-42	5-22,25-42	[redacted] b7C [redacted]

TITLE	CHARACTER OF CASE
O AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE	INTERNAL SECURITY - G.

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS: Subject organization believed to have totally disbanded since start of present war and is now inactive. No evidence that former leaders attempting to use structure of organization for any subversive purpose.

P.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 10-18-90 BY SP8 BTS/CAC

REFERENCE: Bureau letter dated 3-16-42.

DETAILS:

A review of the file in instant case reflects that information furnished the Salt Lake City Office from time to time together with newspaper clippings is that the original organizers and board of directors of instant organization inthe Salt Lake City Field office were as follows:

Mrs. J. W. STALLINGS, [redacted] Salt Lake City, Utah.
WALTER E. COSGRIFF, [redacted] Salt Lake City.
FRANK HOLMAN, [redacted] B7
[redacted]
MRS. MAE FIFE, [redacted] Salt Lake City, Utah.
J. H. McNIGHT, [redacted] Salt Lake City.
WILLIAM A. DAWSON, [redacted]
residence Layton, Ut[redacted]

APPROVED AND FORWARDED:	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES	RECORDED
[redacted]		100-4712-382	INDEXED

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4 - Salt Lake City

[redacted] 28 1942

b7[illegible]

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE 7—3024

STEPHAN TORNAY, [redacted]

W. E. DE WITT, [redacted],
Salt Lake City, Utah.

A review of the file in the Salt Lake City Field office reflects that a complaint received indicated that [redacted] at the University of Utah was pro-German in his sentiments, but investigation conducted [redacted] failed to substantiate this allegation. b7C b7D

The files of the Salt Lake City Field Office reflect that [redacted] is listed as being reported as being anti-English and anti-Semitic.

[redacted] on interview, advised that as far as he knew the America First Committee in Salt Lake City had folded up completely after the United States became involved in the present war, in accordance with the announced national policy of the organization and that no information had come to his attention reflecting that any of its leaders had indicated that they were not in sympathy with the United States in the present conflict. b2 b7D

In the presence of the writer, [redacted] contacted [redacted] who is very close to [redacted] in a business/and discussed several other business and social matters over the telephone which [redacted] had in common with [redacted]

During the course of the interview or conversation, [redacted] asked [redacted] if subject organization had completely folded up or just what had happened to it, as nothing had been heard of its activities in recent months. [redacted] stated that [redacted] informed him that as far as he knew, and it was his honest belief, subject organization had discontinued its existence. b2 b7C b7D

[redacted] advised that he is in position to make discreet inquiries of [redacted] and who would have first-hand knowledge as to whether or not [redacted] of that concern was presently involved in any activities related in any way to his former connection

with the America First Committee.

[redacted] stated that [redacted] was no relation to [redacted] and that [redacted] was a thoroughly reliable and patriotic citizen. [redacted] advised that he could bring up subject organization in conversation with [redacted] without arousing any undue curiosity as to the reason of his inquiries.

[redacted] advised that he was not familiar with the activities of the America First Committee other than what was generally known to the public; that the members of the America First Committee in Salt Lake City, Utah, were well aware of the antagonism which [redacted] had always held toward their organization, and that in his discussions with them heated arguments had always resulted.

[redacted] stated that before the America First Committee was organized, Mrs. J. W. STALLINGS, WALTER COSGRIFF, and several others who were very isolationist in their views had asked him to speak before their organization which was called some patriotic name. [redacted] stated that after arriving at the meeting, he noticed from their conversations and through the talks previous to his that the organization was strongly isolationist and for that reason he did not deliver his prepared speech but lectured those present severely for their isolationist views.

b2
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b7D

[redacted] stated that in view of the facts mentioned above he had never stayed on a very friendly relationship with any of the America First Committee members after they formed subject organization. He stated, however, that no word had come to him from any source since war was declared which would indicate that any of the former committee members were carrying on any type of activity. He stated, however, on second thought that someone, name not recalled, had recently informed him that [redacted] was affiliated with some type of organization. [redacted] was unable to recall whether the allegation included that [redacted] wasaffiliated with any organization having antagonism toward the Governments present war policy.

[redacted] stated that he would endeavor to recall who had given him this information and what the information contained and would subsequently advise this office. He explained that he had not paid particular attention to the information given him relative to [redacted] at the time.

[redacted] suggested that [redacted] be contacted, as [redacted] was well acquainted with Mrs. J. W. STALLINGS, who was probably the most active member of the America First Committee at the height of its activities.

[redacted] upon interview, advised that he had never been intimately acquainted with Mrs. J. W. STALLINGS, but that he had been a life long acquaintance with [redacted], who was an active member of the America First Committee when that organization was functioning. He stated that he and [redacted] had on several separate occasions had heated arguments as a result of [redacted] extremely isolationist policies and her America First Committee activities. He stated, however, that these heated arguments had never interrupted their life long friendship or the business dealings which they occasionally had.

b2
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[redacted] stated that in one of his arguments with [redacted] Mrs. J. W. STALLINGS was present and she entered into the argument also, and that he, [redacted] also "told her off." [redacted] stated that he never at any time doubted the motives of [redacted] in belonging to the America First Committee. He stated that she came from an old pioneer Mormon family in Utah and he always considered her patriotism beyond question. He stated that [redacted] arranges various tours over the country and during the past year had arranged a tour through the office of [redacted] for a group of people going to [redacted] mentioned to [redacted] that she was shocked and alarmed at the pro-Nazi sentiment indicated by a great many [redacted] people, as evidenced by the cheers in the moving picture theaters when HITLER'S picture was shown.

During Agents conversation with [redacted] called the Informant on the telephone relative to a business transaction and in the presence of the writer [redacted] questioned her relative to the activities of the America First Committee.

On completion of the telephone call [redacted] stated that [redacted] advised him that subject Committee completely dissolved after the bombing of Pearl Harbor and that none of its members or officials had ever contacted her relative to using the organization for new activities whatsoever.

PENDING

UNDEVELOPED LEADS

THE SALT LAKE CITY FIELD DIVISION

AT SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH

Will again contact [redacted] to ascertain if he obtained anything of value from [redacted] which would indicate that [redacted] was using subject organization for any subversive activities.

b7C
b7D

Will contact [redacted] to ascertain if he can recall the information furnished him indicating that [redacted] might be linked up with some organization at the present time which may have a bearing in connection with instant case.

Will contact [redacted] Salt Lake City, Utah, if additional inquiries reflects that she is thoroughly reliable relative to the various Chapters and State-wide setup of the America First Committee and any possible activities which might be presently conducted in other localities in Utah other than Salt Lake City.

AT RENO, NEVADA

Through Confidential Informants and appropriate sources will ascertain if any individuals or groups may be using the America First Committee in a manner detrimental to the internal security of this country.

XXXXXX
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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1
This Case Originated At: CHICAGO — File No. 100-255 [redacted]

Report Made At:	Date When Made	Period for Which Made:	Report Made By:
Birmingham, Alabama	5-27-42	5/12, 15, 26, 27/42.	[redacted]

Title: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

Character of Case: INTERNAL SECURITY - G

SYNOPSIS of FACTS: (C)

[redacted] WILLIAM H. WELLS, reported associated with CROWE but denied same publicly. Office closed after brief existence. AUGUSTUS F. LINDBERGH, cousin to CHARLES A. LINDBERGH, made Alabama State Chairman of Fight for Freedom, Inc., to combat public opinion created by America First Committee. [redacted] Birmingham, who paid for radio time to broadcast isolationist speeches of Senator WHEELER and CHARLES A. LINDBERGH, disapproved of CROWE personally and she stated he was not successful in organizing Committee here. Attempt to locate [redacted] unsuccessful. No record of activity at Montgomery or Mobile, Alabama, but Committee actively reported in Albany, Georgia. Literature distributed by CROWE transmitted to Bureau herewith.

b1
b7c

Sp Bridges
10-18-90

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R-44

-P-

Approved and Forwarded: [redacted] Special Agent in Charge

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100-4712-383 RECORDED & INDEXED

MAY 28 1942

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2-Birmingham

JUN 13 1942

[redacted]

(~~CONFIDENTIAL~~)

REFERENCE: Bureau letter to all field offices dated March 16, 1942.

DETAILS: AT BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA:

(C) Informant [redacted] The following report was submitted by Confidential Informant whose identity is known to the Bureau:

[redacted] (C)

[redacted] (C)

[redacted] (C)

[redacted] (C)

b1

There is a large quantity of leaflets and folders issued by the Committee [redacted] Enclosed you will find a copy of each. (C)

b2

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CONFIDENTIAL

b7D

The leaflets and folders [redacted] are being transmitted herewith to the Bureau as enclosures.

A clipping from the Birmingham News, Birmingham, Alabama, dated June 25, 1941 contains the following information:

" LINDBERGH AND OTHERS MAY BE BROUGHT HERE BY COMMITTEE BRANCH

Headquarters Set Up In City For Campaign To Prevent Entry Into War

Col. CHARLES A. LINDBERGH and other America First Committee speakers may be brought to Birmingham in a non-war "blitz" to be launched in Alabama by a branch of the committee just established here under the directorship of C. C. CROWE, attorney, who said he had been designated state chairman for the anti-war group.

CROWE, formerly of Birmingham, who said he had lived recently in Indiana and Maryland, established committee headquarters in offices at 2006½ Fourth Avenue, North.

Among those associated with CROWE is WILLIAM H. WELLS, said to be a Canadian citizen, chiropractor and soldier of fortune. WELLS was said to have served in the World War, Spanish-American War, Boer War, and Boxer Rebellion.

CROWE, who said he served in the U. S. Army-Tank Corps during the World War, is mapping plans to conduct an Alabama drive against American intervention in the European conflict and said that various speakers would be heard in a series of radio talks aimed at preventing sending U. S. soldiers overseas again.

'There is no excuse for sending our boys to Europe or any foreign country again', said CROWE. 'It must not be permitted again.'

He said that the non-war drive, which would be directed at highly pro-British and Pro-Allies Alabama, would make a special appeal to mothers to help keep their sons at home and prevent them from being sent to foreign battlefields.

As for England, CROWE said he and his group favored aiding the British with war materials and supplies -- 'everything but men' and

CONFIDENTIAL

'giving till it hurts' to help Britain win the war. But, he added, mothers and fathers must be convinced American boys must never again be sent to battle and die on foreign soil.

The committee's anti-war chairman for Alabama said a number of citizens in Birmingham and Alabama had already aligned themselves with the movement and that the non-war 'blitz', to be carried on principally by radio, soon would begin earnest.

CROWE said he and his group planned an early meeting in the new committee headquarters to map plans for the campaign in this state."

The Birmingham Age-Herald, Birmingham, Alabama, for June 26, 1941 contained the following article:

"LINDBERGH MAY COME

America First Committee Branch In State Plans Campaign

Plans set in motion by the newly organized Alabama branch of the America First Committee may bring CHARLES A. LINDBERGH to Birmingham to make a keynote speech in a state campaign backed by the anti-war group, said C. C. CROWE, attorney, state chairman.

CROWE, formerly of Birmingham and more recently of Indiana and Maryland, established committee headquarters at 2006½ Fourth Avenue, North."

Again on July 7, 1941 the Birmingham News carried an article regarding subject organization which is being set out as follows:

"WELLS NOT INVOLVED IN ANTI-WAR DRIVE

Declaring 'I have no use for anything that CHARLES LINDBERGH is messed up in,' WILLIAM H. WELLS, who gives his address as 405 Exchange Building, emphasized in a letter to The News Monday that he has no connection with the Alabama branch of the America First Committee, recently established here.

When it was reported Col. LINDBERGH and other America First Committee speakers may be brought to Birmingham in a non-war 'blitz' to be launched in this state by the committee branch, WELLS was said to be associated with C. C. CROWE, attorney, who had been designated state chairman of the anti-war group.

'I am anxious to have a correction made in The News at an early date', wrote WELLS. 'I am not in any way connected with this America First Committee'. Wells went on to explain CROWE had sought to associate him in the movement as manager of an office, which had been opened at 2006½ Fourth Avenue, North, but that he refused 'to have anything to do with it.'

Although born in Canada, WELLS said he had been an American citizen 30 years and declared 'I am 100 per cent for our president.'

Meantime, CROWE, a heavy set man of middle age, with short-cropped hair, went ahead with setting up the committee organization in Alabama. CROWE, formerly of Birmingham, said he had lived recently in Indiana and Maryland. "

It is to be noted that the Birmingham Field Office received a copy of a Bureau letter dated March 7, 1942, the original of which was addressed to [redacted]

[redacted] The following investigation was conducted by Special Agent [redacted]

On May 12, 1942 [redacted] was requested to search the newspaper morgue for any information pertaining to the formation and activities of the America First Committee. [redacted] searched the records of the morgue and the index to the editorial section of the [redacted] had ever had any publications concerning CHARLES C. CROWE, who opened headquarters for the America First Committee in Birmingham, Alabama. This search was also unproductive.

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AUGUSTUS F. LINDBERGH, cousin to CHARLES LINDBERGH, Frank Nelson Building, Birmingham, Alabama, was nominated as State Chairman of the Fight For Freedom Incorporated, which was organized to combat public opinion created by the America First Committee. The principles of this committee were diametrically opposed to those of the America First Committee. The America First Committee was strictly isolationist while the Fight For Freedom Incorporated advocated intervention.

Mr. LINDBERGH stated that the America First Committee was never very active in Birmingham, Alabama, and that he had no knowledge of an active membership list in the America First Committee. Mr. LINDBERGH said that the Fight For Freedom Incorporated was organized shortly after the America First Committee was formed in Chicago, Illinois. Mr. LINDBERGH said that to his knowledge, the America First Committee was extinct in Birmingham.

[redacted] b7C b7D

[redacted] records which reflected that during the month of February and March, 1941, [redacted] had paid for four fifteen minute transcriptions of speeches by Senator WHEELER and LINDBERGH and other prominent Isolationists. b7D

[redacted] stated that he had been active in the Fight For Freedom Incorporated, and believed that the influence of this organization had permanently squelched any growth of the America First Committee in Birmingham, Alabama. [redacted] said that to his knowledge a CH RLES C. CROWE, Attorney, had opened offices for the America First Committee in Birmingham. [redacted] said that this organization had never grown to a large extent. He believed that efforts had been made to build up a substantial membership list but had been unsuccessful. [redacted] said that the America First Committee had been short-lived and to his knowledge was not now in existence. b7D

[redacted] he had many contacts and believed that any activity or new growth on the part of the America First Committee would be immediately brought to his attention.

CONFIDENTIAL

[redacted] was interviewed on May 15, 1942. [redacted] said that she was interested in the principles of the America First Committee and upon its conception in Chicago, Illinois, she was desirous of becoming a member. She said that she wrote to headquarters in Chicago and became a member of that organization. A short time later, she said that she was surprised to learn that a local attorney, CHARLES C. CROWE, had opened headquarters for the America First Committee in Birmingham. [redacted] said that CROWE called her and requested that she take an active part in organizing this committee in Birmingham. [redacted] visited Mr. CROW and was displeased with the conditions prevailing in his office. [redacted] said that after this experience, she refused to join Attorney CROWE in his efforts to promote the America First Committee in Birmingham. [redacted] stated that upon her own initiative she spent considerable time and money attempting to promote the principles of isolationism. She said that she had paid $100 to station WBRC for radio time for transcriptions of speeches by various Isolationists. [redacted] said that much to her amazement, this money was returned to her by station WBRC. She believed that this money was returned because the Fight For Freedom Incorporated had received radio time free of charge. [redacted] was interrogated as to any knowledge on her part concerning a membership list of the America First Committee in Birmingham. She stated that period in which the America First Committee functioned as a going organization in Birmingham was quite short and it was her belief that Attorney CROWE had never been successful in organizing an active membership.

b7C
b7D

[redacted] It will be noted that instant file reflects that Dr. WELLS was offered a co-leadership with CHARLES C. CROWE in the America First movement in Birmingham. Dr. WELLS refused this offer and publicly announced that he would have no connection whatsoever with Attorney CROWE.

United States Commissioner LOUISE O. CHARLTON advised that she was well informed concerning the Fight For Freedom Incorporated but as far as she knew the America First Committee had never taken hold in

Birmingham. Mrs. CHARLTON said that the only recollection that she had of the America First Committee was that it was headed by a local attorney named CROWE and that he had opened an office on Fourth Avenue.

[redacted] The following investigation was conducted by Special Agent at Montgomery, Alabama. b7C

The following persons were contacted with respect to securing information concerning any activity of subject organization in and around Montgomery, Alabama with negative results:

[redacted]

WALTER BRAGG SMITH, U. S. Marshal, Montgomery, Alabama.

T. M. STOWERS, Assistant U. S. Attorney, Montgomery, Alabama.

On May 26, 1942, [redacted] Montgomery, Alabama, advised that a recent survey conducted by his organization at the Southeastern Air Corps Training Center, reflected that the nearest activity to Montgomery, Alabama, on the part of the America First Committee was reported from Albany, Georgia.

[redacted] The following investigation was conducted by Special Agent at Mobile, Alabama:

The following persons were contacted with respect to any activity on the part of the America First Committee in the vicinity of Mobile, Alabama, with negative results:

[redacted]

CONFIDENTIAL

[redacted]

b7C

PERCY C. FOUNTAIN, Assistant U. S. Attorney, Mobile, Alabama.

[redacted]

ENCLOSURES: TO THE BUREAU:

One booklet entitled "OUR FOREIGN POLICY" by General ROBERT E. WOOD, published by the America First Committee.

One booklett entitled "ADDRESS" by HERBERT HOOVER.

One subscription blank for the A.F.C. Bulletin.

One pamphlet entitled "I HATE WAR", published by the America First Committee.

One leaflet entitled "WHY AMERICA CANNOT BE INVADED" by Col. ROBERT R. McCORMICK.

UNDEVELOPED LEADS

THE BIRMINGHAM FIELD DIVISION

AT BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA,

Will attempt to locate [redacted] and interview him with respect to subject organization.

THE INDIANAPOLIS FIELD DIVISION

AT INDIANAPOLIS, IND.,

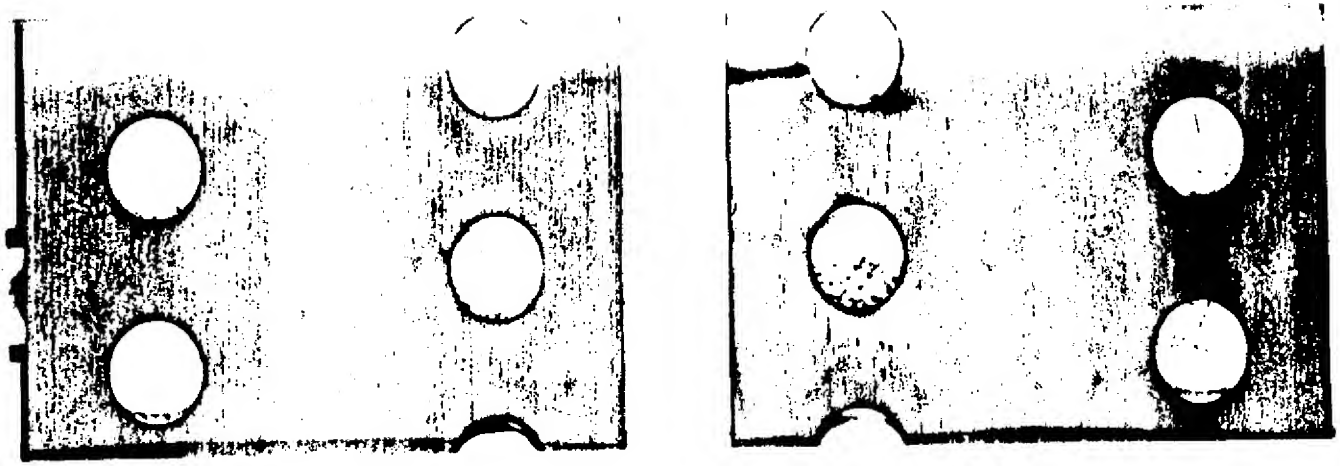
Will search the field division indices for any information concerning [redacted] b7C

THE BALTIMORE FIELD DIVISION,

AT BALTIMORE, MD.

Will search the field division indices for any information concerning [redacted]

P E N D I N G



AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
2006½ No. 4th Ave. Phone 4-4804
BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA

"I HATE WAR"

Franklin Delano Roosevelt said
at Chautauqua, N. Y., August 14, 1936

and

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of the American People

HATE WAR

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
2006½ No. 4th Ave. Phone 4-4804
BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA

Principles
of
The America First Committee

1. Our first duty is to keep America out of foreign wars. Our entry would only destroy democracy, not save it. "The path to war is a false path to freedom."
2. Not by acts of war abroad but by preserving and extending democracy at home can we aid democracy and freedom in other lands.
3. In 1917 we sent our American ships into the war zone and this led us to war. In 1941 we must keep our naval convoys and merchant vessels on this side of the Atlantic.
4. We must build a defense, for our own shores, so strong that no foreign power or combination of powers can invade our country, by sea, air or land.
5. Humanitarian aid is the duty of a strong, free country at peace. With proper safeguard for the distribution of supplies, we should feed and clothe the suffering and needy people of the democracies of Europe.

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
141 WEST JACKSON BOULEVARD
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Please enroll me as a member of

THE AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

I am a patriotic American citizen, I am not affiliated in any way with any foreign power, I believe in the principles of the America First Committee:

Name.....

Address.....City.....

I enclose $.....to be used in furthering the cause for which the America First Committee is fighting.

(The America First Committee is supported entirely by voluntary contributions of time and money, but you need not contribute to become a member.)

Send or bring this card to
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE, 141 West Jackson Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois

THESE ARE THE SOLEMN AND SACRED PLEDGES

Made by

THE PRESIDENT DURING THE 1940 ELECTION CAMPAIGN

We Will Not Participate Nor Intervene In Foreign Wars.

"We are arming ourselves not for any purpose of conflict or *intervention in foreign disputes.* I repeat again that I stand on the platform of our party; we will not participate in foreign wars and will *not* send our *Army, Naval* or *Air Forces* to fight in foreign lands outside of the Americas except in case of attack."

"It is for peace that I have labored; and it is for peace that I shall labor all the days of my life."

Philadelphia, Oct. 23, 1940.

The First Purpose of Our Foreign Policy Is to Keep Out of War.

"We look at the old world of Europe today. It is an ugly world, poisoned by hatred, and greed and fear. We can see what has been the inevitable consequence of that poison—it has been war.

"And we look at this country, built by generations of peaceable, friendly men and women who had in their hearts faith—*faith* that the good life can be obtained by those who work for it.

"We know that we are determined to defend our country and with our neighbors to defend this hemisphere. We are strong in our defense.

"The first purpose of our foreign policy is to keep our country out of war."

Your Boys Are Not Going to Be Sent Into Any Foreign Wars.

"And while I am talking to you, *fathers* and *mothers,* I give you one more assurance. *I have said this before,* but I shall say it *again,* and *again,* and *again, your boys are not going to be sent into any foreign wars.*

"They are going into training to form a force so strong that, by its very existence, it will keep the threat of war far away from our shores. Yes, the purpose of our defense is defense."

Boston, Oct. 30, 1940.

Ships Flying the American Flag Must Stay Out of the War Zones.

"In 1935 in the face of growing dangers throughout the world, your government undertook to eliminate the hazards which in the past had led to war. *We made it clear that ships flying the American flag could not carry munitions to a belligerent; and that they must stay out of war zones."*

New York City, Oct. 28, 1940.

I Am Fighting to Keep Out of Foreign Wars.

"I am fighting to keep this nation prosperous and at peace. I am fighting to keep our people out of foreign wars and to keep foreign conceptions of government out of our own United States."

Brooklyn, Nov. 1, 1940.

The

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

Leads the Fight to Keep the United States Out of War

●

HELP US SAVE THE NATION

from

THE HORRORS OF WAR

●

DEMAND FAITHFUL FULFILLMENT

of the President's

SOLEMN and SACRED PROMISES

●

Write — Wire — Telephone

President Roosevelt

Your Senators

Your Congressmen

●

JOIN WITH US NOW

and

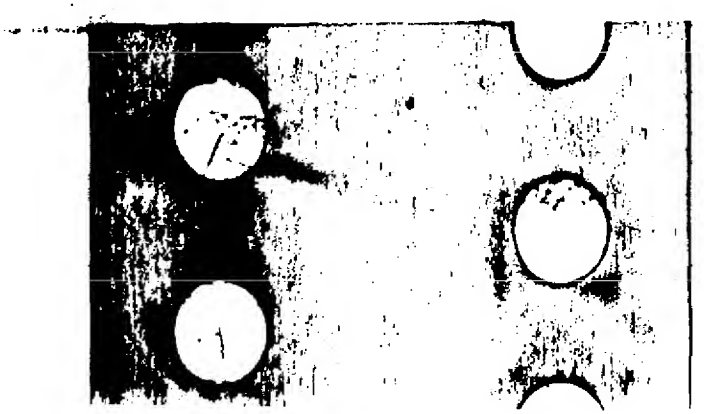
ENROLL YOUR NEIGHBORS

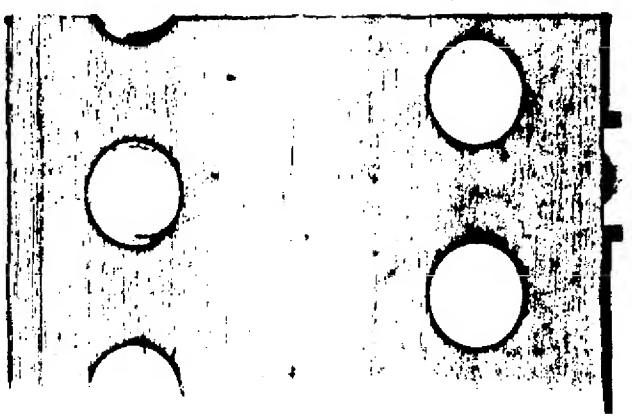
in the

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

141 West Jackson Boulevard

Chicago, Illinois





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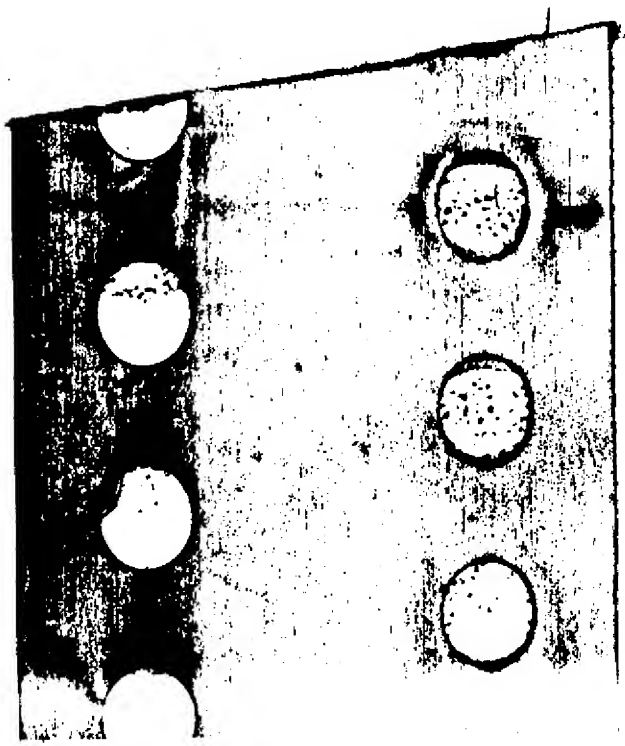
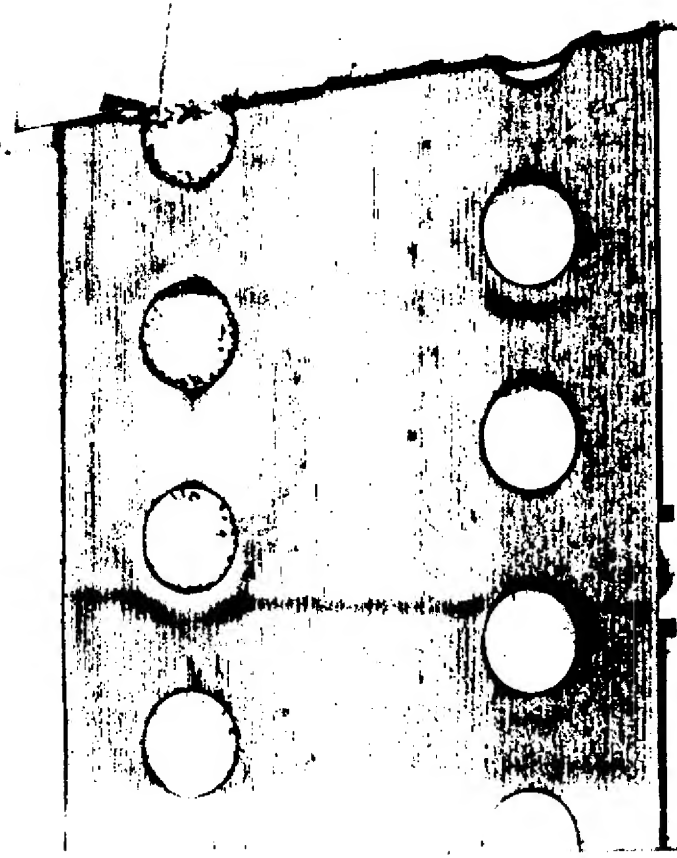




Why America Cannot Be Invaded

Statement of Col. Robert R. McCormick,
editor and publisher of the Chicago Tribune,
before the Committee on Foreign Relations
of the United States Senate,
February 5, 1941

NOT BE INVADED

re the Committee on Foreign Relations of the United States Senate, February 5, 1941

hror the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea, protected by our West Indies possessions. Our pilots would be rested and our engines unworn.

I cannot conceive of anyone having the slightest fear of an attack along this line, if he has any respect at all for our own air force.

If it is imagined that this continent is to be invaded by water or by air, we must conclude the attack will come across the northern Atlantic. The route would be Iceland, eight hundred and fifty miles; Newfoundland, sixteen hundred and fifty miles more; and Canada, another eight hundred miles; total distance thirty-three hundred miles. Iceland is now held by Canadian troops, so the route is blocked at first base. If Iceland were lost, south Greenland and Labrador would be of no use to an invader, because of their rough character. On Newfoundland is a great Canadian-British air base, and our own soldiers have already landed on the island where Lord Baltimore settled before he went to Maryland.

pplies would easily reach Newfoundland by the St. La nce, immune from interruption, while any assailant crossing the ocean would be subject to attack from the air, on the water, and from submarines.

It is an hysterical imagination which can conceive of our being driven from Newfoundland. Even if we were, the enemy would find no supplies in that barren land. There would be Cabot Strait to cross, and the Gut of Canso. Nova Scotia is a peninsula with a narrow neck, and New Brunswick largely forest and mushkeag.

Can anyone dream of an enemy forcing his way through this country in face of one or two million trained American and Canadian troops?

In the Pacific we have our bases in the Aleutian Islands, twenty-two hundred miles from Tokio; at Pearl Harbor, thirty-eight hundred miles from Tokio; and Samoa, four thousand miles from Tokio. If we need any other island bases, to protect our coast, we have the means of taking them and the knowledge that we will be welcomed by their inhabitants. Behind these outposts we have the Panama Canal, so that we can move our own fleet from ocean to ocean, which makes a one-ocean navy strategically equal to two navies denied the Panama Canal. It is fantastic to suggest that we are in any danger of attack.

Even if we did not have these overwhelming strategical advantages, this panic over possible German attack would not be justified.

We went overseas twenty-three years ago to attack the German army and were not overwhelmed.

Our victory, however, was won at bitter cost. The two divisions which were the most heavily engaged lost three men in killed, wounded, and broken by hardships for every man they contained on their mustering days. Many of these ruined men are still in the hospitals, or are suffering on their modest government compensation. Nobody ever gives a ball or a cocktail party for them.

There are young men of the same stripe today who, if forced to war abroad, will fight as the old army fought, and suffer as the old army is suffering. The experience of the Athenians at Syracuse, the Romans in Germany, Napoleon in Egypt, and the Russians in Manchuria, shows that the greatest catastrophes come to navies, armies and nations that embark on distant military adventures.

I pray to God that hysteria, propaganda and ambition will not become strong enough to immolate our present generation of young men.

WHY AMERICA CAN

Statement of Col. Robert R. McCormick, editor and publisher of the Chicago Tribune,

At the time I received Senator Johnson's invitation to appear before your honorable body, there had been some mention of the danger of attack on us through South America. I decided to accept the invitation because I happen to have personal knowledge of a considerable part of the ground over which such attack would come, and second-hand information of the most reliable kind about the rest of it. I have also traveled extensively in Eastern Canada, in Newfoundland, and Labrador.

It is five hundred miles by map from the German frontier to the boundary between France and Spain. This country is well served with railroads and highroads, but, as we know, is pretty well exhausted of foodstuffs.

From the French-Spanish boundary to Cadiz is five hundred miles on the map, but because of the mountainous region, much farther by road. The roads and railroads were of poor quality when I was there, and are much worse since the Civil War. They would need much work to make them capable of carrying large numbers of troops, their equipment, and their supplies. Spain is now on the verge of starvation. Whatever the disposition of the government might be towards a German expedition across Spain, we know that the Spanish people is antagonistic towards foreign armies, and is stubborn and remorseless in guerrilla warfare. Spain broke Napoleon. Hitler might not wish to add her to his problems.

Northern Morocco and Algiers are very mountainous. During the Moroccan War, there were some primitive railroads, and the French were building macadamized highways for the use of the small armies employed against the Moors. There is a road twenty-five hundred miles across the desert as far as Bamako; and a jungle railroad eight hundred miles long to Dakar. No supplies of any kind can be found in the desert, of course.

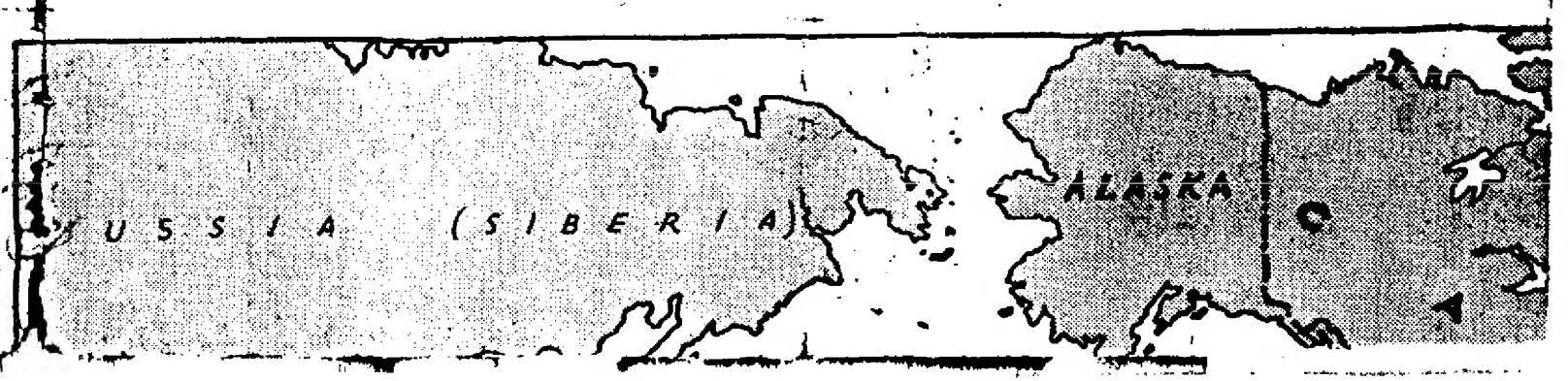
To reach Dakar, therefore, an army would have to pass five hundred miles through France, five hundred miles through Spain, cross the Straits, and then travel three thousand three hundred miles through the mountains, desert, and jungle of equatorial Africa.

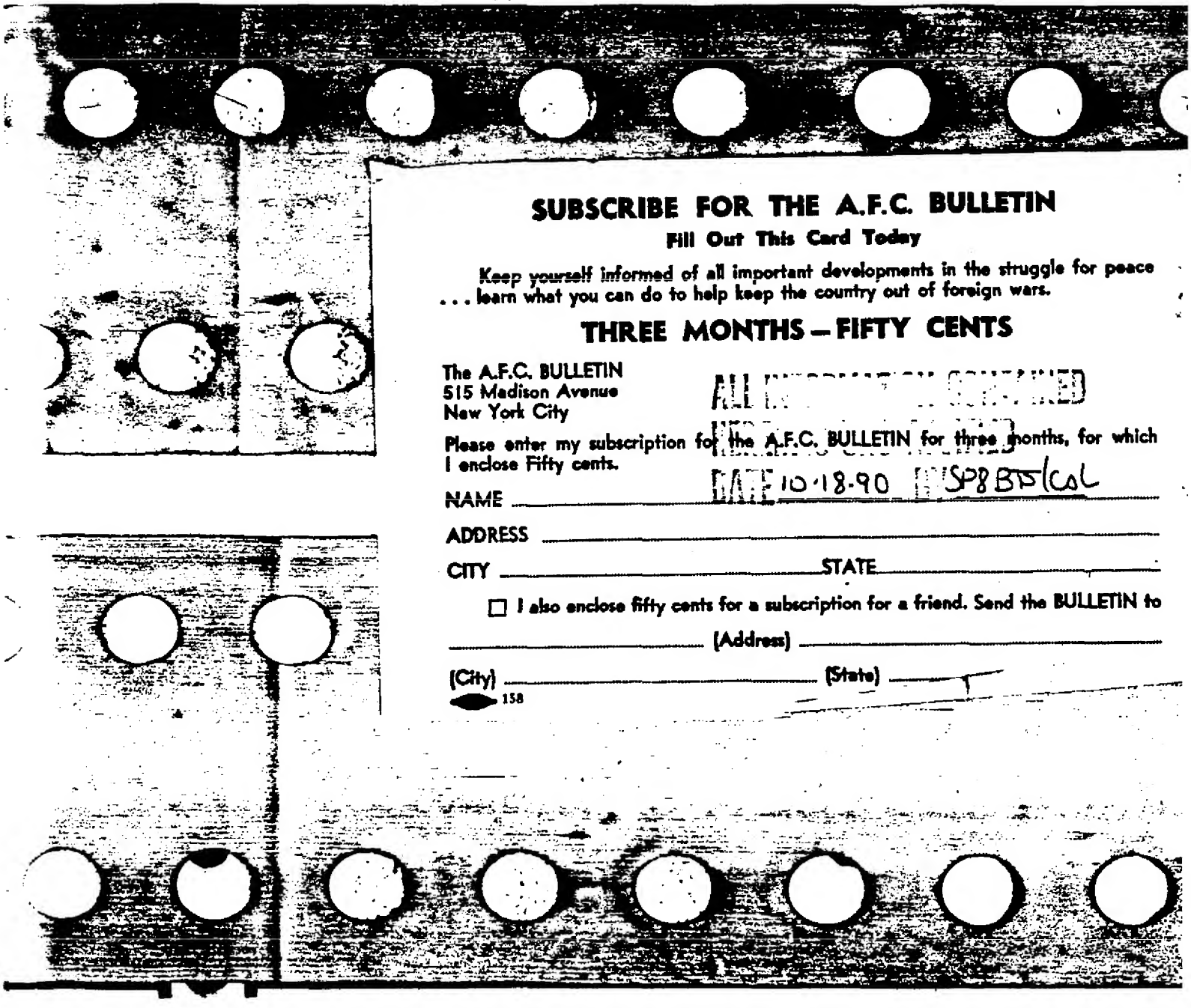
It is plain, therefore, that it will be utterly impracticable for Germany to concentrate a force of any size at Dakar. If we proceed on the assumption that only an air base is to be maintained at Dakar, still we have the great problem of supplying it either overland or by air transport.

If we pretend that this has been done, the Cape Verde Islands are only a few miles away. They belong to Portugal, and Great Britain has the right, by treaty, to use all Portuguese territory. It will be much easier to supply an air fleet at the Cape Verde Islands by sea than to supply one at Dakar by air or overland transportation from Germany. An air fleet based on Cape Verde Island should easily destroy one at Dakar.

If this form of defense should be neglected, it is still sixteen hundred and twenty miles from Dakar to Natal in South America. If an air force had advanced that far, it would now have a line of supplies five hundred miles through hostile France, on good roads, and five hundred miles through dangerous Spain, on poor roads; three thousand three hundred miles across the mountain desert and jungle of Africa; and then sixteen hundred and twenty miles by air across the Atlantic Ocean.

From Natal to Georgetown, our farthest southern flying base, is two thousand miles over the Brazilian equatorial jungle. To reach Georgetown, the German air force would have traveled over seventy-nine hundred miles to meet our own air force, amply supplied with its line of communication





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ADDRESS

by

THE HONORABLE HERBERT HOOVER

New York
May 11, 1941

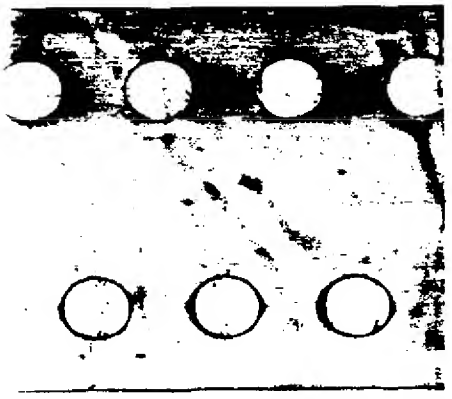
upon

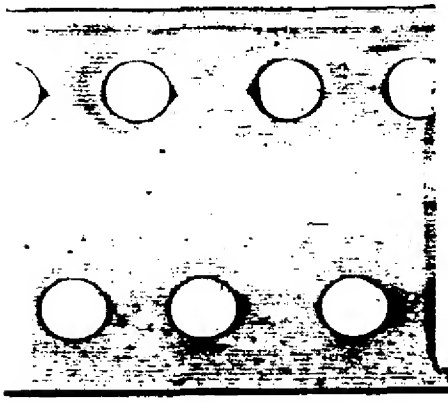
THE IMMEDIATE RELATION
OF THE
UNITED STATES TO THIS WAR

FOR the last six months I have remained aside from the controversy on whether we should join in this war. I have been waiting to see the progress of our preparedness. I have wanted to see the situation abroad develop more fully. I had believed that the President was earnestly endeavoring to keep his promise to the American people of October 23rd:

> . . . "We will not participate in foreign wars and will not send our Army, Naval or air forces to fight in foreign lands outside of the Americas, except in case of attack."

IN THE past ten days we have had many speeches and much propaganda, the meaning of which is to drive the American people into this war. One who has been





honored by his country as a member of America's War Council in the last world war and as its Commander-in-Chief in subsequent troubled years must learn something of the principles of national defense and our setting in the world.

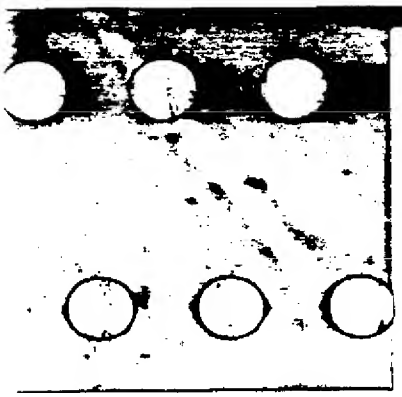
IT IS therefore my duty to speak out of my experience. I hope that by sober discussion of the facts, I may contribute something of thought in this most fateful decision. I am not speaking as the representative of any party, of any group and committee, or any association. And despite the depth of emotion that I feel, I hope I may speak without passion and with respect for the views of my many troubled fellow citizens.

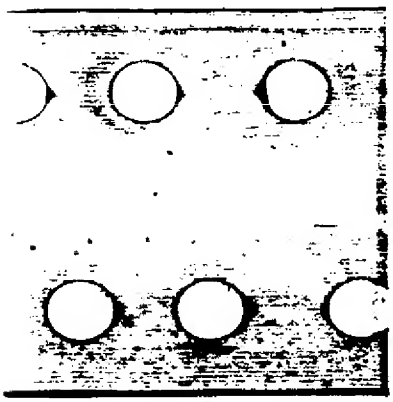
I DO not need to express again my abhorrence of the whole totalitarian movement or its dangers to the world. That there be no misunderstanding, let me state at the outset that I support provision of the maximum tools of war to Britain; that I am convinced we can give this maximum during her next critical months only if we keep out of this war; that putting our navy into action is joining this war; that the whole European war situation is in transformation; that America is as yet unprepared even for adequate defense; that our people are not united. To go in now is neither wise nor for the interest of either Britain or ourselves.

AS I have listened to these recent speeches it has constantly recurred to my mind that the problem before Mr. Roosevelt is far more difficult and complex than many of these speakers imagined. In the anxiety and emotion of the moment many do not recognize the stern facts.

IT IS now proposed that we should put the American Navy into action. That is a straightforward, understandable proposal which boldly makes clear the meaning of words like convoys or patrols. That is joining in this war, once and for all. From here the steps would be automatic. Our Navy must attack German submarines, ships and planes, if it is to be of any use. To make it effective then we must expand naval and air bases abroad. We must equip these bases with expeditionary forces. And that is war for long years to come.

THERE are those who say we are already in this war. That is not true. We are in a position of risk. But war has not been declared between ourselves and the Axis. Diplomatic representatives are still maintained on both sides. Our treaties are still in force. There is no killing of men between us. If this war were ended tomorrow, it would not be necessary for us to make a new peace with Germany.





I AM not arguing the spirit of our relations with Germany. I am only discussing the situation which exists. But it is a certainty that we shall be at war the moment our Navy is put into action. We are in the war when we send our boys either by air or by sea or on expeditionary forces with an intent to shoot at the Germans. Let us not coddle ourselves by thinking otherwise.

IT WOULD be more consistent with American honesty and American courage for us to face the straight issue of a declaration of war by the Congress as the Constitution provides than to creep into an undeclared war. It is due our people that the Congress should vote on the real question which underlies all this: "Shall we declare war on Germany or Italy or Japan?" In a national debate on that issue the whole of the facts could be placed before the American people and the people could reflect their views to the Congress. That question once openly determined by the only open process democracy knows, then our people would accept that decision—whatever it might be. The full facts and the truth is the way to achieve national unity.

WE MUST face some hard facts. And there is among them, the transformation of the military and political situation abroad. There is our own unpreparedness. There is

the practical aid that Britain now requires and requires at once. There is the lack of unity of our people.

THIS is no time for wishful thinking. Upon our decision depends the fate of our nation. It is the time, of all times, for a sober and frank appraisal of new facts and new situations.

THE first hard fact is the transformation of the character of this war. No one can deny the grim possibility that Hitler may take Suez, Iraq, North Africa and the Mediterranean. This would not, however, cut the vital lifeline of Britain. It might even release that British fleet to protect their Atlantic lanes. In any event, Hitler can occupy all of Continental Europe.

AND from all this area he will get ample food supplies and vital raw materials for the German people. True, he is blockaded by the British fleet, but the blockade cannot starve the German people or cut off their vital raw material supplies. It is only the people in the occupied democracies who will starve. Having been disarmed to their very carving knives, they cannot revolt.

A SECOND phase of this transformation is that substantial army fighting seems likely to go into the background for many years. The British armies cannot invade

Hitler's Europe. Nor do I believe with all the 6,000,000 men that Hitler commands and his superior air force that he can now cross the Channel to England. To invade Hitler's Europe would require us to prepare 5,000,000 men in addition to the British army. This time to invade Germany we would need to land them quickly and that might take 40,000,000 tons of ships to carry our army over the Atlantic. And they might not be able to land even them. It would take ten years to build those ships. And Hitler could not start toward the United States without equal preparation.

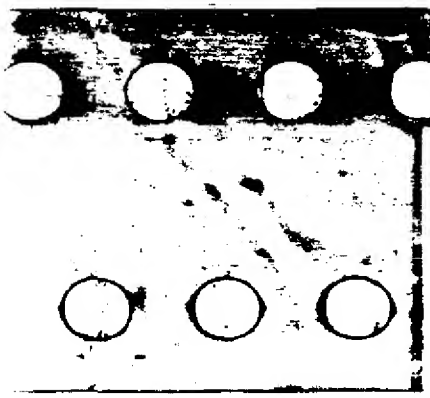
THEREFORE, with this transformation it does not appear that this war can be brought to a conclusion by armies or navies for years and years to come.

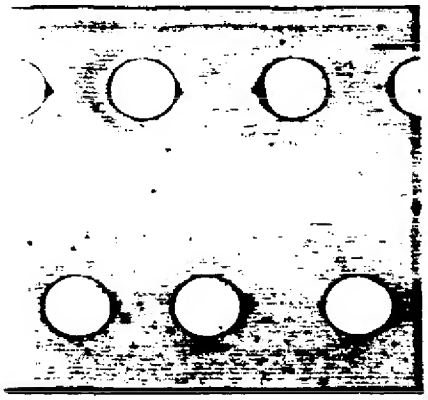
THE undetermined weapon against Hitler is air power. And the character of air war is also being transformed. It is rapidly emerging to be long-range bombing with fighter planes to defend against the bombers. Accurate action in destruction of industrial and military objectives by daylight is no longer possible because of the efficiency of fighter planes on both sides. Manufacture of more and more planes will thus continue on both sides. But so far there is no effective answer to night bombing. It serves mostly to destroy large objectives, the cities and harbors, reducing them to rubble and killing civilians. And in this destruction Hitler has to fly only one-third the distance that the British have to fly, to reach his point of attack.

AND there is a transformation in the German blockade of England. The long-range bomber is developing as a primary weapon in the attack upon harbors and upon ships. Submarines are today partly scouts, sending word to the air forces. Naval protection of Britain's sea lanes is now subsidiary to air protection.

THIS moving transformation of the relation of army power, sea power and air power presents new situations which are not yet clear. They involve many new considerations. They plainly indicate that America would be joined in a long, long war without a clear method of conclusion. And they emphasize England's immediate need which I will discuss later on.

THE second hard fact we must frankly face is that in the last war Japan was our ally and we had no need to defend the Pacific. But Japan is now openly allied to the Axis. She only awaits a favorable moment to realize her ambitions in Asia. That opportunity comes to her if we go to war in the Atlantic. Even if she does not open war





upon us, her action and attitudes will be so potentially dangerous to us that we must instantly divert our energies to strengthen our defenses in the Pacific.

THE third of these hard facts that we have to face is our unpreparedness. We have been slow to organize for defense, as is always the case in democracies.

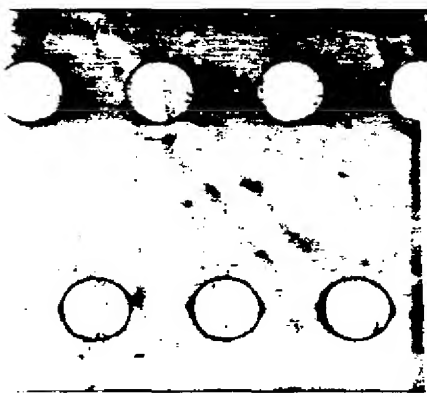
WE ARE not prepared to go to war. Our industry will not be tuned up for another eight or ten months to produce enough of the tools of war to equip our own defense and at the same time supply the needs of Britain. We do not have 300,000 men who are sufficiently equipped with planes, tanks and guns to meet 300,000 Germans, to say nothing of victory over 5,000,000 of them. We will not even have 1,500,000 men so equipped for probably another 12 months. We have no substantial air force of the type now being used in this war. It is true we have a magnificent navy, but even that is not yet big enough for the job which it may have to undertake if we join in this war.

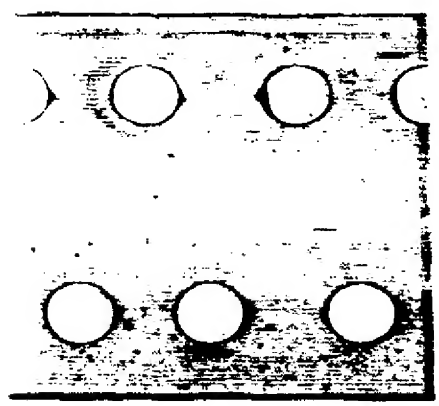
AND preparedness for war consists not alone of men and tools and munitions. It also embraces the spirit of a people. This war is a total war. That means every energy of a people must be mobilized. We must have a united people to make successful total war. We are united in resolution to defend the Western Hemisphere from military aggression. We are united in building whatever of a war machine is necessary for this purpose. We are united in our condemnation of aggressor nations. We are united in wanting to help England defend her independence.

BUT beyond this we are a divided people. Do I need to prove this disunity? There is an obvious large majority of people who oppose the sending to foreign wars of our boys either on our Navy or on convoys or airplanes or expeditionary forces where they may have to shoot or be shot at. These oppositions are strongest in our youth and it is youth who must die. There is no unwillingness in them to die to defend our Hemisphere.

AND to have a united people the Government must be united with the will of the people. A divided people cannot act effectively in the supreme issue of total war. That failure in unity was part of the disaster of France. The first necessity is to follow an objective upon which our people will agree.

HISTORY will assess the condemnation or the praise for the policies and the methods which have brought us to these





dangers. That is not the question now. The question is what to do from here on.

OUR every sympathy, our interest is to assist the heroic defense of England. We have pledged ourselves to give Britain the aid of our factories and our farms.

HER *most critical* period is right now. It is during the next months. What is the urgent need of England as expressed by her leaders time and again? Plainly she needs bomber planes to guard her sea lanes. She needs bomber planes and fighter planes to offset the attacks upon her cities and her harbors. She needs tanks, munitions and food. She needs merchant ships to replace her losses. She needs minor naval warships to guard her sea lanes.

WE ARE today giving her only a part of the scant production of our industries and retaining the other part for our own preparedness.

IF WE join this war we must join in earnest. We shall lose it any other way. If we join we must at once increase our army to 3,000,000 or 5,000,000 men. We would have to use a larger part of our immediate manufactures to supply our own army. We would have to use a larger part of our air production to defend our own coast cities. We

would have to at once increase our protections for the Pacific Coast and our island possessions. We would have to use a larger part of our production of fighter and bomber planes for them. We would have to hold merchant ships in reserve to carry troops to protect them. We are not building enough merchant ships now to meet British needs. We would have to use our light naval craft to convoy and protect our own sea lanes, especially in the Pacific.

IN NET, if we join this war we must use a larger portion of our present scant production for our own equipment and defense. We would have to do this at once. And that means if we join in this war we must give Britain less tools of war during her most critical period.

IF we stay out of this war we can take more risks in parting with our tools of war.

THE British have said time and time again that if we give them the tools they have the man-power to repel invasion, they have the men to man the warships, the merchant ships, and the airplanes.

TODAY we are confronted with not one problem but many. What is the constructive American course amid these problems? Is it not clear that we will give less tools to Britain if we join in the war? The

solution is not for us to go to war but to give her every tool that will really aid her regardless of our own preparedness. There are risks in this course but it is the least perilous road we can now take. This solution will not please extremists on either side. Common sense and stark truth rarely do. But I am convinced that here lies the road to national unity that is so essential to America at this time.

WE MUST also think other things through. And there are some other very disagreeable questions that must be answered before we take the plunge to war. We cannot refuse to face the facts of the situation when the fate of the nation is at stake.

WE WISH to aid Britain, but we must face the fact that if she cannot maintain the independence of the British Isles with the tools and policies I have mentioned, it cannot be maintained by our joining in the war. If we are in the war and should Britain fail, we would be left to carry the war alone. And that war against Nazi-controlled Europe will have to be fought at a distance of 3,000 miles and for years and years.

IN THAT event, are we going to blockade Europe? If so, are we going to starve the 40 million people in Great Britain? And how will we bring such a war to a conclusion?

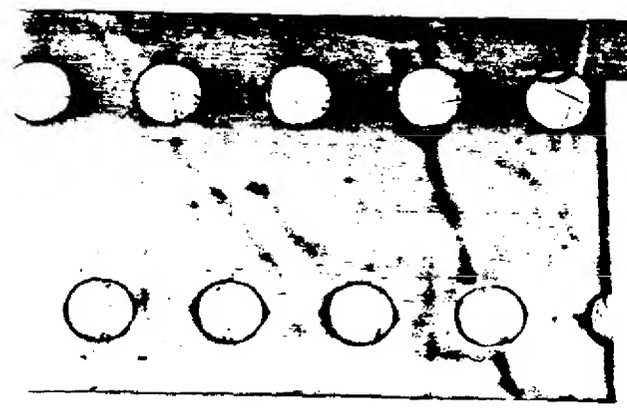
WHAT the course of the American people may be in this conflagration of the world cannot rightly be determined now. We cannot appraise all of the factors. At the present we cannot judge the effect of the transformation going on in this war. But there are some things we can state with assurance.

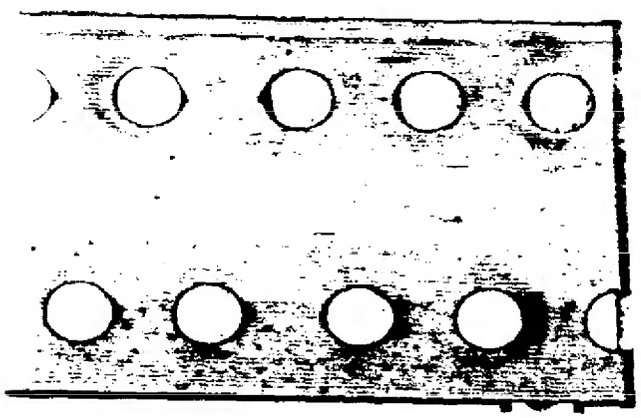
RIGHT now we need calm thinking. We need reason. We need tolerance. We need to approach these problems with deliberation. Until this picture is more clear it is folly to gamble with the fate of a nation. Strong men do not need to rush. We must not be swept off our feet by the profound depth of our emotions. By no hasty or emotional act must we jeopardize the aid to Britain and the future of America.

FINALLY we must not forget the price we shall have to pay if we join in this war.

IT MEANS the sacrifice of our most precious lives and the hopes of millions of mothers and wives. It means the sacrifice also of our own liberty to a dictatorship of our own, inevitable in total war.

IF WE go into war, we must pass through post-war bankruptcy. The savings of the people will be lost. The endowments of our universities, colleges, hospitals will be de-

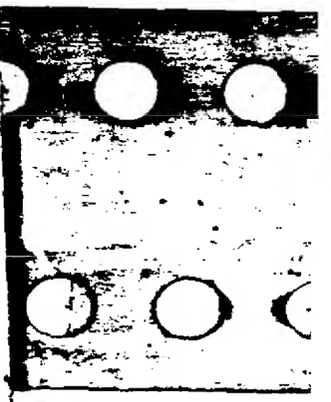


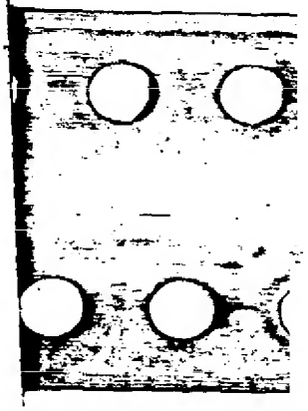


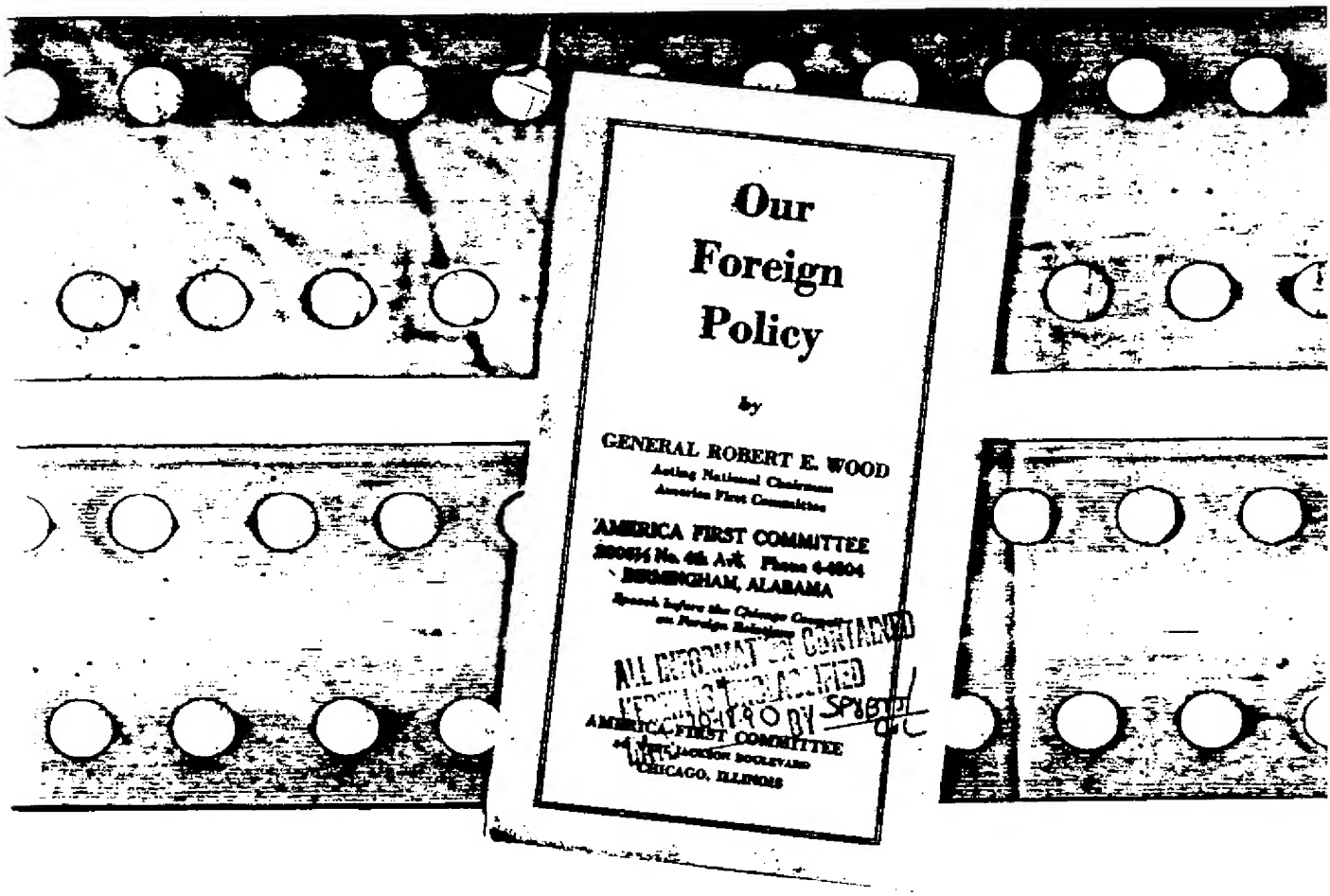
stroyed. And when the day of transformation of war into peace comes the Government will not be able to support the unemployed and the farmers. In this gulf all major industry must be operated by the Government. When we go to the peace table, hate will again as before sit at that table endeavoring to destroy the hope of any real peace among men. Liberty will not recover on this Continent for a generation.

BUT if despite all this price we are compelled to act with our military power, let us be thoroughly prepared. Let us make our determination within the frame of our Constitution by the decision of Congress. And when that decision is made, there will be no disunity in America.

THE Germans know all about our slow preparedness. They need have no momentary satisfaction in our unpreparedness. That will be forthcoming. The potential might of this nation is the strongest thing in this whole world. If necessary, we can raise and we can eventually equip an army of as many millions of men as we need. We can make more ingenious tools of war and we can operate them better than any nation in the world. That strength is always here in America. The defense of the United States is not dependent upon any other nation. America cannot be defeated.







Our Foreign Policy

by

GENERAL ROBERT E. WOOD
Acting National Chairman
America First Committee

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
[illegible] No. 4th Ave. Phone 4-4804
BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA

Speech before the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations

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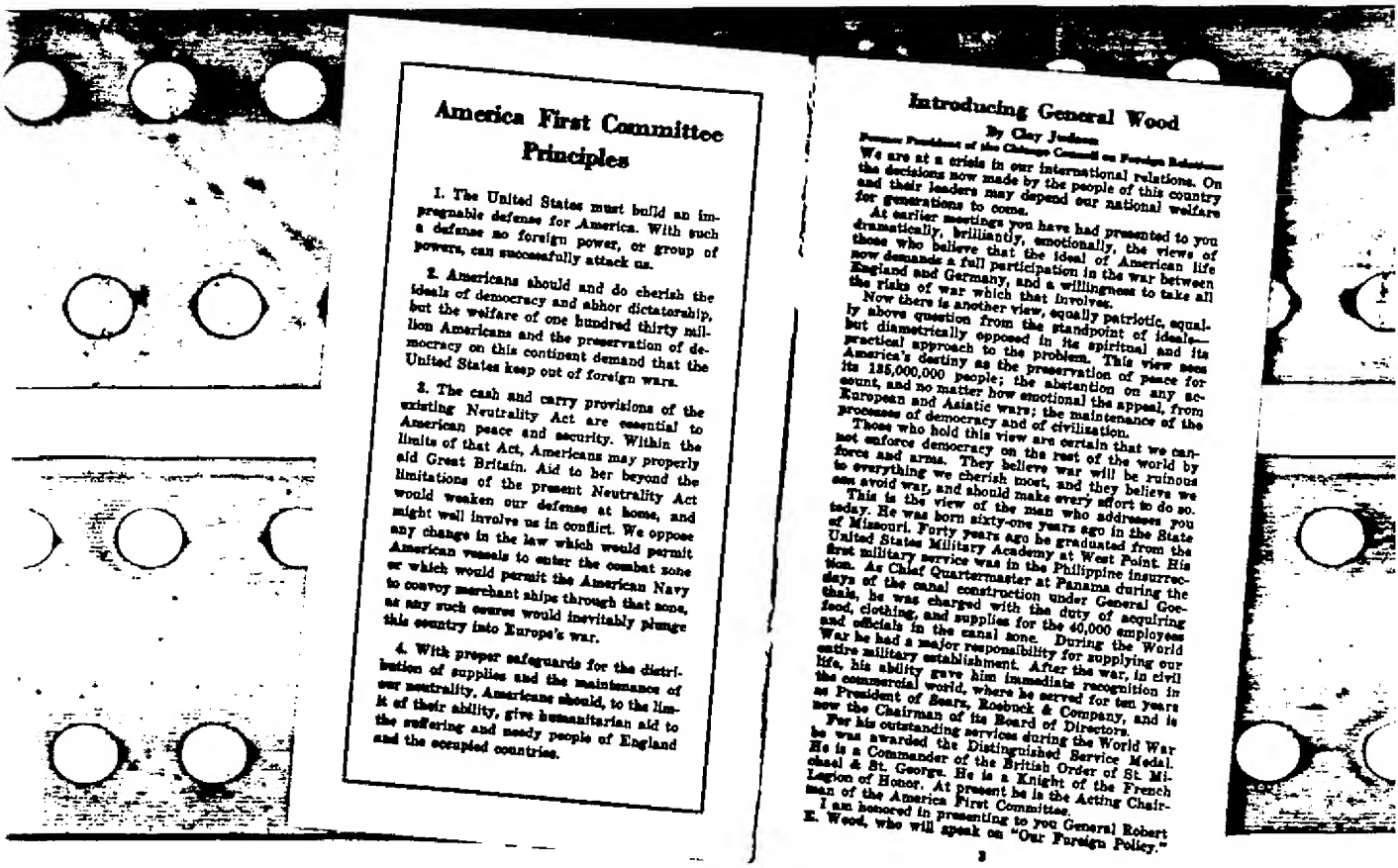
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
[illegible] JACKSON BOULEVARD
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS



America First Committee Principles

1. The United States must build an impregnable defense for America. With such a defense no foreign power, or group of powers, can successfully attack us.

2. Americans should and do cherish the ideals of democracy and abhor dictatorship, but the welfare of one hundred thirty million Americans and the preservation of democracy on this continent demand that the United States keep out of foreign wars.

3. The cash and carry provisions of the existing Neutrality Act are essential to American peace and security. Within the limits of that Act, Americans may properly aid Great Britain. Aid to her beyond the limitations of the present Neutrality Act would weaken our defense at home, and might well involve us in conflict. We oppose any change in the law which would permit American vessels to enter the combat zone or which would permit the American Navy to convoy merchant ships through that zone, as any such course would inevitably plunge this country into Europe's war.

4. With proper safeguards for the distribution of supplies and the maintenance of our neutrality, Americans should, to the limit of their ability, give humanitarian aid to the suffering and needy people of England and the occupied countries.

Introducing General Wood

By Clay Judkins

Former President of the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations

We are at a crisis in our international relations. On the decisions now made by the people of this country and their leaders may depend our national welfare for generations to come.

At earlier meetings you have had presented to you dramatically, brilliantly, emotionally, the views of those who believe that the ideal of American life now demands a full participation in the war between England and Germany, and a willingness to take all the risks of war which that involves.

Now there is another view, equally patriotic, equally above question from the standpoint of ideals—but diametrically opposed in its spiritual and its practical approach to the problem. This view sees America's destiny as the preservation of peace for its 135,000,000 people; the abstention on any account, and no matter how emotional the appeal, from European and Asiatic wars; the maintenance of the processes of democracy and of civilization.

Those who hold this view are certain that we cannot enforce democracy on the rest of the world by force and arms. They believe war will be ruinous to everything we cherish most, and they believe we can avoid war, and should make every effort to do so.

This is the view of the man who addresses you today. He was born sixty-one years ago in the State of Missouri. Forty years ago he graduated from the United States Military Academy at West Point. His first military service was in the Philippine insurrection. As Chief Quartermaster at Panama during the days of the canal construction under General Goethals, he was charged with the duty of acquiring food, clothing, and supplies for the 40,000 employees and officials in the canal zone. During the World War he had a major responsibility for supplying our entire military establishment. After the war, in civil life, his ability gave him immediate recognition in the commercial world, where he served for ten years as President of Sears, Roebuck & Company, and is now the Chairman of its Board of Directors.

For his outstanding services during the World War he was awarded the Distinguished Service Medal. He is a Commander of the British Order of St. Michael & St. George. He is a Knight of the French Legion of Honor. At present he is the Acting Chairman of the America First Committee.

I am honored in presenting to you General Robert E. Wood, who will speak on "Our Foreign Policy."

General Robert E. Wood's Speech

"Our Foreign Policy"

I hesitated to accept the invitation of my friends, Dr. Lichtenstein and Mr. Utley, to address this gathering for two reasons—first, because I do not feel on a par as a speaker with the very eminent persons who have addressed these gatherings; second, because my views are opposed to those of a probable majority of my listeners—and I may add—opposed to those of some of my dearest friends and relatives. I have a brother-in-law on the William Allen White Committee.

But it is one of the beauties of a democracy that in time of peace, at least, men are free to express their opinions and honest men respect opposing opinions if those opinions are sincere and free of ulterior motive, and now is a time for all honest men to express their convictions.

The Hour of Decision

This country is on the eve of momentous decisions. The results of these decisions may be so far reaching that they may have an effect for good or bad on the life of this country for at least a generation. I am at the stage of life when I do not care as to the effect on myself or my own generation. I do greatly care what the effects will be on my children and grandchildren and their generation.

There are two schools of thought in this country on the subject of our foreign policy. They may be termed "Interventionists" and "Isolationists." These terms are not exactly descriptive, because all interventionists are not extreme interventionists and most isolationists are only isolationists as to Europe and Asia, but not isolationists as to the balance of North America and South America.

I except from my discussion those who have ulterior motives—anything except the welfare of our country. That would include the Communists who really desire to destroy our Government; the Nazis and members of the Bund who put the interests of Germany above those of this country; some ultra-pacifists who forget the interests of their country in their desire for peace at any price; a limited number of extreme Anglophiles who put the interests of Great Britain above those of their own country.

Our Common Ground

These schools of thought are in violent opposition, but there are certain points of agreement among all classes except perhaps what may be called the lunatic fringe of our population.

These points of agreement are:

First—The necessity for a strong defense—a strengthening of our army and navy and air force. Our people are practically unanimous on this subject—the only differences are on differences of detail. It is obvious that the richest nation of the world, in a world of force, must make itself impregnable.

Second—The belief that no foreign nation must obtain possession of any part of the two Americas and that the United States must be prepared to defend the North American continent, and at least that portion of the South American continent as far as the Equator. There is some difference of opinion as to whether military and naval protection should go as far as Cape Horn.

Third—Access to our great industrial plant by Great Britain within the limits of the neutrality law—that is, unlimited right of purchase by Great Britain of planes, tanks, munitions of war, raw materials from private manufacturers, provided she can pay for them and provide her own transportation. And this I may add is a very great aid.

Without this aid now being given, England could not long carry on the war, for her supplies of raw materials, her steel making capacity, munitions and plane plants are insufficient for a long major war. Without the production facilities of the United States she would be crushed. Theoretically, Germany is entitled to the same privilege—actually, on account of the British blockade, she cannot use our facilities, but she has no right to complain. I believe the overwhelming majority of the citizens are in accord with these three principles. I know I am.

Here Differences Begin

But it is when we get beyond the third point that opinion diverges sharply. The present administration in power, probably the majority of our editors and columnists, a very influential body of public opinion as represented by the Committee to Defend America by Aiding Britain is in favor of our government turning over some of our flying fortresses, more destroyers, more planes, and merchant ships. Others, even more extreme, favor an outright alliance with Great Britain and a declaration of war on Germany.

Now what are the fundamental arguments for this point of view? They may be reduced to three principal reasons:

First—The totalitarian state with its ideology, with its record of persecution, is repugnant to our ideals and should be destroyed, even if we have to enter a war to accomplish this result.

Second—Our own protection depends on Britain as our first line of defense, and if she falls, we are exposed to the onslaught of a totalitarian combination. For us, it follows that we must give England all the aid we can, even at the risk of entering the war.

Third—If Britain is defeated, it will be impossible for a free competitive, unorganized and unmanaged industrial system to compete with a totalitarian system.

War Does Not Destroy Ideologies

As to the first reason, you cannot destroy an ideology by waging war on it. The conditions created in Europe by the Versailles Treaty were largely responsible for the rise of Hitler and the Nazi philosophy. The history of Europe for the last 100 years is a story of cruelties, persecutions, injustices. No government was more repugnant to our ideals and ideas than the old Czaristic regime of Russia—it had over many years a series of pogroms, but we remained on friendly terms with Russia. Up to 1917 we had always remained true to the principles of foreign policy laid down by the founders of our country: the policy of keeping aloof from the quarrels of Europe and Asia.

The Communistic regime of Russia under Lenin and Stalin was equally opposed to our principles and was detested by the majority of our people. Nevertheless, we have maintained our relations with Russia, and we have certainly had no idea of making war on that country.

Sentimentalists or Realists?

A nation cannot be a knight-errant. It must be realistic. Great Britain, during her entire history, has been coldly realistic, and her success in building up her Empire has been due to her realism. As individuals we can give vent to our generous impulses or even to our pet hates, but our statesmen, our editors, our moulders of public opinion must consider that it is not their individual fortunes and lives that are to be considered, but those of 180,000,000 of their fellow citizens.

Now as to the second reason—our military defense in the event of a German victory. Our country has gone through a curious transformation of thought since May 10th. From an underestimate of the military and economic strength of Germany, it has gone to the opposite extreme of overestimating that strength. From some of the remarks heard on the Eastern seaboard in June, we would have thought that New York and Boston were in imminent danger of being bombed.

Bombings Alone Cannot Win

Now the events in Spain, Poland, Belgium and France showed the major importance of the air arm when supported by tanks, infantry and a modern army. But Spain showed that bombing of cities, unsupported by an army, cannot win a war or even shake the morale of a population if the nation is of tough fibre like the Spanish and English peoples.

Apparently the Battle of England is demonstrating the same principle. Unless an army can cross the Channel, the German air force cannot impose a decision on England. Casualties and material damage—yes. The 15,000 casualties in London so far are but a drop in the bucket for a nation of 45,000,000 people; more casualties were incurred in single days of the Verdun, Ypres and Somme offensives. The destruction of apartment houses, stores, public buildings do not constitute a blow to the military strength of a nation. If the docks, railroads, power plants and munitions plants are put out of commission, it does affect the military effort, but unless it is done on a gigantic scale the nation cannot be subdued, and all evidence is to the effect that military damage thus far has not been of such a serious character as to severely impair the island's defense.

Can England Be Invaded?

As for an invasion, at the great risk of being called a false prophet, I doubt whether any invasion will ever be made, and if it is attempted, it will be decisively repulsed. To land 250,000 Germans in England, with mechanized equipment, ammunition and necessary supplies, would be a gigantic operation. Once landed, that force would have to face 1,500,000 Englishmen under arms, fighting on their own island behind strong defenses. And to land these 250,000 Germans means practically complete mastery of the air, blocking off the English fleet, complete control of the Channel—none of which objectives have yet been attained after more than a month of intensive

effort. To sum up, I doubt whether the island can be conquered, and I am quite sure the British fleet cannot be put out of commission.

Now we come to our own danger of invasion and the perfectly fantastic hysteria that pervaded this country after the battle of France. I think any competent military or naval expert, certainly the vast majority, will tell you that there is absolutely no danger of an invasion of the United States even if Germany is completely victorious, and I doubt whether she will be. The amount of shipping required for the transportation of even 250,000 men of a modern mechanized army with their ammunition and supplies over 3,000 miles of ocean is colossal and it is to be presumed that our own navy and air force will not be idle.

No Army Can Attack Us

If it is impracticable or at least exceedingly difficult for an army to cross 25 miles of Channel, what valid grounds are there for supposing that a large army can cross 3,000 miles of ocean to invade a continent?

Some will inquire—why should it not be possible for Germany to seize bases in Mexico or Central America and attack from those countries. Again, that presupposes an overwhelming sea power. But even if that sea power were present, there would again be the same difficulties of a 3,000 mile long line of communication for an invading army. And an army once landed must cross an exceedingly difficult terrain before ever arriving at the Texas border. I think that hypothesis may be safely dismissed.

Panic First—Then War!

Now we come to the favorite bogey—air attacks. I quote from Major Al Williams' recent speech, reprinted in the Congressional Record—"Oceans and extended lines of communications are still vital factors in modern warfare. President Roosevelt's panicky flight schedule for the air invasion of America is ridiculous, worthy of Hollywood and certainly not of the White House. To support my argument against the President's wild flight schedule for a foreign air invasion of the United States I offer a single incontrovertible reason. With all their air power the Germans could not attack and subdue England from air bases 300 to 500 miles distant. Instead they seized air bases on the north coast of Holland, Belgium and France 25 to 100 miles distant from the coast of England. Each and every stage of the fantastic itinerary for the air invasion of America would have to be conquered for the establishment of major air bases for the enemy attempting the job. The President must know this—but apparently the pattern is panic first, and then war."

An Exhausted Germany Is Harmless

All of this presupposes a completely victorious Germany, ready at the end of a long and costly struggle, to immediately embark on a new and perilous adventure across 3,000 miles of ocean against a nation of 130,000,000 people. The present war represents seven years of preparation on the part of Germany. So-called total war represents a prodigal expenditure of labor, money and effort. Steel is rapidly consumed, aircraft and mechanical equipment are rapidly worn out, reserves of all kinds are exhausted, not to mention the wear and tear on human beings. A nation that for seven years has been given guns instead of butter is apt at the end of this war to demand more butter from its leaders.

So on every count it seems inconceivable to me that Germany at the end of the war, even if aided by its allies, who will be in a worse condition of exhaustion than Germany itself, will attack the United States. And if this country with its 130,000,00 people and its two great natural ocean barriers cannot defend itself unaided by Britain or anybody else, it does not deserve to survive. The great nation that has to trust to others for its defense is on the downward path to destruction.

Europe Must Have Our Goods

Now as to our economic problems. An economic war after the war—the loss of our European, Asiatic and South American trade. I have a high personal regard for Walter Lippmann's brains and ability, but I believe his picture of an unequal contest between a totalitarian economy and a free economy is misleading. After all, when two nations or two continents each have things the other needs trade eventually results regardless of the feelings each may have for the other. Europe needs us more than we need Europe—our materials and products are more important to her than hers to us. True, Germany has reduced largely its purchases from us, but more from necessity than choice. As far as South America is concerned, we can always obtain the lion's share of the trade of Mexico, Central America, Colombia and Venezuela because we buy the metals of Mexico, the coffee and bananas of Central America and Co-

lombia, the oil of Venezuela. In these countries, our geographical location must always give us the edge. We can take the coffee of Brazil but not its cotton; so its trade will naturally divide between Europe and the United States. It is in Argentina and Chile that our troubles come. We cannot take the meat, cotton and wool of the Argentine because we produce these products ourselves. The same applies to the copper and nitrates of Chile. We cannot sell unless we buy and that is a far greater obstacle than all Mexidom.

It must not be forgotten that Germany put on an intensive drive for trade in South America in the period 1936-1938, and if my recollection of the figures is correct, while Germany's percentage of the trade gained somewhat, the gain was not large, and it was largely at the expense of Great Britain; our trade declined only a fraction of one per cent.

We'll Get Our Share of Foreign Trade!

No man can foretell the future, but as long as we have products South America can use and above all, if they have products we can use, we will get our full share of the trade. As for Asia, the same remarks pertain as to Europe. Japan needs us far more than we need her. Our trade with Japan incidentally runs between five and six times the trade of China, whom we are making such great efforts to help. Even if Japan gets control of the Dutch East Indies—and that is not assured—she is going to be more anxious to sell us rubber and tin to obtain dollar exchange than we are to buy the products. And if war with Japan comes, we can get Bolivian tin and develop our synthetic rubber. We are certainly as resourceful as the Germans who are filling 90% of their rubber requirements with the synthetic article.

In 1937 Colombia's trade with us was 168,000,000 pesos, with Germany 40,000,000. Of Venezuela's trade, the United States took 12.5% of their imports and furnished 53% of the exports, Germany 13.6%. Of Costa Rica's imports, 42.5% came from the United States, 23% from Germany. Of her exports 45% went to the United States and 19.5% to Germany.

As for lack of organization, if needs be, we can meet fire with fire; we can set up export cartels and mass purchasing organizations and we can do this without danger to our system.

The Americas Must Stand Together!

Americans like myself feel that our true mission is in North America and South America. We stand today in an unrivalled position. With our resources and organizing ability we can develop, with our Canadian friends, an only partially developed continent like North America and a virgin continent like South America. The reorganization and proper development of Mexico alone would afford an outlet for our capital and energies for some time to come. And while I think we should try in every way to maintain the friendship of our neighbors to the South, I think we should also make it clearly understood that no government in Mexico, Central America and the Caribbean South American countries can be tolerated unless it is friendly to the United States and that we will make every effort to prevent the spread of totalitarian influence there.

Instead of what seems to be a sane objective we are on the verge of throwing our treasure and our blood into a European war, with consequences that no one can foretell.

I respect the honest views of honest Americans, no matter how opposed they may be to my own, but there are two matters that I resent: First is the attempt to smear any one opposed to what I might call the majority publicised viewpoint of what we should do in this war. When the editor of a New York "newspaper" denounces Col. Lindbergh as the head of the Fifth Column in the U. S., we have reached the summit of mud slinging. You may disagree violently with Col. Lindbergh, you may feel he has made serious mistakes, but you have no right to denounce a courageous, patriotic American citizen as a traitor merely because he disagrees with your views. This is as bad as the Nazis, an attempt to suppress freedom of speech.

The other point I resent is the way the issue is being presented to the American people. We are being edged into the war without the masses' knowledge. We have the anomalous situation of the polls showing a majority of the people favoring a course that is bound to get us into the war, while the same polls show 85% of the same people oppose actual entry into the war. That shows that the minds of the people are confused.

How Wars Are Sold to Us

Many of my hearers were adults at the time of the previous war and were familiar with the propaganda that led up to that war. If you want to know the

history of that propaganda and its falsity, read a book by Sir Philip Gibbs with the title of "Now It Can Be Told," in which he admitted the outrageous lies that were perpetrated on the American public. And Sir Philip Gibbs was no German but the leading English war correspondent, knighted by his King. The London Economist in a recent issue said it was only a question of time until American public opinion could be brought to the point where we would actively enter the war.

I believe a majority of the people who are advocating "aid short of war" do not desire us to enter the war. But there are others who do desire us to enter the war, who are taking the necessary steps to prepare the American people for active participation, who would enter it tomorrow if they dared, who are today in practical alliance with England, and unfortunately they are the people who are shaping our national policy today. You hear in Washington today that we are now in the war. You hear predictions from men, and men who ought to know, that we will actively enter the war within sixty days after the election.

The American people should think this matter through. The course we are pursuing is bound to involve us in the war. You cannot play with fire and not get burned. You cannot have your government, not private manufacturers, transfer its equipment to foreign powers, you cannot have your government in an unofficial alliance with a foreign power, you cannot be a meddler in Indo-China, berate Italy and Germany without eventually involving the nation in war, and if war comes I venture to predict that we will repeat the history of the last war. When the declaration of war was made in 1917 originally it was intended to send only the Navy to the assistance of the Allies.

Man-Power, Too!

Joffre came over in the spring of 1917, told the plight of the French Army after the 1917 spring Champagne offensive, where whole divisions of the French Army mutinied, and implored us to send over a token force, otherwise France would collapse. We sent Pershing and the First Division, about 30,000 men. Then came the impending collapse of Russia, frantic calls for more men, then the great German offensive of 1918 and the rout of the British Fifth Army, more frantic appeals, until finally we put under arms 4,000,000 men, sent 2,000,000 men

to France, spent 20 billion dollars and had 180,000 casualties. I need not refer to our treatment by our former allies after the Armistice. They took the loot, we did not even get thanks.

I do not often agree with the editorials on foreign policy in my friend Frank Knox's paper, but there is a recent editorial with which I am in 100% agreement. The editorial quoted two recent speeches by both Presidential candidates in which both pledged themselves never to send American boys to France. The editorial spoke of both these pledges as political bunk and very truly stated that if we entered the war we would enter it to win, and, if necessary to win, we would send an expeditionary force—and that is the absolute truth.

The People Must Know the Truth

The issue should be honestly presented to the people. If we aid Britain, short of war and beyond the limits of the Neutrality Act, it ultimately means war and should mean war. If we enter the war, we must enter it with all our strength in men and money. That is the only way to win a war.

If the military reports from abroad are correct, I feel there is no doubt that Great Britain can defend her island, her dominions like Canada, Australia and New Zealand. She may lose Egypt, the Suez and Gibraltar, though this is extremely doubtful. So far the Italians have shown no signs of real offensive strength. There is little doubt that England can make a negotiated peace by which she can keep her fleet and her colonies, but which will leave Germany the economic control of Western Europe. But she cannot decisively defeat Germany unaided. Her statesmen privately admit that, and say that for her to gain a decisive victory we will have to actively enter the war. One of the great mistakes made by the Allies in this war was that in its first six months they thought they could win a safe economical war, with France sitting behind the Maginot line and England maintaining its blockade, with little expenditure of blood and a minimum expenditure of treasure. For us to actively enter the war means ships, planes, money, men, expeditionary forces. That is the issue that must ultimately be presented to the American people, and it should be presented openly, honestly and squarely.

Our Own Democracy Will Be Sacrificed

In deciding this issue, the American people should face the costs. We start with a debt of $50,000,000,000. With the enormous cost of waging modern war, the cost of sending forces over 2,000 miles of ocean, of engaging our navy in the Far East, we would ultimately face a debt of from 100 to 150 billions. Victorious or defeated, we will be faced at the conclusion of such a war with great economic dislocations —the rich would face a capital levy, the middle classes impoverishment, and the masses a lowered standard of living and the loss of most of the social gains so far secured.

Competent observers believe that if the war is prolonged in Europe over one or two years, it will result in Communism in all Europe, and a species of National Socialism in England. If we are involved, it probably spells the end of capitalism all over the world.

Defend America First, Last, Always

I would unhesitatingly say to throw everything we have into a war to defend the United States or our own sphere of influence, which is the North American continent and part, if not all, of the South American continent. I do not think the American people should make these sacrifices to interfere in the quarrels of Europe and Asia, old, sick and overpopulated continents with ancient rivalries that cannot be healed. It is up to the American people to decide whether they want to make these sacrifices to preserve not England but the British Empire, and help regulate Europe and Asia. But they should make the decision with all the cards on the table, not misled by artifice and subterfuge.

But if that decision is given affirmatively, I think you will find Americans like myself, who sincerely believe such a course spells disaster to the nation, will be at their posts of duty in the service of this country. I am old fashioned enough to believe in the toast offered by Stephen Decatur back in 1816, "Our Country! In her intercourse with foreign nations, may she always be in the right: but Our Country, right or wrong."

Additional copies of this speech can be obtained from America First Committee, 141 West Jackson Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois.

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

Membership and Contribution Blank

I am a patriotic American citizen and agree with the principles of the America First Committee.

Enroll me as a member.

Name_____

Address_____

I contribute $_____ to the work of the Committee.
(You do not need to contribute to join the America First Committee.)

Send this application to

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
141 West Jackson Boulevard
Chicago, Illinois

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT CHICAGO

FILE NO. 100-6882

REPORT MADE AT	DATE WHEN MADE	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE	REPORT MADE BY
WASHINGTON, D. C.	5/26/42	3/18,19,20,23; 5/16,18-22/42	b7C [redacted]

TITLE	CHARACTER OF CASE
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE	INTERNAL SECURITY - C

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

America First name first used by JAMES TRUE Associates in 1934, Washington, D. C. TRUE allegedly pro-Nazi propagandist. America First Committee proper originated by R. DOUGLAS STUART, JR. in spring of 1940 on Yale University campus. Developed through political backing to reported 15 million followers. "No Foreign Wars Committee," directed by isolationist VERNE MARSHALL and set up to counteract criticism of America First in early stages, extinct by March, 1941. America First financed by contribution; reported to have been supported by Fascist groups, German-American Bund, Christian Front, and Silver Shirts. Nazi sympathizers reported active in America First set out. Committee planned new political party to be known as American Party. Local chapter, preceded by peace meetings, officially formed December 11, 1940, at home of WILLIAM R. CASTLE, former Under-Secretary of State. Five prominent Washington women appointed to direct. Activities set out. Names of America First Committee chairmen from other localities set out. Local persons active in America First and related movements alleged to be presently engaged in subversive activities set out. History of America First Committee being prepared in Chicago where organizational files were transferred to storage office of Sears Roebuck and Company. America First and related isolationist literature being forwarded to Bureau.

AGENCY CC - ONI
REQ. REC'D 9-23-43
REP'T FORW. 10-7-43
BY SEE - SEH

ENCLO

10-12-60 SPB JJC

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 4-23-82 BY 9450 SP2 AC/GC

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: Special Agent in Charge

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED BY SP2 JJC/SEH DATE 4-23-82 #392,942

SP2 mac 100-6882 #2911

REFERENCES: Bureau letters, March 16, 1942, and March 26, 1942;
Teletype from the Bureau, May 11, 1942.

DETAILS: At Washington, D. C.

[redacted] stated that the America First Committee was eight years in the making, the name having originated in 1934, with America First, Inc. Headquarters of this organization were in the National Press Building, Washington, D. C., with JAMES TRUE as director.

[redacted] made available a copy of a letter dated September 17, 1934, [redacted] from America First, Inc., JAMES TRUE, President, charging many of the men in charge of various government departments were at that time or had been affiliated with Socialistic or Communistic movements, and that the subversive front organizations were destroying the democratic form of government in the United States.

It was learned from [redacted] that most of the Bund and similar organizations were pinched down in 1940 and early 1941 and went out of existence. Periodicals changed their names, and open Nazism became camouflaged into American Fascism. [redacted] related that the turning point came with the emergence of the American First Committee under totally respectable direction. Concerning the founding of the America First Committee proper, he stated that a group of twenty students on the Yale University campus were organized early in 1940 by 24-year old law student R. DOUGLAS STUART, JR., son of the First Vice President of Quaker Oats Company. This group attracted the attention of CHESTER BOWLES of Benton and Bowles, Inc., import advertising agency, then WILLIAM R. CASTLE, Washington, D. C., former Under-Secretary of State, and former Ambassador to Japan. Many other influential persons began to join the circle, including PHILLIP LaFOLLETTE, ex-Governor of Wisconsin, Senator BURTON K. WHEELER of Montana, and General ROBERT E. WOOD.

Using this Yale group as a front, [redacted] stated that the political minds invited CHARLES A. LINDBERGH, who on October 30, 1940, prophesied victory of the totalitarian powers. After this, General WOOD, who was considered second only in command under PERSHING in the last war, took active charge. The Committee set out to organize the nation through the mails and issued its first official notice on November 11, 1940. The America First Committee was criticized because of a Jewish individual on the National Board of the Committee, and [redacted] related that the "No Foreign Wars Committee" was organized with VERNE MARSHALL, Editor of the Cedar Rapids (Iowa) Gazette, as leader to remedy the situation. His mission as chairman, to which he was persuaded to act by LINDBERGH, was to whip up the emotions of the extremist groups, mobilizing them under a single leadership. According to [redacted] MARSHALL spotlighted the national attention on the isolationist issue and did so well that he put his committee on a parallel with the America First Committee and endangered its existence. [redacted] related that LINDBERGH denounced MARSHALL as an anti-Semite and that after three months of barnstorming, MARSHALL was persuaded to quit. He stated that the literature whi

was requested before the committee folded up contained standard material distributed at Bund and Christian Front meetings. The No Foreign Wars Committee was virtually extinct by March, 1941, and the America First Committee is reported to have been sole heir to all of its mailing and membership lists, which included the names of sincere isolationists, sundry appeasers, and pro-Nazi sympathizers.

[redacted] related that in making application for membership in the America First Committee, he wrote down his affiliations with pro-Nazi and other subversive organizations to see what would be the reaction, and stated that they just smiled and nodded. He related that the America First Committee was not merely an isolationist organization, but also the spearhead of an American Fascist movement, and stated that it was headed for a totalitarian movement, which may not flower for many years. He stated that America First was too deeply polluted by the Fascist crowd for redemption, and related that a political movement was being crystallized out of the America First organization.

[redacted] related that the honest isolationists were outnumbered by the anti-administration businessmen and industrialists with an overwhelming following of appeasers, Nazis, Fascists, and other enemies of a democratic way of life. He stated that the Committee aimed to use the war and its aftermath as an opportunity for totalitarian anti-democratic revolution. He stated that nearly all Fascist or near Fascist groups in the United States gave support openly or secretly to the America First, and that the Bund, Christian Front, and Silver Shirts maintained separate existence, but devoted their best energies to the America First movement. He stated that it was a mass movement meshed with a great many other groups; that it claimed to have 15 million signed members with many outstanding figures included; and that more than one hundred representatives and thirty-one senators were known to be in sympathy openly or clandestinely with the America First movement.

[redacted] stated that JOHN T. FLYNN, Chairman of the New York City chapter, tried to weed out the Fastist element and denounced JOSEPH McWILLIAMS leader of Christian Mobilizers, and also support from the Bund. In doing so, he made many enemies. He stated that the Nazi propaganda technique and America First methods were very similar.

[redacted] referred to a report of the Americanism Committee of the American Legion of Los Angeles, which related how the Bund went underground and Bundists swung into America First efforts. This report reflected the names of various pro-Nazi and pro-Fascist sympathizers who were closely associated with America First in Los Angeles. Their names and associations with America First are as follows:

F. K. FERENZ, distributor of subversive books, exhibitor of Nazi films, and publisher of a swastika decorated volume of essays entitled "Hitler," attended 21 America First meetings between March and August, 1941.

JOHN L. RIEMER, who testified that "a German Consulate had paid $215 for printing part of the literature he had been sending from Los Angeles," extensively advertized America First in connection with his mailing of Nazi propaganda.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN BULLARD, organizer of the "American Guards" which sponsored Hitler-styled abolition of labor unions, was a distributor of Nazi propaganda and chairman of the down town chapter of America First in Los Angeles.

T. W. HUGHES, founder of the Bund reenforced "League to Save America First," conducted meetings largely directed to incite intolerance and class dissensions, and was the author of "The Truth About England," which was sold at America First meetings.

Mrs. FAITH McCULLOUGH, alias Mrs. FRANCES WAXEY, former secretary to German agent PAQUITA LOUISE DeSHISHMAREFF, was active in the Pasadena and Glendale chapters, and was a close associate of WILLIAM HUNT, chairman of the Glendale chapter of America First.

JAMES McBRIDE, Bund storm trooper, and his wife, a Deutches Haus waitress, attended 23 meetings of the Committee.

BRUCE TARKINGTON DOWDEN co-operated with F. K. FERENZ and advocated a "whispering campaign" to slur the morals of teachers who support defense programs.

Regarding conditions elsewhere in the country, [redacted] related that DONALD SHEA, leader of the National Gentile League and veteran pro-Nazi, spoke to America First Committee meetings in Chicago, Cincinnati, and Indianapolis. [redacted]

[redacted] related that in Chicago, the German American Alliance, bundist type organization, urged its members to assist them (America First) financially and morally. In Detroit and Philadelphia, Reverend GERALD K. FISH, ex-member of the Silver Shirts Legion, a militarist organization based on a Nazi model, spoke at several big rallies. In New Rochelle, WILLIAM J. BAXTER, propagandist for the Japanese and political associate of Father COUGHLIN, was head of the America First chapter. At Peekskill, New York, Reverend JOHN COLE McKIM, columnist for a Japanese propaganda weekly which is registered at the State Department, headed the chapter.

[redacted] related that the America First Committee is planning a new party to be known as the "American" or "Christian" Party, which will swing into action before the next election.

In this regard, reference is made to a speech made by PHILLIP LaFOLLETTE on November 1, 1941, in Washington, D. C., at a convention of

America First chapter chairmen and delegates. This speech was broadcast over the Columbia network and expressed the anti-administration isolationist sentiments of the America First Committee. During this speech, LaFOLLETTE made several references to the American Party as opposed to the War Party and urged the support of his listeners in his efforts to curb the progress of the administration. A copy of this speech is being forwarded to the Bureau.

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[redacted] made available subversive files which reflect that on June 7, 1940, the "Peoples' Anti-War Mobilization" was held at the Raleigh Hotel. Its sponsors were the "National Council for Prevention of War," "Womens' International League for Peace and Freedom," "World Peaceways," "Keep America Out of War Congress," "Fellowship of Reconciliation," "War Resisters League," and the "Youth Committee Against War." 1,300 persons from 19 states and 95 cities attended this meeting. JOHN T. FLYNN (later America First leader in New York City) presided; and, several prominent persons, including Senator BURTON K. WHEELER and NORMAN L. THOMAS, Socialist Party candidate, addressed them.

Reference is made to Bureau letter dated March 16, 1942, with memorandum attached, wherein on page 3, it is reported that DOROTHY DETZER was one of the organizers and is said to consider herself the brain of the America First Committee. DOROTHY DETZER, who is the executive secretary of the Womens International League for Peace and Freedom, was present at the aforementioned meeting on June 10, 1940, and spoke. Possibly this information concerning her as an organizer of the local chapter may have originated from the fact that she was present and active at the aforementioned meeting. [redacted] files reflect that pledges of money were sought at this meeting to aid in the fight, and $1,200 of cash was contributed.

b7

A review of the Morgue of the Washington Evening Star reflects that the local America First unit was officially organized on December 11, 1940, at a meeting of approximately one hundred people at the home of WILLIAM R. CASTLE, former Under Secretary of State. Five persons were authorized to direct its activities. Those named were Mrs. BURTON K. WHEELER, Mrs. ALICE ROOSEVELT LONGWORTH, Miss KATHRYN LEWIS (daughter of JOHN L. LEWIS), Mrs. WILLIAM R. CASTLE, and Mrs. BENNETT CHAMP CLARK, wife of Senator CLARK of Missouri who was named as chairman. The officers named were Mrs. WHEELER, Treasurer; Mrs. FRANK SIMONDS, Secretary; Mrs. FRANK WEST, Chairman of the Membership Committee; and Mrs. COURTLAND BARNES, Chairman of the Finance Committee. They issued the following statement at this meeting:

"The America First Committee, we believe, represents the opinion of the majority of the people of the United States in opposing our entry into the war. It is not in any way anti-British and feels that in keeping out of

the war, this country is helping Britain more than in any other way. The Committee favors all aid to England within the existing neutrality laws and within whatever limits are compatible with the laws of the United States. It does not believe that the denuding of the defense of this country is compatible with the tremendous defense program to which our country is committed."

The first meeting of the Committee was held in the National Theater with 1,500 persons present on February 2, 1941. Governor PHILLIP LaFOLLETTE, JOHN T. FLYNN, Mrs. ROBERT TAFT, and Mrs. BENNETT CHAMP CLARK spoke. On May 18, 1941, Senator VANDENBERG of Michigan spoke at a luncheon meeting at the Raleigh Hotel.

On May 26, a large ad appeared in the newspapers signed by R. E. WOOD, Chairman of the Committee, challenging the President to repeat his statement that there would be no second A.E.F. On August 7, Representative SOUTHOFF, Progressive from Wisconsin, told them that the government was driving the United States into war.

The Morgue of the Washington Star reflects that Mrs. HAMILTON FISH and also one ISABEL FRENCH became active.

[redacted] made available his files which reflect that the America First Committee maintained its office at 126 C Street, N. E., and a research bureau at 142 B Street, N. E., which prepared and circulated form letters concerning the isolationist program. b2 b7

From the same source, it was learned that [redacted] b7

b7C b7

During the investigation of the Registration case entitled LAURA INGALLS, it was learned by the writer [redacted] that the America First Committee held weekly meetings at the Friends Meeting House in Washington, D. C., through the spring, summer, and early fall months of 1941. The aforementioned wives of isolationist senators were most active in the Committee meetings.

[redacted] that Women United, Inc., affiliated women's organization of New York City, staged a demonstration on May 14, 1941, at which time 500 women came by train from New York City led by Mrs. HALL HERRICK, President, and convened in the Caucus Room of the Senate Office Building, where they were addressed by KATHLEEN NORRIS, novelist, and Representative WILLIAM T. EIFER of New York and Representative JEANETTE RADCLIFFE of Montana. Following the meeting, they dispersed in small groups to deliver isolationist pleas to various senators and Congressmen. [redacted] they staged similar demonstrations on August 13, 1941, and on October 10, 1941.

The writer observed another demonstration of the same type staged by the Brooklyn chapter of the America First Committee at the Senate and House Office Buildings late in October, 1941.

Investigation conducted in the Registration Act case entitled GEORGE SYLVESTER VIERECK, disclosed considerable information concerning the America First activities in connection with [redacted]

Following the official announcement on December 10, that the America First Committee would no longer carry on, the offices in Washington, D. C., at 1712 Connecticut Avenue, were closed; and, since that time, no further official activity has taken place. An anonymous inquiry made by the writer at the office of the America First Committee during the investigation of the LAURA INGALLS case resulted in information that the America First Committee of Washington, D. C., was being disbanded and would no longer carry on a program of any nature.

A review of the files of the Washington Field Office reflects the following information concerning persons active in America First and related isolationist activities in Washington, D. C. [redacted]

[redacted] is reported to have been employed in the Research Bureau of the America First Committee. [redacted]

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b7D

[redacted]

b2
b7D

JAMES TRUE was reported by [redacted] to have obtained a patent in 1934 on a special night stick which he called the "kike killer," and developed into one of the most effective Nazi transmitters in this country. He stated that TRUE'S "industrial control reports" became a Bible for American Fascists and that his offices were a clearing house for anti-democratic, anti-Semitic, and pro-German propaganda. He stated that TRUE is an intimate friend of WILLIAM DUDLEY PELLEY, leader of the Silver Shirts, FRITZ KUHN, leader of the German-American Bund, and JOSEPH McWILLIAMS. [redacted]

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[redacted]

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ISABEL FRENCH, who is reported to have been Office Manager of the America First Committee in Washington, D. C., is reported by [redacted] to have stated, "We of America First believe that you can come to an understanding and do business with HITLER. The interventionists think you can't come to an understanding and do business with HITLER." [redacted]

b7C

[redacted]

CATHERINE CURTIS, [redacted] National Chairman of Womens Investors of America, which sponsored a women's national committee to keep the United States out of war in 1939 as successor to the Women's National Committee to Keep Hands Off the Supreme Court, is a well known organizer in Washington. Her activities as such were closely related to those of the America First Committee proper, and she worked closely with many women's organizations affiliated with America First, and presently is reported to be engaged in a telephone whispering campaign. [redacted]

b7C

[redacted]

MICHAEL AHERN, former associate of JAMES TRUE and active in isolationist groups collaborating in Washington with America First, is presently employed as executive assistant to CATHERINE CURTIS and [redacted]

b7C [redacted]

DOROTHY DETZER, reported to have been instrumental in the organization of the America First Committee, is executive secretary of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. Files of the Washington Field Office reveal that the league is still in existence with offices at 1734 F Street, N. W., from which is issued its bulletin "Four Lights," a copy of which reflects that the league is now pledged to serve the country in its war effort and is devoting attention to post-war problems. Miss DETZER spoke on March 16, 1941, over the America Forum of the Air from Washington, claiming the administration was dragging the United States into the war and that fanatic new order in Europe could only be conquored by an alternative new order for the United States.

GEORGE EDWARD SULLIVAN, [redacted] has been engaged for years in writing various pamphlets denouncing the administration and the Jews.

b7C [redacted]

AGNES WATERS, [redacted], is reported to be presently carrying on the same anti-administration isolationist program that she instituted several months ago and openly advocating by mimeographed letters and speeches the death penalty for President ROOSEVELT, as a traitor to his country. A news clipping dated April 17, 1942, reflects that she spoke in Philadelphia, on that date, and reference is made to an article entitled "Voices of Defeat," which appeared in the April 13, 1942, issue of Life Magazine, wherein it is stated that on February 24, 1942, Mrs. WATERS appeared before a meeting of "We the Mothers Mobilize for America, Inc." on the south side in Chicago, Illinois, and advocated that ROOSEVELT be impeached or court martialed. It will be noted that exhibits being forwarded to the Bureau as enclosures with this report contain considerable information about We the Mothers Mobilize for America, Inc., which is reported to be still actively engaged in an anti-administration movement.

O. K. ARMSTRONG, Springfield, Missouri, was active in America First matters. Investigation in the case entitled LAURA INGALLS; REGISTRATION ACT, disclosed that [redacted]

b7C [redacted]

b7C [redacted]

The files of the Washington Field Office in the case entitled LAURA INGALLS; REGISTRATION ACT, reflects the names of the following persons who were active in the America First Committee chapters in different localities:

Mrs. A. J. PHILLIPS,
[redacted]
Bogota, New Jersey.

Mrs. M. I. TENNY,
[redacted]
Chicago, Illinois

b7C

Mr. FRANZ WIERGNTZ
Neillsville, Wisconsin - Chairman

Mr. WILLIAM WILLSMANN,
Neillsville, Wisconsin

Mrs. ZEREGA,
[redacted]
Los Angeles, California.

GEORGE SCHMIDT and son,
Appleton, Wisconsin

LANSING HOYT, State Chairman, Wisconsin,
Appleton, Wisconsin

Mrs. KETCHIAN, Chairman,
Racine, Wisconsin

Mrs. RIESCHALL, Chairman,
Kenosha, Wisconsin

Mrs. SPENCER PENROSE,
THOMAS McCARTHY,
Colorado Springs, Colorado

ARTHUR A. BROOKS, JR.,
Rev. M. ALLEN KEITH, Chairman,
Grand Junction, Colorado

FRED FLEMING,
MAIDA MARSHALL,
Mrs. CLAUDE K. BOETTCHER,
GIFFORD PHILLIPS,
Denver, Colorado

J. C. SEIDEMAN,
[redacted]
Kenosha, Wisconsin

b7C

Mrs. E. T. KELL,
[redacted]
Gary, Indiana

Mrs. W. J. BRANDT,
Chairman of the Women's Auxiliary,
Gary, Indiana.

The literature seized at the time of the arrest of LAURA INGALLS contained a large quantity of speakers' bulletins, committee releases, and isolationist material which was distributed by the America First Committee, and is being forwarded to the Bureau as an enclosure with this report.

Also contained in the literature seized at this time is a large quantity of correspondence and other isolationist material circulated by We the Mothers Mobilize for America, Inc., at Chicago. This organization is reported to be still active; and, its activities are so related to those of the America First Committee that this material, which is being forwarded to the Bureau as an enclosure with this report, may be of interest in the investigation being conducted in the instant case.

Bulletins issued by the Patriotic Research Bureau of Chicago, Illinois, directed by ELIZABETH DILLING, well known foe of the administration, which were obtained from the same source are likewise being submitted as enclosures to the Bureau with this report for the same purpose. Miscellaneous pamphlets and isolationist publications obtained from the same source are also being forwarded to the Bureau as enclosures.

Due to the fact that those persons presently believed to be actively engaged in carrying on activities of the America First Committee are all subjects of independent investigations, no further investigation is being conducted on the America First Committee proper.

ENCLOSURES: To BUREAU

1. Copy of speech given by Governor PHILLIP LaFOLLETTE at a convention of America First Committee chairmen, November 1, 1941, Washington, D. C.

2. Pamphlets entitled "Can Hitler Invade America?", "I Hate War," "Our Foreign Policy," by General ROBERT E. WOOD, "Can Hitler Cripple America's Economy?", "Mr. President," "The British Invasion of America," "The Truth About England," and "The New Europe."

3. Speakers' bulletins, cartoons, and press releases issued by the Committee Headquarters of the America First Committee in Chicago, Illinois.

4. Speakers' bulletins issued by the southern California division of the America First Committee.

5. Bulletins issued by Patriotic Research Bureau, ELIZABETH DILLING, Director.

6. Correspondence, bulletins, and report of convention on September 27 and 28, 1941, issued from We the Mothers Mobilize for America, Inc., Chicago, Illinois.

7. Miscellaneous isolationist anti-administration pamphlets and bulletins issued by Mothers Mobilizing Against War, Milwaukee, Wisconsin; Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; Parents of America, St. Paul, Minnesota; and other anti-administration organizations and individuals.

- REFERRED UPON COMPLETION TO THE OFFICE OF ORIGIN -

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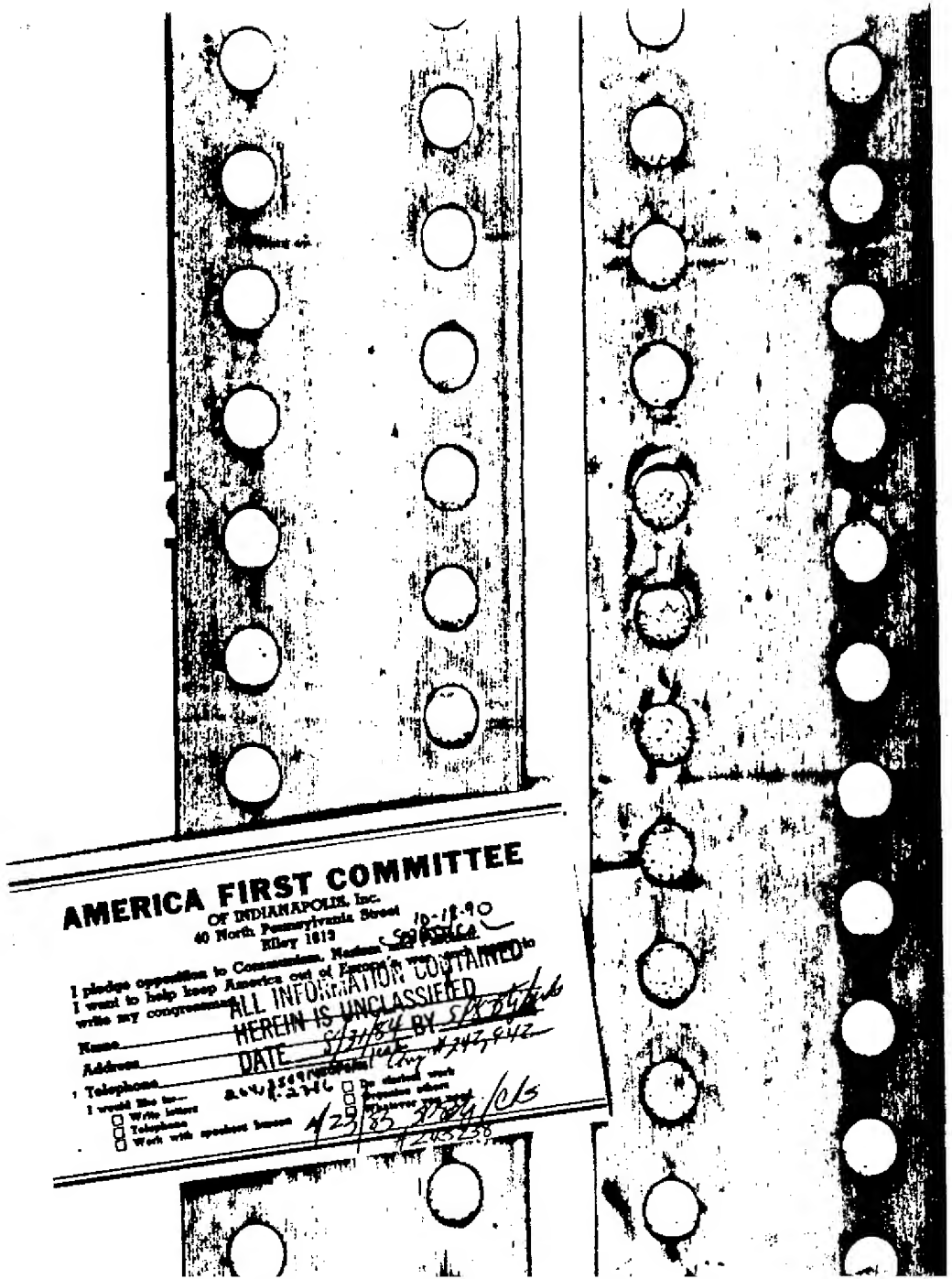

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
OF INDIANAPOLIS, Inc.
40 North Pennsylvania Street
Riley 1813

10-11-90

I pledge opposition to Communism, Nazism, Fascism, and
I want to help keep America out of European wars. Please
write my congressmen to

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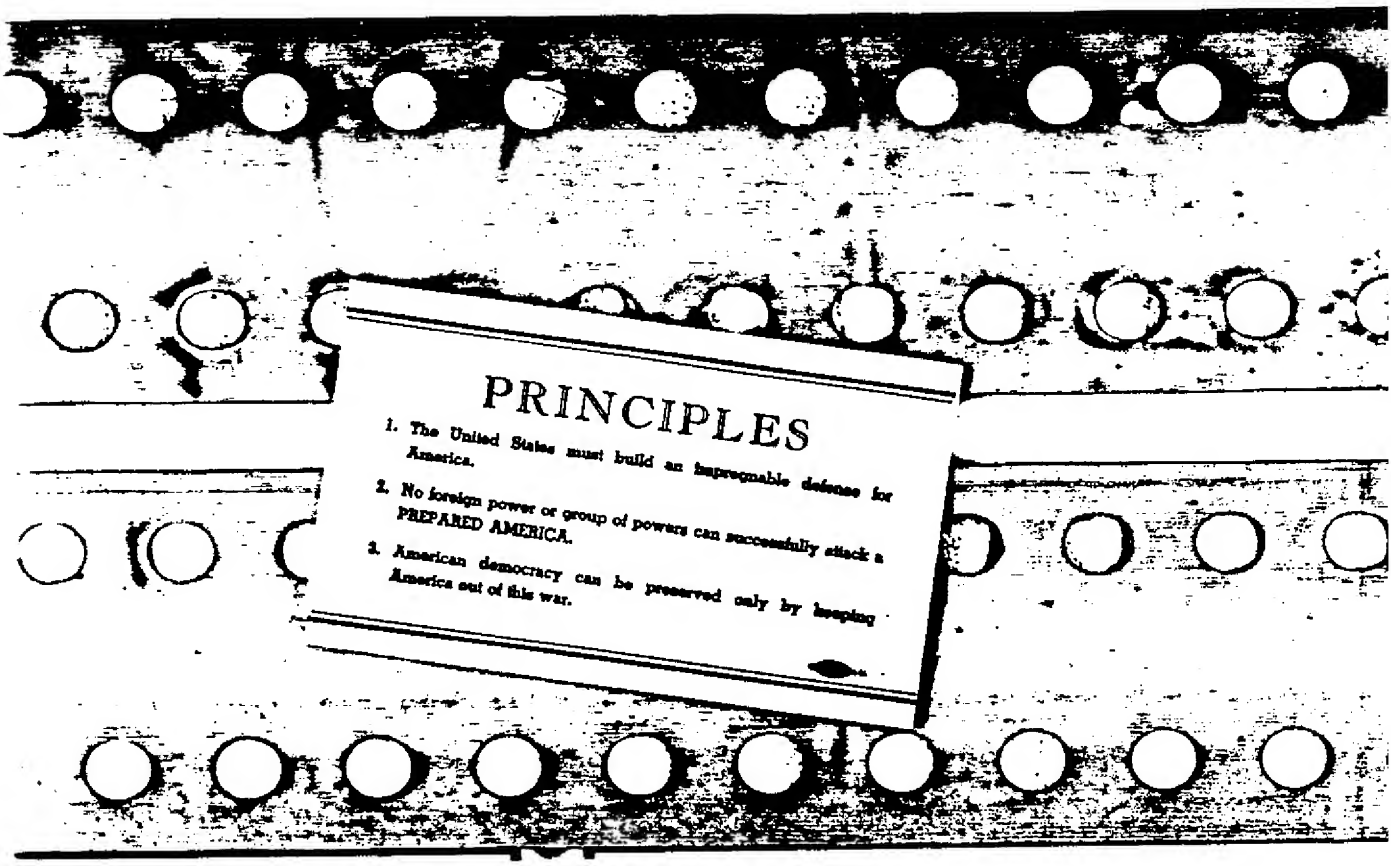
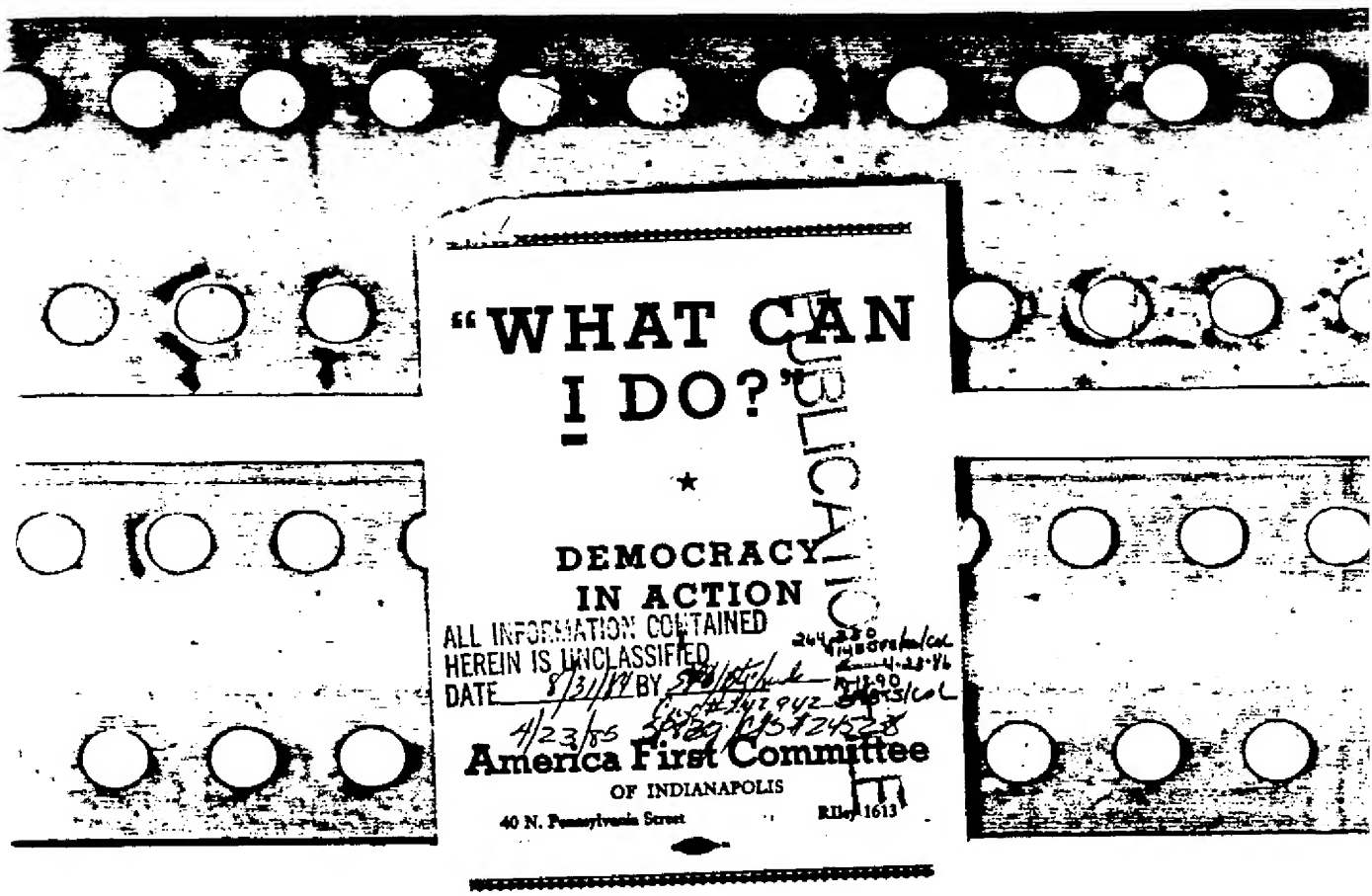
Name
Address
Telephone
I would like to—
☐ Write letters
☐ Telephone
☐ Work with speakers bureau

☐ Do clerical work
☐ Organize others


PRINCIPLES
1. The United States must build an impregnable defense for America.
2. No foreign power or group of powers can successfully attack a PREPARED AMERICA.
3. American democracy can be preserved only by keeping America out of this war.



"WHAT CAN I DO?"

★

DEMOCRACY IN ACTION

PUBLICATION

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1/23/85

America First Committee

OF INDIANAPOLIS

40 N. Pennsylvania Street

RIley 1613

ONLY the opposition of the people, through their letters to Washington, has thus far kept us out of war. Members of Congress and the President, too, are both guided and restrained by the views of the people back home. When they do not hear from you, they naturally assume that you approve their actions, and proceed accordingly.

It is your first duty as a citizen, therefore, to make known your views to your Senators and your Representative, and also to the President, on any important issue. And what issue could be more important to you and to the nation than going to war. Write this week, therefore, and follow this with other letters every ten days or so, urging that the President keep the promises that re-elected him, otherwise, "government of the people, by the people, for the people," has indeed already "perished from the earth."

The proper form of address and salutation to members of the Congress and the President is as follows:

To Senators:

Hon. _____
Senate Office Bldg.
Washington, D. C.
Dear Senator:

To Congressmen:

Hon. _____
House Office Bldg.
Washington, D. C.
Dear Congressman:

To the President:

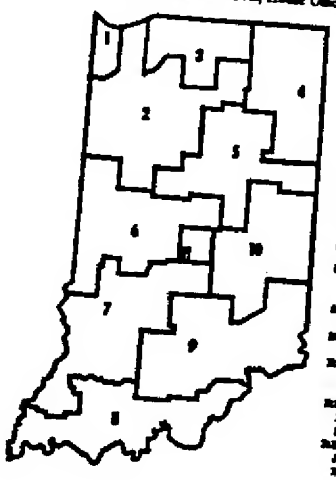
Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt
President of the United States
White House, Washington, D. C.
Dear Mr. Roosevelt:

★

In addition to writing regularly to Washington, write occasionally to the editors of your local newspapers and express your views. Also support your local America First Committee and get your friends and neighbors to join and take an active part in the fight to keep us out of war.

TODAY AND EVERY TEN DAYS—WRITE TO

1. PRESIDENT FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, White House, Washington, D. C.
2. YOUR SENATORS, Senate Office Bldg., Washington, D. C.
   RAYMOND E. WILLIS and FREDERICK VAN NUYS
3. YOUR REPRESENTATIVE, House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

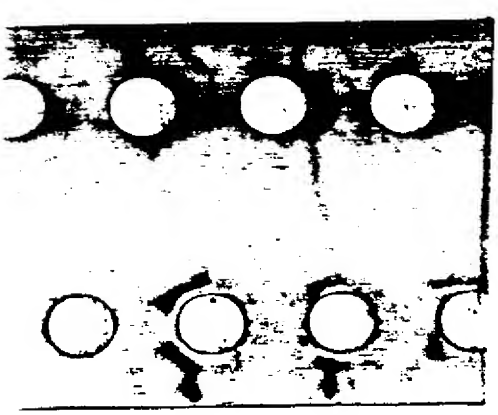


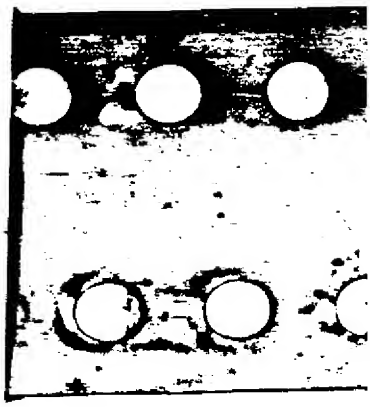
REPRESENTATIVES

1. WILLIAM T. SCHULTE
2. CHARLES A. HALLECK
3. ROBERT A. GRANT
4. GEORGE W. GILLIE
5. FOREST A. HARNESS
6. ROBERT J. JOHNSON
7. GERALD W. LANDIS
8. JOHN W. BOEHNE, JR.
9. EARL WILSON
10. RAYMOND S. SPRINGER
11. WILLIAM E. LARRABEE
12. LOUIS LUDLOW

OTHER KEY OFFICIALS

SEN. TOM CONNALLY, Chairman of Senate Foreign Relations Committee.
SEN. ALBEN W. BARKLEY, Majority Leader of Senate.
SEN. CHARLES L. McNARY, Minority Leader of Senate.
REP. SOL BLOOM, Chairman of House Foreign Relations Committee.
REP. JOHN W. McCORMACK, Majority Leader of House.
REP. JOSEPH W. MARTIN, Jr., Minority Leader of House.





SAY IT AGAIN, *Mr. President!* . . .

Your Boys Are Not Going to Be Sent Into Any Foreign Wars.

"And while I am talking to you, *fathers and mothers*, I give you one more assurance. *I have said this before*, but I shall say it *again*, and *again*, and *again*, *your boys are not going to be sent into any foreign wars.*

"They are going into training to form a force so strong that, by its very existence, it will keep the threat of war far away from our shores. Yes, the purpose of our defense is defense."

Boston, Oct. 30, 1940

Ships Flying the American Flag Must Stay Out of the War Zones.

"In 1935 in the face of growing dangers throughout the world, your government undertook to eliminate the hazards which in the past had led to war. *We made it clear that ships flying the American flag could not carry munitions to a belligerent; and that they must stay out of war zones.*"

New York City, Oct. 28, 1940

I Am Fighting to Keep Out of Foreign Wars.

"I am fighting to keep this nation prosperous and at peace. I am fighting to keep our people out of foreign wars *and to keep foreign conceptions of government out of our United States.*"

Brooklyn, Nov. 1, 1940

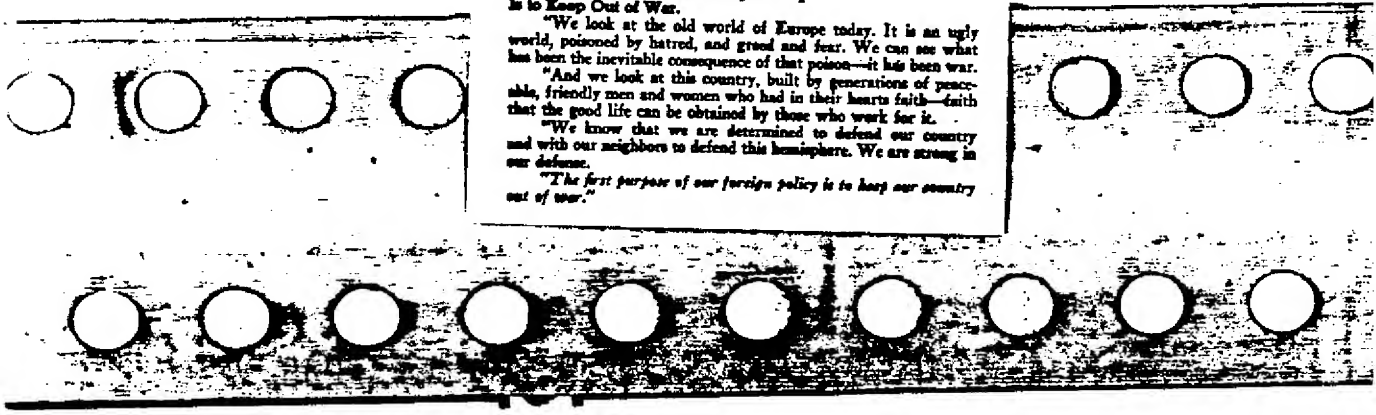
The First Purpose of Our Foreign Policy Is to Keep Out of War.

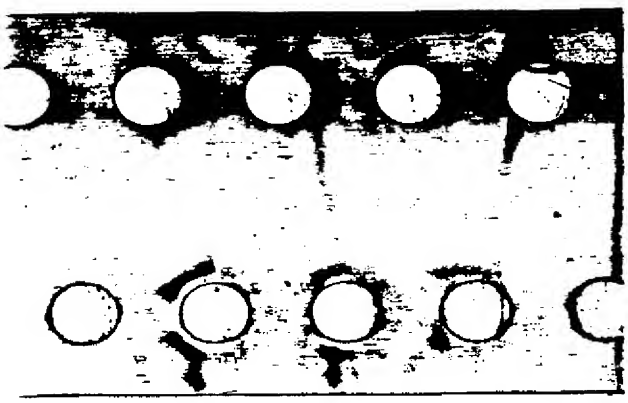
"We look at the old world of Europe today. It is an ugly world, poisoned by hatred, and greed and fear. We can see what has been the inevitable consequence of that poison—it has been war.

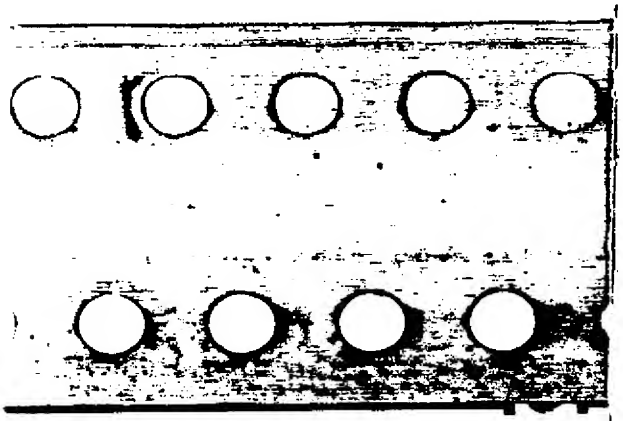
"And we look at this country, built by generations of peaceable, friendly men and women who had in their hearts faith—faith that the good life can be obtained by those who work for it.

"We know that we are determined to defend our country and with our neighbors to defend this hemisphere. We are strong in our defense.

"*The first purpose of our foreign policy is to keep our country out of war.*"







Can Hitler Invade America?

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The facts in this pamphlet were compiled for the America First Committee by John T. Flynn from information gathered from military authorities and writers on military affairs.

★

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
National Headquarters
141 West Jackson Blvd., Chicago, Ill.

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE, INC.
30 N. PENNSYLVANIA
INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA
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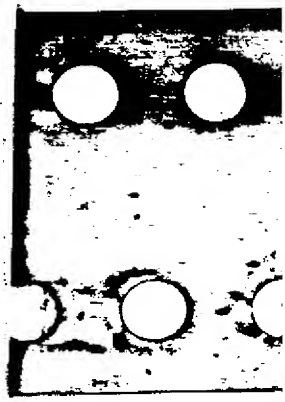
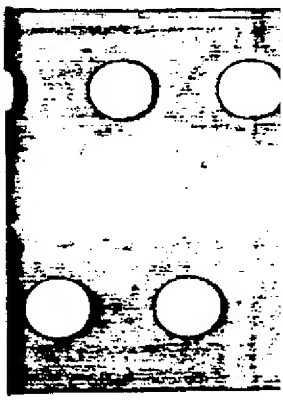
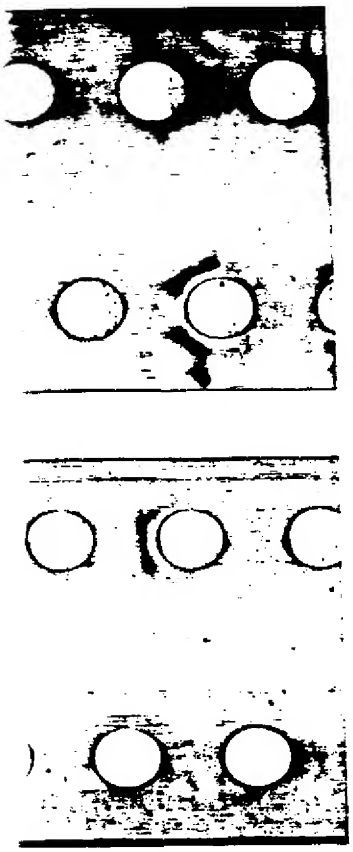






QUOTATIONS OF LEADING MILITARY AUTHORITIES

"No foreign power or group of powers can operate across the ocean and stand in combat with the American Navy and planes operating from home bases."—Admiral William S. Sims, shortly before his death.

"Of course there is no possibility ever of any hostile attack on either of our coasts."—Rear Admiral W. W. Phelps, Nov. 14, 1935.

"I do not think that any fleet could ever make a landing an effective force on our coast, whether we had a navy or not, provided there are enough shore-based aircraft available. . I do not think that any thinking person ever feels that any nation can successfully invade our country leaving out the aircraft or anything else."—Rear Admiral Cook, 1936.

"Considered from the defensive standpoint America is the strongest military nation on the earth—that is, it is the easiest nation to prepare for defensive warfare. It would not take much to make it invulnerable against any nation or combination of nations that might be brought to bear against it."
—Major General Hagood, 1937.

"Our fleet IS LARGE ENOUGH TO HANDLE SIMULTANEOUSLY A COMBINATION OF ENEMIES, being about as large as Britain's scattered fleet, considerably superior to Japan's, three times as large as Italy's, four times stronger than Germany's, only slightly inferior to the combined navies of all three totalitarian nations, and far stronger in naval aviation than any navy in the world."
—Hanson W. Baldwin, July, 1939.

"Continental United States, even without the extraordinary defense measures adopted by Congress, is well-nigh impregnable. So are its outlying possessions, except the Philippines, Wake and Guam. Each impregnability can be brought to a point of completeness with relatively small additional effort."
—Hanson W. Baldwin, July, 1939.

CAN HITLER INVADE AMERICA?

THIS little pamphlet is intended to answer the question—Can Hitler invade America?

This is a very important question. It is important because Americans are told that this terrible war in Europe is our war.

It is called our war because, we are told, if Hitler defeats England the United States is next on the list. Having crushed England and taken the English navy, it is said, he will then INVADE AMERICA. And because so many people believe this to be true they are willing to go to any lengths to aid Britain to defeat Hitler.

This whole argument turns on one point—that Hitler, after he defeats England, CAN INVADE AMERICA. And so the great question is — CAN HE?

Now then, let us begin at the beginning.

There is no doubt that Hitler and his great Nazi army is a powerful military machine. There is also no doubt that Hitler will stop at nothing to gain his objectives—to take any country that he wants.

He overran Czechoslovakia and Poland swiftly. Then he turned to overrun Norway, Denmark, Holland, Belgium, France in startling quick succession.

Because he could do this we are warned that he can do the same thing to the United States and that the only thing that protects us from Hitler is the British navy.

Let us see therefore just what Hitler would require in order to invade the United States.

First of all, we start out with the fact that all these countries put together — Poland, Czechoslovakia, Norway, Denmark, Holland, Belgium, France —are much smaller than the United States.

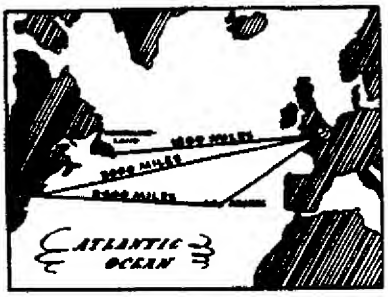
Their total populations equal 110,000,000. Our total population is 130,000,000.

They were divided into seven different countries. Each one was small compared with Germany. They were scattered around Germany's rim. Hitler could attack each one separately. And each one —save France—was just a small morsel for him. But the United States is a unified country—a single nation—and the attack would be against the whole United States.

In the next place, all these countries were right on Germany's land frontiers. In each case all he had to do was to roll across their land borders and he was inside their gates. They had fortresses, barricades. But these were nothing against his vast mechanical equipment. When he had defeated France he turned to fight England. Germany has 80 million population and a gigantic army and an air force three times the size of Britain's. England has only 50 million people. But when Hitler turned on England there was the English Channel —only 23 miles wide at its narrowest point. This is only about half the distance from Washington to Baltimore: But when he faced that problem

of crossing that narrow strip of water—he has not yet, after fifteen months of war and seven months since France fell, even attempted to cross it with soldiers or tanks.

When he attempts to invade the United States—or Canada—he would have to face the problem of crossing with his armies THREE THOUSAND MILES of the Atlantic Ocean and facing not 50



The problem of invading England is all comprised in the small circle. There is a narrow strip of sea—less than 26 miles at its narrow point—which Germany must cross to invade England either with an army or with planes. Sending planes over, of course, is a simple matter as far as distance is concerned. But invading the United States or Canada means traversing the immense mileage of ocean either to New York or Newfoundland or from the Azores or other equally distant ports.

million people on a small island with but small natural resources, but a vast nation with 130 million people and resources far exceeding his own.

Now let us look at this problem as realistically as possible. Just what would be the job that Hitler would have on his hands?

We have spoken of the "might" of Hitler's armies. In what does that might consist? His armies are mighty because they are equipped with an endless supply of tanks, armored trucks, machine guns and great cannon and mortars, anti-aircraft guns and anti-tank guns and great motorcycle squadrons and planes. His army was no longer an army on foot. It was an army in trucks and in tanks plunging against its adversaries and mowing them down and rolling over them.

Of course if Hitler ever attempted to invade America he would have to bring not only his soldiers but all this equipment. Without it he would be helpless.

Let us see then what he would have to bring across the 3,000 miles of ocean to invade America.

First, we have to decide how many men he would use to invade America and defeat us. Now right here the reader must understand that the German army leaders have shown immense intelligence. We know that they are not coming to America with a handful of men—they are not going to attempt to conquer us without bringing enough men here to do the job. How many men would that be?

When Hitler invaded little Norway he sent 60,000 men.

When Mussolini attacked Ethiopia he used half a million men.—When Hitler went into Poland—just across his borders and with only 36 million population—he marched with 1,000,000 men.

When he moved against Holland, Belgium and France he used not less than TWO MILLION MEN. Estimates place the number far higher.

Now is it not a fair assumption that to defeat the United States here he would have to have at least as many men as he took into France? Does anyone suppose that Hitler could conquer this country with anything less than three or four million men? He would have to have an army that size and all the equipment necessary to make it irresistible.

But let us suppose, however, that Hitler was crazy enough to try to beat the United States with a mere million men. Just how much equipment would he have to bring along with the men to make them effective? The mass of war instruments that such an army requires staggers the imagination.

The following figures are based on the equipment carried by American army units and are, therefore, very much under what the German army units carry.

This army would require:

19,320 machine guns	2,520 75mm. field guns
7,770 automatic rifles	1,120 155m. howitzers
2,590 anti-tank guns	4,230 mortars

Vehicles:

45,590 trucks	1,610 tractors
19,820 trailers	1,756 ambulances
4,500 tanks	1,120 passenger cars
7,910 motorcycles	450 air-compressors

70 electric lighting sets

Planes:

1,230 light bombers	5,230 reconnaissance planes
1,850 pursuit planes	260 transport planes

(a total of 9,900 planes)

Anti-aircraft guns:

240 3mm. AA guns 1,680 37mm. AA guns

1,680 .50 caliber AA guns

Of course such an army must have food, fuel and ammunition. This vast armada, with its modern weapons, would have to bring its food, its oil, its ammunition until the country is conquered.

It would require:

2,000,000 lbs. of rations and supplies a day

1,500,000 gallons of gasoline a day

150,000 gallons of oil.

What quantities of shot and shell would be required it is difficult to say, but the amount would be staggering. After Hitler's army got here, it would have to keep open behind a line of supply from its main supply base capable of keeping a continuous flow of provisions, fuel, ammunition and replacements of arms and equipment.

The problem of transporting this vast army and the mountains of equipment and continuous supplies it would require is utterly beyond the power of any country.

First, the men must be sent over in ships. And these ships must be convoyed. They cannot be sent across the ocean in little vessels. Ships of less than 2,000 tons would, of course, be completely useless.

Of course to send a million men over at one time would be out of the question.

Mr. Hanson Baldwin, the military expert of the New York Times, says:

"The world's passage facilities are such that no power or combination of powers could possibly transport more than 500,000 men in a month. An initial expeditionary force of about 50,000 would be the maximum practical number that could be brought against us, if the size of convoy, number of ships and planes needed for protection and the like are considered."

In the World War we sent two million men to France. But we had, according to Col. Leonard Ayres, who wrote the official report on this great enterprise, the ships of twelve different countries—American, British, French, Italian, etc.—and the convoys of the American and British and French navies. The Germans were without a fleet. We landed these men on a friendly shore where they were received with open arms. And we sent an army of engineers and mechanics ahead of them to build ports and docks to unload the equipment.

Let us suppose that Germany has defeated England and taken the British navy. She now decides to send her army to America. Major George Fielding Eliot, military expert of the pro-war New York Herald-Tribune, says:

"Troops cannot be transported overseas in any number save when naval command of the waters over which they pass has been previously assured, since a troop convoy is a large, slow and vulnerable target and will surely suffer heavily if its escort be attacked by anything like an equal force."

In the circumstances we have assumed that Germany, even with the British fleet, would not have complete command of the seas. For there would remain the American navy. And that navy would have to be wiped out before the German navy would command the seas on this side of the ocean. Two things must be remembered. First, at the end of this war the American navy would be larger than the German navy and the British navy combined. Second, the German government would have to do its naval fighting on this side of the ocean. It is an axiom of sea warfare that a naval vessel loses a fixed percentage of its effectiveness every 100 miles it gets from its own base. Great battleships have to fuel up frequently and must be accompanied by immense auxiliary ships.

Three thousand miles away from their own coasts this navy would be utterly helpless against a navy which is merely its equal in numbers, but which would be three times its strength in effective fighting power. There is not a naval authority who believes that the German government would attempt a mass naval battle in our waters against our naval strength.

If a flotilla of 30 or 40 ships with 50,000 men, convoyed by a larger number of warships and all their equipment attempted to land here, it could not sneak in on some dark night. Plane scouts would herald its approach days in advance. When it got here it could not empty its cargo on an open beach. Which means the flotilla would have to come into one of our harbors, all of which are protected by artillery and would be sown with mines. Major Eliot makes this clear. He says:

"Large armies, accompanied as modern armies must be by artillery of various calibres, tanks and other heavy equipment, as well as vast quantities of munitions and supplies, cannot usually be landed on an open beach; but must first obtain possession of a secure harbor with the necessary piers, cranes, and other accessories for getting ashore their accessories."

Even the planes used by this invading force must be transported to this country by ships. Mr. Baldwin says:

"Today planes must be transported by sea to the Western Hemisphere; the air armies of Europe and Asia are not yet able to bridge the Atlantic and Pacific under their own power. Isolated planes can do it but not mass bombing formations."

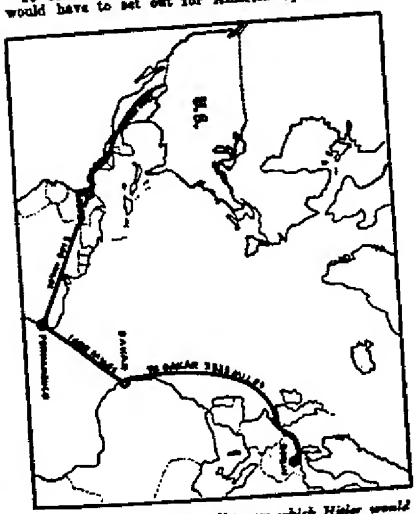
There are planes that have flown across the Atlantic, but they must find a friendly landing here. They cannot come here as hostile craft and be welcomed on hospitable landing fields. It is possible to build bombers that could come here and land a few bombs but this would have no military effect at all.

For every man transported here there must be at least seven and a half tons of shipping. An attacking force of 100,000 would require 750,000 tons. An average of 5,000 tons would require 150 vessels convoyed by a flotilla of naval vessels made up of seven battleships, several aircraft carriers, seven light cruisers, a couple of mine-layers and at least seventy destroyers. Imagine this immense armada, moving slowly over the seas and approaching our coasts—3,000 miles from their own base and at the mercy of our navy and our air force, and compelled to make a landing at a port protected by heavy guns and mine-sown seas.

By the time a million men were landed, if that is conceivable, the attacking government would require 13,000,000 tons of shipping plying back and forth from the other side of the Atlantic to ports here to keep this great army supplied with provisions, fuel and ammunition. This would mean the arrival and departure of at least eighty ships a day and all at hostile ports and through hostile seas. The whole idea is so fantastic that no serious mind will entertain it for a moment. And, as a matter of fact, there is no military authority in this country who believes that an invasion of America by Germany with or without the British fleet is possible.

Hanson Baldwin, in Harper's Magazine for August, 1940, said, referring to an invasion of this hemisphere: "The problem seems impossible; not even Britain or a combination of Britain and Germany has sufficient shipping to divert such an enormous amount of it from their ordinary and vital trade routes to military purposes. We do not, therefore, have to fear the employment of mass armies in this hemisphere; the most we have to guard against is the possible transportation of a *small expeditionary force.*"

To come here, after defeating England, Hitler would have to set out for America upon a vast



This shows the immense distances which Hitler would have to travel with his great army of a million men to attack the United States by way of South America.

military adventure, using up all the military resources he has. He would leave behind him on his rear Russia, which would welcome his plight, and 200,000,000 sullen people in Europe who, we may be sure, would be watching the moment to cause him trouble. That moment would come when he was compelled to strip himself in Europe to fight here. And he would fight here a battle that he would be sure to lose. Dictators cannot afford to take on such battles. They must win.

The President said in his last Message to Congress, January 6, 1941, "Even if there were no British navy it is not probable any enemy would be stupid enough to attack us by landing troops in the United States from across thousands of miles of ocean, until it had acquired strategic bases from which to operate."

Here is a complete admission by the man who has done more than anyone else to frighten the American people with the fear of invasion that a direct invasion is not possible. Yet hardly were these words cold on the President's lips when Mr. Hull went before a Congressional Committee and said if the British navy were eliminated to cross the Atlantic by Hitler would be a comparatively easy matter.

The President saves his point by insisting that Hitler would first have to acquire bases in this hemisphere. Now just look at this with a little common sense. Hitler will not come across thousands of miles of ocean to invade us directly because of the great distance he would have to transport his armies and equipment. Therefore if he attempted an invasion from bases those bases would have to be much closer to the United States than is Germany. Otherwise there would be no sense in bases.

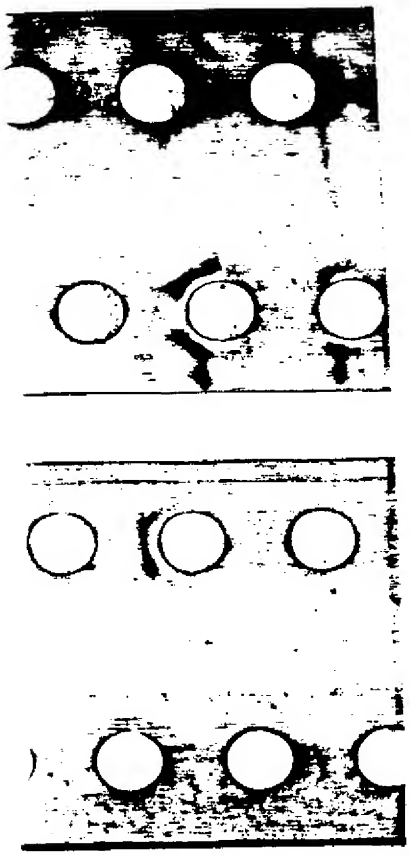
The bases in this hemisphere which would answer this description from which Hitler could attack us are Brazil, various points in the West Indies, Bermuda, Newfoundland, Greenland and similar points.

Brazil is the favorite South American base to which the President is fond of referring. This is because Hitler can take over West Africa and concentrate his forces at Dakar there.

Africa bulges out on its west coast toward South America, and South America bulges out toward Africa in Brazil. Dakar in Africa is only 1,800 miles from Pernambuco in Brazil. Hitler will be able to cross over the Atlantic at this narrow stretch to Brazil and, as Senator Claude Pepper has described it, roll on into Venezuela, into Colombia, up through Central America into Mexico and on to the Rio Grande.

This amazing proposal is so grotesque that it hardly calls for an answer. It overlooks the fact that Hitler must take his vast force to Western Africa by sea—which is 2,200 miles from Germany—and then 1,800 miles across the Atlantic to Brazil. He will have travelled near 4,000 miles. Before he started from Germany he would be 2,200 miles from the United States. After travelling 4,000 miles to Brazil he would be 5,800 MILES FROM THE UNITED STATES. He would be further away than before he started.

He would have to have of course at least a million men—which would be a ridiculously small number. He would have to bring along all that immense accumulation of trucks, and trailers and motorcycles and tanks and guns and supplies. He would have to conquer Brazil, Venezuela and Colombia. He would have to move his men up through the narrow Isthmus of Panama and on through the mountainous regions, the swamps, the trackless plains of Guatemala, Nicaragua, Panama, Salvador and Honduras, dragging along his thousand-mile train of trucks and tanks and guns and trailers and supplies into Mexico and up over the wide plateaus, the pathless jungles, over the mountain gorges and the fever-infested plains of Mexico—his million men.



his 65,000 trucks, his 20,000 trailers, his 10,000 tanks and incredible supplies of food, fuel, oil and ammunition—conquering all these countries as he goes and leaving behind great numbers of troops to hold them in subjection until he came at last to the Texas border—after a journey of nearly 10,000 miles over land and oceans. And he would still not be in the United States.

This, of course, is a bedtime story to frighten children and is based upon the assumption that American citizens are morons and will believe anything. Yet this is the basis of the argument that "we are next on Hitler's list."

Others tell us he will go to Greenland. Greenland is a vast tract of artic wilderness, its coasts rimmed by immense mountains, its interior covered with ice in places a thousand feet deep. Military and aviation experts know it is impossible to build these bases there to accommodate either naval or airplane units large enough for attack here. Even if it were possible Hitler could not do this unless he had command of the seas. And if he had command of the seas he wouldn't go to Greenland.

There are, however, other bases from which attacks might be launched. The map (Map 4)

This map shows the various bases from which an enemy might attempt to attack the United States. All those belonging to Britain, Holland, France are within a few days of our waters, some in our waters. They could be taken without firing a shot or losing a life if England were defeated. Germany would then have to take them from us which would be as difficult as landing in the United States.

will show these. You will see very quickly how little we have to fear on this score.

These bases are Newfoundland, Bermuda, the West Indies or any British or Dutch or French possessions in the general neighborhood of the Northern coast of South America.

Germany, it is feared, might, with the British fleet, capture these bases, if Hitler defeated England. If England were to be defeated the American fleet could seize any one of these bases within two days, three at the most. American warships kept within a day or two run from these places—mostly islands—could almost the very day that England fell take possession of these places without firing a shot, spending a dollar or losing a man. There is no need of going into a war—perhaps a ten-year war—to keep the Germans out of bases which we could capture in a few days and at no cost if Britain is defeated.

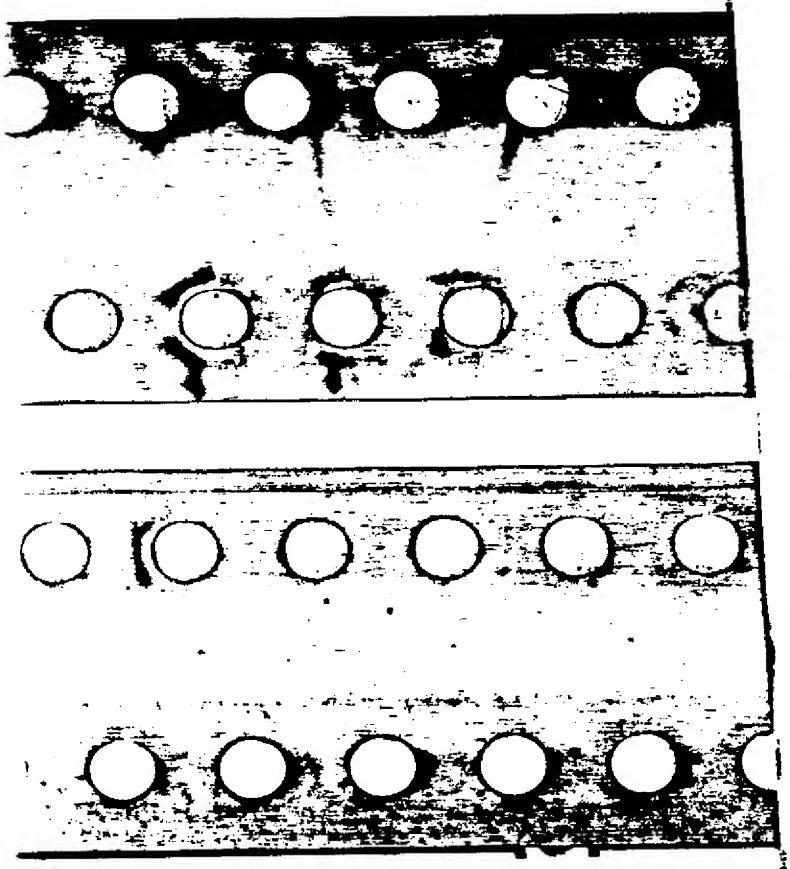
As for Newfoundland, there we would pursue the policy we would adopt for all of Canada and the country to the North of us in this hemisphere. We would announce that we would resist with force any attack upon that country. It would take Germany years to prepare for such an expedition and when prepared, even if she were stupid enough to attempt it, the same arguments which reveal the folly and impossibility of a frontal attack on the United States apply to Canada backed by the United States.

Why, then, do men talk about Hitler coming here? Because this is the cornerstone of the propaganda to get us into the war. Propagandists have pointed out that to get America in the war, "Americans must be frightened by some threat." And this threat has been manufactured by British and American interventionist propagandists and industriously circulated by them to get us into this war.

Americans are willing to aid Britain because they hate fascism, they are against Hitler, they look upon the English government, despite its aristocratic character, and its empire, as a more civilized form of government than Hitler's dictatorship. They are willing to help through a generous sympathy and not because they think this is our war.

Any airplane attempting to bomb us from Europe or from the Azores would have to face the certain fate of being destroyed. There is not in existence any fleet of planes that could menace us from Europe or from any base such as Greenland or the Azores. And of course everyone knows by now that you do not conquer a country like America merely by dropping bombs on it. It must be occupied. We are not vulnerable as Britain is, which depends for the very food she eats as well as for almost everything else, on shipments from abroad. She can be blockaded. We cannot.

All this does not mean that our country is not menaced by dangers. The most serious dangers are interior. It does not mean that we must be unarmed. It means that we must provide this country with whatever defenses are essential to make an invasion by any force, however great, impossible. And that is easily possible to us. What is impossible to us is to create inside of many years an aggressive force capable of invading Europe or Asia and carrying on an aggressive war there. And few Americans want to do that.



AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

National Committee

GENERAL ROBERT E. WOOD, *Acting Chairman*
R. DOUGLAS STUART, JR., *Director*
J. SANFORD OTIS, *Treasurer*

CHESTER BOWLES
DR. A. J. CARLSON
WILLIAM R. CASTLE
MRS. BENNETT CHAMP CLARK
IRVIN S. COBB
JANET AYER FAIRBANK
JOHN T. FLYNN
BISHOP WILBUR E. HAMMAKER
GEN. THOMAS HAMMOND

JAY C. HORMEL
GEN. HUGH S. JOHNSON
CLAY JUDSON
KATHRYN LEWIS
ALICE ROOSEVELT LONGWORTH
FRANK O. LOWDEN
HANFORD MACNIDER
THOMAS N. MCCARTER
RAY MCKAIG

STERLING MORTON
AMOS R. E. PINCHOT
WILLIAM H. REGNERY
CAPT. EDWARD RICKENBACKER
EDWARD L. RYERSON, JR.
LOUIS J. TABER
MRS. BURTON K. WHEELER
DR. GEORGE H. WHIPPLE
MAJOR ALFORD J. WILLIAMS

The greatest service you can render your country is to write at once to your Senators, your congressman, the President of the United States and your local newspaper protesting against any further steps to involve the United States in the European war.

Also send in your name as a member of the America First Committee, which is working to save America from this war. National Headquarters, 141 West Jackson Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

FILE NO. 100-3355

REPORT MADE AT	DATE WHEN MADE	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE	REPORT MADE BY
BALTIMORE, MARYLAND	5-27-42	8-8-41; 3-25, 26; 5-25-42	b7C [redacted]

TITLE	CHARACTER OF CASE
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE	INTERNAL SECURITY - G

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

Files of G-2 reviewed, indicating that information of a secret meeting reported by five different sources. Background information of activities of America First Committee in Baltimore set out. Former chairman, who resigned because of different views, interviewed with negative results. Recent activities of persons named as possibly interested in underground movement failed to indicate this to be the case. No information developed reflecting any activities on part of America First Committee in Baltimore since dissolution.

- R U C -

REFERENCE: Bureau letter to all Field Offices dated 3-16-42; Bureau teletype dated 5-11-42.

DETAILS: AT BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

A review of the file reflects information regarding the America First Committee prior to its discontinuance which indicates that this organization was suspected of engaging in propaganda work in the City of Baltimore, the nature of which was considered as subversive by certain elements opposed to the general policy of the America First Committee.

An advertisement placed in the Baltimore Sun on August 5, 1941, states in substance that at that moment "a very subtle argument was being 'planted' by Nazi agents and their dupes (twice last week, on the radio) in an attempt to confuse

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our minds and delay our action." The advertisement also stated that this form of argument was "direct from propaganda headquarters in Berlin." The advertisement attempted to point out that false arguments were being set up by these propagandists in order that their fallacy might be pointed out. This advertisement was signed by the Fight for Freedom Committee, Maryland Branch, and listed the entire Advisory Committee and the Executive Committee; the latter was headed by GEORGE B. SIMMONS, Chairman.

On August 5, 1941, The America First Committee, through its Chairman, JOHN A. [redacted]GWYER, addressed a letter to the Fight for Freedom Committee challenging that organization to expose and to name the individuals who were spreading the propaganda "direct from propaganda headquarters in Berlin." This letter offered the support and the cooperation of the America First Committee in bringting these persons to justice.

On August 9, 1941, the America First Committee addressed another letter to the Fight for Freedom Committee, pointing out that no answer had been received to their initial request for an expose and they were again asked to name the individuals referred to in the advertisement.

On August 11, 1941, GEORGE B. SIMMONS, Executive Chairman, addressed a letter to the America First Committee, stating that it was their belief that a more effective method of dealing with the persons named in the advertisement was to point out the fallacy of such arguments rather than to deal in personalities. They also stated that rather than reveal the names of the persons whom they believed to be the dupes of Nazi agents in Baltimore and so publicize the fact, that it was their duty to turn such information over to the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

On August 13, 1941, the America First Committee sent another letter to Mr. GEORGE B. SIMMONS, stating that the thing that interested that organization in the advertisement was the definite statement that Nazi agents twice in the preceeding week, over the radio in Baltimore, made an attempt to confuse the minds of the citizens of Maryland and to delay action.

On May 25, 1942, [redacted] was interviewed by the writer with the purpose of determining any information he might have with regard to the America First Committee and any activities it might be engaged in since its public dissolution.

[redacted] after listening to a radio program sponsored by the America First Committee wherein a minister, whose name he could not remember, had made a strong speech in favor of America staying out of the war and had used arguments which he felt were fallacious. He stated that the method of argument was to set up a false argument and then to knock it down with a more logical argument. He said that he had no proof whatever that any members of the America First Committee were being influenced by Nazi agents or Nazi propagandists, but

that it was his personal feeling that the results obtained from the arguments used by this organization were in keeping with the approved propaganda of the Nazi regime. He said this was the only information he had regarding the America First Committee and it was his understanding that the organization was presently dissolved and he knew of no subsequent attempt in Baltimore to keep this organization alive.

b7C A complete review of the files of the Office of Military Intelligence in Baltimore concerning the America First Committee was made by Special Agent [redacted], which reflected the following information concerning an underground movement of this organization.

On January 23, 1942, the newspaper PM in New York City published an article entitled "Firsters Meet Here Secretly." This Article reflected that Colonel CHARLES A. LINDBERGH and others had met in New York City for a secret meeting.

On January 20, 1942, a report originating either in the FBI, New York, or ONI, New York, office reflected information similar to that appearing in the newspaper PM.

On January 22, 1942, a report originating in the G-2 office, New York, indicating information from a private source, reflected practically the identical information set out in the PM article.

On January 27, 1942, the War Department in Washington, D. C. received a report from a private source concerning secret meetings of the America First Committee similar to the information appearing in the newspaper PM.

On January 28, 1942, the newspaper writers DREW PEARSON and ROBERT S. ALLEN revealed information concerning secret meetings of the America First Committee similar to that appearing in the newspaper PM.

It was pointed out that this meeting, although supposedly extremely secret in nature, had become known to the office of G-2 from five different sources and the suggestion was made that this fact alone would indicate that a deliberate organized propaganda scheme was being instigated by some source in an attempt to discredit the America First Committee. The records of G-2 reflected no information concerning secret meetings of the America First Committee in Baltimore.

b7C On March 26, 1942, Special Agent [redacted] made a review of the correspondence, pamphlets, and newspaper articles contained in the Enoch Pratt Library in Baltimore concerning the subject organization, which reflected the following information:

On April 23, 1941, the headquarters of the Maryland chapter of the America First Committee was designated as the Emerson Hotel, WALTER W. HAMILL, Acting Chairman.

100-3355

On April 29, 1941, Senator GERALD P. NYE spoke at the Lyric Theatre at a meeting sponsored by the America First Committee.

On May 8, 1941, an article appeared in the Baltimore Sun which reflected that the new headquarters of the Maryland chapter of the America First Committee was to be located at 516 North Charles Street. This article also contains information that JOHN A. GWYER, Treasurer, was strongly opposed to any convoys of ships to England.

On May 28, 1941, an article appearing in the Baltimore Sun reflected that WALTER W. HAMILL had resigned as Chairman of the America First Committee at Baltimore because of a disagreement with the national officers of the organization. It appeared that HAMILL was opposed to any military activity by the United States. HAMILL'S home is [redacted] in Baltimore. b7C

On June 6, 1941, an article appeared in the Baltimore Sun which reflected that PHILIP L. LAFOLETTE, former Governor of Wisconsin, and Mrs. ROBERT A. TAFT addressed 1500 persons at the Lyric Theatre at a meeting sponsored by the Baltimore chapter of the America First Committee.

On December 8, 1941, an article appeared in the Baltimore Sun reflecting that JOHN A GWYER, President of the Maryland branch of the America First Committee, had publically stated that the subject organization in Maryland had suspended action and would probably dissolve.

On May 25, 1942 [redacted] was interviewed regarding any information which might have come to his attention reflecting subsequent activity on the part of the America First Committee. [redacted] stated that he had joined the America First Committee at its very inception in Baltimore, and had worked with its organizer in an attempt to make this a successful organization. He stated that his reason for joining the America First Committee was to bring together as a unified front persons who were conscientiously opposed to the United States entering the European war. He said that at that time he was a conscientious objector and registered as such under the Selective Training and Service Act. b7C b7C

[redacted] b7C

. Up until the entry of the United States into the war on December 7, 1941, he had been thoroughly convinced in his own mind that he was entirely right in being a conscientious objector. However, upon the entry of the United States into the war, he felt that it was the duty of every citizen to do all that he could to protect the United States and for this reason has withdrawn his conscientious objection to the draft, and has been given a III-A classification due to the fact that he supports his grandfather and grandmother.

[redacted] b7D

[redacted] said that his activity in the America First Committee had been strenuous at the beginning, but that he had resigned from the organization because of the growing attitude of anti-Semitism on the part of some of the leading individuals in the America First Committee. Since that time he has had absolutely no contact with the America First Committee and although he expressed a desire to be of any service possible in giving information on the present status, he said that he had no such information. b7C

It was pointed out [redacted] that there was a possibility of subversive elements using the America First Committee in such a manner as to further the propaganda plans of the Nazi regime should they gain control of it. In view of this possibility, [redacted] was asked who he felt would be inclined to continue as a member of the organization although it had been publically disbanded. [redacted] said that while he had no indication that such was the case, he felt that if such a thing did exist the persons who would still be members were those whose ideas were most radical and most deep seated, whom, he felt, would not change their views simply because the United States had entered the war.

[redacted] b7D

He stated that [redacted] was a firm believer in the teachings of COUGHLIN and had entered the America First Committee with his following as a Coughlinite. He said that [redacted] was the key person in Baltimore of this following.

[redacted]

[redacted] b7c

[redacted] b7

Further information concerning [redacted] is set out in the forthcoming report of Special Agent [redacted] at Baltimore, Maryland, in the case entitled, [redacted] WEEKLY FOREIGN LETTER, REGISTRATION ACT," a case with NEW YORK origin, Baltimore file number 97-22. This report reflects that [redacted] b7

stated that he had been active in the America First Committee and while he was not questioned regarding any present activity of the America First Committee, he indicated that as far as he knew the organization was completely disbanded.

Inasmuch as investigation has failed to indicate any activity on the part of the America First Committee as an underground movement or as a dormant organization, this case is being closed, in the Baltimore Field Division.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

FILE NO. 100-919 [redacted]

REPORT MADE AT	DATE WHEN MADE	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE	REPORT MADE BY
HOUSTON, TEXAS	5/26/42	4/13,29,30; 5/7,16,21/42	[redacted] b7c

TITLE	CHARACTER OF CASE
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE	INTERNAL SECURITY (G)

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS: Attempt made to organize Houston Chapter of America First Committee on 8/29/41, at Ben Milam Hotel by W. F. DIXON and Reverend R. T. SMALL. [redacted]. One meeting held between 8/29/41 and 12/7/41, after which time the Committee disbanded. All records returned to General ROBERT E. WOOD, Acting Chairman of America First Committee, at Chicago. No indication of underground organization inimical to the U.S. in Houston. b7D

- RUC -

[redacted]
DATE 10-18-90 BY SP8 BTS/CAL

REFERENCE: Bureau letter 3/16/42.

DETAILS: AT HOUSTON, TEXAS

On the night of August 29, 1941, Special Agent [redacted] attended an announced meeting of the America First Committee in the reception hall at the Ben Milam Hotel, Houston. There were approximately 60 people present at that time, and Agent [redacted] observed a liberal sprinkling of American Legion members present. The meeting was presided over by a man who gave his name as FRED DIX[illegible] the operator of a packing company in Houston. The first part of the meeting was consumed by listening to a speech delivered over the radio by CHARLES A. LINDBERGH. Thereafter the principal speech of the meeting was delivered by a man who was announced as Reverend R. T. SMALL. SMALL's speech was decidedly illiterate and he announced that it was the intention of the America First Committee to organize a number of chapters in Houston, composed of people who were opposed to the foreign policy of the present administration, and believed that that policy was leading the United States to War. From conversations overheard at the meeting by Agent [redacted] it was noted that Reverend SMALL was not presently

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b7c engaged in preaching in Houston, but that he was publishing a small newspaper the vicinity of his home located at [redacted] Houston. At that time [redacted] secured copies of literature which was distributed at the meeting and th literature obtained is being retained in the files of the Houston Field Divis

b7c Agent [redacted] noted that information furnished him was to the effect th

b7c b2 [redacted]

b7c b7D [redacted]

and that toward that end a meeting had been held at the Ben Milam Hotel on t evening of August 29, 1941. [redacted] informed that the Houston chapter was com of [redacted], the names of which he could not recall, and it his belief that the records of the organization had all been returned to Gen ROBERT WOOD, in Chicago, Illinois. [redacted] stated that only one meeting was h subsequent to the one of August 29, 1941, and that the activities of the Hou chapter did not actually reach any proportions prior to December 7, 1941. A December 7, 1941, the organization was completely disbanded on the instructi of General ROBERT WOOD of Chicago.

[redacted] added that no information had come to his attention which wou indicate that any of the individuals who comprised the Houston chapter of th Committee, were in the past or in the present engaged in any activity inimica to this country. [redacted] added that Reverend SMALL was a pseudo politician

and took a great interest in attempting to organize the Houston chapter of th
America First Committee, but that immediately after Pearl Harbor Reverend SMA
beliefs were entirely in accord with President ROOSEVELT's policies.

b7C
b7D

[redacted] informed that the Houston chapter of the Committee was organized [redacted] in August, 1941, and that their beliefs were of such a nature that th
believed that the United States could refrain from entering the conflict at h

stated that the chapter in Houston was disbanded on December 8, 1941, upon th
instructions of General WOOD, of Chicago, who requested that all files and re
which were maintained in Houston be returned to the headquarters, at Chicago
[redacted] had ret
all records to Chicago. [redacted] advised that all individuals who were origina
taken into the organization were entirely loyal to the country and the admin
tion's policy concerning the war effort, and that to his knowledge no activi
a subversive nature was being carried on by any individual who had any conne
with the America First Committee.

In view of the fact that no information was developed indicating th
America First Committee was being conducted by any subversive group in the H
area, this case is being considered referred upon completion to the office o
origin. However, [redacted] advise the writer, or the
Houston Office of any subversive activities coming to their attention, and sh
any information be received in the future, this case will be re-opened for t
purpose of recording such data.

REFERRED UPON COMPLETION TO OFFICE OF ORIGIN

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Orig. & 1 - CHICAGO

File No. 100-3249

Report Made At	Date Made	Period	Report Made By
LOS ANGELES	5/27/42	5/23/42	[redacted] b7c

Title:

THE AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

10-10-00 SP 1B15/CoU

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 9/5/80 BY SP4 [illegible]

INTERNAL SECURITY - G

Cmp # 142,442

SYNOPSIS:

America First Committee ceased as an active open organization with entrance of the United States into the war. Many of its members went into other local organizations such as The Friends of Progress and The World Events Forum and continued to advocate the policy of isolationism. Principal leaders of America First have been standing on side lines. Anticipate activity when elections start. Women anxious to revive organization following leadership of HORACE MAASE of New York. FREDERICK J. LIBBY spoke in Los Angeles between 5/10/42 and 5/16/42 at a meeting sponsored by the University School of Religion and advised immediate peace to avoid slaughter. Stated if Russia wins United States will go Communist. Also "The America First Committee should never be stopped. The women should reorganize, secretly if necessary." b7c

P.

REFERENCES: Letter from the Bureau dated 3/16/42.
Teletype from the Bureau dated 5/11/42.

DETAILS: b2 b7D

This investigation is predicated upon reference letter [redacted] advised that one of his operators [redacted] was very active in the America First Committee prior to the United States

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[redacted] b7c

entrance into the war and would probably be invited to participate in any movement either open or secret of the America First Committee. However, since the United States entered the war there has been no activity on the part of the America First Committee. Many of the active members of the America First Committee participated in the activities of such organization as the Friends of Progress under the direction of ROBERT NOBLE, [redacted] and into the The World Events Forum under the direction of A. K. WINDHAUST, [redacted] Both of these groups operated for sometime after the war and advocated the same policies which were advocated by the America First Committee prior to the war. It is not known whether or not these groups were sponsored by the America First Committee. However, the leaders of these groups were dropped from the Speakers Bureau of the America First Committee sometime before the United States entered the war because of their extreme views.

The leaders of the America First Committee in Los Angeles during its active life were JOHN WHEELER, son of Senator BURTON K. WHEELER, FRANK BARRY, local attorney, and JOSEPH SCOTT, prominent Catholic layman and attorney. Since the advent of the United States into this war, these three men have taken no part in any organization which has opposed the war effort and there has been no open activity on their part which would indicate that the America First Committee is active in any way. However, FRANK BARRY intends to run for Congress at the next election and he feels that the policies of the America First Committee may then be brought to light again and placed before the people and under the standards of political talk, they will be accepted.

The secondary leaders of the America First in this district are [redacted] advised that none of these men has carried on the work of the America First Committee as the leader of an organization either open or secret. [redacted] attended many meetings of the Friends of Progress and The World Events Forum but had no part in directing the organization. [redacted] has not organized any new group nor has he spoken at any of the meetings of isolationist groups. [redacted] has not been very active since the United States entry into the war.

[redacted] further stated that the women who were active leaders and members of the America First Committee are more intent on carrying on the work of America First than the men. At the present time, the only thing that is holding them back is the absence of leadership.

Mrs. J. HENRY OHR, former leader of The Mothers of America, a group of women advocating the policies of America First, is the most active of these women. These women are following the national leadership of

HAASE who was formerly very active in the America First Committee in New York. He now gets out a news letter under the sponsorship of an organization known as America for Peace. Some of the women in Los Angeles, including Mrs. ORME receive this letter.

[redacted] advised that FREDERICK J. LIBBY of Philadelphia was known as a pacifist and former active "America Firster" and the person who sponsored LAURA INGALLS first peace movement which consisted in dropping leaflets over Washington, D.C. when the Germans first moved into Poland. He has been making a tour of the country and came to Los Angeles between May 10, 1942 and May 16, 1942 and spoke at a meeting sponsored by the University School of Religion. This meeting was arranged by [redacted] At this meeting LIBBY stated that "the United States should sue for immediate peace to avoid a slaughter", and "If Russia wins, all Europe and the United States will go Communist", and also, "We must choose between two evils, Nazism and Communism and Nazism is the lesser evil." "Only the Nazis stand between us and a Russian victory." "The America First Committee should never have stopped. The Women should reorganize, secretly if necessary."

[redacted]

P E N D I N G

UNDEVELOPED LEADS:

THE PHILADELPHIA FIELD DIVISION

At Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, will determin whether FREDERICK J. LIBBY is attempting to reorganize the America First group; will determine whether he is presently making a speaking tour and obtain his itinerary if possible.

THE LOS ANGELES FIELD DIVISION

b2
At Los Angeles, California, will recontact [redacted] for any information relative to the reorganization of the America First Committee. b7

b7

Will contact [redacted] for any information he may have as to what will become of the activities of the America First Committee, or its leaders.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT SIOUX FALLS, SOUTH DAKOTA

FILE NO. 100-515

REPORT MADE AT	DATE WHEN MADE	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE	REPORT MADE BY
Sioux Falls, S. Dak.	5/27/42	5/25/42	[redacted] b7c [redacted]

TITLE	CHARACTER OF CASE
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE IN THE SIOUX FALLS FIELD DIVISION.	INTERNAL SECURITY - G.

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS: Investigation discloses America First Committee had chapters in Grand Forks, N. Dak. and Sioux Falls, Lennox and Parkston, S. Dak. No information that America First Committee is operating underground.

- P -

REFERENCE: Bureau teletype dated May 11, 1942.

[redacted] DATE 10-18-90 BY SP8BTJ

DETAILS: AT BISMARCK, NORTH DAKOTA.

In a memorandum dated August 31, 1941, Special Agent [redacted] b7c advised that the German language newspaper DER STATTS-ANZIGER, published in Bismarck, North Dakota, was soliciting members for the America First Committee [redacted]

Subsequent inquiry by agents of this field division in Bismarck and Minot, North Dakota, failed to disclose that the America First Committee was in operation during 1941, and the contacting of informants failed to disclose that the America First Committee is operating underground at the present time in either of these two cities.

AT GRAND FORKS, NORTH DAKOTA.

In a memorandum dated May 2, 1942, Special Agent [redacted] advised that he had contacted [redacted]

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[redacted] b7c

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b7C
b7D

in that city; that Grand Forks was the only active chapter in the State of North Dakota, and that the chapter had not been engaged in activities until June, 1941, at which time CLARK and NYE spoke in Grand Forks. [redacted] further advised that the closest clubs were in Winona and Minneapolis, Minnesota, and that due to that fact many of the members in North Dakota were enrolled in the Minnesota clubs. [redacted] further stated that to the best of his knowledge there never were any America First Committees in Fargo, Bismarck, Minot, Jamestown or any other city in North Dakota, and that the Grand Forks chapter had been disbanded on December 18, 1941 in accordance with a letter sent out by the National President, R. E. WOOD, Chicago.

[redacted] further stated that the officers of the Grand Forks chapter at the time of its dissolution were FRED E. BYE, Chairman, Gilby, North Dakota; D. C. MacDONALD, Grand Forks, Secretary; FRED LOOMIS, Grand Forks; HORACE WEBSTER, Northwood, North Dakota; C. E. WALSTER, Larimore, North Dakota. [redacted] stated that he holds a list of all the contributors to the America First in North Dakota and Northern Minnesota at the day of their disbandment, and that such information would always be available to the Bureau.

A discreet inquiry on the part of other agents in Grand Forks and other cities and towns throughout North Dakota failed to disclose that there were any America First Committees operating in that State and no information was obtained as to any present activity.

AT SIOUX FALLS, SOUTH DAKOTA.

[redacted] She advised that the America First group was first organized in Sioux Fal in January, 1941, and continued until its dissolution with the outbreak of the wa She advised that the total membership list of this chapter was approximately 150 which consisted of about 300 from the State of Iowa and 200 from an adjoining are in Minnesota; that about 650 were from the City of Sioux Falls itself, and the remainder in the adjoining territory in Southeastern South Dakota. She advised that all of the records and membership list of the Sioux Falls America First Committee had been immediately forwarded to the National Headquarters in Illinois in January, 1942 upon specific request by the National President. She advised that BLAINE SIMONS was Chairman of the group. MRS. MUNDT was Secretary and MRS. GEORG (GLADYS) LAWRENCE was Treasurer.

She advised that to the best of her knowledge there were only two other America First Committees operating in 1941 in South Dakota, one at Lennox, South Dakota, of which J. E. PLUNCKER was Chairman, and another one at Parkston, South Dakota, whose Chairman she could not remember.

It was ascertained in a very confidential manner that BLAINE SIMONS, former Attorney in Sioux Falls, is now a Second Lieutenant in the United States Army at Fort Riley, Kansas, and that he wrote a letter on December 8, 1941 to a friend stating that he had been contacted by a Sioux Falls newspaper for a

statement on behalf of the America First Committee, and that he advised the newspaper that the activities had been suspended. He stated, however, that "it would be wise for groups to function in the interests of economy and for proper prosecution of the war". It was likewise ascertained in a very confidential manner that SIMONS had been endeavoring to establish America First chapters in Aberdeen and Watertown, South Dakota during 1941.

Discreet inquiries made by agents of this office in the diffe towns and cities of South Dakota failed to disclose that the America First Commit had established chapters anywhere, and there was no indication that the America First is operating underground.

- P E N D I N G -

UNDEVELOPED LEADS

The attention of all agents conducting inquiry in this matter is directed to the Director's letter dated March 16, 1942 to all SACs, and specifically to the part which states that all approaches to persons who were formerly connected with the America First Committee should be very discreet and should only be made after it has recently been ascertained that they are not a part of the underground organization now functioning.

AT BISMARCK, NORTH DAKOTA, will by discreet investigation and the use of informants ascertain if the newspaper DER STATTS-ANZIGER is presently connected with the America First Committee in any underground activities.

AT GRAND FORKS, NORTH DAKOTA, will by discreet inquiries and the use of informants ascertain if the America First Committee is now operating.

AT PARKSTON, SOUTH DAKOTA, will in the same manner endeavor to ascertain the same information.

AT LENNOX, SOUTH DAKOTA, will in the same manner endeavor to ascertain the same information. [redacted] should not be contacted unless [redacted]

AT ABERDEEN, SOUTH DAKOTA, will by discreet inquiries and the use of informants ascertain if a chapter was organized in 1941; if so, the extent of its activities and whether or not there is any present underground organization.

AT WATERTOWN, SOUTH DAKOTA, will obtain the same information

AT SIOUX FALLS, SOUTH DAKOTA, will endeavor by the use of informants to ascertain any present subversive activities on the part of the Ame First Committee.

- P E N D I N G -

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT CHICAGO

PROV. FILE NO. 100-251 [redacted]

REPORT MADE AT	DATE WHEN MADE	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE	REPORT MADE BY
PROVIDENCE, R.I.	5/27/42	5/25/42	[redacted] b7C

TITLE	CHARACTER OF CASE
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE	INTERNAL SECURITY-G

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE in State of Rhode Island has been inactive since entrance of the United States into current war.

-RUC-

REFERENCE: Bureau letter March 16, 1942.

Teletype from Bureau May 11, 1942. b2 b7D

DETAILS: [redacted] at the Providence Field Division was interviewed in connection with the existence of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE within the State of Rhode Island. This individual is the only known person who has made a considerable and vigorous effort to follow the activities of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE in this State and he advised that [redacted] he has been informed, and he has found no evidence to the contrary, that the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE is now inactive in the State and has seen no indications of a skeleton organization being represented by the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE to carry on their activities.

-REFERRED UPON COMPLETION TO THE OFFICE OF ORIGIN-

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☐ (b)(4)	☐ (b)(8)	☐ (k)(5)
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[redacted]

May 19, 1942

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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Special Agent in Charge
Buffalo, New York

RE: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
INTERNAL SECURITY (G)

Dear Sir:

The Bureau is in receipt of a submission slip from the National Censorship dealing with a letter dated December 9, 1941, from [redacted] to [redacted]. The following quotation was excerpted from the above communication:

"Not only the fact that we are at war but the disgusting exhibition that our NAVY put on in HAWAII. Roosevelt is to speak tonight and I will indeed be interested to have his report. We have reports that GERMAN authorities announce that 'WAR LOVING ROOSEVELT has at last got his way' and I can't help but agree. I guess, though, that I'll lose my AMERICA FIRST MEMBERSHIP card down the drain and 'come what may.'"

No specific investigation is requested and the material submitted above is for your information in the investigation of instant case.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

[redacted]

100-4712-[redacted]

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Kramer
Mr. McGuire
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED 4
MAY 21 1942 P.M.
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U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Photo. No. [redacted] Records No. N I 9939-[redacted]

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

NATIONAL CENSORSHIP

Mail No.

For use in the case of Registered [illegible]
(If unregistered, insert "None")

Registered No. [illegible]

Serial No.

FROM— [redacted]

TO— [redacted]

Date of letter (or postmark if letter undated) NOV. 9th, 1941

PREVIOUS RECORDS, IF RELEVANT

Nos.

For information use by A. C. or D. A. C. only.

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BY 10-18-90
PER NARS LTR DTD 11-14-77

Allocation of [redacted]

Whether to be photographed— NO

If so, to whom photograph is to be sent—

COMMENT

POLITICAL
ENGLISH

RE: SPREADING OF ADVERSE PROPAGANDA BY U.S. CITIZEN to AXIS OCCUPIED COUNTRY

Writer - Member of "America First Committee" writes the following to addressee (a friend the writer loves)

Page 2 (top of page) Line 1

"Not only the fact that we are at war but the disgusting exhibition that our NAVY put on in HAWAII. Roosevelt is to speak tonight and I will indeed be interested to have his report. We have reports that GERMAN authorities announce that "WAR LOVING ROOSEVELT has at last met his way" and I can't help but agree. I guess, though, that I'll toss my AMERICA FIRST MEMBERSHIP card down the drain and "cook that way."

ADB DAN
AG INT
BEW LO
BP MC
CAA MID
COC ONI
CIAA PO
COI RFC
CCA SD
CPC T
DL BF
ED BE
FBI CAX
FCC JSM
FE MEW
FSA SC
FTC

1 letter (2 pages)

MAY 25 RECD

Ltr to Buffalo 6/19/42 [redacted] DJC

Division (or section)	TABLE	EXAMINER	D. A. C.	DATE
Censorship	9 Doc 3	5397	5800	March 19th, 1942

61128

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS — Milwaukee FILE NO. 100-2936

REPORT MADE AT	DATE WHEN MADE	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE	REPORT MADE BY
MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN	5/27/42	5/7,8,14,26/42	[redacted] b7C

TITLE	CHARACTER OF CASE
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE	INTERNAL SECURITY (C)

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE began organizing in Milwaukee and State of Wisconsin in October of 1940 under direction of National Committee of Chicago. LANSING HOYT, Chairman of AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE in Wisconsin, also Milwaukee County Republican Party Chairman. Offices were opened at 208 East Wisconsin Avenue and formation of chapters continued throughout the state up to the time of its dissolution in December of 1941 after the declaration of war. b7D [redacted] There has been no evidence of any activity of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE organization since its dissolution to date. Investigation continued.

- P -

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REFERENCE: Bureau letter to all offices, dated 3/16/42; Bureau teletypes dated 5/11/42 and 5/26/42.

DETAILS: A review of the files in the Milwaukee Office reflect the following information:

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: H. J. O'Connor — SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

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100-4712-391

RECORDED & INDEXED [redacted]

MAY 29 1942

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b7C

The MILWAUKEE JOURNAL, in an article dated January 12, 1941, carried an announcement by LANSING HOYT, Chairman of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE, that organization of the Committee in Milwaukee and the State of Wisconsin was under way; that offices had been opened at 208 East Wisconsin Avenue; that MAX W. BABB, industrialist; LOUIS CHARLES, Milwaukee attorney; CHESTER O. HANVIG, industrialist; WILLIAM R. MARSHALL, investment firm official; ELLIOTT M. OGDEN, real estate man; and MRS. EDWIN H. COLMAN, daughter of Senator BURTON K. WHEELER, had accepted appointments to the group as an advisory committee. This article also announced a membership drive and encouraged individuals to communicate with the local office for enrollment, also stating that 500 names were received the first day; that it was contemplated a membership committee of 100 would be named and they aimed at 50,000 enrollees in Milwaukee; that they planned a rally at the Milwaukee Auditorium soon.

The Waupun, Wisconsin local newspaper, in an article in January, 1941, reflected that application had been made for a local charter of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE at Waupun, Wisconsin, a meeting having been arranged by J. J. TEMPLE, President of the Temple Shoe Company, and that among those who signed the application, in addition to TEMPLE, were JUDSON MIKKERS, J. J. NUGENT, HAROLD HLOW, And R. J. WAHLER.

In this respect, it should be noted that the writer, while conducting investigation in a sabotage case in the vicinity of Waupun, was advised by [redacted] that TEMPLE of the Temple Shoe Company had been leader of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE prior to the United States' entry into the war, but that there had been no activity of this committee after the declaration of war.

An article in the Milwaukee Sentinel of April 16, 1941, advised that former Governor PHILIP LAFOLLETTE would interview Senator BURTON K. WHEELER at the Milwaukee Auditorium at a meeting held under the auspices of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE, headed by LANSING HOYT, and that tickets for the address by COLONEL LINDBERG at Chicago would be obtainable at the Local AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE Office in Milwaukee.

On April 21, 1941 The MILWAUKEE SENTINEL reflected that a University Chapter had been formed in Milwaukee, with members from Marquette University and the University of Wisconsin Extension Division, and the Milwaukee State Teachers College; and also that Senator BURTON K. WHEELER would speak before the Milwaukee State Teachers College group in the near future.

The files also reflect that one [redacted] reported to this office that he had attended a meeting at the Schroeder Hotel on May 20, 1941, where WILLIAM R. RAAY presided and passed out AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE literature; that RAAY previously had conducted

64130

the Community Forum at Jefferson Hall in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. TAAY claims the support of many churches in this area; namely: Evangelical, Christian Scientists, 7th Day Adventists, Catholic priests at Whitefish Bay, and others.

A report of [redacted] reflects that he attended the meeting February 8, 1941 at 2651 South St, Blair Street, where PETER DAVIS of [redacted], presided at the meeting, the purpose of which was to form a Lay View Chapter of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE; that OSCAR REUHL and WEBSTER WOODMANSEE spoke.

In the case entitled "AMERICAN PEACE MOBILIZATION - INTERNAL SECURITY," in which New York is the office of origin, the report of Special Agent [redacted] dated 11/10/41, reflects that [redacted] stated that at the American Peace Mobilization Headquarters he was approached by the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE to form an A.F.C. Committee in West Allis but had turned down the proposition because of the financial set-up.

The MILWAUKEE JOURNAL of November 1, 1940 carried an ad for membership combined with an anti-war article issued by the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE, listing in this ad the national committeemen, and requesting that applications should be mailed to the United States Board of Trade Building, Chicago, Illinois.

On August 4, 1941 the MILWAUKEE JOURNAL carried an article advising that sub-chapters of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE were to be formed in each ward in Milwaukee, and that Professor C. L. SCANLON of Marquette University would address the 18th Ward Sub-Chapter at Century Hall, 3430 North Farwell Avenue, subject of the discussion being the possibility of Nazi attack through South America.

The MILWAUKEE JOURNAL of August 14, 1942 reflects that a 9th Ward Chapter of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE had been formed at Smith Park Pavilion, LESTER W. MERKLIN being elected chairman of the chapter.

On December 8, 1941 the JOURNAL carried an article stating that LESTER J. BRADSHAW was one of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE'S most active speakers.

The MILWAUKEE JOURNAL of December 12, 1941 carried an announcement by LANSING HOTT that all chapters in the State of Wisconsin would be dissolved.

The above information is set forth inasmuch as information concerning the organizational structure of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE is not available to this office at the present time.

b7C
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[redacted] advised that he first became cognizant of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE through contacts and literature received from National Headquarters at Chicago, principally from General ROBERT E. WOOD, Acting Chairman, whom he knows and respects. He stated that subsequently LANSING HOYT, Chairman of the Milwaukee County Republican Party, was appointed chairman of the Wisconsin Committee by the National Committee; that he has known HOYT for a considerable length of time. HOYT has been active in politics in Milwaukee for a number of years; however, he [redacted] does not question HOYT'S sincerity and his association with the AMERICAN FIRST COMMITTEE, believing him to be a good American citizen, and he knows positively that since the dissolution of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE, HOYT has taken absolutely no action in connection with the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE in any manner whatsoever. He [redacted] through his contacts with HOYT and other members of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE locally, would probably have knowledge of any underground activities on the part of this Committee.

[redacted] advised that he is not personally familiar with the organizational or financial setup of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE, other than he has frequently heard HOYT state that of membership dues collected, a certain percentage was transmitted to the National Committee in Chicago and a certain amount was maintained here in Milwaukee for organizational expenses, which were being carried on throughout the state. [redacted]

[redacted]

In order to accomplish the investigation suggested by the Bureau, it is deemed advisable to obtain, if possible, [redacted] the entire

organizational set-up of AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE in the State of Wisconsin, location of its chapters, the various chairmen of these chapters, and individuals identified with the activity in each chapter, in order that a careful selection may be made throughout the state of reliable individuals who could be trusted to furnish the Bureau information concerning any subsequent activity in the organization of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE.

A review of local newspaper morgues and files in this office reflect no information concerning any activity on the part of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE since its dissolution in December of 1941.

-P E N D I N G-

100-2936

61123

UNDEVELOPED LEADS

THE MILWAUKEE OFFICE

AT MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN

Will contact [redacted], in order that the location of the various chapters in the State of Wisconsin may be determined, the identity of the chairmen of these chapters may be learned, as well as active committeemen in these various chapters. Upon learning the identity of these individuals, will conduct appropriate investigation to select therefrom a sufficient number of reliable individuals of unquestioned American background to act as informants relative to the possible use of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE organization, along the lines suggested by the Bureau in this investigation.

b7c

CONFIDENTIAL

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION 12147

Form No. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

S.A. FILE NO. 100-1254

REPORT MADE AT	DATE WHEN MADE	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE	REPORT MADE BY
SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS	5-28-42	5-24,25,26,27-42	[redacted]

TITLE	CHARACTER OF CASE
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE	INTERNAL SECURITY - G.

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

Classified by SP8BDLcl
Declassify on: CADR
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Investigation reflects no activity of America First Committee in San Antonio area.

- R U C -

REFERENCE: Bureau letter dated 3-16-42.
Bureau teletype dated 5-11-42.
Bureau teletype dated 5-26-42.

DETAILS: AT SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS.

This investigation is predicated upon receipt of Bureau letter dated March 16, 1942, requesting a report on the present activity of the America First Committee in this area.

b2 b7C

[redacted] whose identity is known to the Bureau, made known his files and stated that his confidential informants reports reflect no activity of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE organization in the San Antonio area recently and that so far there have been no attempts to revive the meetings of this organization in this area. [redacted] will advise the San Antonio field division of any new developments that may come to his attention.

b2 b7D b7C

[redacted] whose identities are known to the Bureau, report that they have heard of no attempt to revive the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE organization in San Antonio and that they will inform the San Antonio field division of any activity of this organization that comes to their attention. They advised that they had previously reported one

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MAY 30 '94

[redacted]

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[redacted] and one [redacted] as very active members of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE organization. They stated that they knew these two persons personally and would contact them to find out if they were in possession of information relating to any activity of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE in the San Antonio area. b7c

[redacted] his records reflect no activity of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE in the San Antonio area and stated that to his knowledge this organization locally has been dead and inactive for quite some time. He stated that he would immediately inform the San Antonio field division if any new activity or attempts to revive this organization locally is made. b7

[redacted]

- REFERRED UPON COMPLETION TO THE OFFICE OF ORIGIN -

16933

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

This Case Originated At
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

File No. 100-2263

Report Made At	Date Made	Period	Report Made By
CHARLOTTE, N.C.	5-27-42	4-11;25; 5-13,15,18, 20-42	[redacted] b7c

Title:	Character of Case:
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE.	INTERNAL SECURITY - G

Synopsis: America First Committee never active in Charlotte Field Division. [redacted] b7c Pinehurst, North Carolina, believes that [redacted] New York City, was formerly active in America First Committee and is presently active in the Constitutional Educational League which she considers a reformed America First Committee. [redacted]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 10-18-90 BY SP8 BDJ/CA

RUC

REFERENCE: Bureau letter dated March 16, 1942.

DETAILS: A review of the files of the Charlotte Field Division failed to reveal any information indicating that the America First Committee was ever active in this Division. This review failed to reveal the name of a single individual who was a known former member of the America First Committee.

Subsequent to the receipt of the letter of reference the following [redacted] were discreetly interviewed by Agents of the Charlotte Office for the purpose of determining whether they had received any information in the past relative to the America First Committee being active in their communities: b2D

100 - 4712 - 393

Edward Scheidt Special Agent in Charge

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[redacted]
Raleigh, North Carolina

16934

[redacted]
Wilmington, North Carolina

b7C
b7D

[redacted]
Durham, North Carolina

[redacted]
Asheville, North Carolina

[redacted]
Asheville, North Carolina

[redacted]
Greensboro, North Carolina

[redacted]
Greenville, South Carolina

The above mentioned contacts were made without developing any information concerning the America First Committee.

The following investigation was conducted by Special Agent [redacted] on May 13, 1942:

b7

[redacted] Pinehurst, North Carolina, advised that a [redacted] New York City, on or about December 3, 1941, sent a number of pamphlets to her mother at Pinehurst, North Carolina; that inside one of these pamphlets there was a list of the enemies of the United States which included names of numerous individuals in Washington, D. C. She stated that one of the pamphlets contained the lineage of the ROOSEVELT family; that she recalled that another one referred to the curse of the Communists in the South; and that still another contained comments which, in her opinion, justified HITLER'S action. She stated that the pamphlets in question were published by the Constitutional Educational League, Inc., and that it was her opinion that this organization was established by former members of the America First Committee, her opinion being based on the fact that

the pamphlets in question were very similar to those formerly distributed by the America First Committee; and further, because most of them contained a number of quotations from speeches made by CHARLES AUGUSTUS LINDBERGH.

[redacted] further stated that the pamphlets received by her mother on December 3, 1941, had been destroyed. She stated that [redacted] owned a home [redacted] and that while she was not personally acquainted with this individual, she supposed that he was acquainted with her and her family and had consequently placed their names on the mailing list.

[redacted], further stated that during the latter part of March, 1942, she received a pamphlet entitled, "Why Win The War," which publication reflects that the national headquarters of the Constitutional Educational League, Inc., are at 831 Chapel Street, New Haven, Connecticut, with New York Headquarters at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City, and midwest headquarters at Madison, Wisconsin, in the Pioneer Building. In addition to this pamphlet, [redacted] received a blank for enrollment in the Constitutional Educational League, Inc., and a petition to the President of the United States, and that these pamphlets aroused her to such an extent that on April 2, 1942, she directed a rather lengthy letter to [redacted] the first paragraph of which reads as follows:

b7C
b7D

" It is difficult for me to understand why you selected first my Mother as the recipient of that fine batch of trouble-making isolationist pamphlets you mailed her last December, and now my late husband, for this latest hash of seditious, garbled sentiments. I can think of nothing he ever did or said which would lead you believe that he would be remotely interested in the efforts of a reformed America First to reinstate itself with a thoroughly disgusted public. Perhaps you do not know that at a meeting of Fight for Freedom he quoted passages from the ones you sent, with devastating effect? In fact I consider it an insult that his name should be on your mailing list. Please remove it. "

[redacted] further stated that she subsequently received a letter from [redacted] which reads as follows:

" I am sorry that you feel offended because of the literature received from me. However, I want to assure you that it was sent with the best intentions on the assumption that being good Americans, you people would naturally be interested in really winning the war and at the same defending and preserving the American System of Society and Government which has done so much for so

" many of us in Pinehurst and Southern Pines; and, in fact, all over the length and breadth of Our United States of America. I will, of course, respect your wishes and you will not receive any further literature.

Because of your evident sincerity, I am writing to correct a mistaken impression on your part, so that you will not continue to labor under your apparent misapprehendsion.

To infer that the Constitutional Educational League, Inc., is responsible for the state or condition of our unpreparedness is unjust and not true, because that organization is composed largely of veterans of the last World War including many leaders in the American Legion which has been in the Forefront of the Fight to keep Our Nation prepared for War. The Constitutional Educational League, Inc was for many years an active promoter of the Citizens Military Training Camps and more than that, it has never taken AN ISOLATIONIST POSITION.

I am glad and happy to learn that you are all for the work of The Dies Committee and The Federal Bureau of Investigation, because so am I, and so is The Constitutional Educational League, Inc., as evidenced by the attitude it takes in its literature and more than that the League's stand on the matter of Communism and Russia is identical with the views expressed by Congressman Martin Dies.

There has been so much propaganda in connection with Russia coming out of Washington that I can readily understand why you—and many other good Americans—are slightly confused on THE REAL ISSUE. We are told that the Russian Communists just hate the American Communists. We are told that there is no connection whatever between the American Communists and the Russian Communists. We are told that Russia is no longer A COMMUNIST DICTATORSHIP. If all of this is so, then surely there can be no objection from 'Capitalistic' Mr. Stallin, or from 'Democratic' Russian People to action which we may take to prevent the Spread of COMMUNISM IN OUR UNITED STATES.

To suggest that criticism of Communists in high places in Our Government—who are responsible for deadly inefficiency and destructive disunity—will create friction and discourage Soviet Russia in her war effort, is utter and pure NONSENSE. Stalin's recent 'Order of the Day' to the Red Army definitely indicated that the Communists are not going to Fight for the 'Four Freedoms' everywhere in the world, but are solely concerned with the job of driving the Germans and their Armies across the Russian Border back to Germany, and it is certain that they will not be swerved

in this determination regardless of what we may or may not do.

It is very evident that unless we get the use of Russian bases such as Vladivostok, we may have a very difficult time doing any effective bombing of Japan. But, we have now been at war with Japan for over four months and our ally, Soviet Russia, has not only failed to make such bases available, but has, in no uncertain language, indicated that she intends to confine herself to the job of defeating the Nazi invaders. And now, at the height of Our War with Japan, our Ally Russia makes a treaty with Japan—a friendly treaty with OUR ENEMY.

In spite of the Constitutional Educational League's distaste for Russian Communism, the booklet about which you complain agrees that the United States must give Russia any and every possible assistance to help her win a military victory over Our Common Enemy, HITLER. The booklet makes no criticism of Russia's scheme of government as such, but there is no earthly reason why the Constitutional Educational League, Inc and all other Good Americans should not take steps to insure the success of Our Own War Effort by eliminating incompetent COMMUNISTS AND THEIR SATELLITES from POSITIONS OF POWER IN OUR WAR PROGRAM.

I want to assure you that the publishers of 'Why Win the War' do not presume to be 'Arm-chair Strategists'. They have made no suggestions as to how the Army or Navy are to go about winning the War. They are merely a little more realistic than a great many people when they point out that the Army and Navy cannot win unless they have something to fight and WIN WITH.

While I have failed to find anything that might be considered 'Jingoistic' in the pamphlet published by The League, I am in full agreement with you that Our ENERGY SHOULD BE CONCENTRATED IN WINNING THE WAR. It is precisely for this reason that I am doing what I can to arouse public opinion so as to prevent the energies that should be devoted to winning the war from being misdirected to stimulate and perpetuate 'A CLASS WAR'. Whether or not Our American System will be saved after the war will depend entirely on the kind of men who happen to be in controle at that time. I do not think Our Country's previous state, which you described as 'Selfish, Narrow, Nationalism' will have anything to do with it.

Neither the League, as I understand it, nor myself are adverse to any necessary effort that will lead to international cooperation.

But we are concerned and would be suspicious of any scheme promoted by Marxians which would impair or destroy Our Constitutional Republic.

Very truly yours

/s/ [redacted]

P.S. North Carolina Address;- [redacted]

P.P.S. It may interest you that both at my Pinehurst NC. Estate and Apartment in NYCity. I have the U.S.A. British Union Jack, and Canadian Flags on my fireplace mantlepieces. I believe in the team.

[redacted] pointed out that she, in her letter, accused [redacted] of being a member of a reformed America First Committee, and that he, in his subsequent letter, did not deny this accusation.

REFERRED UPON COMPLETION TO THE OFFICE OF ORIGIN

16939

UNDEVELOPED LEADS

THE NEW YORK FIELD DIVISION:

AT NEW YORK CITY, will determine by an examination of their office records, or by appropriate investigation, whether the Constitutional Educational League is in fact a continuation of the America First Committee.

THE NEW HAVEN FIELD DIVISION:

AT NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT, will conduct the same investigation requested of the New York Field Division.

THE MILWAUKEE FIELD DIVISION:

AT MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN, will conduct the same investigation requested of the New York Field Division.

62 -393

June 27, 1942

12146

Agent in Charge
[redacted], North Carolina

RE: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Dear Sir:

b7C

Reference is made to the report of Special Agent [redacted] dated May 27, 1942, at Charlotte, North Carolina, containing undeveloped leads for the New York, New Haven and Milwaukee Field Divisions. These undeveloped leads were set forth for the purpose of determining whether the Constitutional Educational League is in fact a continuation of the America First Committee.

b7C

The Bureau has a voluminous file on the Constitutional Educational League, Inc., [redacted] Et Al., Internal Security - C. This organization was in existence long before the America First Committee was formed and can in no way be considered a continuation of that Committee.

Accordingly, the New York, New Haven and Milwaukee Field Divisions can ignore the leads set forth in reference report.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Tolson
E. A. Tamm
Clegg
Glavin
Ladd
Nichols
Rosen
Tracy
Carson
Coffey
Hendon
Kramer
McGuire
Quinn Tamm
Nease
Gandy

New York City
New Haven
Milwaukee
Chicago

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P. M.
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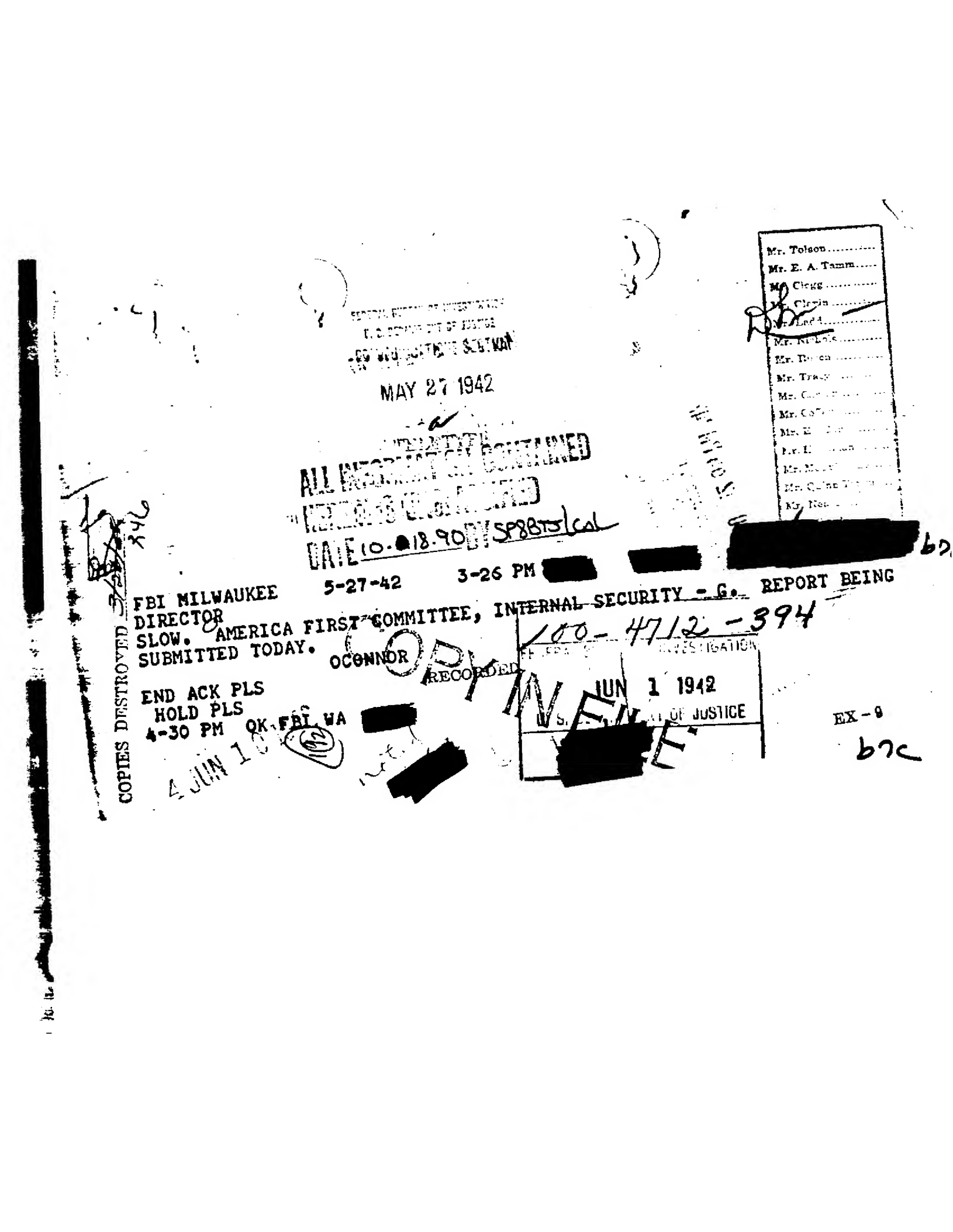
[redacted]

b7C



Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Egan
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease

MAY 27 1942

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DATE 10-18-90 BY SP8BTJ/cal

5-27-42 3-26 PM [redacted]

FBI MILWAUKEE
DIRECTOR
SLOW. AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE, INTERNAL SECURITY - G. REPORT BEING SUBMITTED TODAY.
OCONNOR

100-4712-394

RECORDED

JUN 1 1942

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

END ACK PLS
HOLD PLS
4-30 PM OK FBI WA [redacted]

4 JUN 10

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EX-9

b7C

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS. FILE NO. 100-1055.

REPORT MADE AT	DATE WHEN MADE	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE	REPORT MADE BY
NEW ORLEANS	5-28-42	5-14,15,16,17, 18,19,22-42.	[redacted] b1c

TITLE: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

CHARACTER OF CASE: INTERNAL SECURITY - G.

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS: America First Committee not known to sources of information and Confidential Informants of the New Orleans office. Indices of the New Orleans office, the newspaper morgue of the Times-Picayune, New Orleans, and the Public Library searched but no information concerning subject organization in this district. According to Confidential Informants at [redacted] b1 Inquiries in this connection negative. (C)

- R U C -

Reference: Letter from Bureau to all Special Agents in Charge dated 5-16-42; Teletype from Bureau to all Special Agents in Charge dated 5-11-42.

Details: AT NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA:

The indices of the New Orleans Field Office were examined but nothing was contained therein that would indicate the existence of the America First Committee in the state of Louisiana.

b1

[redacted] (C)

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: R. A. Guerin SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

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FILE: 100-4762-395

RECORDED & INDEXED [redacted]

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2 New Orleans

JUL 1 1942

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Declassify on: OADR
10-18-90

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b7c

CONFIDENTIAL

[redacted] (C) b.

(C) [redacted] and [redacted] advised that no information has come to their attention concerning a speaker for the America First Committee. These informants advised further that to their knowledge such an organization as the America First Committee does not exist in the state of Louisiana. They stated too that they know of no representatives of this organization nor of any persons who are affiliated in any way with this organization in this district.

b2 b7C b7D

[redacted] whose identity is known to the Bureau, reported that he had no information concerning the America First Committee and knew of no affiliates with this organization in the state of Louisiana.

[redacted] and [redacted] reported that no information whatever has come to their attention concerning the existence or activities of the America First Committee in the city of New Orleans or in the state of Louisiana. They reported that no literature or publications of the America First Committee have come to their attention and know of no persons in the city of New Orleans or elsewhere who might be associated in any way with subject organization. They advised, however, that they would be alert for any information relative thereto in the future and should any information concerning the activities of this organization come to their attention they would immediately notify the writer.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

The files of the newspaper morgue of the Times-Picayune, 615 North Street, New Orleans, were examined but nothing was contained therein concerning any information whatever as to the existence or any activity of the America First Committee in the city of New Orleans or state of Louisiana.

[redacted] and [redacted] both of whom are very well known and have a wide acquaintance in New Orleans and in other sections of the state of Louisiana, advised that to their knowledge there was no such organization as the America First Committee in existence in the state of Louisiana. They advised further that they knew of no person or persons representing this organization or anyone affiliated therewith in the state of Louisiana.

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[redacted], a person of standing and who is well known in the state of Louisiana, advised that to his knowledge there is no such organization as the America First Committee in the state of Louisiana, nor did he know of any representative of the organization in the state of Louisia

The indices of the New Orleans Public Library, 1051 St. Charles Avenue, were examined but nothing could be found concerning this organization in the state of Louisiana. However, from an article in the June, 1942, issu of the American Mercury, Volume 54, No. 217, entitled, "Inside The America First Movement", by JOHN RAY CARLSON, the following is quoted:

"..... In Detroit and Philadelphia, the Reverend Gerald L. K. Smith has spoken at tumultuous rallies of the Committee. Smith is a former member of Pelley's Silver Shirt Legion, a militarist organization based on the Nazi model. Smith was an associate of Huey P. Long and has collaborated with Father Coughlin ....."

It may be noted that the Reverend GERALD L. K. SMITH, a former pastor of the King's Highway Church at Shreveport, Louisiana, left Louisiana in 1937 to take up residence in Detroit, Michigan, where he is residing at the time. He returned to Louisiana in 1940 for a very short time to assist in the campaign of EARL LONG for the Governorship of Louisiana.

Investigation being conducted relative to SMITH will be reported in the file on that subject in which Detroit is origin.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS — JUNEAU FILE NO. 100-846

REPORT MADE AT	DATE WHEN MADE	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE	REPORT MADE BY
Juneau, Alaska	5/25/42	3/31/42; 4/24/42; 5/6/42	[redacted] b7c

TITLE	CHARACTER OF CASE
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE	INTERNAL SECURITY - G

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS: America First Committee organized in Juneau, Alaska in June 1941 but after one meeting at which the group decided to affiliate with the America First Committee rather than American Peace Mobilization no further activity noted. No evidence of underground movement of subject organization in Alaska.

RUC

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 10-18-90 BY SP8 BTJ/C

REFERENCE: Bureau letter dated March 16, 1942.

DETAILS: AT JUNEAU, ALASKA

On May 30, 1941 an open public meeting was held at Juneau, Alaska to form a unit of the American Peace Mobilization group. The general subject matters discussed at this meeting were protests against war and a possibility of the United States becoming involved in European conflicts and to ridicule the possibility of invasion by a European power. The horrors of war were discussed, as was the effect of war upon trade unionism and the general topic of war profits made by "the rich". Some discussion was had relative to whether the mass meeting was a joint meeting of the America First Committee and the American Peace Mobilization. Also discussion was had as to whether the group should affiliate with the America First Committee or the American Peace Mobilization. Although the persons primarily interested

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b7c

in calling the meeting were apparently mainly interested in an American Peace Mobilization organization, the meeting adjourned without any definite action taken as to which group would be chosen and it was decided that the group should re-convene the following week.

The second meeting was held on June 6, 1941 at the Union Hall, Juneau, Alaska, at which meeting the merits of the America First Committee and those of the American Peace Mobilization were discussed, with neither side appearing to know a great deal concerning the purposes of either organization. The matter was put to a vote and the result of the vote was decidedly in favor of the group affiliating with the America First Committee rather than the American Peace Mobilization. A committee of three was appointed and plans were to be formulated to organize similar groups in other parts of Alaska. Future meetings were to be called by the committee appointed. However, to date no further meetings have been called or held and there is no indication that this organization ever functioned in Alaska after the second meeting on June 6, 1941 at Juneau, Alaska. No known attempts were made in other parts of the Territory of Alaska to organize an America First group.

With reference to Bureau letter dated March 16, 1942, concerning the America First organization, [redacted] was contacted. It is noted that [redacted] and has made the statement to an Agent of the Juneau Office that he was a firm believer in the America First Committee. [redacted] was an isolationist prior to the time the United States entered the war but since the declaration of war has expressed his desire to see all effort possible made to defeat the Axis powers. It is felt that if the America First group was endeavoring to re-organize either openly or underground, [redacted] would be aware of this fact and further, that he would truthfully advise whether or not such a movement had started.

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He advised that he had not heard anything concerning a re-organiza of the America First group in Alaska. He added that it was his impression t this organization had disbanded in the States and was no longer functioning. However, he stated that he still feels that there is plenty of isolationist sentiment in the United States and he said that in his opinion there is little doubt but what the America First group will again organize. From conversation had with [redacted] it was gathered that he considered a re-organization in an open manner as it was prior to the declaration of war.

[redacted] stated that he feels that everyone, whether they were isolationis before the war or not, should now forget any views they held prior to the war and give all possible support to the Government of the United States in the war effort. He added that if after the war they desired to go back to their isolationist views it is perfectly all right but that during the time of actual war they should forget these views.

[redacted] stated that he has not heard any comments in Juneau concerning subject organization since the time when the attempts were made to establish it in Juneau in June, 1941. In his opinion the organization in Alaska is completely defunct.

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In conclusion [redacted] stated that should he hear any reports concerning the re-organization of the America First Committee in Alaska he would advise the Juneau Office of such facts.

[redacted] was interviewed relative to the America First group. He stated that he has heard of no activity of this organization since the second meeting in June, 1941. He stated that he has no knowledge of any activities of such group subsequent to the meeting of Jun and has heard no rumors or reports in recent months that any effort was being made to re-organize. He expressed the opinion that this group never would get completely organized in Alaska and feels certain that there is no such organization at the present time.

[redacted] advised that he had no information indicating that the America First Committee was again attempting to organize in Juneau. He stated that he has heard no one mention this organization in recent months and believes it had died out completely after the second meeting was held in June, 1941.

[redacted] advised, as stated above, that at the second meeting which was held in June, 1941, the persons attending the mass meeting decided to affiliate with the America First Committee rather than the American Peace Mobilization. However, after the second meeting no information came to his attention indicating that the America First Committee functioned in any manne and he feels that the organization was defunct. [redacted] advised that he has heard no rumor and knows of no information indicating the America First Committee is again attempting to organize in Juneau.

100-846
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
INTERNAL SECURITY - G

It will be noted that at no place in the Territory of Alaska except Juneau has any information been received that the America First Committee endeavored to organize. It is felt that either one or all of the above informants would be aware of an attempted re-organization of the America First Committee in Juneau if such were the case.

From information gathered concerning the meetings held in Juneau, it appears somewhat doubtful whether the organization in Juneau ever actually became affiliated with the national group of subject organizatio inasmuch as the movement in Juneau appeared to completely cease after th second meeting.

In view of the absence of evidence of the existence of an underground America First Movement in Alaska, this case is being refer upon completion to the Office of Origin. In the event information is obtained indicating activity on the part of subject organization, furthe investigation will be conducted.

REFERRED UPON COMPLETION TO THE OFFICE OF ORIGIN

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1

Case Originated At: CHICAGO, ILLINOIS | File: 100-668

Report made at	Date when made	Period	
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS	5-29-42	4-6,9,22,5-1, 4-7,21,22,25/42	[redacted] b7C

Title

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

INTERNAL SECURITY (G)

Synopsis of Facts:

16932

Subject organization issued press release announcing dissolution December 11, 1941 and all activities suspended shortly thereafter. The membership lists and files in the Chapters throughout the country were called into National headquarters. These were split up and taken by Gen. ROBERT E. WOOD, National Chairman, Gen. THOMAS F. HAMMOND, Chairman Chicago Committee, and JANEL AYER FAIRBANK, Director of Chicago Chapter. No National meetings have been held since December 15, 1941.

[redacted] b7D

Investigation reveals that several radical groups urged its members to join America First prior to dissolution; this included the German-American National Alliance of whom more than 600 members were members of the America First, Chapter, Chicago. Some local chapters of America First have continued meetings and have allied themselves with related groups. There have been plans made to weld those groups and former members of America First who are still opposed to the war effort into a United Peace Front, which effort has

9 JUN 11 1942

Approved and Forwarded: A.H. Johnson SAC

100-4712-397

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11 JUN 1 1942

[redacted] b7C

not been successful to date. [redacted] b3 (Rule 6e, Federal Rules of Criminal Procedure)

-P-

REFERENCE: Bureau letter to all Field Division dated March 16, 1942
Report of Special Agent [redacted], New York City, dated May 13, 1942. b7C

DETAILS: At Chicago, Illinois.

The America First Committee was incorporated in the State of Illinois, September 19, 1940. Its National Headquarters were located at Room 1806, Board of Trade Building, Chicago. From a statement of the National Committee of the America First Committee issued December 11, 1941, it was stated that the America First Committee was organized in the summer of 1940 with two primary objectives:

1. An impregnable defense for our nation.
2. Avoidance of involvement in the European and Asiatic war.

From the America First Committee bulletin #691, issued November 19, 1941, a copy of which bulletin was furnished to the Chicago Field Office by [redacted] the following named persons are listed as being members of the National Committee as of the abovementioned date. b2 b7D

SAMUEL HOPKINS ADAMS
CHESTER BOWLES
OTTO A. CASE
DR. A. J. CARLSON
WILLIAM R. CASTLE
MRS. BENNETT CHAMP CLARK
IRVIN S. COBB
JANET AYER FAIRBANK
MRS. ELLEN FRENCH VANDERBILT FITZSIMONS
JOHN T. FLYNN
GEN. THOMAS HAMMOND
JAY C. HORMEL
WILLIAM L. HUTCHESON
GEN. HUGH S. JOHNSON
CLAY JUDSON
CHARLES A. LINDBERGH
ALICE ROOSEVELT LONGWORTH
FRANK O. LOWDEN
HANFORD MAC NIDER
CLARENCE MANION
MRS. JOHN P. MARQUAND
GREGORY MASON
ROY MC KAIG
WILLIAM H (ALFALFA BILL) MURRAY
KATHLEEN NORRIS
J. SANFORD OTIS
GEORGE N. PEEK
ISAAC A. PENNYPACKER

AMOS R.E. PINCHOT
WILLIAM H. REGNERY
MRS. RUTH HANNA MC CORMICK SIMMS
HARRY L. STUART
R. DOUGLAS STUART, JR.

LOUIS J. TOBER
EDWARD S. WEBSTER, JR.
MRS. BURTON K. WHEELER
DR. GEORGE H. WHIPPLE
GEN. ROBERT E. WOOD

The Chicago and Illinois Chapters of the America First Committee maintained headquarters at 122 South Michigan. The following were officers of the Chicago Chapter:

GENERAL THOMAS HAMMOND--Chairman
JANET AYER FAIRBANK--Vice President and Director
CORNELL HOWE--Secretary
GEORGE A. BARNEY, JR.,--Treasurer

[redacted] furnished the following pertaining to the organization of the Chicago and Illinois Chapters as obtained from [redacted]

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b7C

""The Chicago and Illinois Chapters of the America First Committee, opened headquarters January 1, 1941 in the Railway Exchange Building. In three weeks we required more space and moved to the present headquarters at 122 South Michigan.

"The office operates with a minimum force consisting of :

Chairman Speakers Bureau
2 men - Publicity
Switchboard operator
Bookkeeper
Stockman
Statistical and filing clerk
Secretary of Chapter Organization
Secretary to Mrs. Fairbank

"In the nine months that the Chicago and Illinois Chapter has operated, we have had 167 men and women volunteer their services at our headquarters. A great number of these volunteers are most faithful--some of them girls who work in offices all day donate their services in the evening. Through their efforts we have been able to carry on our work with a minimum office force.

Postage and printing have been the two largest items of expenditure. The Chicago Chapter has printed and distributed --

373,150 copies of speeches
980,300 instructive pamphlets and circulars
336,300 display pieces (buttons, posters and stickers)
405,200 letters to members and prospective members
599,000 mimeographed instructions and bulletins
for members."

[redacted] furnished a list of the Illinois Chapters and Chairman as of October 17, 1941. Because of its length, the entire list is not being set forth but copies are being prepared and will be forwarded to the Bureau as soon as completed. A review of the list reflects the following Chapters located in the City of Chicago.

62
670

CHAPTER	CHAIRMAN
Austin	DENNIS W. SCULLY [redacted]
Belmont	MRS. NOEL HUNT [redacted]
Christopher Columbus 746 South Loomis	PETER GREENFIELD
Edgewater	MRS. WILLLM WESTERLUND [redacted]
Hyde Park 1328 E. 57th St.	DR. FRED L. ADAIR
Logan Square	MRS. MATHILDA ELOFSON [redacted]
Loyola 6519 Sheridan Road	LOUIS GWENS
Morgan Park	MRS. GRACE LEWIS [redacted]
Rogers Park	HENRY J. BERENZ [redacted]
South Shore	DONALD E. HORTON [redacted]
South Side 3452 South State Street	VAL WASHINGTON

67c

Christopher Columbus, Hyde Park, Loyola, and South Side Chapters maintained open headquarters at the addresses as listed.

b2
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[redacted] Because of its length, it is not being set forth in full but a copy is being prepared and will be forwarded to the Bureau when completed.

[redacted] furnished a report [redacted] This is set forth as follows:

[redacted]

[redacted] Photostatic copies [redacted] are being prepared and will be forwarded to the Bureau when completed. [redacted]

[redacted] Photostatic copies [redacted] are being prepared and will be forwarded to the Bureau when completed.

The files of all sub-divisions and Chapters of subject organization throughout the country were called in by the National Office. [redacted] has advised that there was a very good response to this request. The investigation to date has failed to reveal any indication that the structure of America First, has in any way, been used by foreign interests or individuals cooperating with foreign interests. There is no indication that any responsible leaders of America First has, to date, made available any of the membership lists, not formerly America First members. There have been a few local Chapters, as will be set forth later in this report, who have reportedly made available lists and pledged cooperation to certain radical groups but these have been isolated instances and in the opinion of persons interviewed, represent only a minute minority of the total membership of subject organization.

It was also the opinion of persons interviewed that the large majority of the rank and file membership of America First and most all of the leaders were sincere and honest isolationists. However, it has been reported that some of the leaders of America First charged with maintenance of the file and who held responsible positions in the organization, contemplate political activity in the future with the organization as it was left, and have since December 11th taken steps in this regard. The following is set forth to show the political activities and possible future plans of these persons.

During the month prior to Pearl Harbor, [redacted] advised that serious contemplation was given by America First leaders to the formation of a political party to campaign for isolationist candidates. He advised that they adoped a slogan, "We'll meet you at the Polls". In this connection, he furnished a copy of a communication over the signature of R. E. WOOD, Chairman, which is set forth as follows:

"Our increasing national strength was clearly demonstrated by the vote in the House of Representatives on revision of the neutrality act. A shift of ten votes would have defeated the bill. Those voting with us represented more than 50 per cent of the voters of the United States.

"With this achievement it is important to consider our program for the future. I am calling a meeting of the National Committee on November 28. For that meeting we would like to have the views of our Chapter Chairman on their concept of our future course.

"Probably the most significant decision confronting the Committee will be the question of whether the America First Committee and its chapters should undertake a broad program of non-partisan political support (in the primaries and general elections of 1942) for those members of Congress who have placed "patriotism above politics". Thus our organization would support those men - Democrats or Republicans - who have courageously opposed the Administration's war policy.

"By November 25 we would like to have your considered judgment as to the best future program for the America First Committee. You will undoubtedly have time to consult with the members of your Executive Committee so that your letter will reflect the views of your Chapter. All thoughts will be welcome but I suggest that you submit in separate form those dealing with the non-partisan political program.

"Once again I would like to express our appreciation for the gallant fight made by your chapter against repeal of the neutrality act.

Sincerely,

R.E. WOOD"

Enclosed with this letter, presumably addressed to Chairman of the various Chapters, was a list of the Congressmen who had voted against the repeal of the neutrality act.

In view of the efforts being made in November 1941 to form a new political party, and as will be set forth hereinafter in this report, the opinion of several persons interviewed that the leaders of America First will, in all probability, endeavor to form a new political party with the former members of America First as a nucleus, it is deemed important to set forth the activities of the America First Committee in detail just prior to December 7, 1941. [redacted] who was in close contact with the activities of subject organization and its members furnished the following information concerning these activities. b2 b7D

From a report dated November 22, 1941, the following is set forth:

"My man tells me there is a slight difference of opinion between MRS. JANET AYER FAIRBANK and GENERAL WOOD these days. GENERAL WOOD wants to hold a joint rally of America First and such organization as "We, The Mothers" and WILLIAM J. MACE'S "Citizens Keep America Out of War Committee". MRS. FAIRBANK opposes it as she considered those groups 'the rabble' and in no way to be recognized by the America First openly as equals.

"my man tells me that a number of halls in Chicago are now shy about renting their premises to the America First for meetings and rallies. This, he says, goes for the managements of the Coliseum, the International amphitheatre, the Arena, and even Orchestra Hall, the latter is known to have quite a few pro-Nazis and America Firsters on its staff.

"Transformation of the America First Committee into a political party is being actively pushed by GENERAL WOOD. No new resignations have occurred from the America First topnotch ranks but those who had resigned in September and October insist that their names not be used in any way. Apparently, they threaten unpleasant publicity should their wishes be disregarded. My man tells me that the family of some of those individuals who have resigned continue to contribute money into America First."

From the report for the week ending November 29, 1941, furnished by [redacted] the following is set forth: b7C

"The highlight of the week just passed was the meeting of the National Executive Committee. Early in the week, my man turned over to me a letter from GENERAL ROBERT E. WOOD to Chapter Heads inviting their opinions "on the non-partisan political support" which America First is to give at the polls in 1942 to all those candidates who are or will be against this country's foreign policy. These opinions were to be in by November 25, preliminary to the National Executive Committee meeting called in Chicago for November 28.

"The meeting was held Friday the 28th, in the home of CLAY JUDSON, member of the Executive Committee and PAGE HUFTY, employed by America First, at [redacted] The meeting lasted from 1:00 to 5:30 p.m. and the main decision was to plunge the America First Committee into the political activity under the guise of 'non-partisan political support' at the polls to 'the right man' in both parties. Much money will be spent in each precinct in the country and will eventually there will be a captain and his assistant carrying out America First orders. It is felt that the middlewest b7C

is the easiest place to start the new program and that it may be enough to pick off two or three congressman for their pro-Roosevelt stand to begin with--this will frighten many other congressman and senators into abandoning the President.

"The decision was to be 'dirty' in all the future political work (not that the America First Committee has been clean in its methods so far, but you can well imagine how much dirtier these will become). The preliminary work is to start right now, but the main drive is to be opened after January 1. Legal steps are to be taken at once to allow America First this new plunge into the poll work. This precaution may well be the result of America First leaders' uneasy regard for certain obscure clauses of the Hatch Act.

"EARL JEFFRIES was recently brought to work in the America First offices as a specialist in just such political work. Certain leaders, notably, MRS. JANET AYER FAIRBANK, thought highly of him and his worth to America First in the new work at the polls. Thus, it comes as a considerable surprise to learn from my man that a few days ago GENERAL WOOD sent JEFFRIES a letter of curt dismissal, effective December 1. It is possible that WOOD has far greater plans than JEFFRIES is capable of carrying out. It is also possible that the Sears-Roebuck warrior is trying to get even with MRS. FAIRBANK in a rather petty way. MRS. FAIRBANK, you see, is constantly disagreeing with GENERAL WOOD on the problems of procedure and personnel. She is pestilent on the subject of young ROBBIE--R. DOUGLAS STUART, the national director whom WOOD likes but she jealously dislikes and zealously tries to undermine. The firing of JEFFRIES came as a shock not only to the victim himself, but also to MRS. F. She is now valiantly trying to save his neck. There is even a rumor in the America First offices that at the meeting of the national executive body she tried to appeal to that body over the head of the General.

"On her own, MRS. FAIRBANK has been doing some firing, too. Her victim is ROBERT CAREY, the publicity man in the S. Michigan offices of America First and his assistant or assistants. MRS. FAIRBANK had been for quite some time rather dissatisfied with his work, feeling that she wasn't getting enough local publicity through him. She demanded a report from him, and he submitted one in a blow-my-own-trumpet style (you have by now a copy). MRS. FAIRBANK was not impressed, and fired him and his entire staff, thus saving $150 per week. In his place, a certain MRS. J. FREDERICK REEVES is now working as MRS. FAIRBANK'S and America First' publicity expert. A niece of COL. MC CORMICK and a volunteer, MRS. REEVES costs America First nothing a week and may indeed bring in much coverage in the local press--not only in the house-organ in the Tower, but also in the Hearst paper, which of late has not been giving America First as great a break as during the first Lend-Lease agitation.

"CAREY is supposed to be a friend of LINDBERGH'S and may appeal, but LINDBERGH will disregard the appeal (so says my man). Incidentally, from another source we learn that LINDBERGH may soon be clearing out of New Jersey as a permanent residence. He is building a house for himself and his family at Seven Gates Farm, Martha's Vineyard, Mass., but at the same time there is definite talk that he will return to Minnesota at least six months before that State's September, 1942, primary in order to establish his legal residence and run for the Senate. It is possible that Martha's Vineyard will be his retreat while Minnesota will serve as his working grounds.

"If the "meet-you-at-the-polls" policy of America First assumes a third-party aspect, LINDBERGH'S race in Minnesota will be the outstanding feature of its first season. Without any doubt whatsoever the leaders of America First maintain that LINDBERGH will win in Minnesota, and that this will give the third party a tremendous start in life. It is true that American history teaches inevitable failure of every third party that ever came up to bid for power, but America First leaders privately point out that not every major party survived a major political crisis. They feel that the Republican Party may disappear from American life as completely as the Whig Party did, and for approximately the same reason: an internal split. America First leaders feel that the America First Committee may well become the second, not third, party. Such in fact is the main hope and aim in the present plunge of America First into the work at the polls."

From the report of America First for the week ending December 6, 1941 furnished by [redacted] the following is set forth. b2 b7D

"My man tells me that plans to hold a large America First rally in the Stadium sometime between December 14th and Christmas holidays have been abandoned. The December 14th Rally scheduled to take place at Orchestra Hall is expected to be a rather ordinary affair with no big names present but with enough preparatory work put in to insure a full hall, seating capacity close to 3000. Enough Germans and Irish can be counted upon to come down town on Sunday afternoon to spend Sunday afternoon in Orchestra Hall.

NEWTON JENKINS is mentioned in the America First offices as a possible second speaker to share the platform with DEAN MANION of Notre Dame. Some members of the America First staff know the shady past and dubious connections of JENKINS but keep quiet about it, not wishing to contradict the almight and ever impatient JANET FAIRBANK. She is much in favor of JENKINS, believing him to be a "lovely,fine personality'.

The America First leaders claim they have 6000 members in the Stockyards District, mainly Italians but some Germans, too, and they have been organized, according to JANET AYER FAIRBANK and GENERAL WOOD, for the coming political 'meet-you-at-the-polls' campaign. The activities of NEWTON JENKINS and the organization known as the United Community Builders has come to the attention of the Chicago Field Division and has been made the subject of a pending investigation.

From the Chicago Daily News dated December 3, 1941, the following clipping was secured.

"PLANS TO REVAMP AMERICA FIRST TOLD BY WOOD

A reorganization plan transforming America First into an active political agency in the pattern of major political parties has been outlined by Brig. Gen. ROBERT E. WOOD, retired, Chairman of the committee.

"Clarifying its program for the 1942 elections, WOOD said "a corporation will be set up in conformity with national election laws.'

"'As a nonprofit corporation we cannot now contribute to political campagins,' WOOD said. He reiterated that America First had no intention of becoming a 'third party'.

"'We'll be something like the old Anti-Saloon League', he said, 'supporting a Republican here, a Democrat there and perhaps a Progressive. It depends upon their foreign policy stand entirely.

"One of the candidates the committee will back for re-election, it was announced, will be Senator C. WAYLAND BROOKS."

Following the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor December 7, 1941, the National Committee, issued the following statement dated December 11, 1941 announcing the dissolution of subject organization. This statement was furnished by [redacted] and is set forth as follows: b2 b7D

"The America First Committee was organized in the summer of 1940 with two primary objectives:

(1) An impregnable defense for our nation.
(2) Avoidance of involvement in the European and Asiatic war.

Our principles were right. Had they been followed, war could have been avoided. No good purpose can now be served by considering what might have been, had our objectives been attained.

"On Sunday, December 7, Japan launched an attack upon us.

"On Monday, December 8, Congress declared war on Japan.

"Today, December 11, 1941, Congress declared war on Germany & Italy.

"There is no longer any question about our involvement in the conflict in Europe and Asia. We are at war. Today, though there may be many important subsidiary consideration, the primary objective is not difficult to state. It cam be completely defined in one word--victory.

"While the executive branch of the government will take charge of the prosecution of the war, the fundamental rights of American citizens under our Constitution and Bill of Rights must be respected. The long range aims and policies of our country must be determined by the people through Congress. We hope that secret treaties committing America to imperialistic aims or vast burdens in other parts of the world shall be scrupulously avoided to the end that this nation shall become the champion of a just and lasting peace.

"The period of democratic debate on the issue of entering the war is over; the time for military action is here. Therefore, the America First Committee has determined immediately to cease all functions and to dissolve as soon as that can legally be done. And finally, it urges all those who have followed its lead to give their full support to the war effort of the nation, until peace is attained."

[redacted] furnished a copy of a letter addressed, JOHN L. WHEELER, [redacted] Los Angeles, California, over the signature of ROBERT E. WOOD, Chairman. This letter was dated December 12, 1941 and informed WHEELER that the National Committee had passed a resolution directing that the America First Committee and affiliated sub-divisions be dissolved. He stated that "since its formation in September 1940, the America First Committee has contended that the United States should build an impregnable National Defense and avoid participation in foreign wars. We have held further that a policy of aid to other countries would weaken our own defense and tend to draw us into the conflict. We believe that our principles were right then and are right now. We believe that if the government had followed the policy which we advocated, war could have been avoided and America and the world would have benefited. We make no apologies for the position which we have taken and we firmly believe that history will prove that we are right. We hope that that as individual you will exert you efforts in support of the members of the Senate and House of Representatives who have so bravely carried on this fight."

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A copy of this letter is being prepared and will be forwarded to the Bureau when completed.

Concerning the dissolution meeting of the Executive Committee held on December 11, 1941, [redacted] furnished the following report. b2 b7D

"My man tells me that today's meeting of the America First National Executive Committee (in PAGE HUFTY'S apartment on North Astor Street) lasted from noon to 6:30 and finally ended in a decision to dissolve the America First Committee.

"The long hours of the meeting are explained by the fact that certain members of the Executive Committee were against dissolving. JANET AYER FAIRBANK and LINDBERGH were for dissolution; R.W. STUART and a few others were against. 'That Nazi STUART', remarked MRS. FAIRBANK to MISS CORNELIA HOWE, her woman Friday in the America First Regional Office.

STUART and other wanted to keep America First afloat in order to have a political weapon during the elections of 1942. MRS. FAIRBANK was--and is--against any activity by the America First from now on.

"My man remarks, (and he had plenty of opportunity to watch her this momentous week), MRS. FAIRBANK is plain scared of what the government may do to her should the America First Committee go on, and above all, should she continue to be associated with it. When certain of the members of the National Executive Committee proposed to dissolve the America First Committee but keep incorporated and intact legally for at least one more year, she protested vigorously, and refused to have anything to do with it. As she is one of the original incorporaters, the corporation is expectedto be broken up in the near future.

There are practically no funds left in the America First Regional office of MRS. FAIRBANK but a considerable money surplus is known to exist in the National Office. What to do with it is the question. MRS. FAIRBANK patriotically suggested buying a defense bond with it but the other members insist on keeping the money in ready currency. An opinion has been expressed that MRS. FAIRBANK isn't so patriotic after all--that she merely wants this money to collect interest until the spring when the America First Committee is supposed to come out of the impending hibernation in order to take part in the primaries.

All the files are being taken to MRS. FAIRBANK'S home, the wine room in the basement at [redacted]. All the employees of the America First Regional Office are to be fired by the middle of next week. It will take longer for the America First National Office to liquidate, perhaps as long as three weeks". b7C

MRS. ELIZABETH LANDA, one of the America First National Office, is rather calm, almost happy, about the dissolution of the America First Committee. She has expressed herself to the effect that since it (the war) had to come, she is glad it came at last, because anyway,"it's the question of either Hitler or Roosevelt and Hitler will win--the sooner, the better".

From a report dated December 10, 1941 entitled"America First After Japanese Attack on United States", a copy of which was furnished by [redacted] the following is taken. b2 b7D

"My man tells me that on Monday, December 8, the employees of America First Regional Office reported to work as usual but began at once to take down the signs, such as, "Bundles From Britain", showing coffins with bodies of American soldiers. The process of packing and removal is still going on at this writing and is to continue until the middle or end of the next week when the America First Committee is expected to close. My man stated, "The cards will be used in the Spring when the America First leaders intend to come out again under another name, of course, to get interviews at the polls and for a bang-up political campaign. My man tells me that LINDBERGH did not want to issue his call for unity and did it only after GENERAL WOOD exerted considerable pressure upon him by wire and long distance telephone.

R. DOUGLAS STUART, JR., National Director of the America First Committee, issued a statement, not for publication, right after the Japanese attack. The statement was addressed to heads of Chapters throughout the country. He sent a copy of it to MRS. FAIRBANK who read it with expressions of horror, and her arms up in the air, she exclaimed, "My God, That's treason". She called up GENERAL WOOD to stop the statement before it was mailed out but WOOD said it was too late, the statement had already gone out. We do not know the text or the tone of the STUART statement but MRS. FAIRBANK might have exaggerated her horror of its contents for the simple reason of deep and long-standing animosity for young STUART.

[redacted] furnished a report concerning the activities of the New York Chapter of America First dated December 9, 1941. From this report the following is quoted: b2 b7D

"Future Plans for America First

Many of the leaders have already withdrawn. GENERAL WOOD came on yesterday morning and has been negotiating with the New York Committee. As an outcome of that meeting, ED WEBSTER states:

(1) That the Eastern AFC will close their branch offices.

(2) They will keep the office at 515 Madison Avenue, but will curtail activities.

(3) They have called off all impending meetings.

(4) They have given notice to their paid personnel.

(5) They will make no further statement until the National Committee statement comes out on December 9.

(6) They will stall on activities but not close down.

"MRS. ETHEL TAYLOR states that the organization will carry on (1) to defend the American people from being completely dominated by the Communists, and (2) to do everything possible to keep America out of war with Germany.

"WILLIAM T. LEONARD, who headed the Brooklyn Chapter, has swung around completely and now calls for national defense. He stated this morning: "The statement in the Brooklyn Eagle? I believe that is all we could say under the circumstances. Otherwise all of us would have come under suspicion. It would be too bad to come under suspicion in wartime. Naturally ROOSEVELT is guilty of this war - I hope he will now be happy with his bloody toy."

"It is probable that he will be replaced as head of the Brooklyn Chapter by MR. HORACE HAASE, who states: "I have not changed my principles. This war is not our war. There is only one brave man in America - that is Senator NYE. I am simply disgusted with WHEELER. One thing is sure: I am not going. I will try to find a defense job in the Brooklyn Navy Yard. If that goes wrong, I will look for a hide-out somewhere in the country where I can write my book. I want to do something constructive and not desctructive. They can put me in prison if they want, but I am not going to be shot in this war. The American people have been tricked into this. They were betrayed by their leaders. It is shameful how WOOD and FLYNN and all the others suddenly changed face. If our ideas were true yesterday, they certainly are true today. I hope LEONARD will resign if he feels as he announced. In that case, I might become chairman of the Chapter. We shall carry on as a political party and keep an eye on the government. When the Roosevelt downfall comes, which must come, then we shall take revenge. I know we will lose this war. It may be good for us. Yesterday MANY WALTZ and I sent telegrams to Congressmen not to vote for war."

[redacted] advised that on interview, MRS. J..NET ..YER F..IRB..NK had called in several of the former employees in the Regional Office of ..merica First, prior to the First of January, for the purpose of getting the files together to be packed and sent to GENER..L WOOD and GENER..L H..MMOND. The informant advised that GENER..L WOOD received the signature cards and GENER..L H..MMOND was to receive the alphabetical file and that MRS. F..IRB..NK was to retain the contributions cards. The informant stated that GENER..L H..MMOND insisted upon the alphabetical file for the alleged reason that it was to be used for political purposes. The informant advised that nearly all of the subdivisions and Chapters throughout the country had responded to the request from the National Office for the return of all files to them.

The informant stated that MRS. F..IRB..NK had stated that she would get in touch with several of the former employees at a future date when they got ready to do something in the political line. [redacted] further stated that thirty to thirty-five girls had been working at the home of MRS. F..IRB..NK copying addresses from the ..merica First membership lists, directly after the local Chapter was closed. This was done with the knowledge and consent of GENER..L H..MMOND and COL. ROBERT MC CORMICK of the Chicago Tribune. MRS. F..IRB..NK made the statement that she is having one of her winecellars "rat-proofed" and it was the informant's opinion that this "rat-proof" winecellar is being used to store the contribution cards of subject organization to be used at a future date for political purposes.

[redacted] furnished the following report dated December 19, 1941 which is being set forth as follows:

"My man tells me that MRS. J..NET ..YER F..IRB..NK has recovered after her recent panic. Once more she is full of fight. ..ccording to what she now says to her assistant, the ..merica First Committee may be dissolved but not finished. J..NET decided not to rent her house from January 1 to May 1, as she was planning right after the Japanese attack. She is not going away to Mexico, after all, but staying right here in Chicago to prepare for a political fight in favor of Senator BROOKS, Congressman P..DDOCK, D..Y and other isolationists. Most of the ..merica First files have been moved to MRS. F..IRB..NK'S house on North State Street, and orders have been given to start addressing envelopes to 150,000 members of the ..merica First Committee in Illinois, Iowa and Indiana. The ..merica First members will be asked by mail, and later by radio and through rallies, to be for defense yet to vote for those isolationists who will seek re-election in 1942. Interventionist Congressmen and Senators are to be defeated through the same effort.

On Wednesday evening, December 18, MRS. FAIRBANK gave a dinner to her staff--some nine guests in all--and seemed to be in pretty high spirits, especially after a few drinks. Among other things, she said she had to fix up a special room in the basement of her house for the America First files and membership cards, to safeguard them against rats. "The rats in Washington are not the only ones," she remarked semi-gaily, semi-grimly.

"Some of the membership cards have been shipped to the house of CARL HOWE, [redacted] Illinois (telephone Euclid 4949). b7c CARL HOWE is the father of CORNELIA HOWE, the chief assistant and trusted friend of MRS. FAIRBANK. MISS HOWE is to do much of the addressing. She won't go West, after all.

"GENERAL ROBERT WOOD decided that he, too, must have a set of those 150,000 names and addresses and sent over boxes of blank cards tobe filled with those precious membership rolls. It's an open secret in the circles of the "dissolved" America First Committee that WOOD, too, is going to use those names and addresses for political purposes. The national offices of the America First Committee (Board of Trade Bldg.) are being liquidated but very slowly. My man says: "BOBBIE STUART doesn't want to give in or give up. He just doesn't."

"My man also tells me that GENERAL WOOD, and not CHARLES LINDBERGH, wrote LINDBERTH'S statement of "unity". My man heard this personally from MRS. FAIRBANK. It appears that LINDBERGH did not want to issue such a statement under any circumstances despite all the Pressure WOOD put on him on Monday the 8th. Finally, in near-desperation, WOOD himself wrote the statement and released it to the press as if coming from LINDBERGH although actually LINDBERGH had nothing to do with it. LINDBERGH wants to go ahead with the work of America First but under another name--that is, there should be a new organization of old members. He won't give the Administration in Washington any satisfaction and does not care if Washington knows that he never recanted, thatWOOD, not he, wrote and issued that statement for him. This checks with a confidential report I received from New York, where ED WEBSTER, a prominent America Firster, said: "LINDBERGH wants to carry on the fight against 'the Communists in Washington,' and in a few months intends to come out openly for the organization.

Because WOOD presumed to issue that statement for LINDBERGH, and because generally LINDBERGH believes that WOOD and other America-First leaders mismanaged their campaign and missed many opportunities to make hay while their sun shone, LINDBERGH intends to create out of the America First timber an organization of his own and run it strictly by himself, with MRS. FAIRBANK and others taking orders from him. Such is the opinion expressed in the America First circles in Chicago and elsewhere."

Following the dissolution of subject organization all meetings previously scheduled were called off and there have been no official meetings held since December 11, 1941.

[redacted] b7C b7D

[redacted] furnished the following b2 b7D report concerning this meeting of MC CORMICK, PATTERSON, LINDBERGH, and WOOD:

"This much-talked about but little-ascertained meeting took place in Chicago in the middle of March. The exact date is hard to establish, but, as one of my Trib contacts puts it, the four men met shortly after the news of Mac Arthur's escape to Australia was made known in this country. This would make it sometime between March 17 and 20.

JOE PATTERSON was passing through Chicago on his way from Hawaii. LINDBERGH was in town in connection with his taking that job with Henry Ford. PATTERSON, LINDBERGH and MC CORMICK met in the latter's private office on the 24th floor of the Tribune building. Later, the three adjourned to the Chicago Club where GENERAL WOOD joined them.

"The meeting was extremely hush-hush, and nothing is known for certain just what happened in the course of it. However, one man (formerly a foreign correspondent of the Chicago Tribune and still on good terms with certain high executives of the Tribune) tells me the following:

"McCORMICK wanted LINDBERGH to issue a public statement whitewashing the America First Committee as a patriotic organization of which its former members and leaders should not be ashamed, praising MC CORMICK and the Chicago Tribune as a patriotic man and a laudable institution, and, above all, saying a few good words about Senator BROOKS which might be used as LINDBERGH'S endorsement of BROOKS. But LINDBERGH refused to issue such a statement. He said to his host that it would be too obvious a maneuver, and that he would rather be useful in some other way. MC CORMICK did not insist."

"Another man, presently employed by the Tribune in a responsible capacity, said to me that the meeting of the four personages was held to map out the future course of action of the ex-America First leadership. 'The appointment of MAC ARTHUR as supreme commander, just made public, was discussed by the four, who feel that MAC ARTHUR is their man and will do their bidding, although on what they base such an assumption is not known. We around the Trib office feel that MC CORMICK and his friends just 'smell' that MAC ARTHUR is their man, hence the terrific buildup. LINDBERGH'S job with Ford was discussed at that meeting in connection with MAC ARTHUR'S escape and appointment.

And still another man said to me:

"The buildup of LINDBERGH as America's imminent savior was discussed at that meeting in Chicago. You see, by making 25 bombers a day LINDBERGH and FORD will be in a position to claim a super-service to the nation in her hour of trial. Gradually, a press will be built up for LINDBERGH, giving him rather than FORD (with Ford's complete agreement) most if not all the credit for those 25 bombers a day. That's what they discussed at the meeting."

[redacted] advised that a meeting was held at the home of MRS. JANET MYER FAIRBANK in the early part of January 1942 and that it was discussed at this meeting, the possibility of using the membership lists of the Illinois and Chicago Chapters amounting to approximately 150,000 names for the purpose of distributing campaign literature in behalf of Senator WAYLAND BROOKS and Congressman STEPHEN A. D.A.Y. He advised that this mailing list was used in December and January and that campaign literature was mailed to the former members of

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America First urging these persons to support BROOKS and DAY at the April Primary nominations. He further stated that it has been reported to him that the list will be used again in November of 1942 and that there is a definite feeling that former leaders of America First will come out with the formation of a political party under a different name but with same nucleus as subject organization, in the late summer of 1942.

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[redacted] advised that CHARLES B. GOODSPEED, President of the Buckeye Steel Casting Corporation and his secretary and friend, MRS. BRECKENRIDGE, both of whom are ardent America Firsters, had been intensively collecting money for the BROOKS campaign. Informant further advised that MRS. BRECKENRIDGE also acts as secretary to GENERAL THOMAS HAMMOND, formerly of the Nation Committee of subject organization, and that HAMMOND had been secretly behind this money collecting campaign. The informant advises that most of the persons contacted by MRS. BRECKENRIDGE and CHARLES B. GOODSPEED were former members of America First as taken from the alphabetical file in the possession of GENERAL HAMMOND. MRS. BRECKENRIDGE is also reported to have said that, when asked about the possibilities of future activity for subject organization, "We'll have something definite to work on in the campaign".

Prior to December 7, 1941, subject organization by its rapid growth and national publicity, attracted to it many radical groups who, for one reason or another, found in the America First program at least one of the purposes of their own group. Memberships of some of these groups were urged by their own leaders to join America First.

b2 b7D

[redacted] advised that on several meetings of the German-American National Alliance, PAUL A. F. WARNHOLTZ, Director of Publicity, and WALTER SILGE, former president, had urged the members to join America First.

b2 b7D

[redacted] has furnished a list to reporting agent of 646 members of the German-American National Alliance who were found to be members of the America First as of November 29, 1941. Copies of this list are being prepared and will be forwarded to the Bureau when completed.

From an article in the American Mercury for January of 1942, the author, JOHN ROY CARLSON, under a story entitled "Inside the America First Movement" on Page 7, which article was written before Pearl Harbor, charges that America First, whether knowingly or not, had become the expression of the American Fascist movement and that though many of the leaders were sincere and honest isolationists, there nevertheless was no real attempt made to purge those who were in the movement who were not sincere and honest isolationists. CARLSON charged that there were astute, unnamed strategists operating behind the scenes and manipulating the central directive nucleus of the America First Committee. He also states that the America First Committee has political aspirations and that the owners, leaders and followers are outshouted, if not outnumbered.

In a sequel to this article one was published in The American Mercury for March 1942 by CARLSON under the heading "Our Fascist Enemies Within" on Page 306, which states that he had previously tried to differentiate between the honest isolationists and the hate-mongering elements acting as agents of foreign nations. From the article the following is quoted:

> "Since the dissolution of the America First Committee, the fascist rabble has been obliged to return to its former status -- that of an unorganized, rebellious mass movement without central leadership and without 'respectable' cover for its operations."

At another place in the article, however, CARLSON states that he received a letter post marked December 29 which an ardent America Firster had written to a comrade across the continent as follows:

> "For the time being we are in a state of quiescence, waiting for events to shape themselves. The trend of things already is less obscure .....You can be sure that very few of those who were with us before have changed their minds -- although they may be cautious for the present."

And another letter which he had received he set forth as follows:

> "We have already arranged to resume weekly meetings. We have a lot of ideas, are not in any way terrified and will not pull our punches."

[redacted] b7D

Investigation to date has failed to reveal that any new groups have been started in the Chicago area by any of the former leaders of America First. There existed prior to Pearl Harbor several groups which are still active such as "We the Mothers Mobilize for America, Inc.", headed by LYRL CLARK Van HYNING and Mrs. GRACE KEEFE; "Patrick Henry Forum" run by MARTIN J. HIGGINS; "Citizens Committee to Keep America Out of War" changed to "Citizens Committee" following December 7. This committee is headed by WILLIAM J. GRACE and at one time WILLIAM REGNERY, AVERY BRUNDAGE and EARL SOUTHARD were officers; "Lease Lend to America" started by RALPH I. BYERS; "Midwest Monetary Federation" headed by RALPH FRANKLIN KEELING, JOSEPH E. MacWILLIAMS and WILLIS OVERHOLSER and ALEXIS DeTURNOWSKY; and the "Lincoln Park Branch of the America First" headed by ALFRED [illegible] and [illegible]. These groups were active prior to December 7 and have remained active since the declaration of war. They have been reported variously as anti-Semetic, anti-administration and un-American. b3

[redacted]

Some of the persons above described took an active interest in America First prior to its dissolution and following war former members have

b3 cited in conjunction with Rule 6(e), Federal Rules of Criminal Procedure

attended these meetings. There is no indication that the responsible leaders of America First have given any support to these groups.

The above named individuals and groups have interchanged speakers and memberships and have become rather closely enmeshed in a so-called peace front. Inasmuch as there is no apparent connection between the responsible officials of subject organization and these groups, their activities are not being set forth in detail in this report.

Prior to September 1941 the Lincoln Park Branch, headed by E. T. KIEHL, [redacted] as director and CARL SANDS, Vice-President and HENRY LARSON, Treasurer, was a regularly established branch of the recognized America First Committee. b7C

Because of rational speeches and activities reported concerning this group, the Lincoln Park Branch by letter dated October 9, 1941 over the signature of CLAY JUDSON, National Committee Member, was advised they no longer had authority to use the name "America First" or to hold meetings which appear to be under the auspices of America First. The activities of this group continued and a subsequent letter was written over the signature of T. S. HAMMOND and is set forth as follows:

"Mr. E. H. KIEHL
[redacted]
Chicago, Ill. b7

My dear Mr. KIEHL

"Because of numerous complaints received regarding the activities of certain Chicago Chapters of the America First Committee, I sent, on the fifth of August, a letter to all suggesting procedure that might insure the effectiveness of the America First movement, and at the same time keep it above criticism and reproach.

"We continue to have complaints on the character of the meetings conducted by the Lincoln Park Chapter, of which you are Chairman. Because of this, we must ask that you hold no more meetings, using the name of the America First Committee. We ask that you return to the Chicago

Headquarters such stationery and supplies as have been furnished you, and your membership list.

"Please don't misunderstand me. This is in no way intended as an effort to control your activities. This is a free country and you can do as you please, but I must remind you that the America First Committee is incorporated, and those who wish to use its name must keep within the principles approved by it."

E. H. KIEHL was replaced by ALFRED W. BRUHN as chairman and the Lincoln Park Branch of the America First Committee took out a charter of incorporation in the State of Illinois on July 24, 1941. They have continued to hold meetings up to the present date which have been advertised as meetings of the Lincoln Park Chapter of the America First Committee, Inc.

At one meeting held on March 27, 1942 at Belmont Hall, JOSEPH E. MacWILLIAMS of the Midwest Monetary Federation discussed the formation of an American victory movement.

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b7d

[redacted] advised he received the following letter from the Lincoln Park Chapter of America First, Inc.:

"Dear Friend,

"We who worked in America First have a great responsibility. We have a deep underlying philosophy that perhaps can best be expressed in that phrase of Colonel LINDBERG'S, 'an independent American Destiny'. Our fight to prevent America's being involved in foreign war was but one of the great principles for which we were working.

"Deep down in our hearts each of us was hoping to see developed in America a new kind of leadership. We hoped that this leadership would seek to perfect America's economic self-sufficiency. We hoped for instance to see America develop a rubber supply somewhere in the western hemisphere that would assure us tires, regardless of European or Asiatic wars. We hoped to see developed here in the western hemisphere the low grade alloying ores that would

assure us steel for peace or war, despite the military adventures of foreign nations, or the whims of international speculators centered in London. We hoped to see American internal economy completely insulated from the international financial manipulators. We hoped to see America protected from the international fold confidence men who have promoted wars and revolutions in Europe for hundreds of years.

"We hoped to see America's vast labor power, directed by our great technical and managerial skill, turned loose upon the tremendous natural wealth of this continent to the end that the century-old American dream of a decent home, security and education for all might be achieved. We know that we cannot forever be pre-occupied with Europe's and Asia's economic wars and still have the time and energy to solve America's own great problems.

"It is clear that we who were in America First had a larger purpose. The fight against participation in the oncoming war was but an incident in the fight for an 'independent American Destiny'.

"Our really great fight is to determine who will be the masters when peace comes. What will be the nature of the coming peace? Will the international-minded, the international gold shysters, the international manipulators, rule America in the coming peace or will America be ruled by Americans in the interest of the American people and of their welfare?

"The 'Union Now' crowd are already making plans for America to support the world. They propose that the American taxpayer be saddled with the cost of rebuilding the whole structure of international finance just as soon as peace comes.

"They have the effrontery and gall to tell you Americans that your standard of living must fall so that you can patch up the world internationalist structure during the coming peace. In other words the living standard of Americans must go down to the standard of the Balkans or India or China.

"Look at your young son or daughter and decide if, besides taking on the tremendous burden of war taxes, you want them and your grandchildren to work and pay confiscatory taxes to the end of their lives, to support the schemes of the 'Union Now' traitors.

"You may not have a right to meet and discuss the war freely, but

you have a clear, Constitutional and unassailable legal right to meet and discuss the shape and kind of peace that will follow this war.

"The Communists, The 'Union Now-ers', the internationalists are as busy as ants preparing plans for the peace. If we, the true American patriots, do not come forward with a program, if we do not organize promptly and effectively to assure ourselves the kind of peace we want, then the internationalists will win the peace by default. America will then be theirs for centuries!

"We ask you to help create an American Victory Movement, that will assure us that the sacrifice made and the blood spilled in this war will not result in the loss of the dearly bought and inevitable peace to the dark forces of internationalism.

"We invite you to hear JOSEPH E. McWILLIAMS of the Midwest Monetary Federation discuss the formation of an 'American Victory Movement', on the night of Friday, March 27, 1942, at the Belmont Hall, 3205 N. Clark St., (8 P.M.),

"Mr. McWILLIAMS was born in Oklahoma on the Cheyenne-Arapahoe Indian Reservation. When he was six weeks old, his parents moved in a covered wagon to the Panhandle ranch country of Texas. His people had been pioneers for generations. They have fought in every war since and including the American Revolutionary War. At 37, Mr. McWILLIAMS is a veteran in the war now being waged in America to determine whether America is to have an 'independent destiny' or forever be the cat's paw of various international-minded groups and races. Mr. McWILLIAMS is one of the greatest orators in this country. You will hear one of the most inspiring addresses you have ever heard. You will be thrilled by this call to action!

"We urge you to be present (and to bring your friends) the night of Friday, March 27, at 8 P.M., at the Belmont Hall."

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[redacted] advised he was a former American Legion member and that he had no idea as to why this group sent him the letter, stating that he was approached sometime in November of 1941 and asked by a woman to come to these meetings but he declined at that time.

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It has been reported by [redacted] that the Lincoln Park Chapter of America First, Inc. has a membership of 9,000 persons

in Chicago.

[redacted] advised on April 24, 1942, b2 b7D that ALFRED BRUHN, Chairman of the Lincoln Park Branch stated a mailing list of the combined organizations of the Citizens Committee; We the Mothers Mobilize for America; the former Christopher Columbus Chapter of America First, headed by PETER GREENFIELD; the Oak Street Chapter, headed by NORMAN SANDERS and the Rogers Park Chapter headed by GEORGE A. HELLBERG and two south side chapters of America First had been made available to him "for a good program when the time came". BRUHN further remarked that the above mentioned lists numbered approximately 50,000 of which We the Mothers Mobilize for America, Inc. provided 35,000 and the Christopher Columbus Chapter numbered 4,500. The two south side chapters numbered 14,000 and the Midwest Monetary Federation 15,000. He remarked that the membership list of the Midwest Monetary Federation duplicated the membership list of the Lincoln Park Chapter and the Christopher Columbus Chapter with approximately an addition of 100 persons whose names did not appear on any of the other organizations books. BRUHN stated the Joe McWILLIAMS following of the Christian Mobilizers was more than 50,000 in New York City; that the GERALD L. K. SMITH circulation of the Flag and the Cross numbered approximately 15,000 in the Chicago area and WILLIAM GRASS' Citizens Committee, which BRUHN was advised was predominate, had numbered about 3,000.

All of these organizations, BRUHN is reported to have said, duplicated the membership of each other so that persons on one mailing list also received mail and literature from the other groups.

BRUHN has indicated his desire [redacted] to weld the b2 b7D remaining groups into one organization and he has said he could get the backing for a newspaper or a news letter which he intended calling "The Lindberg Beacon, the purpose of which would be to give news of the various peace organizations and their accomplishments. He said there were a number of well-to-do businessmen in Chicago who would contribute money to a paper of this type. He mentioned three such individuals as being [redacted] was said to have contributed to America First and is interested in contributing to other organizations who are still active. b7

BRUHN mentioned [redacted] who was interested in an organization headed by MARGARET RUSSELL known as the Womens White Army

b7C

and an individual named [redacted] who formerly contributed to America First and who financially supported the Lincoln Park Chapter.

[redacted] advised that BRUHN has indicated that "strong popular movement" which he has been endeavoring to get up, would coordinate all peace groups in Chicago each with a definite roll. He indicated fifteen of the old chapters of the America First have expressed themselves as willing to go on. He stated the purpose and aim of the peace groups would be "to form a third party" possibly under the help of the Lindberg Party which would advocate an impeachment of the President and for a new administration. b2 b7D

BRUHN further outlined the purposes as follows, "A work towards a negotiated peace by encouraging and stirring up a feeling of the people towards this end. To keep the people informed for a strong organized propaganda. Bring the money situation to the attention of the people and create the distrust of the money system, especially the Federal Reserve Bank, which, he is alleged to have said, is privately owned by a group of international bankers.

[redacted] advised the planned organization of the peace groups by BRUHN has failed to materialize and at several of the meetings held by BRUHN less than 50 people have attended. b1

ALFRED WILLIAM BRUHN, 1710 North Rockwell Street, is described as follows:

Age	55
Height	5'11"
Weight	140
Hair	Gray
Eyes	Blue
Face	Thin

He is employed as the exposition manager of the American Health Food Association, 32 North State Street. BRUHN was born in Wittenberg, Wisconsin and has been closely associated with United States Senator GERALD P. NYE, with whom he has been corresponding.

NORMAN SAUNDERS, formerly a speaker for America First and listed on

the report of the Speakers Bureau as having addressed twenty-three meetings of the Chicago Chapter has been reported as active with BRUHN and is endeavoring to form a peace group in Chicago. On April 11, 1942, he addressed the Patrick Henry Forum after he was introducted by MARTIN J. HIGGINS, Director of the Patrick Henry Forum as one of the chief lecturers and organizers for America First.

[redacted] advised SAUNDERS was quiet spoken and careful in his remarks, but stated "the people have been inadequate by not demonstrating their inalienable rights in removing a President who has a long record of violations of the Constitution.

Further investigation will be conducted to ascertain if the membership lists of the former America First are being made available to any of the above named persons active in the peace front following the declaration of war.

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Reference is made to the report of Special Agent [redacted] made at New York City May 13, 1942 in instant case. Reference report sets forth the activities of HORACE J. HAASE of the Brooklyn Chapter, America First.

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[redacted] furnished photostatic copy of a mimeographed sheet dated March 9, 1942 which is set forth as follows:

"TO MY FRIENDS WHO WERE FORMERLY MEMBERS OF AMERICA FIRST

"It being impossible for me to write each of you a personal letter will you please accept in its place the enclosed mimeographed announcement of a new organization I hope you will join and support.

"We opposed the war because of what it would do to our beloved country. We must work for PEACE now in order that war and the results of war will not fulfil our predictions.

"PLEASE SEND US THE NAMES OF OTHERS WHO ARE OR MIGHT BE INTERESTED. Will you organize in your neighborhood? Can you suggest someone who might?

"Something about the temporary chairman of AMERICANS FOR PEACE

"HORACE J. HAASE was born in Brooklyn, N.Y. of American parents on Jan. 4th, 1909. He has spent the last seven years studying America's economic and social problems. He is the author of THE ECONOMIC DEMOCRACY and is now work-

ing on a 700 page book laying down the basis for a just and lasting peace. He taught economics for several years, was Director of a School and has lectured on subjects ranging from Religion to politics. He treats all these things from the Economic angle.

"When THE AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE Was organized he joined the New York Chapter and lectured or soap-boxed, as opportunity offered, until the Committee was disbanded on Dec. 12th. For the last four months he was Chairman of the Speakers Bureau of the Brooklyn Chapter.

"He has now resigned as associate editor of a New Jersey newspaper in order to organize a committee with PEACE AS ITS FIRST OBJECTIVE. He has done so because he found that most other peace organizations have other objectives which they put first.

"Fellow American:

"Whether you WISH IT or NOT -- your tax-contributions are financing world-wide death and destruction. What are you doing for PEACE and FREEDOM?

"A few short months ago many of us were laboring to keep peace and to promote freedom. We were deeply and sincerely concerned about the future of our country. We knew that the entry of our country into the war would mean the sacrifice of American lives all over the world, the lowering of our standard of living, the building up of a debt that would destroy our economic freedom and the impoverishment of future generations. We knew that during the war the Bureaucrats and Communists in Washington would make us more nearly totalitarian and we knew that the only reward we would get out of victory would be the privilege of upholding the British Empire and of forcing our joint domination upon the world 'for a hundred years' (to quote Mr. KNOX). For these reasons we opposed the war at every opportunity throughout the land. BUT IF THESE THINGS WERE TRUE THEN when we were talking of POTENTIAL dangers, THEY ARE EVEN TRUER TO-DAY WHEN THESE SAME DANGERS ARE UPON US.

"Such being the case, if our concern is really for America, we have a duty to perform -- a duty to ourselves, to our children and to coming generations. That duty is to do all we can to put an end to this threat to American Democracy -- to advocate the EARLIEST POSSIBLE JUST PEACE. Such a peace is the

only hope for preserving our way of life.

"Some of us, in the days before Pearl Harbor, advocated a negotiated peace -- a peace in which both sides would have a say and BOTH SIDES would have to make concessions. We declared that only such a peace could hope to last. IF THAT WAS TRUE THEN, IT IS JUST AS TRUE NOW. The only possible lasting peace is one in which neither side forces its will upon the other -- a peace without victory. Such is the peace plan we must advocate with all our power and strength. And we must do it NOW.

"Before the war our peace program was unpopular. It still is, but I firmly believe that THE MAJORITY OF AMERICANS STILL WANT A JUST PEACE and OPPOSE WORLD DOMINATION EITHER BY BRITAIN, THE UNITED STATES OR BOTH.

"THESE ARE THE TIMES when REAL PATRIOTIC AMERICANS look to the WELFARE OF THEIR COUNTRY and not to the popularity of their cause. WE DID NOT LACK COURAGE OR CANDOR BEFORE. WE MUST NOT LACK THEM NOW -- WE MUST NOT FAIL AMERICA-- WE MUST NOT FAIL OURSELVES-- WE MUST NOT FAIL TRUTH AND JUSTICE. 'Let us have faith that right makes might and in that faith let us dare to do our duty as we understand it', (LINCOLN)

"DO SOMETHING FOR PEACE TO-DAY. DO IT NOW JOIN, AMERICANS FOR PEACE and send your contribution to help mail millions of these letters all over the country. Let 'UNITY FOR PEACE' be our slogan. United we can win.

"AMERICANS FOR PEACE Room 203, 1165 Bway, N.Y.C. H. J. HAASE, Act. Exec. Chm."

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[redacted] advised HORACE J. HAASE had written to Senator GERALD P. NYE and that in answer to this communication HAASE received the following letter from GERALD P. NYE:

"Of course if you are coming this way I shall want to see you, and when you get here you need only to telephone me and let me know of your presence whereon we can fix a time that would be convenient for a good visit.

"I shared with you that concern expressed concerning the folding up of the America First Committee, but the more I weigh the matter the more I come

to believe that it was wise to pursue the course that was pursued. But that does not right off the desperate need that will prevail for such a committee as it to function again, and I am satisfied that at the ripe time there can be a rebirth that will be in the full and complete interest of America. Increasing are the challenges to Americans as relates to the inefficient conduct of the war, the issue of civilian defense, the planning for the future, and especially the Union Now challenge which is growing.

"In some respects this Union Now play is not short of high treason, and growing sentiment is in evidence. What we need right now is patience lest we move too soon and before there is sufficient understanding with a loyal opposition organization through the country. But we can talk more about this when I see you."

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Concerning this communication addressed to H. J. HAASE, [redacted] advised the person who had furnished him the letter had sent along with it the following observations, "In my opinion this is a most significant document. It reaffirms in our minds the fear that the top leaders of the old America First Committee never sincerely liquidated the committee. Their intention was to permit it to lie dormant until the 'proper time'. H. J. HAASE is a nickle and dime stumble bum and at the same time is a member of many small group leaders from which can be recreated the old National American Committee. For this reason NYE is very nice to him in this letter."

b7

[redacted] advised that [redacted], had furnished the following information concerning the organization, "Gifts For our Boys":

"This organization, which has its office at 150 Broadway and its 'headquarters for gifts' in Room 11M at the Plaza Hotel, 5th Ave. and 58th St., N.Y.C., is an offspring of the America First Committee. The wealthier fascist elements formerly active in the America First Committee, metropolitan area, are tied up with this group. Its purpose, you will note from the annexed photostats, is to raise money to be given to men in our armed forces so that they may, at times of furlough, make trips home that they otherwise could not afford, etc. At least, that is its ostensible purpose. However, the personalities active in the group, and statements by the participants that 'this is a darned clever way to keep the America First Committee organized and intact, so that when the time

" "

comes all will be in readiness to act', reveal the true reasons for the creation of the organization. Mr. and Mrs. NORMAN HOLMES apparently were the sponsors of this 'tea' meeting. They also attended the now infamous Elizabeth Dilling dinner at 77 Park Ave., last summer.

"Others present were Mr. and Mrs. CHARLES WIXDORFF (America First & Women United)
Mrs. THELMA HERRICK (Women United)
JOHN BURKE (America First speaker)
SCOVILLE HANLIN (America First speaker)
Mrs. IDEL COOPER (Women United - Representative of Eliz. Dilling)
Mrs. LESTER ALLEN (formerly American Nationalist Party and close to McWILLIAMS)
Mrs. McCOY
Mrs. E. BENNETT (America First)

"This 'tea' meeting was arranged in a hurry because the elements active in it were anxious to sabotage the efforts of the ED FLYNN - PALMER crowd of America Firsters who are reported to be organizing a committee of their own. Of course, it is too early in the game to be able to delineate clearly the forces at work. This GOB group undoubtedly consists of the rotten part of the old AFC. If it does nothing else, it will probably succeed in contacting army and navy men and eventually will try to propagandize the boys while assisting them."

It was indicated that [redacted] had considerable information pertaining to the activities of former leaders of subject organization and that he would be cooperative and furnish them to this Bureau.

[redacted] furnished a clipping from the Jewish Transcript published at Seattle, Washington, dated January 9, 1942 under the headline "America First Mailing Lists being used by Our Enemies." The clipping is not being set out in full but contains the charge that the Non-Sectarian, anti-Nazi League had charged that mailing lists of the recently dissolved America First are still being used by some individuals and groups to lay a ground work for future guerrilla conflict on the propaganda front in America. The Sectarian League was indicated to be in possession of copies of a Christmas greeting folder printed with the signature of the Loyal Copperheads of America, headed by a former active America First worker. The folder was sent during the first

few days of December as a Christmas greeting to former active members of the America First Committee in New York and was revealed that persons receiving the folder had been active in America First although never had been active in the Copperheads League.

[redacted] further furnished a copy of a confidential report which he had received from New York City pertaining to the Brooklyn Chapter of America First:

"HORACE J. HAASE took over (very much unofficially) the forces of the dissolved Brooklyn chapter of America First, replacing WILLIAM LEONARD who resigned even before the national executive committee of AF disbanded the entire organization. HAASE is an amateur economist who wrote a book called The Economic Democracy (Tremaine & Company). He belongs to the radical Fascist wing of America First. His line, now expressed only privately, is in favor of a revolution. 'This is not our war,' he says, 'Impeach the President.' One of his closest friends in the Brooklyn America-First group is THURMAN BLACKWOOD, a thoroughly seditious young man who belongs to several secret organizations.

"According to HAASE, he (HAASE) had a talk with ED WEBSTER of the New York America-First crowd, and WEBSTER had said to him: 'HERBERT HOOVER has always been a close collaborator of America First and has advised me (WEBSTER) to keep the organization (AF) inactive for a while and to come out with a new program later on.' WEBSTER said further: 'LINDBERGH also wants to carry on the fight against "'the Communists in Washington,'" and in a few months intends to come out openly for the organization.'

"HAASE also tells his friends that he is in touch with HOOVER'S assistants on HOOVER'S Relief Committee, and they tell him that HOOVER and they will help the AF forces to keep afloat because 'there is so much dirt in Washington, and the Administration is fighting them (HOOVER men) with such vicious methods.'

"Incidentally, HAASE is the man who went to the parents of victims of the Reuben James and got them to sign statements that they did not 'intend that their sons should die in President Roosevelt's private war on convoy duty to the English.'

"It is the same HAASE who quite recently boasted of having 'a girl

friend working in the Ministry for British War Transfers as a shipping clerk and she can give us important information.'

"There are a number in the Brooklyn America-First gang who have promised HAASE to carry on their 'patriotic' work. Among those are Mrs. EVA PORTER, Mrs. HALLIE OLSEN, who is very Irish, very anti-ROOSEVELT and anti-British, THURMAN BLACKWOOD, and others. Captain GEORGE SMITH made a point of telephoning HAASE that he would be glad to help his pal (HAASE).

"The Brooklyn chapter of AF had a membership list of 80,000. No one seems to know what happened to that list after LEONARD pulled out. HAASE has been looking for the list, and may have found at least part of it."

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[redacted] advised he had been informed the Wakefield Chapter of the North Bronx Unit of the America First Committee, New York City was still meeting regularly as of February 6, 1942. It was reported that meetings were held in the homes of certain of the members. He advised he had no further information pertaining to the activities of the former chapters of the America First Committee in New York City but that he was aware of the organization known as Gifts for our Boys and Salute our Men. He advised should any information come to him concerning these groups which he stated grew out of America First, he would furnish it to this office.

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[redacted] advised he received a communication from New York City to the effect that [redacted], whom he described as one of the more active appeasers in the Metropolitan area, had been notifying friends in the ranks of the America First Committee that the America First groups in New Jersey are now organizing very strongly, particularly in Newark.

This communication dated January 27, 1942, further remarked that Mrs. CARROLL, who led the Jersey City Chapter of the America First Committee, is still organizing and that apparently the Jersey groups are looking for a large national group with which to merge.

[redacted]

b7C

P E N D I N G

U N D E V E L O P E D L E A D S

The New York Field Division

AT NEW YORK CITY

Will interview [redacted] for information in his possession regarding the activities of the former leaders of America First.

Will interview [redacted] and will ascertain other information in his possession regarding the activities of subject organization.

Will interview [redacted]

The Washington Field Division

AT WASHINGTON, D.C.

Will interview [redacted]

The Chicago Field Division

AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Will recontact [redacted] and [redacted] as listed in the body of the above report to ascertain the future activities of those individuals and groups who reportedly have had access to membership lists of local chapters of America First and who are reported as endeavoring to weld those groups and others into the so-called peace front. b2 b2D

Will continue to develop information pertaining to the use of the membership lists and mailing lists of the America First Chapter by the former leaders of America First for political or other purposes.

P E N D I N G

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ORIGIN CHICAGO, ILLINOIS			FILE # 100-3325
Made at SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.	Date Made 5/26/42	Period 3/28;4/17,18; 5/14,19-22/42	Report made by [redacted] b7C [redacted]
Title AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE			Character INTERNAL SECURITY (G)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 9/30/83 BY 327 mlc 10-19-90 SP8B75/cal 40741183

SYNOPSIS: Summary of present war organization and activities of America First Committee, Northern California District, set out. All activities reported to have ceased since United States entered war in December. No evidence uncovered relating to any underground activities of organization since that time. Meeting held by one of largest San Francisco chapters of organization on 12/9/41. Members voted to "remain dormant for the duration", but not to dissolve entirely. No activity in [redacted] district organization since January, 1942. Approximately two thousand membership application cards obtained relating to membership of San Francisco chapter of organization. Many Germans prominent in German activities in San Francisco were among those having filled out application cards. b7D

- P -

REFERENCE: Bureau letter to all field offices, dated March 16, 1942.

DETAILS: AT SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA

ORGANIZATION

The files of the office of Secretary of State of California contained

COPIES DESTROYED 3/2[illegible]

7-8-J Hoover [redacted] 6 Copies 5 - Bureau AMSD JUN 5 1942 [redacted] 3 - Chicago 2 - ONI, San Francisco 1 - G-2, San Francisco 2 - San Francisco [redacted]	100-4712-398 JUN 1 1942	RECORDED INDEXED b7C

the following information concerning the America First Committee of Northern California, Inc., incorporation number 187913, filed June 3, 1941.

The purposes for which this corporation was formed were stated as follows:

(A) To stimulate and encourage the National Defense in the United States of America so that it shall be so strong that no foreign power or combination of powers can successfully invade it.

(B) To advocate a policy on the part of the United States of keeping out of foreign wars and of avoiding alliances, entanglements or acts which are apt to embroil us in foreign wars.

(C) To advocate the policy of extending democracy, constitutional government and personal freedom throughout the world, by preserving and promoting in our country peace, representative government, allegiance to our constitution, and personal freedom.

(D) To stimulate, encourage, and assist the study, analysis, conference and discussion of national issues by all citizens.

(E) To exercise such other powers as may be permitted under authority of Title XII, Part IV, Division First of the Civil Code of the State of California and under authority of the laws of the State of California not inconsistent therewith.

(F) This corporation is organized as a non-profit concern that doesnot contemplate pecuniary gain or profit to the members thereof.

The principal office for the transaction of the business of this corporation was to be located in the City and County of San Francisco.

Membership in the corporation shall be regulated by by-laws. Unless otherwise provided by the by-laws, membership shall be open to patriotic American citizens who are loyal to our constitutional form of government and who are in agreement with the principles of this corporation.

No person shall be eligible to membership unless he or she shall sign a membership card, nor unless he or she shall comply with such of the by-laws regulating membership as may be prescribed.

Neither the officers, directors or members of this corporation shall have the power to levy assessments on the members nor shall any of the officers, directors or members be personally liable for any of the debts, liabilities or obligations of the corporation.

The corporation shall have the power to create chapters in various communities, to provide rules and regulations governing the functions of such chapters, to specify the territory within the jurisdiction of each chapter, and to proscribe

rules and regulations whereunder the members of the corporation within the territory of such chapters may elect officers, hold meetings, and function within the territory as a chapter of this corporation.

Subject to such regulations as may be set forth in the by-laws, the directors shall have the power to provide for meeting of the members, and to provide for conventions of delegates thereto from various chapters of the corporation.

The Board of Directors shall have the power by a two-thirds vote to expel any person from membership in the corporation. Unless otherwise stated in the By-laws, three directors shall be a quorum.

The number of directors of this corporation shall be five, but the directors shall have the authority to increase or decrease the number of directors by resolution of the Board, except that in no event shall the number of Directors be less than three.

The names and address of the persons who are appointed to act as the first directors of this corporation are: JOHN J. TAHENY, FRANK T. McGRATH, WILLIAM H. HARRISON, ZOA F. CAMP, ANNETTE VOSTI, all of San Francisco, California.

CHAPTERS OF THE AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
IN THE NORTHERN CALIFORNIA DISTRICT

The following information concerning the Chapters of the America First Committee of the Northern California district, was taken from the November 15, 1941, issue of "The Herald", a weekly newspaper which was formerly published by the Northern California District of the America First Committee.

Abraham Lincoln Chapter, San Francisco -
HERBERT PETERSON, Chairman
PAUL NAMI, vice Chairman
MARGARET CASEY, Secretary
This chapter met at the Shasta Hall, Native Sons Building, 414 Mason Street, San Francisco.

William Paca Chapter, San Francisco -
BENEDICT V. DE BELLIS, Chairman
JULIA BESOZZI, Secretary
ELEANOR SUBTROPICO, Acting treasurer
This chapter met at the Fugazi Hall, 678 Green Street, San Francisco.

Benjamin Franklin Chapter, San Francisco -
FRANK T. McGRATH, Chairman
JASON GORDON, Vice Chairman
MARGARET HOGAN, Secretary
Mrs. GEORGE BUSH, Treasurer
This chapter met at 309-4th Avenue, San Francisco.

Charles A. Lindbergh Chapter, San Francisco -
GEORGE KANE, Chairman
Mrs. A. E. IAU, Vice Chairman
Mrs. L. L. MORRISON, Secretary
Mrs. K. T. LUNDE, Treasurer
This chapter met at 1738 - 9th Avenue, San Francisco.

Lafayette Chapter, San Francisco-
Mrs. RUSSO, Secretary

George Washington Chapter, San Francisco -
JAMES FLYNN, Chairman
Mrs. M. SMITH, Vice Chairman
Mrs. LERTLEY, Treasurer
This chapter met in the Irish-American Hall, 16th and Valencia Streets, San Francisco.

Burton K. Wheeler Chapter, San Francisco -
HELEN McLILLIAN, Secretary

Oakland Chapter, 381-17th Street, Oakland -
GUY M. WRIGHT, Chairman
GEORGE T. LOHER, Vice Chairman
This chapter met at the Hotel Oakland, Oakland, California.

Berkeley Chapter, 2123 Center Street, Berkeley -
DONALD S. MacKAY, Chairman
P. W. ALLOTON, Vice Chairman
Mrs. M. C. HAYES, Secretary
JOSEPH BERNAL, Treasurer

Stockton Chapter, Stockton -
F. B. FEIGHNER, Chairman
ERNEST QUYLE, Vice Chairman
LILLIAN THEUERKAUFF, Secretary
W. L. THEUERKAUFF, Treasurer and manager of headquarters
This chapter met at 410 East Market Street, Stockton.

The most active individuals in the Northern California District organizatio are listed as follows:

Mr. JOHN TAHENY, 625 Market Street, San Francisco. Mr. TAHENY is a San Francisco lawyer and is also president of the United Irish Societies of San Francisco. Mr. TAHENY was one of the original directors of the district organization and acted as chairman of the Board of Directors.

Mr. FRANK T. McGRATH, Hearst Building, San Francisco. McGRATH, a San Francisco lawyer, was vice chairman of the Board of Directors

and was also chairman of the Benjamin Franklin Chapter of the committee in San Francisco.

WILLIAM H. HARRISON, member of the Board of Directors.

ZOA F. CAMP, member of the Board of Directors.

ANNETTE VOSTI, member of the Board of Directors and secretary of the district organization.

In August, 1941, RALJUND B. WURLITZER, a member of the legal firm of DAVIS, SKAGGS and Company, took active leave from the duties of that firm to become an Executive Secretary of the Northern California District of the America First Committee.

Also active in the district organization was a Mrs. TERRANCE BOYLE. An item in the Herald of October 16, 1941, stated "Mrs. BOYLE was one of the most enthusiastic and consistent volunteer workers for the America First Committee. Mrs. BOYLE is a sister of FRANK T. MCGRATH, Chairman of the Franklin Chapter."

SAMUEL L. BROGDEN was the Director of Organization for the northern district of California of the Committee until May 27, 1941, at which time he was asked to resign. [redacted]

In August, 1941, BROGDEN became California State Chairman of the "Citizens No Foreign War Coalition" organization. When BROGDEN left the America First Committee, he took with him one GEORGE T. BAKER who had formerly assisted him in America First. [redacted]

He was also a frequent speaker at meetings of the German-American Bund in 1939 and 1940.

Other individuals who were active in the Northern California District organization were Dr. HUGH R. PARKINSON, former leader of the Silver Shirts in San Francisco; Mr. H. L. KLUTE, prominently identified with German activities in San Francisco, and Mrs. SADIE J. DOYLE, [redacted]

Most prominent members who worked in the Oakland, California, area of the America First Committee are:

GUY M. WRIGHT, Chairman of the Oakland Chapter, proprietor of WRIGHT's Dry Cleaning and Laundry Service, 537 Athol Avenue, Oakland. WRIGHT also spoke at mass meetings of the San Francisco and Berkeley Chapters of the organization.

GEORGE T. LOHER, Vice Chairman of the Oakland Chapter, who is connected with the Acacia Mutual Life Insurance Company, Oakland. LOHER has been reported to this office as a Nazi propagandist and was reported to have made the

following statement relative to selective service in the United States: "If you got into the army the thing for you to do is revolt, then there won't be any army." LOHER also made the statement, relative to President ROOSEVELT prior to one of the president's speeches, "Well, what is the damn fool going to talk about tonight?" His wife replied, "What is the difference? Lindbergh will be on later." LOHER was also reported as being a draft evader in World War I.

ACTIVITIES

The America First Committee of Northern California published a weekly newspaper entirled "The Herald." A Mr. LORRIN L. MORRISON was editor, and Mrs. THOMAS B. DOYLE was associate editor. This paper was published at 507 Mason Street, San Francisco. There is no evidence of this newspaper being distributed since the United States entered the war in December, 1941.

Various mass meetings were held at San Francisco and Oakland. Following is the list of the prominent speakers who took part: SENATOR D. WORTH CLARK, CHARLES A. LINDBERGH, Senator BURTON K. WHEELER, KATHLEEN NORRIS, JOHN J. TWOHY, Dr. DONALD S. McKAY, Professor of philosophy, University of California, who is also chairman of the Berkeley Chapter of the America First Committee, and Senator RUSH D. HOLT.

NAZI-FASCIST INFILTRATION IN THE AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

As was stated above in the report, several prominent "American-Fascists" were active in the organization. Those were [redacted] b7

The chapter known as the William Paca Chapter, which met in the North Beach district of San Francisco, was composed almost entirely of Italian members. The membership of this chapter numbered over two hundred. Information was received from [redacted] that evidence of Italian Fascist infiltration into the America First Committee has been established at the William Paca Chapter and the Burton K. Wheeler Chapter, San Francisco. Chapters predominantly Italian have been addressed by individuals prominent in the Italian-American colony in San Francisco. RENZO TURCC was a frequent speaker and was reported to be a leading figure at a ball which was held under the auspices of the San Jose Chapter of the Italian War Veterans. TURCC was also reported to be a member of the Order of Sons of Italy and to have attended a bund meeting on May 30, 1938. b6 b6

Shortly after the outbreak of war in December, 1941, approximately two thousand application cards for membership in the America First Committee were obtained by this office from [redacted] An examination was made of these application cards and in sorting them out it was ascertained that 682 b6 b6

individuals who had made application had German names. In breaking down these 682 names, it was determined that seventy of them are subjects of Internal Security investigations conducted by the San Francisco office. These application cards were not dated, but it is apparent that the applications were made prior to the time that SAMUEL L. BROGDEN, who was Regional Director of the organization, left the America First Committee in the latter part of May, 1941.

[redacted]

[redacted]

670

One of the largest contributors to the America First Committee in San Francisco was a [redacted] furnished this office with a photostatic copy of a letter dated April 8, 1941, from [redacted] to Mr. S. L. BROGLEN, Director of Organization. The letter is as follows: "The time is short, the need of funds is probably great and urgent - therefore I am enclosing a personal check of [redacted] in response to your letter of April 2nd towards the specific needs mentioned in your letter. The mass meeting I thought encouraging to a cause that has such an uphill struggle. Signed, Yours truly, [redacted] Information was also received that [redacted] submitted a check of [redacted] at a subsequent date. On September 17, 1941, [redacted] advised that he had received information from a reliable source that [redacted] who is [redacted] a San Francisco [redacted] company, and [redacted] gives a check of [redacted] each month to [redacted] who in turn gives it to SAMUEL BROGDEN of the America First Committee.

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ACTIVITIES SINCE DECEMBER 7, 1941

The following information was received from [redacted] on March 28, 1942: "Answering your inquiry as to underground activity of America First groups and leaders since Pearl Harbor, I submit the following information which is the last report I have had regarding the America First Committee.

"On December 10, 1941, Mrs. GEORGE BUSH, active in America First, called at the "No Foreign War Coalition" headquarters and announced that the meeting of the America First Executive Committee had been called off but that the Benjamin Franklin Chapter of America First had met Tuesday night, December 9, 1941, with about forty members present. FRANK McGRATH, Chairman of that chapter, asked that the members take a standing vote on their desires as to future activity. The three alternative policies on which the membership was asked to base its future were:(1) to dissolve entirely; this was voted down; (2) to support the war against Japan but otherwise object to war against other foreign nations; only one-third of the membership supported this plan; (3) to remain dormant for the duration; two-thirds voted yes.

"McGRATH then suggested that the officers of the chapter meet once a month or so and that any of the members who wished to join them at lunch or dinner "in a purely social way" might also attend. It was pointed out that this would have to be done in a private fashion and not as an organization. McGRATH said further that while the members could not carry on and work as an organization, they could still, as individuals, express their opinions on the progress of world affairs and better keep in touch with affairs. This was agreed upon, all of those present being favorable to plan."

[redacted] was contacted subsequent to this time but was unable to furnish any more information concerning any activities of the America First Committee.

[redacted] who formerly reported activities regarding the America First in the San Francisco area, advised that no information had come to him that the America First was engaged in any activitiy since the organization closed in December.

Various individuals who had in the past reported receiving America First literature were contacted, but all advised that they had received no literature from the organization since December 7, 1941.

[redacted] San Francisco, who resigned from the America First group about August, 1941, was contacted by the writer. [redacted] had formerly reported to this office activities in the William Paca Chapter of the organization. She advised that to her knowledge the America First Committee had held a meeting in one of the hotels in San Francisco, which was in the form of a social. At this time a vote was taken as to future activities of the group and the vote resulted in "remaining dormant for the duration and ceasing all activity at the present but not disbanding entirely."

b7C
b7

- PENDING -

- UNDEVELOPED LEADS -

SAN FRANCISCO FIELD DIVISION

AT SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA

CONF. INFT.

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Will contact [redacted] and [redacted] relative to any activities of the America First Groups.

Will report any activities coming to the attention of the San Francisco office from any other source.

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXX

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

1 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

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☐ (b)(3)	☑ (b)(7)(C)	☐ (k)(1)
_____	☑ (b)(7)(D)	☐ (k)(2)
_____	☐ (b)(7)(E)	☐ (k)(3)
_____	☐ (b)(7)(F)	☐ (k)(4)
☐ (b)(4)	☐ (b)(8)	☐ (k)(5)
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100-4712-398 in p. 11

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FBI/DOJ

JUN 2 1942

TELETYPE

F

AUTHORITY CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 10-18-90 BY SP8BTJ/COL

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Lacke
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Holloman
Mr. McGuire
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease

b7c

[redacted]

BI EL PASO 6-2-42 8-10 PM

DIRECTOR
HEAR. AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE, INTERNAL SECURITY- G. RETEL MAY TWENTY SIXTH, NINETEEN FORTY TWO, TO DATE NO INDICATION THIS COMMITTEE OPERATING IN EL PASO TERRITORY. ACTIVE DISCREET INVESTIGATION PRESENTLY BEING CONDUCTED AND THE RESULTS WILL BE IMMEDIATELY FORWARDED TO THE BUREAU AMSD UPON COMPLETION.

BRYCE

END
A AND H
10-14 PM OK FBI WA [redacted]

Rec'd 11:10 P.M. 6-3-42.

b7c

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[redacted]

RECORDED

100-4712-39

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
9 JUN 3 1942
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

[redacted]

1 JUN 12 '42

COPY IN FILE

EX

CONFIDENTIAL

F.B.I. RADIOGRAM

(c) [redacted] COPY

b1

b7c [redacted]

FROM JUNEAU (c) [redacted] 7:13 PM [redacted] NR 116

DIRECTOR

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE; INTERNAL SECURITY--G.

REPORT SUBMITTED TO BUREAU BY THIS OFFICE MAY 25

LAST

7:25 PM [redacted]

[redacted]

b7c

Classified by SCB/tsl
Declassify on: CADR 10-18-90

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

cc: Ladd

RECORDED 100-4712-400

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
13 [redacted] (c)
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
[redacted] b7c

b1

CONFIDENTIAL

[redacted] (c)

CONFIDENTIAL

F.B.I. RADIOGRAM

(C) [redacted] COPY

1693

FROM SAN JUAN (C) [redacted] NR 249 10:44 A.M.

AMERICA FIRST COMMITEE; INTERNAL SECURITY - G.

REFERENCE TELEGRAM MAY 26 LAST. REPORT OF SPECIAL AGENT [redacted] DATED MAY 21 LAST SUBMITTED TO BUREAU THAT DATE.

11:04 A.M. [redacted]

[redacted]

Classified by SPSBTSlcal
Declassify on: OADR 10-18-90

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cc Mr. Ladd

RECORDED

100-4712-401

(C) [redacted]

8 [redacted] (C)

CONFIDENTIAL

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS — FILE NO. 100-770

REPORT MADE AT	DATE WHEN MADE	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE	REPORT MADE BY
BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS	5/21/42	5/19/42	[redacted] b7c

TITLE	CHARACTER OF CASE
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE	INTERNAL SECURITY -C

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS: The Boston branch, AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE, was organized in February 1941 and had offices at 452 Devonshire Street, Boston, Massachusetts. This organization at the present time is no longer existing, having closed its office immediately after 12/7/41. The membership and personnel of the executive committee of the Boston branch is set out herein, together with a summary of its general activities; also reported herein is a list of the contributors of One Hundred ($100.00) Dollars [redacted] to the National Organization. ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 4-23-86 BY 9145 JFK/loc/COL 264350 7/1/87 SP8BDJ RBG # 249,860

COPIES DESTROYED 1-18-90 SP8BDJ/loc

REFERENCE: BUREAU teletype to all Special Agents in Charge dated 5/11/42.

Instant report was prepared from review of various material in the files of the Boston Field Office.

NEW YORK CHAPTER

The New York Herald-Tribune dated January 28, 1941 reflects that the New York office of the America First Committee was opened January 27, 1941 at 49 East 53rd Street, New York City. The personnel of the New York Chapter is as follows:

JOHN T. FLYNN, Executive Chairman, Economist and Writer;
MRS. GRAHAM B. BLAINE;
DOROTHY DUNBAR BROMLEY, Writer;
MRS. W. SHIPPEN DAVIS, Wife of a partner in BLAIR & WILLIAMS COMPANY, Brokers;
DANIEL A. LINDLEY, Broker;

J. E. Madigan SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE — DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES — 100-4712-402

COPIES MADE: 5 BUREAU, 2 CHICAGO, 4 BOSTON [redacted] — MAY 29 1942 — RECORDED [redacted] INDEXED b7c

COPY IN FILE

Mrs. SETH MILLIKEN
AMOS R. E. PINCHOT, Lawyer and Publicist
COLONEL ALLAN POPE, President, First Boston Corporation
MISS DORIS FIELDING REID, Investment Banker
PROF. EDWARD H. REISNER, Professor at Teachers' College, Columbia U.
ARCHIBALD D. ROOSEVELT, Son of President THEODORE ROOSEVELT
COLONEL THEODORE ROOSEVELT, Son of President THEODORE ROOSEVELT
H. DUDLEY SWIM, Vice President, National Investers Corp.
LOUIS F. TIMMERMAN, Banker
ALAN VALENTINE, President of the University of Rochester;
Executive Director of the National Committee of
Democrats for WILLKIE during 1940 campaign.
EDWIN S. WEBSTER, JR.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE

The New York Herald-Tribune of January 28, 1941 quotes a statement of the America First Committee, announcing the opening of the New York office as follows:

"IS IT TO BE WAR?
THE DECISION MUST BE MADE NOW
--TOMORROW MAY BE TOO LATE!
THE AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE WANTS TO SAVE FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY IN AMERICA.

AMERICA FIRST stands for an impregnable national defense. It is opposed to going into the European war WITH or WITHOUT a declaration of war. We heartily approve of all possible aid to Britain as allowed by the JOHNSON and NEUTRALITY ACTS; but we oppose being eased into the war.

AMERICA FIRST, THEREFORE, is opposed to the WAR DICTATORSHIP BILL H.R. 1776 because this bill will take out of the hands of the people and Congre the decision of going into or staying out of the war. It will be that de cision in the hands of one man.

YOU ARE NOT HELPLESS—
HERE IS WHAT YOU CAN DO:

1. WRITE, TELEPHONE OR TELEGRAPH TODAY TO THE PRESIDENT, YOUR TWO SENATO YOUR CONGRESSMAN PROTECTING AGAINST THE WAR DICTATORSHIP BILL H.R. 1776 AND AGAINST SENDING AMERICAN SHIPS INTO THE WAR ZONES.

2. Help organize chapters of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE in your town or neighborhood. Apply to NEW YORK HEADQUARTERS FOR INFORMATION.

3. FILL in the coupon below--mail it to the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE. There are no dues. JOIN the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE and swell the growin army of Americans who have faith in America."

749e

NATIONAL COMMITTEE

The New York Herald-Tribune of January 28, 1941 also reflects the personnel of the National Committee of this organization as follows:

"GENERAL ROBERT E. WOOD, Acting Chairman

DR. A. J. CARLSON
WILLIAM R. CASTLE
MRS. BENNETT CHAMP CLARK
IRVIN S. COBB
JANET AYER FAIRBANK
JOHN T. FLYNN
BISHOP WILBUR E. HAMMAKER
GEN. THOMAS HAMMOND
JAY C. HORMEL
GEN. HUGH S. JOHNSON
CLAY JUDSON
FLORENCE P. KAHN
KATHRYN LEWIS
ALICE ROOSEVELT LONGWORTH
FRANK O. LOWDEN
MANFORD MacNIDER
THOMAS H. McCARTER
RAY McKAIG
STERLING MORTON
AMOS R. E. PINCHOT
WILLIAM H. REGNERY
EDWARD L. RYERSON, JR.
LOUIS J. TABER
MRS. BURTON K. WHEELER
DR. GEORGE H. WHIPPLE
MAJOR ALFORD J. WILLIAMS"

The same source reproduced the application for membership in this organization as follows:

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE,
NEW YORK CHAPTER,
49 EAST 53rd St., New York City

I subscribe to the aims of the America First Committee. Please enroll me as a member. I declare that I am an American citizen and in no way connected with any foreign power or subversive organization.

Name.....

Street.....

City.....Telephone.....

It is understood that membership involves no financial obligations. Contributions are entirely voluntary.

7495

DONORS

The New York Herald-Tribune of March 12, 1941 reported that the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE made public in Chicago on March 11 the names of approximately two-thirds of its contributors who donated One Hundred ($100.00) Dollars or more to this Committee. The total donation list amounted to $118,906.21.

The report reflects that the names of forty-five contributors were withheld because they had notified the America First Committee that they objected to the publication of their names.

This report went on to state that contributions to the Committee as of February 20, 1941 numbered 12,342 contributions.

Of interest is a comparative statement of contributions received by instant organization as compared with the "No Foreign War Committee" which was organized by VERNE MARSHALL, part owner of the Cedar Rapids, Iowa Gazette, and the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies. This statement is being quoted as follows:

"DONATIONS TO THREE COMMITTEES

	Aiding-the-Allies As of Jan.8	America First As of Feb.20	No Foreign War As of Mar. 11
Total contributions	$324,459.39	$118,906.21*	$116,613.24
Number of individual contributions	14,619	12,343	12,050
Number of contributions, $100. or more.	681	114	38
Average contribution	$22 .20	$9.63	**$5.10

* Includes $55,000 from VERNE MARSHALL.
**Excluding VERNE MARSHALL'S contribution"

These contributors as reported in the New York Herald-Tribune as March 12, 1941 are as follows:

HENRY BABSON, Chicago
W. O. BARTHEL
OTTO C. BEICH, candy manufacturer of Chicago and Bloomington, Ill.
JOHN W. BLODGETT, Grand Rapids, Mich., lumberman and banker
AYRES BOAL, Winnetka, Ill., real estate
JOHN BURNHAM, Chicago, Lawyer
ROBERT BYERLY, New York lawyer, with office at 225 Broadway and home at 39 Fifth Avenue
ASA V. CALL, Los Angeles, executive vice-president and general counsel Pacific Mutual Life Insurance Company
DAVID R. CLARKE, Chicago Lawyer
KENT S. CLOW, Lake Forest, Ill, vice-president JAMES B. CLOW & SONS, plumbing supplies.
W. J. CORBETT, Chicago
HENRY M. CRANE.

THOMAS CREIGH, Chicago lawyer, general attorney for Cudahy Packing Company.
W. P. DRAPER.
WADE FETZER, Chicago, Insurance.
HORACE C. FLANIGAN, Purchase, N.Y., who commented last night:
"I'm going to double it tomorrow."
A. F. GALLUN
MR. AND MRS. A. F. GARTZ JR., Chicago
EVERETT D. GRAFF, Chicago, first vice-president of JOSEPH T. RYERSON & SONS, iron and steel makers.
HENRY GUND, JR.
LOUIS H. HOSHEIN
CLAY HUDSON, Chicago lawyer.
Mrs. GEORGE T. LANGHORNE, Chicago, wife of Col. LANGHORNE (retired).
W. H. RAGNERY, Chicago, textile and window shade manufacturer
MRS. CAROLINE H. ROBINSON
EDWARD L. RYERSON, Chicago, president of JOSEPH T. RYERSON and Sons.
FREDERICK A. O. SCHWARZ, Partner in the law firm of Davis, Polk, Wardwell, Gardiner and Reed, and chairman of the board of F.A.O. SCHWARZ, Fifth Avenue toy store.
C. R. SHAEFFER.
WALTER K. SHAW, Chicago
LOUIS SIEBER
HOWARD A. SMITH
HUGO SONNESCHEIN, Chicago
Crantson SPRAY, Chicago, lawyer, and Mrs. SPRAY
VERNON F. TAYLOR
J. G. TIMOLAT, New York
Edgar Uihlein, Chicago
ERNEST E. WHEELER.
LEIGHTON A. WILKIE, Chicago
ERNEST A. WILTSEE
MORRIS E. LEEDS, Philadelphia, president of Leeds & Northrup Company and inventor of electtic and temperature-measuring devices.
S. W. LOWRY.
KATRINA McCORMICK (Mrs. COURTLAND D. BARNES, JR., OF NEW YORK), Mrs. BARNES, who is the daughter of the late UNITED STATES SENATOR MEDILL McCORMICK of Chicago, and Mrs. RUTH HANNA SIMMS, daughter of MARK HANNA, said last night she often used her maiden name in business dealings.
GARRET W. McENERNEY, San Francisco lawyer.
STERLING MORTON, Chicago, secretary and director of the Morton Salt Company
EDWARD MUEHLENBROCK, Detroit,
ARCHIBALD T. NAUGLE, Chicago and Santa Barbara, California, retired timber merchant.
G. J. NIKOLAS, Chicago
NICHOLAS H. NOYES, Indianapolis, manufacturer of pharmaceuticals and biological president of Paper Package Company

JOHN NUVEEN, Chicago broker.
J. SANFORD OTIS, Chicago
ROBERT TREAT PAINE 2nd, Boston, lawyer.
HENRY POPE, Chicago -
WALLACE E. PRATT, New York and Frijole, Tex., geologist, vice-president Humble Oil and Refining Company, of Houston, director and member of executive committee, Standard Oil of New Jersey.

Other contributors were THOS. J. CARNEY of Chicago, President of Sears-Roebuck & Co. and ARTHUR S. BARROWS of Kennilworth, Illinois, Director in the same firm; also JOHN McCUTCHEON, a cartoonist of the Chicago Herald-Tribune, who, with his wife has contributed more than $100.00.

The same source reports that an analysis of the names of the contributors show that the America First Committee was getting its heaviest report around its home office in Chicago and a sprinkling of industrialists from neighboring states added to the heavy Mid-West.

Other contributors were ERNEST T. WEIR of Pittsburg, Pa., Chairman of National Steel Corp. and Treasurer of the Republican Finance Committee during the 1940 Presidential campaign; Colonel CHARLES A. LINDBERGH; EDWARD L. RYERSON of Chicago, chairman of the board of the Inland Steel Company; THOMAS N. McCARTER, chairman of the board of the Public Service Corporation in New Jersey; H. L. STUART, of Chicago, president of Halsey, Stuart & Co., the Mid-West's leading investment house; MAX W. BABB, president of Allis Chalmers Company in Milwaukee where a strike is currently tying up work on $45,000,000 worth of defense orders, and CHARLES H. MORSE of Lake Forest, Ill., chairman of Fairbanks Morse & Co., and Mrs. Morse.

b2

BOSTON

The Boston Globe of February 4, 1941 revealed the following personnel of the Boston Branch of the America First Committee:

JAMES BAYLEY, JR., Temporary Chairman;
MRS. E. SOHIER WELCH of Boston, Secretary-treasurer;
MRS. MARGARET DALY, Headquarters Chairman;
TUDOR GARDINER JR., son of Ex-Gov. TUDOR GARDINER of Maine, Publicity Chairman;
Mrs. EZRA THAYER, Boston
WILLIAM S. BALLARD, Medford
Mrs. HANNAH CONNORS, Milton, president of the American Mothers Neutrality League;
Mrs. LOUIS ARTHUR COOLIDGE, Widow of the late Asst. Secretary of the Trea under President Taft;

Also, Miss HELEN LONGSTREET COOLIDGE; WILLIAM B. GALLAGHER, head of the 101st Division, V. F. W.; LESLIE P. HENRY regional director of the National Council of the American Bar Association; JAMES HERBERT, Winthrop attorney; Mrs. JOSEPH LANGONE; Mrs. ALBERT LEVIE of Dorchester, former president, Italian Women's Clu Miss MARY MEEHAN of Brighton, former assistant commissioner of labor; Capt. JOHN JOSEPH MURPHY, Jamaica Plain, attorney; Mrs. JOHN REGAN of West Roxbury; M MRS. EDA SOZIO of Boston; Mr. and Mrs. DONALD STARR of Boston; Mrs. MARGARET DA of Hingham. Miss FLORENCE BIRMINGHAM, president and founder of the Mass. Women Political club.

744-2

The national committee includes Gen. ROBERT E. WOOD as acting chairman and J. SANFORD OTIS, Treasurer.

The AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE of Greater Boston Headquarters were located at 52 Devonshire Street, Boston, Mass. (Telephone Capitol 4144).

ACTIVITIES

The Boston Branch sponsored a public rally at Symphony Hall, Boston, Mass. on February 7, 1941. The chairman of the meeting was TUDOR GARDINER, JR. and other speakers were JAMES BAYLEY, JR. and Atty. JOHN J. MURPHY. The principal speaker was GENERAL HUGH S. JOHNSON. The meeting was attended by approximately twenty-five hundred individuals.

b7

On April 4, 1941, [redacted] informed this office that he had attended a meeting of the America First Committee of Greater Boston--date and place not furnished, at which meeting, CLARENCE BARNES exhibited a film entitled, "Which Way America?" M. R. SHAW of Melrose, Mass. spoke on "America's Policy in the Present Crisis."

On April 30, 1941 at Symphony Hall, Boston, Mass. the Boston Branch sponsored a public meeting at which Senator BURTON K. WHEELER of Montana was to be the principal speaker. In preparation for this meeting the Boston branch held a luncheon at Patten's Restaurant, Scolly Square, Boston on April 13, 1941 at which they were addressed by Mrs. E. SOHIER WELCH who, according to the Boston Globe of April 12, 1941, stated that one-third of the country was in need even in spite of the war industrial boom. She said a "Bundles for American Committee has been organized at the America First headquarters to supply clothing to these people. Other speakers included State Senator JOSEPH HARRINGTON of Salem, Mass. TUDOR GARDINER, JR.; JAMES HERBERT and JOHN COLTER, former secretary to JUDGE JOHN F. HIGGINS.

[redacted] advised at this meeting the following plans were discussed to further the activities of this organization. [redacted] of Brookline was to be in charge of ushers at the above rally, and the following individuals were to contact the designated groups in furtherance of this rally:

b7C

[redacted] was to contact Women's Italian Club.

[redacted]--Milton

[redacted]--To contact American Legion groups.

[redacted]-Junior Chamber of Commerce

[redacted]-to contact a group

[redacted]-Saint Brendon's Society

[redacted]-Boston University groups

749 J

b2
b7C
b7D

[redacted]-Hyde Park groups

[redacted] also stated that one, [redacted] expressed the thought that a cripple should never be placed in the driver's seat because he thinks everyone is against him and that approximately 120 people were present--mostly middle aged, predominently women.

With reference to the above WHEELER meeting, the Boston Globe of April 30, 1941 reflects a lengthy interview with SENATOR WHEELER which is not being quoted herei This article further stated on WHEELER'S arrival in Boston he was received by Governor Saltonstall and Mayor TOBIN and planned to attend a luncheon given by Boston University Law Students at the Boston Bar Association and conference with local America First members and a trip to the National League Base Ball Game, being played in Boston that same afternoon.

The Boston Herald of April 30, 1941 carried a photograph of the following people who are to be ushers at the Symphony Hall rally:

ANNA BONACCORSI
MARY BONACCORSI
FLORA QUINN
VIRGINIA ROBICHEAU

and in this photograph, playing the part of a teacher was PAUL KILLIAM of Cambrid Mass.

The Boston Post of May 1, 1941 carried a lengthy article on Senator WHEELER'S speech--this press reporting that approximately 5,000 people attended this meetin

The Boston branch sponsored a public meeting held at Mechanics Bldg. on February 25, 1941 at which the principal speaker was SENATOR GERALD P. NYE of North Dakota also Ex Senator RUSH HOLT, W. Virginia. Resolutions were unanymously adopted at this rally calling for the following action.

1. That Congress must immediately assert itself and exercise its powers created under the Constitution.
2. That the Neutrality act, whose repeal was demanded today in the Senate, must not and will not be repealed.
3. That the question of war must be submitted to Congress and not be subject to Executive decree.
4. That our soldiers must not be used outside of the Western Hemisphere.

On October 10, 1941 the Boston branch sponsored public rally at Faneuil Hall, Boston at which the following persons spoke:

REVEREND MARK R. SHAW, Melrose
AARON LEVINSTEIN, New York City who was introduced as a friend of the Presidential Candidate, NORMAN THOMAS; JOHN W. REGAN, Headmaster, Dorches High School for Boys.

7491C

By letter dated April 23, 1941, [redacted] submitted the following information: b2 b2D

"At a recent weekly meeting of the Christian Front, Roxbury, Massachusetts, the director, Mr. FRANCIS P. MORAN, reported to the gathering that he was going to attend a meeting sponsored by the subject organization on Saturday, April 26, at which meeting Colonel LINDBERGH would be the principal speaker.

Mr. MORAN further announced that many organizations would participate in this meeting and that several German-American societies were included. Furthermore, the Christian Front would be strongly represented.

Mr. MORAN is very fanatical in his denunciations against the ROOSEVELT administration and the Jews."

CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS

The Boston Post of May 24, 1941 reflects that the Cambridge America First Committee was to hold the first of its meetings on May 25, 1941 in the Elks' Hall, 8 Magazine Street, Cambridge, Mass. The Committee Headquarters were located at 580 Massachusetts Avenue, Central Square, Cambridge, Massachusetts. WILLIAM GALLAGHER was to be the speaker.

SPRINGFIELD, MASSACHUSETTS

According to the Springfield Gazette, May 28, 1941, it reported that the Springfield Chapter of the America First Committee was sponsoring an anti War mass meeting at the Springfield Auditorium on May 28 at which the following speakers were to appear:

Representative HAMILTON FISH, New York City
KATHLEEN NORRIS, Well-known writer other speakers were to be as follows: PROF. WILLIAM ORTON, Chairman, Smith College, Teacher of Economics JOHN ROSS, Chairman of the Hartford, Connecticut Chapter--AmericaFirst Committe MRS. MARION BELLAMY EARNSHOW of Springfield. Also DOUGLAS ERAY, Graduate Stude of Sociology, Clark University, Worcester, Mass.

The local Committee in charge of the mass meeting included [redacted] b

On December 8, 1941 there was held a public rally at Odd Fellows Hall at which the principal speaker was Senator GERALD P. NYE. It was reported there were approximately 1,000 individuals in attendance. The presiding officer was JAMES BAYLEY, JR. Other speakers included State Senator JAMES B. HARRINGTON ar WILLIAM B. GALLAGHER, past commander of Michael Perkins Post, A.L., of Boston.

749 L

MAINE

By letter dated September 17, 1941, [redacted] submitted the following information:

"At a meeting held August 13, 1941, [redacted] a speaker, laid emphasis on the fact that the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE was not organized in the State of Maine. It was learned that [redacted] left on August 16, 1941 for Lucerne, Maine, (presumably on vacation), where she is planning to enlist support for a chapter of the A.F.C. This woman is a hard worker, capable of organizing and enlisting interest, indulges in considerable letter writing to Senators, Congressmen and others. (DrivesPontiac, 1941, License Y F 52 NY.).

[redacted] has stated that she 'wouldn't blame soldiers for going A.W.O.L. in the event of war and that her great aunt has a little cabin at Lucerne, Maine, and that they were welcome at any time they wanted. It was secluded and no one would ever find them'.

[redacted] is a personal friend of Mrs. Burton WHEELER and, with [redacted] has made many trips to Washington in the interest of 'WOMEN UNITED'."

CONNECTICUT

By letter dated April 24, 1941, [redacted] submitted the following information

"Debate between Congressman HAMILTON FISH, Jr. of New York and Mayo ADAMS SHATTUCK of Boston, Mass., on "WHAT SHALL AMERICA DO IN THE PRESENT EMERGENCY".

An audience of about 700 persons heard the above Subject Debate in the Hartford High School, Hartford, Connecticut on April 15, 1941, repeatedly breaking into applause, boos and murmurs, and occasionally stamping oft feet. Its most prolonged outburst was when Mr. SHATTUCK, New England chairman of the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies, asserted that "we must decide whether we're in or out." "Out of it!" a large section of the crowd yelled. The outc was so sustained that chairman of the meeting rose and declared that he thought "this was a democratic meeting," and Mr. SHATTUCK invited anyone who so desired to come up on the stage and speak. Mr. gallery gave Mr. SHATTUCK considerable applause, but when Representative Fish advocated "aid to Britain short of war and consistent with our own defense," he received a tremendous ovation, and whe he mentioned the last war which "we fought to make the world safe for democracy he was greeted with laughter.

There was applause for Mr. FISH whenever he asserted that "we must keep America out of war" and he asserted this many times. He said that American is faced with its greatest issue, the issue of peace or war, and he declared that convoy mean war. He scored the attitude of those who have "one chip on each shoulder and one on the tops of their heads and go out looking for war," and, remarking that the10 or 15 per cent of the people who want to go to war are entitled to their opinions, asked "How about the other 85 per cent."

749 mc

PRESENT STATUS

The New York Herald-Tribune dated 12/12/41 reported that the America Fist Committee had announced that evening it would dissolve and cease all of its functions at once and urged "all those who have followed its lead to give full support to the war effort of the nation, until peace is attained." According to this article they decided to disband. The decision to disband was reached at a lengthy and closed session of the national committee which met at noon at the home of PAGE HUFTY, National Director or Organization of America First.

From personal observation of reporting agent, it was observed that the office of the America First Committee on this same date was engaged in closing up its offices and since that time there has been no indication that this organization presently exists.

REFERRED UPON COMPLETION TO THE OFFICE OF ORIGIN

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

FILE NO. 100-1259

REPORT MADE AT	DATE WHEN MADE	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE	REPORT MADE BY
PITTSBURGH, Pa.	5/29/42	5/27,28/42	[redacted] b7C

TITLE	CHARACTER OF CASE
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE	INTERNAL SECURITY - G

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

Pittsburgh chapter America First formed 4/16/41. Founders listed. Officers were former Senator DAVID A. REED, honorary chairman; S. R. JACKSON, treasurer; K. D. MAGRUDER, secretary; JOHN B. GORDON, executive vice-chairman. Committee held five mass rallies in Pittsburgh at which Senators WHEELER, LAFOLLETTE, NYE, and CHAMP CLARK spoke on respective occasions. Last meeting December 7 broken up with news of Pearl Harbor. Committee disbanded December 8 with resolution to support war efforts. [redacted] b7D

[redacted] balance and complete membership list forwarded to Chicago headquarters after disbandment. In September 1941 K. D. MAGRUDER split with America First of which he was secretary after America First charged him with using the Committee to spread anti-British, anti-Semitic, anti-gold standard and Townsend Plan propaganda, which were sentiments not included in America First program. MAGRUDER formed new group called Committee for America Only, and drew 100 out of 15,000 members away from America First. These consisted of a group of alleged "Coughlinites". Officers were WILLIAM H. WEIR, JR., president; CHARLES MADDEN, first vice-chairman; K. D. MAGRUDER, secretary. This group also claimed to have disbanded 12/8/41. No indications of continued activity on part of either group, nor of continued communication with

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 10-22-90 BY SP2STP/LSC 318,519

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: J. E. Thornton RWB SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

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3 - Chicago
3 - Pittsburgh
21

JUL 1 1942

JUL 19 [redacted]

b7C

any national organization.

- P -

REFERENCE: Bureau letter dated March 16, 1942.

Bureau teletype dated May 11, 1942.

Bureau teletype dated May 26, 1942.

DETAILS: AT PITTSBURGH, PENNSYLVANIA

The following is a chronological clipping history of the formation and the activities of the America First Committee in Pittsburgh in sofar as those activities were publicly announced. This clipping history is from the Pittsburgh Sun-Telegraph.

An article dated April 18, 1941, announced the formation of the Pittsburgh chapter of the America First Committee. It stated that the announcement was made by JOHN B. GORDON, executive vice-chairman of the new organization. According to the clipping GORDON also announced the dissolution of the Provisional Anti-War Committee of Pittsburgh effective as of April 18, 1941. The article stated that the new Committee was headed by former Senator DAVID A. REED, honorary chairman, and that the officers of the Committee consisted of Attorney GRANT CURRY, treasurer, K. D. MAGRUDER, secretary, and JOHN B. GORDON, executive vice-chairman.

According to an article dated April 29, 1941, K. D. MAGRUDER announced that 1600 citizens had petitioned President Roosevelt to refrain from using convoys in shipping goods to Great Britain. MAGRUDER said: "We have been organized less than a week. So many signers in such a short time ought to convince anyone of the state of public opinion in this district." According to the article MAGRUDER urged citizens to write to Senator WALTER F. GEORGE, and to ask him to vote against convoys.

According to an article dated May 4, 1941, JOHN B. GORDON, executive vice-chairman of the America First Committee extended an invitation to JOSEPH F. GUFFEY, Senator from Pennsylvania, to attend a mass meeting to be held in Pittsburgh on May 12, 1941 and to answer the question, "Is not your announced Advocacy of convoys a violation of your pre-election pledge that you would never vote to send American boys to a foreign war?" This article announced further that former Governor PHILIP LaFOLLETTE would be the principal speaker at the first mass meeting of the Pittsburgh America First Committee at the North Side Carnegie Hall on May 12, 1941.

An article dated May 7, 1941, stated that former Governor PHILIP LaFOLLETTE was scheduled to speak to the America First Committee

on May 12, 1941.

An article dated May 12, 1941, stated that PHILIP LaFOLLETTE talked to the Hungry Club of Pittsburgh on the noon of May 12, 1941, and stated that the fight for freedom in Europe was lost because of man's misuse of the bounty of Almighty God. He urged that generous use of 3¢ stamps could prevent us from getting into war simply by mailing a protest to the President of the United States asking him to keep us out of war.

An article dated May 13, 1941, announced that PHILIP LaFOLLETTE was the principal speaker at the first meeting of the Pittsburgh America First Committee held at the North Side Carnegie Hall on the night of May 12, 1941. The article announced that 2000 people appeared to hear LaFOLLETTE. It further said that during his speech LaFOLLETTE proposed a 6-point plan to put America's house in order. This plan consisted of the following points:

1. No involvement in war in Europe or Africa.
2. Removal of HENRY L. STIMSON and FRANK KNOX, Secretaries of War and Navy.
3. Arming the United States.
4. Curing of internal ills, including the return of control over our monetary system and elimination of the theory of over production.
5. A job for every American.
6. Security for those unable to care for themselves.

An article dated May 13, 1941, described a controversy held between PHILIP LaFOLLETTE, who was the principal speaker at the Hungry Club on May 12, 1941, and FREDERICK C. McKEE, the chairman of the Pittsburgh chapter of the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies. The article stated that after the speech by LaFOLLETTE, McKEE asked for and received three minutes in which to answer LaFOLLETTE.

An article dated May 14, 1941, announced that the America First Committee of Pittsburgh were making plans to invite Senator WHEELER and CHARLES A. LINDBERGH to speak in Pittsburgh.

An article dated May 23, 1941, stated that the America First Committee announced the opening of a drive for 25,000 no-war messages to President Roosevelt. The article stated that according to JOHN B. GORDON, executive vice-chairman of the Committee, the Committee had 500 members before LaFOLLETTE spoke in Pittsburgh and that afterward the membership jumped to 5,000 members.

An article dated May 23, 1941, stated that Senator WHEELER would speak at the second mass rally of the America First Committee to be held June 5, 1941. The same article listed a group of 43 Pittsburghers who signed their names to a telegram addressed to former Senator DAVID A. REED, asking him to resign as honorary chairman of the Committee for the reason that some subversive groups support the Committee's objectives. The persons who signed

this telegram according to the article are as follows:

Dr. B. J. HOVDE
Rev. CARL HERMANN VOSS
Dr. W. A. HAMAR
Dr. H. BOYD EDWARDS
Dr. W. W. CARLSON
Mr. and Mrs. H. B. McKINNEY
Mr. and Mrs. W. H. LAPPE
Dr. and Mrs. B. R. ALMQUIST
Dr. ABIE G. RENFREW
Dr. A. T. THOMPSON
ANNABELLE TURNER
Dr. R. S. TYSON
AUSTIN C. ROWELL
Mr. and Mrs. A. S. CHALFANT
Dr. and Mrs. HENRY RAY
Mrs. P. E. HUNTER
Mrs. MARY H. GERKEN
PAUL SOUMAINE
Mr. and Mrs. W. J. GRAHAM
Dr. and Mrs. W. F. LARAMORE
Mrs. SAMUEL ROSENBERG
Mr. and Mrs. ELLIOTT P. BARRETT
MARIE DAVIDSON
Mrs. JANET WALTERS
Miss VICTORIA ALMQUIST
Mrs. ANNA KERR
Mr. and Mrs. J. R. WILSON
Mrs. E. J. UHL
Mr. and Mrs. W. C. GRAHAM
Mr. and Mrs. R. K. BRINKER
Mr. and Mrs. KENDALL QUEREY

An article dated May 25, 1941, stated that K. I MAGRUDER made the following statement: "There will be considerable dynamit in the fact that FREDERICK McKEE, chairman of the Committee to Defend Ameri by Aiding the Allies is treasurer of the National Casket Company which bene lately from the government's huge order for caskets." According to the art MAGRUDER was replying to 47 Pittsburghers who asked former Senator DAVID A. to resign from the Committee.

An article dated May 27, 1941, announced that t Soldiers and Sailors Memorial Hall in Pittsburgh was obtained by the Americ First Committee for the "Senator BERTON K. WHEELER Mass Meeting" to be held

June 5, 1941. The announcement was made by JOHN B. GORDON, executive vice-chairm of the Committee who said that the larger hall was necessary due to the over-flow crowd which attended the last mass meeting at the North Side Carnegie Hall. GOR-DON is quoted as saying, "This action (meaning the permission to have the meeting in this particular hall) compares very favorably with the action taken in Phila-delphia when LINDBERGH was refused permission to speak in the Academy of Music Hall on the grounds that Communists, Nazis, etc., might be present to hear him." GORDON made the statement according to the article that such elements are not eligible for membership in the Pittsburgh chapter of the America First Committee.

An article dated May 28, 1941, stated that the use o the Soldiers and Sailors Memorial Hall by the America First Committee was protes by Sergeant WILLIAM J. CREHAN, a city policeman, who was chairman of the Nationa Defense Committee of the Schenley American Legion Post #663. According to the article, CREHAN had written a letter to the Board of Managers of Memorial Hall saying: "In defense of my protest I say that its use might easily create the impression that the ex-Service men of Pittsburgh are sympathizers and supporters of the program of the so-called America First Committee".

An article dated May 29, 1941, stated that CHARLES A MADDEN, secretary of the Board of Managers of Memorial Hall, said that WILLIAM J CREHAN who protested the use of the Memorial Hall by the America First Committee did not represent the veterans of Pittsburgh but merely expressed his own opinio The article stated that JOHN B. GORDON made the statement that CREHAN spoke onl for himself.

An article dated June 1, 1941, stated that Miss LLOYD BRETT, daughter of the late General LLOYD M. BRETT, Commander of the 80th Division, on this day rose to defend the protest of WILLIAM J. CREHAN. She sai according to the article: "You speak for hundreds and perhaps thousands who ar 100% behind you. We do not want Bundists, Christian frontists, Silver Shirts, and Communists, in our Patriots' Temple." According to the same article Rev. THOMAS R. MURPHY, assistant pastor of St. Canice's Church and a member of the America First Committee stated, "I can see nothing wrong which would desecrate the hall by having the distinguished Senator WHEELER speak there."

According to an article dated June 1, 1941, WALTER J. PETTIT, chairman of the Americanism Committee of the Schenley Post #663 of the American Legion, protested the use of Memorial Hall by the America First Committee.

An article dated June 3, 1941, stated that CHARLES A. MADDEN, secretary of the Board of Governors of Memorial Hall, refused to can cel the permit for a meeting of the America First Committee on June 5, 1941. In the same article it set forth that CHARLES A. MADDEN accused Sergeant WILLIAM J CREHAN who made the protest against the renting of the hall to the America Firs

Committee of inviting THOMAS H. WRIGHT who is a Communist who recently addressed American Legion Post #663 in that same Memorial Hall. MADDEN stated in the article that WRIGHT is listed as a Communist in the American Legion book of Isms and he further stated that WRIGHT was prevented at the time he gave his lecture from distributing propaganda concerning "New America" by Mrs. RALPH ORD, the County Council Chaplain. The article went on to state that another protest against the use of the hall by Senator WHEELER came from Dr. H. BOYD EDWARDS, rector of the Church of the Ascension, and also chairman of the Pittsburgh chapter of the Federal Union of Democracy. The article stated that the Federal Union of Democracy would meet on the same night that WHEELER was to speak and that they would meet at the East Liberty Presbyterian Church and would have DANIEL A. POLING of Philadelphia as their speaker.

An article dated June 3, 1941, stated that CHARLES A. MADDEN made a definite statement that there was no possibility of the permission granted the America First Committee to meet on June 5, 1941, of being canceled.

An article dated June 5, 1941, announced that J. GU GRIFFITH of New Kensington, Pennsylvania, made an announcement that the Legionai who were going to usher at the America First Committee meeting on the night of 5, 1941, have orders not to wear their Legion uniforms. GRIFFITH stated that h received these instructions from RALPH DREGG of the Judge Advocate's Office in Washington.

An article dated June 5, 1941, quoted a statement m by DAVID A. REED in an interview previous to the mass meeting to be held that sa night. He was asked what action he planned to take on the telegram received by him from 47 Pittsburghers in which they urged him to resign from the Committee. His answer was, "An army can't very well avoid camp followers nor be judged by them."

This article further stated that at the meeting to be held on that night by the America First Committee at the Memorial Hall, DAVI A. REED would introduce Senator WHEELER who was the principal speaker. It went on to state that Reverend LOUIS M. HIRSHON, rector of St. Stephen's Episcopal Church in Sewickley, Pa., would give the invocation; that Rev. ARVA LEE ICE, pastor of the Wilkinsburg Baptist Church, would take the collection; that Rev. JOHN R. McKAVNEY, pastor of St. John's Evangelist Catholic Church would give the benediction, and that the Grafton, Pa., Community Band would play.

Pittsburgh file 100-1259

An article dated June 6, 1941 carried an extensive story concerning the meeting held the night before. It stated partly as follows: "Senator Burton K. Wheeler, decrying this nation's sacrifices for Great Britain while 'American children die of maltrition', called on the United States to stay out of war unless the defense of this homeland became involved." The article stated that SENATOR WHEELER brought repeated cheers from a throng of over four thousand people. It further described an incident in which, after an ovation of several minutes in honor of BURTON WHEELER, one Mrs. GRACE EWART, of 2506 Kingwood Street, Overbrook, Pa., stood up and shouted: "The going must be tough if you have to lameduck your way into the Communist Party." After this, several people in the audience yelled: "Throw her out." On one further occasion, when BURTON K. WHEELER said: "The modern Benedict Arnold.....", JAMES EWART, the son of the woman just mentioned, stated before WHEELER could go on: "is Burton K. Wheeler". The article went on to state that a welcoming speech for Senator WHEELER was given by CHARLES A. MADDEN, Secretary of the Board of Managers of Memorial Hall, who said in his speech: "Let there be no more gold star mothers in the United States unless they are defending the shores of the United States and its possessions."

An article dated July 3, 1941 announced that SENATOR DAVID R. REED in an interview made the statement that any claim that the United States would be economically isolated in event of a Hitler victory is nonsense. He said: "Our world trade is not dependent on who likes or dislikes us. It is a matter of business and economic necessity."

An article of July 13, 1941 stated that the America First Committee was circulating petitions for a referendum on whether or not this country would enter war.

An article of July 13, 1941 printed a statement of JOHN B. GORDON, Executive Vice Chairman of the America First Committee of Pittsburg to the effect that the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies has for its purpose the United States' entrance into war. The article quotes GORDON as follows: "The Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies now wishes to be known as the Committee to Defend America. It is understandable why they want to drop the 'Aiding the Allies' now that Russia is one of them. Why they wish to be known as the Committee to Defend America is not so plain. They approve the seizure of Iceland and will approve American bases in Ireland and Scotland. What they want is war and not defense."

An article dated July 17, 1941 states that the America First Committee was denied a permit to use a sound truck for the purpose of advertising its third mass rally to be held on July 18, 1941. According to the

article, JOHN B. GORDON made the statement that the Mayor was too busy to see him regarding the failure of the Police Department to give him permission to use a sound truck.

An article of July 18, 1941 stated that STEPHEN A. DAI, one of the outstanding opponents of "Union Now", was the principal speaker at a rally of the Pittsburgh Chapter of the America First Committee held at the North Side Carnegie Hall on July 18, 1941. It is noted that this rally was very little publicized in comparison to previous rallies.

An article dated July 20, 1941 stated that JOHN B. GORDON made a public denial of accusations that at the meeting of July 18, 1941 calls of "impeach Roosevelt" were made at the America First rally. He stated that if such remarks were heard, they were individual remarks and did not express the sentiment of the America First Committee.

An article dated August 12, 1941 stated that more than a dozen Pittsburgh mothers were in Washington on that date to picket the Capitol in an attempt to block the passage by the house of representatives of a draft extension. The article stated that the drive on Washington broke out spontaneously at an America First Committee meeting the night before, according to K. D. MAGRUDER, Secretary of the Committee.

An article dated August 17, 1941 quoted JOHN B. GORDON as stating that the America First Committee in Pittsburgh had at that time more than 11,000 members in Pittsburgh. GORDON gave as the reason for the rapid increase in membership the Committee's fight for a referendum on peace or war.

An article of September 16, 1941 told of the resignation from the America First Committee of EMANUEL AMDUR, who had been a member of t Advisory Board of the Committee. AMDUR's reason for resigning was the anti-Semitic speech of CHARLES LINDBERG given a few days before at Des Moines, Iow

An article dated September 28, 1941 stated that the America First Committee had released for publication a letter that it had addressed to Mayor Scully of Pittsburgh asking him that he proclaim October 6 as "America For Peace Day", since he had previously proclaimed June 25th as "Freedom Rally Day". On June 25th, it is to be noted that Colonel WILLIAM DONOVAN gave a speech at the Syria Mosque in Pittsburgh sponsored by the

Fight For Freedom Committee and the Mayor introduced DONOVAN at this occasion and proclaimed that day as "Freedom Rally Day". Reminding the Mayor of this proclamation, the America First Committee asked that he proclaim the day of their next mass rally as "America For Peace Day".

The article went on to state that Mayor SCULLY refused to honor the request made in this letter and did not even answer it.

An article dated October 3, 1941 states that in view of the refusal of the Mayor to announce October 6th as "America For Peace Day", JOHN B. GORDON announced that the Committee itself would proclaim this day as "America For Peace Day".

An article dated October 4, 1941 announced that SAMUEL HARDEN CHURCH made an announcement that he would only approve the use of the Carnegie Music Hall in Pittsburgh for the meeting of the America First Committe on October 6th if Colonel CHARLES LINDBERG would agree not to come to Pittsburg and speak. CHURCH announced that if LINDBERG were coming to speak, the permiss to hold the meeting at Carnegie Music Hall would not be given.

An article dated October 4, 1941 announced that Reverend CARL H. VOSS denounced Colonel LINDBERG and the America First Committee, charg them with spreading the virus of race hatred in a letter released to his congregation.

An article dated October 5, 1941 gave a public denouncem by SENATOR DAVID A. REED, who lashed at Reverend CARL H. VOSS' remarks of a f days before about religion in Russia. Senator REED called upon Americans to repudiate all attempts to Stalinize or Hitlerize our constitution.

An article dated October 5, 1941 carried a public announc ment by JOHN B. GORDON of the America First Committee branding as libel the letter of Reverend C. H. VOSS and claimed that the America First Committee is not against any race.

An article dated October 6, 1941 announced a public mass meeting and a parade on October 6, 1941 by the America First Committee. It noted that this is the fourth mass rally of the Committee in Pittsburgh.

An article dated October 7, 1941 gave a several column account of the public mass meeting of the America First Committee at Carnegie Music Hall on the night before. It stated that more than 2,000 people cheered Senator BENNETT CHAMP CLARK's attack on war. Much of the discussion was giv

to a description of how the EWART family for the second time heckled the America First meeting. The EWART family, consisting of Mr. and Mrs. EWART and their son JAMES, continually heckled the speakers at this meeting.

An article dated October 8, 1941 told of the America First Committee's action in sending a record containing speeches in favor of America First policy to the EWART family, so that they would be able to heckle America First speeches without being rude to Senators of the United States.

An article dated October 11, 1941 carried a denial by the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies of any part of the action of the EWART family in heckling America First Committee meetings.

An article dated October 16, 1941 announced that the America First Committee had made additions to its Advisory Board as follows:

GEORGE F. OTTO
R. A. MacDOWELL
Mrs. DRATON HEARD
Mrs. J. SCOTT THORNTON

An article dated October 16, 1941 announced that two America First branch meetings had been scheduled in the Pittsburgh District for that day. One of these was held in East Carnegie in Republican Hall. It announced that Reverend THOMAS R. MURPHY of St. Canice's Church gave the invocation and that the speakers were:

K. D. MACRUDER
CHARLES A. MADDEN
16-year-old DON McCORNICK
Reverend Dr. HODGE M. EAGLESON

The other meeting, according to this article, was held at the home of Mrs. ELIZABETH J. MILLER of 130 Third Street, Aspinwall, Pa. The speaker at this meeting was CHARLES SNYDER, who, according to the article, organized the America First Chapter at Wheaton College.

The article further stated that CHARLES MADDEN had addressed an America First group, who met at the home of Mrs. MARK CAMPBELL of Glasgow Road, Valencia, Pa.

Pittsburgh file 100-1259

An article dated October 23, 1941 announced that KENNETH D. MAGRUDER, Former Secretary of the America First Committee in Pittsburgh, made the assertion that he was quitting the America First Committee because of the fact that JOHN B. GORDON tried to act as too much of a dictator. The arti stated that MAGRUDER was a charter member of the America First Committee in Pittsburgh and that he and other persons who had become disgruntled with the leadership of the America First Committee had decided to leave the Committee and had threatened to rally the disgruntled elements into a rival society. This article stated that MAGRUDER resides at 5562 Hobart Street. It quoted MAGRUDER as saying: "There has been trouble from the start. We have looked on this as a people's government. With Gordon it has been a closed corporati The article further said that MAGRUDER made the statement that GORDON tried t prevent meetings of the Committee's organizers and tried to invoke regulation in a constitution which had never been ratified by the members. The same article gave JOHN B. GORDON's reply to these charges made by MAGRUDER. GORDO stated that the issue was not dictatorship on his part but that certain eleme were not permitted by him to bring anti-Semitic, anti-British and anti-gold standard views before the public in the name of the America First Committee, since these sentiments were not an official part of the program of the Americ First Committee. JOHN GORDON made the further statement that the America Firs Committee would be refreshed by the departure of the elements that tend to give the Committee a black eye. GORDON was supported by CLAY PUGH, a member of the National Office of the America First Committee, who said in a letter to MAGRUD "The large Monday night meetings are to be discontinued. At your next Monday meeting on October 20th you are to instruct this group that there will be no more assemblages of this sort." In the same letter PUGH indicated, according to the report, that there were other issues involved and the letter went on to say: "You know that we will not permit membership of Nazis, Bundists, Fascis or Communists in this organization." The article went on to state that MAGRUD had said that he did not know when or where he would hold the first rally of his new organization. He said that it would depend upon conversations he wou have with some of his friends. The article went on to state that JOHN B. GOR said that MAGRUDER's group represented onlyabout 3/10 of one per cent of the membership of the America First Committee.

An article dated October 24, 1941 carried a release by t America First Committee which challenged the "Fight For Freedom Committee" to introduce a declaration of war resolution into Congress and see what woul happen to it.

An article dated October 25, 1941 carried an answer by K. D. MAGRUDER to the charges made by JOHN.B. GORDON and CLAY PUGH against h when he split with the America First Committee. MAGRUDER stated that he did

not know of anyone in his group who had been a Townsendite. It is noted that among the charges of GORDON was the charge that Townsend Plan propaganda was being spread by the Magruder group. Concerning PUGH, MAGRUDER said: "To me, Mr. PUGH said that nobody could be a good American without being pro-British and that anybody not pro-British must be pro-Nazi."

An article dated November 3, 1941 compared the activities of the two committees in Pittsburgh, namely the America First Committee and "The Committee for America Only", the latter of which had been established by K. D. MAGRUDER after he had split with the America First Committee. This article said: "Divided as to methods but united as to objectives, the Americ First Committee and the Committee for America Only both fought against repeal of the Neutrality Act today. The America First Committee, led by J. B. GORDO took the moderate measure of presenting a petition signed by 4,171 persons t Senators NYE and WHEELER. The Committee for America Only, favoring more energetic methods, heard its leaders, WILLIAM H. WEIR, JR., and KENNETH D. MAGRUDER, advocate a march on the capital in Washington, 'to put the fear o God into the Representatives'". The same article went on to state that an America First national meeting had been held in Washington and had been attended by the following persons from Pittsburgh:

Dr. JOHN W. BRANDT
M. E. ARMBRUSTER, Secretary (apparently ARMBRUSTER replaced K. D. MAGRU as Secretary of the America Firs Committee)
Attorney CRAIG T. WOOD

An article dated November 14, 1941 announced that GORDON spoke on November 13, 1941 at an America First meeting at Spring School at Allentown, Pa., at which he said that the real purpose of the Neutrality Act rescission was to get America into war.

An article dated December 5, 1941 stated that Senator NYE, C. HALE SIPE and IRENE CASTLE McLAUGHLIN would speak at an America First Rally on December 7.

No further information was contained in the morgue of the Sun Telegraph. Continued activities of the America First Committee, however, were reported as follows in the other Pittsburgh newspapers.

An article in the Pittsburgh Post Gazette, dated December 4, 1941 announced that Senator NYE would talk to the America First Committee, with "Christianity and Intervention" as the theme of the meeting. It announced that this meeting would take place at the Soldiers and Sailors Memorial Hall in Oakland on Sunday afternoon, December 7. The article went on to quote JOHN B. GORDON as saying: "The American people are not going to war unless they are convinced it is their duty to God and country. Therefore, we have selected an appropriate theme for our Sunday meeting. The American people will not plunge the world into a blood bath over tin mines in the Orient or rubber plantations in some obscure jungle. All the double-talk and power politics of all the interventionists will not change the fact that we are wiser now than we were in 1917."

An article in the Pittsburgh Post Gazette, dated December 8, 1941 carried a full account of the last of the open rallies held by the Americ First Committee in Pittsburgh. The article stated that approximately 2500 Pittsburgh people sat in the Soldiers and Sailors Memorial Hall for two and one-half turbulent hours before their leaders, headed by Senator GERALD P. NYE, told them about the war with Japan. The article went on to state that during Senator NYE'S anti-war speech, a reporter silently approached the stage and placed a note on the rostrum before him, telling him of the attack on Pearl Harbor. The article stated that Senator NYE kept on talking for over fifteen minutes before he gave the news to the people in attendance, and when he did so, stated that he could hardly believe the news. When it was evident that the news was true he said "If Congress were to declare war, I am sure that every America Firs would be cooperating and supporting his government in the winning of thatwar, in every way possible, but I should not expect them to disband, even if Congress de clares war. At this meeting the EWART family, mentioned before, appeared for th third time, to heckle the America Firsters, and almost caused a riot. Several o the America Firsters attempted to give the son of the EWARTS a physical beating when he ran up on the stage and grabbed the microphone out of the hands of the speaker.

During a speech by Senator C. HALE SIPE, Colonel ENRIQUE URRUTRIA, white-haired Chief of the Second Military Area, of the Organized Reserves, jumped from his aisle seat, well back in the auditorium and yelled out "Can this meeting be called after what has happened in the last few hours? Do you know that Japan has attacked Hawaii?" Cries of "Throw him out, throw him o

were heard all through the aisles. The Colonel then left the hall under a police guard, and after he left, Senator SIPE said "Don't be too hard on this poor bombastic man. He is only a mouthpiece for FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT - only another sounding board for the war mongers."

This newspaper clipping is being retained in the Pittsburgh file.

Later in the evening, Senator NYE gave another speech before the First Baptist Church in Pittsburgh. In his speech he said: "There is nothing Americans can do but accept the challenge and move forward with American lives, blood and money to the protection of our people and possessions in the Pacific." He said further: "There is nothing to do but declare war."

In the Pittsburgh Post Gazette on December 9, 1941, there was an article entitled "America First Unit Bows Out of Picture." This article stated that in a record twelve minute session, the Advisory Board of the Pittsburgh America First Chapter on the evening of December 8, 1941, formally dissolv and the 15,000 members it claimed were pledged "To unity of support of the govern ment in the prosecution of the war." The Board, with fifteen members attending, voted unanimously to dissolve, after the reading of a resolution introduced by Senator DAVID A. REED, Honorary Chairman. Senator REED told the board he had "no apologies for trying to keep his nation at peace." "There is nothing for us to do", he claimed, "but our American duty now that the Japanese have started the war." According to the article, dismantling of the headquarters of the America First Committee at 629 Liberty Avenue, Pittsburgh, started as early as the morning of December 8, 1941, according to Executive Chairman, JOHN B. GORDON.

No further newspaper history is contained regarding the subject organization.

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The writer further observed a letter written to the Nations Headquarters of the America First Committee and dated February 6, 1942 in which was enclosed a check for $447.00, the balance of the money left over in the Pitt

burgh Chapter Treasury, in which was enclosed also, the complete membership list of the Pittsburgh Chapter of the Committee, and in which a statement was made that the Pittsburgh Committee thereby had wound up all its affairs, and from that time on would cease to engage in any activities.

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[redacted] advised that there really had been no activity after December 8, when the Committee officially disbanded, except the paying of bills and the clearing up of certain financial obligations, which the Committee had.

[redacted] advised that he was and would be unable to supply [redacted] and did not intend to engage any further in any of the activities of the America First Committee. He stated that to his knowledge, this was the sentiment of all the members of the America First Committee in Pittsburgh, and that he had no knowledge of any activity whatsoever, since the official disbandment of the Committee. He stated, however, that a group of persons whom he knew as "Coughlinites", headed by KENNETH MAGRUDER, had broken away from the Committee after a series of clashes, in which the so-called "Coughlinites" attempted to inject into the policies of the America First Committee, certain anti-Jewish, anti-British, anti-Gold Standard and Townsend Plan propaganda. He stated that MAGRUDER split from the America First Committee and took with him approximately 100 members, with whom he formed a new Committee known as "The Committee for America Only". He stated that it was highly possible that these persons continued to meet, although they, too, announced an official disbandment. He said that if they were meeting, they were doing so in private homes of some of the members.

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An attempt will be made by [redacted] to furnish this office with as many names as possible of those who broke away from the America First Committee, after being charged with attempting to insert propaganda of an unsavory nature.

[redacted] stated that he was positive that the good members of the America First Committee had no contact with any national organization, nor do they intend to continue in any way, the activities of the America First Committee. He stated that they intend in no way to keep the organization intact in Pittsburgh, and as a matter of fact, since the official disbandment of them, he and the other members of the Committee known to him, have not met or discussed or engaged in any activities whatsoever.

[redacted] known to the Bureau, attended the America First Committee Rally on June 5, 1941. At this meeting, he obtained a contribution envelope, on the outside of which was the following: "America Fir Committee is open to all patriotic American citizens. We exclude from our rolls Fascists, Nazis, Communists and members of the Bund." According to [redacted] a larg percentage of the attendance of this meeting, however, was German or German-Amer

can. These persons were known to him as being Germans. He stated that the Steuben Society furnished a very large part of the audience, as did practically all of the different German societies and Bunds in Pittsburgh. He stated further that this meeting was very widely published in all German circles. He stated that from Homestead, Pa. alone, there were about 200 Germans present.

With reference to the personal sentiments of certain of the individual members of the America First Committee who appeared on the Advisory Board, or as being very close to it, [redacted] furnished this office with some letters which were received [redacted] The following are the letters:

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"Dear Sir:

"Your recent propaganda sheet labeled 'News Release' has just been received, and I note that you refer to a $60,000,000 being spent here as 'reported by the press' being spent by totalitarian governments. Why, sir, don't you have the common decency and honesty to also admit that Britain's officials admitted that during the last war they spent $150,000,000. and referred to it as the 'best investment' they made, which was obviously correct. We are advised that already they have provided even greater sums - why don't you make some mention of these things, sir? I am a scientist, a field where the truth and unbiased statements hold - I judge in your propaganda line these policies are untenable.

"Within the past two years I have been in Europe and visited many of its countries, including Germany - I know full well just how distorted the picture is made to Americans - I have experienced that America's free press refuses to print one word revealing the other side of the story, thanks to the semetic guidance of our news instrumentalities.

"Won't you please ask Mr. White and won't you please explain in your next letter just how it is that while Britain fights for all your grand things, yet for years she has tried to woo red, communist, athiest Russia as her military and economic ally? Won't you please, too, quote what Mr. Churchill had to say about old U.S.A., last time "To Save Democracy"?

"This is written by one who had served in our reserve officers corps, one of an American family for nearly two hundred years, but who can recognize the same old crap of last war days, redressed."

"Very truly,

/s/ [redacted]

[redacted]

22 July, 1940

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It is noted that [redacted]

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"Dear Sirs:

"It is with deep sincerity that I critize the stand you have taken in regard to our national defense and aid for the Allies. Although fabulous sums have been spent for our defense in the past eight years, President Roosevelt advises us that we are practically defenseless. With this knowledge of this startling fact, and without the approval of Congress, aid has been sent to the Allies. b7

"The British Empire covers one fourth of the earth's surface. It has the richest domains in the world - all sending dividends and resources home to London at this time. Why, then should a defenseless country with an unbalanced budget send their 'obsolete' war equipment to such a country? What financial arrangements are made for the payment of this equipment that is now being sent?

"Most of the people taking the stand you take are past the war age and claim that they want to continue living in a Democracy as they have in the past. We young people just want a chance to keep on living. Give us that chance and we will see to it that this country remains a democracy."

"Yours very truly

/s/ [redacted]

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It will also be noted that [redacted]

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[redacted] advised that only three sizeable donations were given to the America First Committee to help it get started, and that thereafter all donations were small and insignificant. The three sizeable donations were $100.00 from [redacted] He stated further that there were no donations which noticeably came from groups suspected of being Nazi or Communistic.

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THE COMMITTEE FOR AMERICA ONLY

An article in the Pittsburgh Sun-Telegraph, dated October 27, 1941 stated that a new anti-war group, which broke away from the America First Committee, had been formed and was headed by WILLIAM H. WEIR, JR. a strong supporter of the Townsend Old Age Pension Plan. The article stated that WEIR was elected Chairman at the first meeting of the new group, which called themselves "The Committee for America Only." The article went on to say that WEIR has run unsuccessfully for the City Council and for Congress on the Republican ticket. It stated that he has also been President of the National Recovery Association, which is interested in old age pensions. The article went on to state that CHARLES A. MADDEN (Secretary of the Board of Governors of the Soldiers and Sailors Memorial Hall in Pittsburgh) was elected First Vice Chairman of the new group. It stated that MADDEN is active in Veterans groups, was Chairman of the Veterans Division of the America First Committee, and in 1938 was the Democratic candidate for Congress in Pittsburgh. The article further stated that K. D. MAGRUDER, who led the revolt against the America First Committee, charging that he did not submit to dictators, and who describes himself as a criminologist, and historian, as well as a social worker, was elected Secretary of the new group The first meeting of the new group, according to the article, was held at the home of CHARLES MADDEN, 301 South Negley Avenue, East End, Pittsburgh. The other officers elected at the meeting were, Miss MAGDALENE E. McLUCKIE, Second Vice Chairman and Mrs. MYRTLE COLLINS, Treasurer. The article quoted MAGRUDER as saying that 25 persons attended the meeting, and that they are only part of those who revolted from the America First Committee. He said also "We drew up our Constitution. It is a peoples' Constitution, such as we were told we could not have in the America First Committee. This group was not formed to act against the interests of the America First Committee. The Committee for America Only is not a rival of the America First Committee. Actually, we shall be broadening the work of the America First Committee."

An article dated October 30, 1941 in the Pittsburgh Sun Telegraph, stated that the Committee for America Only had scheduled a mass meeting for 3:00 P.M. on that date in the ballroom of the Keystone Hotel. No further record on this meeting is had.

An article in the Pittsburgh Sun Telegraph, dated November 10, 1941 stated that Pittsburgh's America Only Committee was sponsoring a march on Washington on that night, to stage a protest on the next day. The article stated "The scion of the America First Committee, which declared itself independent from the America First Committee, because they were 'tired of just writing letters' would meet other peace groups on the capitol steps and demonstrat According to the article, leading the delegation were WILLIAM J. WEIR, Chairman of the America Only Committee, Mrs. MARIE LOHLE and K. D. MAGRUDER.

According to a Pittsburgh Sun Telegraph article dated November 17, 1941, K. D. MAGRUDER, Secretary for Pittsburgh's Committee for Ame ca Only, advocated the lifting of the British Food Embargo imposed on Nazi conq

nations in Europe. He said "Starvation and resultant pestilence make fertile ground for the growth of dictatorship, and they invite bitterness against the nation or nations responsible for this slow murder."

[redacted] known to the Bureau, advised on December 9, 1941, that the Committee for America Only, during the middle of November, opened a storeroom at 210 Stanwix Street. He said that this group had previously been affiliated with the America First Committee and that K. D. MAGRUDER became the Secretary of the new group. [redacted] stated that when MAGRUDER was in charge of the America First Committee at 629 Liberty Avenue, quite a few of the pro-German and Nazi element visited him there frequently, and some of them became quite friendly with him, and tried to impress him with the work they were doing for America First. He went on to say that very often they would get some printed matter from MAGRUDER to distribute among their friends. [redacted] added that when the office of the new group was opened, MAGRUDER had quite a few visitors from the pro-German element, who seemed to show a preference for MAGRUDER.

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On November 17, 1941, [redacted] advised Special Agent [redacted] of the Pittsburgh Office that [redacted]

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An article in the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette dated Monday, December 8, 1941, stated that according to K. D. MAGRUDER, the America Only Committee, an offshoot of the America First Committee, hopes "To go on serving the best interests of America, if the Government will let us." The article went on to quote MAGRUDER as saying, "But I expect the Government will not tolerate any organization that was connected with America First." Decision on whether to disband America Only will be made at an Executive Committee Meeting," MAGRUDER said.

An article in the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette dated December 9, 1941, which announced the dissolution of the America First Committee, also made the following announcement: "The Committee for America Only, rebel offspring of The America First Group, decided at an Executive Meeting last night, to suspend activities for the duration of thewar. When Secretary K. D. MAGRUDER, the organization's sponsor, was asked whether that meant dissolution, he replied that "we will in effect be hibernating, ready to serve the nation again, whenever the need may arise."

[redacted] advised that he has no knowledge

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of any activities or of any connection with any national organization on the part of the Committee for America Only. He said, however, that he has had no connection with the group, and is not in a position to say whether or not they are meeting.

On November 19, 1941, [redacted]. Those applying stated that the officers of the Committee were WILLIAM W. WEIR, JR. Chairman, CHARLES A. MADDEN, Vice Chairman and K. D. MAGRUDER, Secretary.

The following literature is being added to the file:

1. A small pamphlet entitled "Self Evidenced Truths about Unalienable Rights" by KENNETH DAWN MAGRUDER
2. America First, according to George Washington, published by the national office of the America First Committee
3. America First Committee - Aims and Activities, published by the national office of the America First Committee
4. The America First Committee - The Nazi Transmission Belt, published by Friends of Democracy, Inc., 103 Park Ave., New York City.
5. A throw-away, critisizing FRANK KNOX, published by the national headquarters of the America First Committee
6. Box score of Our Peril, published by the national headquarters of the America First Committee
7. A contribution envelope of America First Committee, 629 Liberty Ave., Pittsburgh, stating that the Committee excludes from their rolls, Fascists Nazis, Communists and members of the Bund.

It is noted that the America First Committee (Pittsburgh Chapter) published a paper called "America First Herald". This paper appeared in only four issues, the first dated September 26, 1941. Two copies of this paper are in the Pittsburgh file. An attempt will be made to get all issues of this, and forward the same to the Bureau.

UNDEVELOPED LEADS

THE PITTSBURGH FIELD DIVISION

AT PITTSBURGH, PENNSYLVANIA

Will attempt to set out further identification and personal history of various members of the America First Committee.

Will attempt to ascertain whether or not the group which broke away from the America First Committee is still meeting in Pittsburgh, or whether or not any part of the America First Committee is still meeting in Pittsburgh.

Will obtain copies of all issues of the paper, "America Firs Herald", and will forward copies of the same to the Bureau.

Will contact [redacted] for a list of those persons who left the America First Committee.

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- P E N D I N G -

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

1 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

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FREEDOM OF INFORMATION AND PRIVACY ACTS

SUBJECT: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

FILE NUMBER: 100-4712

PART: 9 OF 19

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

FILE DESCRIPTION

BUREAU FILE

SUBJECT America First Committee

FILE NO. 100-4712

SECTION NO. 9

SERIALS 404

through

457

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT Chicago, Illinois — FILE NO. 100-1726

REPORT MADE AT	DATE WHEN MADE	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE	REPORT MADE BY
St. Louis, Missouri	5/28/42	5/26,27/42	[redacted] b7c [redacted]

TITLE: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR ADD. DISSEMINATION.

CHARACTER OF CASE: INTERNAL SECURITY - G

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS: St. Louis chapter of America First Committee organized in March, 1941, by eight persons. Chapter incorporated on July 17, 1941. Numerous anti-war rallies held in St. Louis, Missouri, with CHARLES A. LINDBERGH, GERALD P. NYE, Mrs. BENNETT CLARK, HAMILTON FISH, and others appearing as speakers. JOSEPH FORSHAW was chairman of St. Louis chapter; OSCAR E. BUDER, first vice chairman; OSCAR C. ORMAN, second vice chairman; and IVAN H. LIGHT, treasurer. Known pro-Nazi persons alleged to have actively supported organization in St. Louis. Newspapers have reported St. Louis chapter dissolved on December 9, 1941. Available membership list set out.

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 10-19-90 BY SP8 STP/ca
319,518

REFERENCE: Bureau letter dated March 16, 1942.

DETAILS:

On March 4, 1941, the "St. Louis Globe-Democrat," a St. Louis, Missouri, newspaper, carried an article telling of the organization of a St. Louis chapter of the America First Committee. This news article stated CHARLES P. MULDOON, a St. Louis attorney, had reported the committee members of the temporary executive committee for the St. Louis chapter of the America First Committee were LUTHER ELY SMITH, JR., Mrs. E. T. SENSENEY, Reverend EDWARD DOWLING, S. J., Mrs. JOHN W. SEDDON, IVAN H. LIGHT, J. PORTER HENRY, JR., and DAVID P. FERRIS. This news article announced that the latter two named individuals were newspaper men. This article advised MULDOON was temporary chairman of the St. Louis chapter at that time, and he issued a statement in which he said: "This is not a pacifist organization but we do feel that the best interests of America and of the world demand that we stay out of this war."

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: E. B. Monk — SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

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RECORDED & INDEXED

2 Bureau
2 Chicago
1 St. Louis

JUN 19

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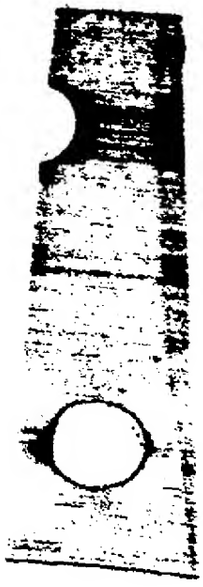
It was further learned that on March 4, 1941, Mrs. BENNETT CHAMP CLARK, wife of Senator CLARK, spoke at a meeting for women held at the Jefferson Hotel, St. Louis. There were about 125 women in attendance, and the meeting was sponsored by the America First Committee.

One of the first large meetings held under the sponsorship of the St. Louis chapter of the America First Committee was held on April 4, 1941, at the Opera House in the Municipal Auditorium, St. Louis. A detailed report made on this meeting [redacted] reflected 3,500 persons were in attendance at this meeting. The speakers were PHILIP L. LAFOLLETTE of Wisconsin, who spoke on the subject "Convoys to Britain," and JOHN T. FLYNN of New York, who spoke on the subject "Shall We Be Dupes?" It b7 is of special interest to note as to who the persons were who served as sponsors for this first major meeting of the St. Louis chapter. The names of these sponsors, [redacted] were:

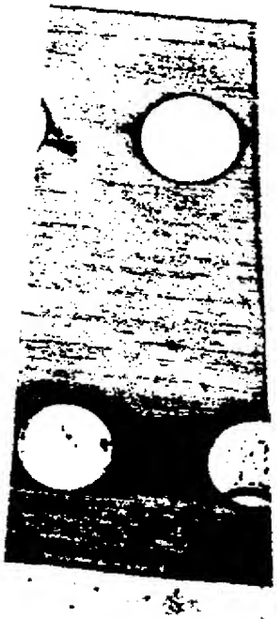
Mrs. B. F. BOWLES, St. Louis League of Women Voters and leader in Colored Groups
Mrs. HENRY F. CHADEAYNE, League of Women Voters, D. A. R., and prominent leader in many activities
Mrs. BENNETT CHAMP CLARK, wife of the Senator
Reverend EDWARD DOWLING, S. J., Associate Editor of "Queen's Work"
ALPHONSE G. EBERLE, Dean of St. Louis University Law School —
STERLING E. EDMUNDS, prominent attorney
HENRY T. FERRISS, prominent attorney
W. C. FERGUSON, President, Prestite Engineering Company
JOSEPH FORSHAW, Forshaw-St. Louis
TALTON T. FRANCIS, Francis Bro. & Company, Brokers
J. PORTER HENRY, prominent attorney and counsel for the "St. Louis Post-Dispatch"
ROSCOE HOBBS, President, Hobbs-Western Company
Mrs. ARTHUR KANSTEINER, President, Women's Chamber of Commerce
Canon CHRISTIAN H. KEHL, Christ Church Cathedral
Dr. ERVINE INGLIS, First Congregational Church of Webster Groves, Mi
IVAN H. LIGHT, attorney and temporary treasurer of the Committee
ROBERT LOGSDON, Regional Organizer for CIO Electrical Workers Union
JOSEPH A. McCLAIN, Dean of Washington University Law School
JOSEPH MacNUTT, well known artist
CHARLES P. MULDOON, attorney and temporary chairman of the Committee
Father MARTIN O'MALLEY, head of Kenrick Seminary, Webster Groves, Mi
SIDNEY R. REDMOND, President, National Bar Association, and prominent Negro leader
Mrs. CHARLES W. RODEWALD, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, League of Women Voters, and other activities
J. FRED SCHLAFLY, Mountain Valley Water Company —
Mrs. JOHN W. SEDDON, temporary executive secretary of the Committee
Mrs. E. T. SENSENEY, League of Women Voters and many other activities



LUTHER ELY SMITH, SR., prominent attorney and civic leader
E. C. STEWART, Vice President, First National Bank in St. Louis
Reverend GEORGE E. SWEAZEY, Tyler Place Presbyterian Church
Mrs. RALPH W. THAYER, League of Women Voters, American Civil Liberties Union, and many other activities

The report on this meeting advised $992.42 in cash was collected at the meeting. [redacted] added the statement that St. Louis is a city notorious for resistance to collections, and that the sum collected was very satisfactory. GEORGE MUELLER was listed as the head usher, and it should be noted it was this same person who acted as attorney for the officers of the St. Louis chapter when they filed their petition for incorporation. The [redacted] report on this meeting also made considerable excuse of the fact that a steady rain had preceded the meeting intermittently during the day. The officers were certain that the unfavorable weather conditions prevented a much larger crowd than was in attendance. A detailed report of this meeting, [redacted] is being retained in the St. Louis file.

Another anti-war rally was held at the Roosevelt High School Auditorium, St. Louis, on the night of April 18, 1941. At this meeting, 450 people were in attendance and Congressman J. EDGAR CHENOWETH, Republican of Colorado, was the principal speaker.



Still another meeting was held at the Webster Groves High School, Webster Groves, Missouri, at which five hundred people were in attendance and CARL CURTIS, Congressman from the Fourth Nebraska District, was a speaker as was Congressman CHENOWETH.

Some minor difficulties were experienced by the St. Louis chapter when they attempted to secure the services of the band of Musicians' Post # of the American Legion for a brief concert at a rally at which CHARLES A. LINDBERGH was to be the principal speaker. Newspapers carried accounts of the trouble, which resulted when MARTIN A. BEFFA, chairman of the American Legion's Commanders' Conference, St. Louis, refused to give the American L band permission to play at the meeting. One newspaper article disclosed J H. LIGHT, chairman of the committee for arrangements for the LINDBERGH sp had stated the Arena was to cost $1,000.00 for the night and the American Legion band was to be paid $300.00. A newspaper article later told of th trouble being settled when the Musicians' Post agreed their band would a at the meeting but would not wear American Legion uniforms and would be and introduced only as a band from the Musicians' Post.

An observation which appeared in one of the St. Louis newspape June 1, 1941, told of the fact that the Committee to Defend America by the Allies was attempting to counteract the propaganda of the America Committee in St. Louis. The Committee to Defend America by Aiding the announced publicly that they were to hold a rally in the near future, a Senator CLAUDE PEPPER and Major MAL VIVIER were to be the principal sp

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On May 3, 1941, the largest anti-war rally sponsored by the St. Louis chapter of the America First Committee was held in the Arena in St. Louis, and CHARLES A. LINDBERGH was the principal speaker. The newspapers estimated there were eighteen thousand persons in attendance at this meeting. Various informants reported soon after this meeting that when they attended the rally, they noticed a number of known St. Louis pro-Nazi persons in attendance at the rally. One informant reported he was certain he saw [redacted] at the meeting. [redacted] of the St. Louis chapter of the German-American Bund. Her attendance is made more of a certainty by the report of a leader of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of St. Louis, who reported he had forwarded to [redacted] some pro-America and pro-Administration propaganda, to which [redacted] replied that she did not care to receive any more of such material, and that this official of the Veterans of Foreign Wars should give more attention to the America First Committee and such individuals as CHARLES A. LINDBERGH.

On May 18, 1941, a news article appeared in the "St. Louis Post-Dispatch," a St. Louis newspaper, telling that the St. Louis chapter of the America First Committee had set up twelve booths throughout St. Louis to enable the public to send messages of protest to their Senators and Congressmen, protesting against the use of convoys or United States intervention in the war. This article advised the America First Committee was furnishing to any person who desired it a form of telegram, postal card, or letter to be used, and would even furnish postage, if requested.

Another news article appearing several days later merely mentioned the activities of the America First Committee in St. Louis, and referred to IVAN H. LIGHT as the treasurer of the chapter.

Of special interest was an article appearing in the "St. Louis Globe-Democrat" on May 24, 1941, telling of the fact that JOSEPH FORSHAW, former St. Louis athlete and Olympic marathon runner, had accepted the chairmanship of the St. Louis chapter of the America First Committee. Mr. FORSHAW is better known at this time as a stove and parts manufacturer.

Another anti-war rally was held on June 27, 1941, at St. George's Church Hall, Gravois and Heege Roads, Affton, Missouri. The speaker for the rally was Congressman KNUTE HILL, Democrat from the state of Washington.

Publicity was also given to the fact that on July 17, 1941, the St. Louis chapter filed in the State Circuit Court at St. Louis a petition asking that a decree be issued, authorizing the incorporation of the St. Louis chapter. It is noted information is contained in the report of Special Agent [redacted] Kansas City, Missouri, dated May 15, 1942, that the records of the Secretary of State, Jefferson City, Missouri, reflect the America First Committee of St. Louis was granted a pro forma decree of incorporation on July 17, 1941. However, those records in Jefferson City do not disclose this incorporation has ever been cancelled.

On August 1, 1941, another anti-war rally was sponsored by the St. Louis chapter at the Municipal Auditorium, St. Louis. There were 2,600 persons in attendance, and U. S. Senator GERALD P. NYE of North Dakota was the speaker.

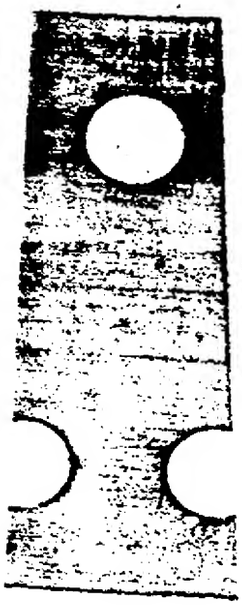
On September 5, 1941, JOSEPH FORSHAW announced publicly that a special anti-war rally was to be held at the Municipal Auditorium in St. Louis on September 17, 1941. He reported Representative HAMILTON FISH was to be the principal speaker.

It was known from the very beginning of the St. Louis chapter of the America First Committee that Dean JOSEPH A. McCLAIN, JR., of the Washington University School of Law was a prominent member of the St. Louis chapter. However, on September 28, 1941, the "St. Louis Globe-Democrat" carried an article telling of the resignation of Dean McCLAIN and Professor E. E. HILPERT from membership in the St. Louis chapter. Professor HILPERT is also a faculty member at the Washington University School of Law. It was announced upon the receipt of these resignations that both Dean McCLAIN and Professor HILPERT had resigned because of the pressure of other national defense duties. However, the newspaper learned the real reason for the resignation of these two prominent members was that CHARLES A. LINDBERGH had publicly criticized the Jews. These resignations were based on LINDBERGH's statement that, "The Roosevelt Administration, England, and the Jews are forcing America to war." Dean McCLAIN announced he had been sympathetic to the anti-war cause long before the America First Committee was formed, and that he no longer desired to be connected with an organization that injected anti-Semitic issues in the anti-war campaign.

On October 16, 1941, another large rally of the St. Louis chapter was held at the Municipal Auditorium in St. Louis. Mrs. BENNETT CHAMP CLARK and Mrs. ROBERT A. TAFT were the principal speakers. This meeting was picketed by members of the American Youth Congress in St. Louis, and these pickets were in turn picketed by the National Legion of the Mothers of America. This rally was considered to be principally a women's meeting. This picketing by the American Youth Congress is of special interest due to the fact that IVAN H. LIGHT has often been referred to as being Communistically-inclined and yet the American Youth Congress members picketed the organization of which LIGHT was the recognized treasurer.

On November 5, 1941, the "St. Louis Globe-Democrat" reported a debate was to be held on the question "Resolved: That This is not Our War." The debate was to be between VICTOR HARRIS, attorney, member of the America First Committee, and leader in the Civil Liberties Union, and W. L. GREGORY, an official of the Plaza Bank in St. Louis, who is recognized as an economist and lecturer, and who was representing in this debate the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies.

Another newspaper article appearing on December 6, 1941, told of a $100,000.00 libel suit filed by the Leader Printing and Publishing Company, publishers of the "St. Louis County Leader," against JOSEPH FORSHAW, chairman



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of the St. Louis chapter. The petition filed alleged FORSHAW had denounced the plaintiff's editorial policy, which the newspaper reported as being strong pro-American.

Concerning the propaganda efforts of the St. Louis chapter, one item was outstanding. There was furnished to the St. Louis Office by a confidential source a copy of a letter which had been addressed to the parents of [redacted] of the U. S. Army. This letter to [redacted]'s parents was dated July 22, 1941, and was on the letterhead of the St. Louis Chapter, America First Committee, 705 Olive Street, St. Louis. The letter was addressed "Dear Fellow Americans." The letter went on to say that as parents of a young man recently inducted into the armed forces of the United States, these parents of this service man were, probably more than anyone else, interested in the welfare and future of the United States. The letter reminded the parents that Government Administration leaders had solemnly promised that their boy was to be sent to a training camp for one year only, and that he was being trained solely for the defense of the Western Hemisphere. The letter went on to say that now that the boys are in camp and in no position to protest, the Administration proposed to extend their time of service indefinitely. The letter further stated the America First Committee considered this proposal a breach of the solemn covenant entered into between this boy and the United States of America. The parents were urged to write their Congressmen and Senators and the President, telling them they did not want their son to die in Europe's eternal wars. The parents were also urged to emphasize the fact that this is not our war. The closing paragraph of the letter reminded the parents that the America First Committee is doing its best to keep this country out of the European war. It requested them, if not already members of the America First Committee, to sign the enclosed membership card at once. The letter was written over the signatures of JOSEPH FORSHAW, chairman, and OSCAR E. HUBER, vice chairman.

[redacted] furnished the St. Louis Office a copy of the petition filed by the St. Louis chapter in the Circuit Court for the City of St. Louis, asking that the St. Louis chapter be granted articles of incorporation. There was also enclosed with the petition a written copy of the articles of association and a preliminary statement concerning this committee. Also furnished by this same source was a list of the board of directors of the America First Committee in St. Louis and also what appeared to be a complete membership list. The membership list furnished at the time the petition was filed in the Circuit Court at St. Louis is as follows:

P. A. GILBERT [redacted] President, Paper Company

Mrs. DOROTHY BARDWELL
Mrs. B. F. BOWLES
Mrs. A. S. BOYD
INGRAM F. BOYD, JR.

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[redacted] Vice pres

Mrs. I. F. BOYD	[redacted]
Mrs. DUDLEY BRAGDON	
OSCAR R. BUDER	
Mrs. H. F. CHADEAYNE	
E. G. COBB	
JOHN [illegible]ELMAN	
LeROY F. DINGES	
Father EDWARD DOWLING, S. J.	
Dean ALPHONSE G. EBERLE	St. Louis University School of Law.
STERLING E. EDMUNDS	Lawyer
EDITH S. ETHERLINGTON	
JOHN FAUST	Lawyer
Mrs. JOHN FAUST	Wife of Attorney FAUST
W. C. FERGUSON	President, Presstite Engr. Company
Dr. DAVID P. FERRISS	Physician
HENRY T. FERRISS	Lawyer
WARNER FISCHER	Lawyer
JOSEPH FORSHAW	Forshaw of St. Louis
TALTON T. FRANCIS	Assoc. Francis Bro. & Company
Professor WARNER FULLER	
ELIZABETH GEMPP	
CHARLES J. GEVECKER	President, Gevecker Sheet Metal Works
JOHN E. GIBSON, JR.	
Mrs. R. B. GRIESEDIECK	
JAMES H. GROVER	President, St. Louis Union Trust Company
E. M. HARFORD	
EMIL HARMS	President, Peter Hauptman Tobacco Co
VICTOR HARRIS	Lawyer
CHRISTIAN HAUCK	President-Treasurer Hauck Bakery
HENRY J. HEITNER	
Dr. HEIMREICH	
J. PORTER HENRY, JR.	Assistant Secretary Optimist Internati
Professor E. E. HILPERT	

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E. C. HOBBS	[redacted]	President, Hobbs-Western Company
FRED J. HOFFMEISTER	[redacted]	Lawyer
Reverend ERVINE P. INGLIS		First Congregational Church, Webster Groves
Mrs. ROSE T. JONES	[redacted]	
MILTON G. KAHLE		
C. H. KAMMANN	[redacted]	Vice president, German House
K. P. KAMMANN		Secretary, Ste. Genevieve Lime Company, East St. Louis, Illinois
BERNHARD KEISER	[redacted]	Chemist
Mrs. B. KEISER		
FRED C. KLINGBEIL	[redacted]	Upholsterer
Mrs. C. W. KOCH		
HARRY G. KOERBER	[redacted]	Retired
JOS. W. KOESTERS		
Mrs. F. J. V. KREBS	[redacted]	Wife of Dr. F. J. V. KREBS
IRMA C. KROENLEIN		Teacher
B. K. LEACH	[redacted]	Lumber
MARIE LEUENBERG		Secretary, Meyer Supply Company, 816 South Taylor
JOS. M. LEWIS, JR.	[redacted]	Lawyer
IVAN H. LIGHT		Lawyer
DON LOHBECK		
VIRGINIA LOHBECK		
JOHN R. LONGMIRE	[redacted]	Broker
Miss MARTHA LOVE		Daughter of EDW. K. LOVE, Realtor
ROBERT L. LUND	[redacted]	Vice president, Lambert Pharmacal Company
Mrs. EUGENE McCARTHY		
Dean JOS. A. McCLAIN, JR.	[redacted]	Washington University Law School
ALAN M. MacEWAN	[redacted]	Portrait artist
J. SCOTT MacNUTT		
Mrs. J. S. MacNUTT		
D. D. MEIER		
ALVIN H. METEDMAN	[redacted]	
GLENN L. MOLLER		Lawyer

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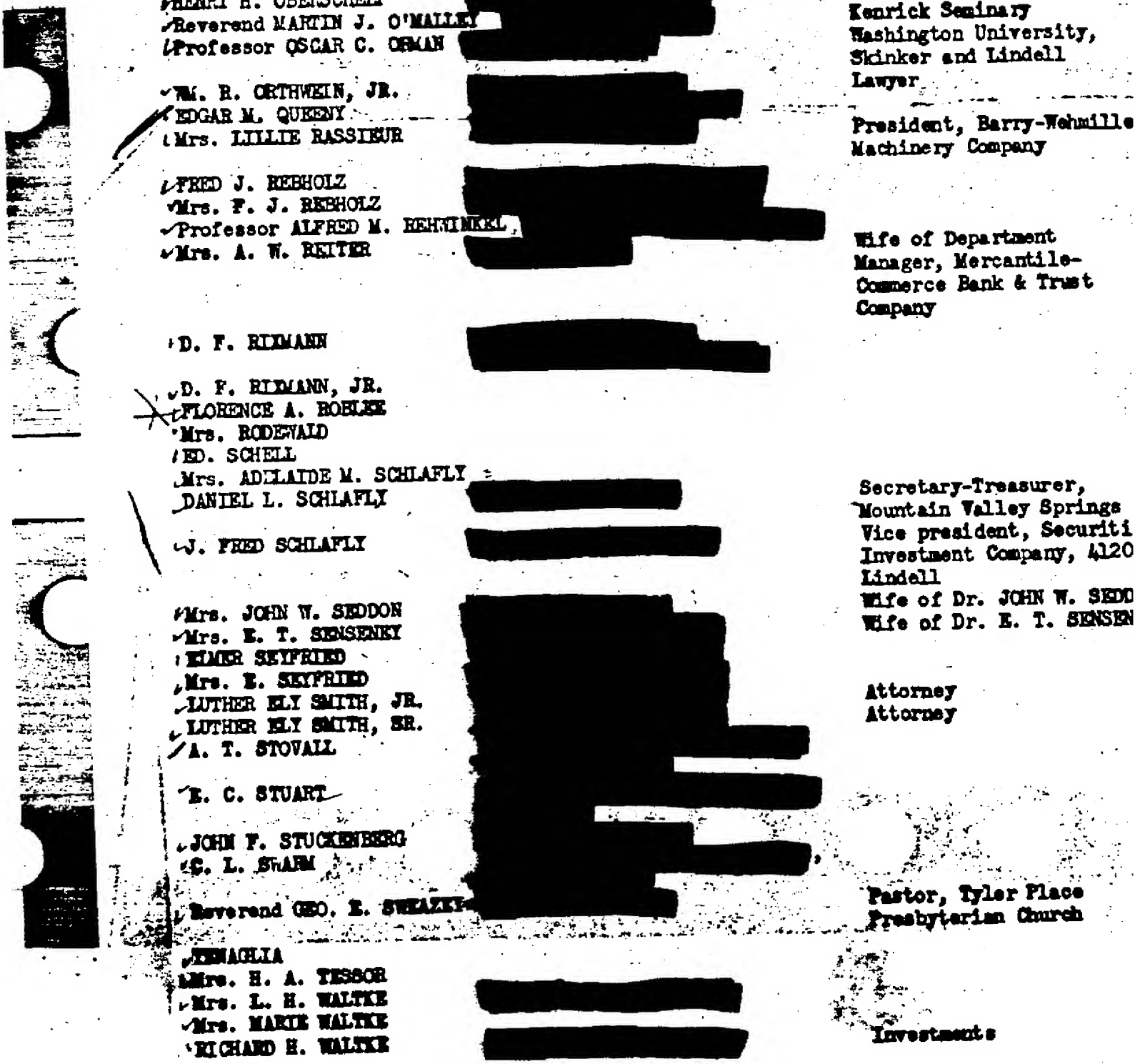

GEO. P. MUELLER — Lawyer
CHARLES P. MULDOON — Lawyer
HENRY H. OBERSCHELP — Lawyer
Reverend MARTIN J. O'MALLEY — Kenrick Seminary
Professor OSCAR C. ORMAN — Washington University,

WM. R. ORTHWEIN, JR. — Skinker and Lindell
EDGAR M. QUEENY — Lawyer
Mrs. LILLIE RASSIEUR — President, Barry-Wehmiller Machinery Company

FRED J. REBHOLZ
Mrs. F. J. REBHOLZ
Professor ALFRED M. REHNINKEL,
Mrs. A. W. REITER — Wife of Department Manager, Mercantile-Commerce Bank & Trust Company

D. F. RIXMANN

D. F. RIXMANN, JR.
FLORENCE A. ROHLFS
Mrs. RODEWALD
ED. SCHELL
Mrs. ADELAIDE M. SCHLAFLY
DANIEL L. SCHLAFLY — Secretary-Treasurer, Mountain Valley Springs

J. FRED SCHLAFLY — Vice president, Securiti Investment Company, 4120 Lindell

Mrs. JOHN W. SEDDON — Wife of Dr. JOHN W. SEDD
Mrs. E. T. SENSENEY — Wife of Dr. E. T. SENSEN
ELMER SEYFRIED
Mrs. E. SEYFRIED
LUTHER ELY SMITH, JR. — Attorney
LUTHER ELY SMITH, SR. — Attorney
A. T. STOVALL

E. C. STUART

JOHN F. STUCKENBERG
C. L. STWARM

Reverend GEO. E. SWEAZEY — Pastor, Tyler Place Presbyterian Church

TENNAGLIA
Mrs. H. A. TESSOR
Mrs. L. H. WALTKE
Mrs. MARIE WALTKE
RICHARD H. WALTKE — Investments

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Mrs. WEGENER
ROBT. A. WILLIER
EDWIN J. WINKELMEYER
E. ALLAN WIMAN
JOS. H. ZUMBALEN

[redacted]

General Advertising Agent, Wabash Railway

Broker
Secretary-Treasurer, Washington University, Skinker and Lindell

The petition for articles of incorporation filed by the St. Louis chapter reflected the following officers: JOSEPH FORSHAW, chairman; OSCAR E. BUDER, first vice chairman; OSCAR C. NORMAN, second vice chairman; and IVAN H. LIGHT, treasurer.

The St. Louis chapter of the America First Committee maintained offices in Room 901 at 705 Olive Street, St. Louis. However, on December 9, 1941, the "St. Louis Globe-Democrat" reported in a news article that a special meeting of the board of directors of the St. Louis chapter of the America First Committee had been held at 705 Olive Street, St. Louis. At that time the St. Louis chapter was reported to have been dissolved. The article advised an affidavit of dissolution was prepared and was to be mailed on that day to the Secretary of State at Jefferson City, Missouri. The article stated the St. Louis chapter's articles of agreement provided for dissolution of the organization if and when the United States declared war. No further information is available at this time to indicate definitely that the St. Louis chapter is now inoperative. It is recalled the Kansas City Office has reported there is nothing in the records of the Secretary of State at Jefferson City to indicate the affidavit of dissolution was received at that office. The activities of the St. Louis chapter have been observed to have consisted chiefly of the holding of anti-war rallies and the conducting of almost constant membership drives to secure financial support for the committee.

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UNDEVELOPED LEADS:

The ST. LOUIS Office at St. Louis, Missouri, will contact [redacted] for any information in his possession relating to Nazi support of the St. Louis chapter of the America First Committee. The St. Louis Office will conduct investigation to determine whether an organization known as America for Peace has been organized in St. Louis. If this organization is found to exist, investigation should be conducted to determine the officers and members. The St. Louis Office will continue general, discreet investigation of the America First Committee in St. Louis to determine definitely if an underground organization is now operating in place of the former St. Louis chapter.

PENDING

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS. FILE NO. 100-5606

REPORT MADE AT	DATE WHEN MADE	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE	REPORT MADE BY
NEWARK, NEW JERSEY	5/30/42	4/14,16,23,30/42 5/26/42	[redacted] b7C

TITLE	CHARACTER OF CASE
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE	INTERNAL SECURITY (G)

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS: America First Committee opened N.J. State Headquarters May 6, 1941. Moving spirit of organization has been Mrs. MARY HENNINGER, N.J. State Executive Secretary, whose motives appear to be honest and patriotic. America First Committee operated as a very loose knit organization in N.J. According to [redacted] it dissolved December 8, 1941, on orders from General WOODS. New Jersey Headquarters were closed on same date and all records were transmitted to General Woods. The organization sponsored a number of public rallies, featuring addresses by prominent Isolationists. All leaders of organization, contacted to date, deny that America First is still functioning. [redacted] tried to keep America First free of radical elements, making it a point to question prospective members along these lines. Rallies of organization in N.J. were generally well attended. Most active chapters appear to have been in Newark, and Jersey City, N.J. Membership in latter estimated at about 2,500, and in former at about 500. b7D

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 9/30/85 BY Sp3 mac #241183 10-19-90 SP8BTJ/LSL

- P -

REFERENCE: Bureau letter to all SACs, dated 3/16/42.

DETAILS: A review of the instant file discloses the following information in the Newark Field Division.

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: H. H. O'Connor SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

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EX-10

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On July 9, 1941, [redacted] New Jersey, telephonically contacted the Newark Office, and advised that he had information concerning the activities of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE in that city. He asked that he be contacted by an agent of this Bureau.

The file further reflected a clipping from the Westwood Chronicle, dated August 21, 1941, to the effect that the Pascack Valley Chapter of the America First Committee, held a peach festival on the preceeding Saturday afternoon, on the grounds of the home of Mrs. A.R. O'TOOLE, of Washington Avenue, Westwood,N.J. It further reported that the chapter planned a card party and bazaar to be held in October, the proceeds of which were to be used for the benefit of the American soldiers in camp. It is also noted that the article reflected that this chapter meets twice a month, and that anyone interested in joining could do so by contacting Mrs. EDWARD SCHOEN, 150 Washington Street, Westwood,N.J., Chairman of the Membership Committee, or by calling District Headquarters, 378 Main Street, Hackensack,N.J.

This clipping further stated that there would be two America First rallies on the following Friday night, one at Bergenfield Palos Hall, Bergenfield,N.J., and the other at the Memorial School in Passaic. Mrs. MICHAEL STRANGE, and Congressman HAMILTON FISH were to be the speakers in each instance.

A similar article appeared in the Westwood News, under date of August 21, 1941.

On July 12, 1941, [redacted] telephonically contacted the Newark Office, and advised that [redacted]

On July 8, 1941, [redacted] received an anonymous request to start a chain letter to Christian Fathers and Mothers all over America for the purpose of saving America.

[redacted] on July 25, 1941, advised the Newark Office, that on June 30, 1941, there was an AMERICA

FIRST meeting in Jersey City, N.J. at 665 Newark Avenue. He further stated that the common talk among the persons at this meeting was "Why join the Navy and see the world from the bottom of the ocean." He stated that Mr. PHILLIP, State Secretary of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE, is part of the organization, and [redacted] Hoboken, N.J. is an organizer. He stated further that [redacted] Jersey City, N.J. (residence [redacted] Jersey City, N.J.) also was at the meeting. [redacted] b2c

By letter, dated December 2, 1941, the Philadelphia Office of this Bureau, advised that from a confidential source, information had been obtained to the effect that the America First Committee, Camden Headquarters, located at 708 Federal Street, ran a two-column advertisement in the "Courier-Post" at Camden, on November 13, 1941, and called upon individuals to "halt the march of the war-maker" and to communicate immediately with Congressmen, expressing desire that they vote against repeal of the Neutrality Act. Mention was made of Congressman CHARLES A. WOLVERTON.

The Trenton Evening Times, of November 28, 1941, carried a story concerning a meeting of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE, on the following Sunday to be held in the Central High School auditorium, Trenton, N.J. It stated that the principal address was to be given by the Reverend PAUL C. MARTIN, of St. Paul's Church, North Arlington, who is an Episcopal clergyman, and to speak on no-war.

The Trenton News, of the same day, carried a story regarding the same meeting, and listed the U.S. Senator BURTON K. WHEELER, of Montana, as an additional speaker.

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[redacted] access was gained to the "morgue" of the Newark Evening News, and all references in that newspaper regarding the activities of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE are being hereinafter set forth.

March 12, 1941 - THOMAS MC CARTER, President of Public Service, of N.J. was one of the sixty-six individuals named by the National Headquarters of America First as having contributed $100.00 or more to the organization.

December 14,1940- THOMAS MC CARTER, President of Public Service, of N.J., stated that he was a Committee Member of the AMERICA FIRST, had contributed to its finances and believed in its doctrines

100-5606

April 30, 1941 - The "No Foreign War Committee" was disbanded on advice of its leader BYRNE MARSHALL, and members were advised to associate with AMERICA FIRST.

May 6, 1941 - AMERICA FIRST opened State Headquarters at 506 Bloomfield Avenue, Montclair, N.J.

June 3, 1941 - R.M. FULLE, Montclair, N.J. was given as the Organizer of the AMERICA FIRST in New Jersey, and its headquarters were given as 32 Commerce Street, Newark, N.J. With FULLE on the Organizing Committee were ROBERT B. WILLIAMSON, of Shresbury, N.J.; H. DUDLEY SWIM, of Summit, N.J.; and CUTLER GODFRIED, of Mahwah, N.J.

July 15, 1941 - WILLIAM PHILLIP, State Secretary of the AMERICA FIRST was to give an address that evening on Current Events.

July 16, 1941 - About one hundred individuals were present at an AMERICA FIRST meeting, addressed by WILLIAM PHILLIP, and ERNEST HAWKINS, President of the Christian Front Group, Newark, N.J. PHILLIP assailed Cabinet Members STIMSON and KNOX, as the "two people who have done more to get us into war then any other two people." PHILLIP warned that trouble laid ahead for us should we attempt to seize Dakar. "Why should American boys commit suicide" he asked. HAWKINS stated "The oppositions of the people has caused FRANKLYN ROOSEVELT to retract from his war-like course, and the fact that he didn't make a fireside speech advocating an A.E.F. is a tribute to the work of the AMERICA FIRST." HAWKINS also claimed that the foreign policy of the United States is made in London, by WINSTON CHURCHILL.

Sept. 13, 1941- There was an announcement of an AMERICA FIRST rally on September 23, by Mrs. MARY HENNINGER, Executive Secretary of the America First, and Senator WHEELER, and ex-senator BUSH HOLT were presented as speakers.

Sept. 19, 1941 - An announcement of a meeting of the Corny Unit of the AMERICA FIRST was made, which was to be held soon, advised that it would be presided over by ALLEN HARTLEY, son of Representative HARTLEY of New Jersey. The speakers were GEORGE DYSON FRIOU, New York City Attorney, and Captain GEORGE SMITH. FRIOU stated that a U.S. Senator

100-5606

Had told him that this country had only two hundred fighting planes last Spring. He likened President Roosevelt with Mussolini. SMITH attacked the British Empire, for its policies over the past two hundred years. According to the Evening News, neither speaker expressed any condemnation of the Axis Powers, save a brief remark by FRIOU that he had no grief for Hitler.

September 20,1941-There was an announcement of an AMERICA FIRST rally at the Mosque Theatre, in Newark,N.J., to be addressed by Senator NYE, and ex-Senator HOLT. The announcement of this rally brought a blast from KARL HOLDERMAN, State Chairman of the Labor Non-Partisan League, and also a prominent C.I.O. Official in N.J. HOLDERMAN belittled AMERICA FIRST for offering smug warnings to Jews to withdraw from public life, or else become sole targets of isolationist attacks. HOLDERMAN declared that NYE and other Isolationists leaders "intended the creation of social movement."

September 23,1941-Professor JAMES O'CONNELL, of Seton Hall, was given as the Presiding Chairman at the AMERICA FIRST rally mentioned above. The reception committee for HOLT and NYE was to be headed by MILTON FULLE, and others on the committee were listed as Mrs. MARY HENNINGER, Mrs. VALENTINE MILLER, of Union,N.J., and Mrs. SEIFRIED, of Newark,N.J. and also Mrs. JOHN REILLY, of South Orange,N.J.

September 24,1941-Attendance at the rally held the preceding night was given as between three thousand, and thirty-five hundred. The rally was featured by a bitter attack on Roosevelt and Wilkie, by NYE and HOLT.

October 11, 1941- Representative FRANK B. KEEFE, of Wisconsin, was given as the speaker at an AMERICA FIRST rally to be held at the Elks auditorium of Elizabeth,N.J.

October 14, 1941- HAMILTON FISH, of New York, representative, and ex-senator RUSH HOLT, were listed as speakers at an AMERICA FIRST rally to be held at Dickinson High School, Jersey City, N.J.

100-5608

October 14, 1941 -Congressman JEANETTE RANKIN, of Montana, spoke to the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE at a rally, in Elizabeth,N.J. in the Elks Auditorium. She asked the audience to lobby against the war.

October 15, 1941- The presiding Chairman at the above mentioned meeting was listed as Miss MARCELLA CARROLL, Executive Chairman of the Hudson County Chapter of AMERICA FIRST.

October 16, 1941- Representative HAMILTON FISH of New York, and ex-senator BUSH HOLT spoke at the Dickinson High School, Jersey City,N.J. with about two thousand being present. Resolutions were passed opposing aid to Russia, the occupation of Iceland, by U.S.Troops,and the arming of merchant ships. The provisions of the Neutrality Act was also opposed and a request for a referendum on the question of war or peace was made. MARCELLA CARROLL presided at this rally.

October 31,1941- Professor JAMES O'CONNELL, of Seton Hall, and A.T. ATWELL of the New York City Chapter of AMERICA FIRST,were listed as speakers at a rally to be held that evening at 8:15 p.m. by the Orange, Maplewood Chapter of AMERICA FIRST.

November 5, 1941- There was read in the Newark Evening News concerning a meeting of the AMERICA FIRST to be held at the Mosque Theatre, in Newark, on Armistice Day. Speakers were listed as "ALFALFA BILL" MURRAY, former Governor of Oklahoma; Congressman FRED A. HARTLEY, Jr.; and Professor JAMES O'CONNELL, of Seton Hall. In this ad the principles of AMERICA FIRST were listed as follows:

(1) Our first duty is to keep America out of foreign wars. Our entry would destroy democracy, not save it.
(2) We must build defense for our own shores so strong that no foreign power, or combination of powers can invade our country by sea, land, or air.
(3) Not by acts of war abroad, but by peace and extending democracy at home can we aid democracy and freedom in other lands.

(4) In 1917 we sent our American ships into the war zone, and this led us to war. In 1941 we must keep our American convoys and merchant ships on our side of the Atlantic.
(5) Humanitarian aid is the beauty of a strong free country at peace. With proper safeguard for the distribution of supplies we should feed and cloth the people in their sufferings in occupied countries.
(6) We advocate an official advisory vote of the people of the United States on the question of World Peace so that when Congress decides this question, as the constitution provides, we will know the opinion of the people on this the greatest of all issues.

November 7, 1941 - A further announcement was made of the AMERICA FIRST rally on Armistice Day. The committee head was given as Mrs. MARY M. MENKINGER, Executive Secretary of the State headquarters. Also on the committee was Mrs. FLORENCE SEIFRIED; Mrs. HERBERT SECA; Mrs. LEO V. MORTON; KENIK KUSMAUL; ALEXANDER RADSENIK; and GEORGE SEIFRIED, all of Newark, N.J. Also on this committee was Mrs. LILLIAN SMITH, of Maplewood, N.J.; Miss MARY J. MENKINGER, of Emerson, N.J.; Mrs. BENJAMIN MEISSNER, of Morristown, N.J.; THOMAS GREGORI, of South Orange, N.J.; and Mrs. VALENTINE MILLER, of Union, N.J.

November 7, 1941 - There was an article stating that THOMAS MC CARTER had tendered his resignation as a member of the AMERICA FIRST.

November 12, 1941 - Attendance at the Armistice Day America First rally was given as 1,500 and one speaker stated that he thought the Neutrality Provisions could be defeated. Professor O'CONNELL of Seton Hall blamed the sinking of the destro Rubin James on the administration of President ROOSEVELT

November 22, 1941- Senator NYE addressed a meeting of the AMERICA FIRST at Elizabeth, N.J., and his talk followed the usual lines. The attendance was given as 600, and Mrs. MARY MENKINGER presided at the meeting.

100-5606

November 26, 1941 - Professor JAMES O'CONNELL of Seton Hall was given as a speaker at the Ukraindian Center, 186 William Street, Newark,N.J. that evening along with EDWARD ATWELL, of New York.

Nov. 27, 1941 - At the above mentioned meeting O'CONNELL stated "that Hitler is trying to conquer the world is baloney." He stated that it was impossible to understand how Catholics could support the Communists in the present war.

December 4, 1941 - A meeting of the Hudson County AMERICA FIRST was schedu to protest the denial of certain billings at Kearny, for meetings of AMERICA FIRST. Senator NYE and Representatives HARTLEY, of N.J., and SAUTHOFF, of Wisconsin were given as speakers.

December 8, 1941 - Mrs. MARY HAMAINGER, of Emerson, stated that the AMERICAN FIRST COMMITTEE was one hundred per cent behind the Government in the war, and there was also an announcement that the above mentioned meeting of the Hudson County Chapter would not be held.

[redacted]

[redacted] stated that the New Jersey organization was some what of an off-shoot of the New York. Although the N.J. organization possessed autonomy it was technically under the jurisdiction of the New York Office. She added that the N.J. headquarters for a time had been located in Montclair,N.J. (which is in accordance with certain news paper articles set forth above).

[redacted]

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[redacted] leaders in New Jersey, as Mrs. EDITH [redacted], of Leonia, N.J., head of the Bergen County Chapter; Miss MARCELLA CARROLL, of Jersey City, N.J., leader of the Hudson County Chapter; Mrs. LILLIAN HARVEY, of Trenton, N.J., head of the Mercer County chapter; and a man by the name of [redacted], of Clifton, who was Chairman of the Passaic Couty group. She advised that this latter individual had secured a separate charter from the New York Office, [redacted] therefore she knew nothing concerning activities of the AMERICA FIRST in Passaic County, N.J.

She denied that THOMAS MC CARTER, President of Public Service of New Jersey, was ever active in the organization. She stated that as far as she knew he never contributed any money to the local office of AMERICA FIRST. [redacted] State Headquarters, at 32 Commerce Street, Newark, N.J. She advised that Professor JAMES O'CONNELL of Seton Hall spoke at a number of rallies sponsored by the organization, but denied that he had worked to build up the group. She stated that a young man by the name of WILLIAM PHILLIPS of the New York headquarters had been sent to New Jersey, [redacted] interrogated relative to the newspaper articles about JAMES HAWKINS, President of the Newark Christian Front being a speaker at the America First rally. She vigorously denied the allegation contained in the newspaper story and termed them "crackpot, and sensational reporting." She stated that PHILLIPS gave a talk on "Current Events" at a public meeting which was attended by HAWKINS.

She further stated that at the conclusion of PHILLIPS speech he asked if there were any questions from the audience, and HAWKINS proceeded to ask a number of long winded questions of the oratorical variety, which led to the newspaper story in question.

[redacted] gave the following information concerning the individuals mentioned in the newspaper articles set forth hereinbefore:

She stated that [redacted], who resided on [redacted] came to the office and helped with the clerical work quite a bit. On two occasions she hired a hall for a meeting place for the organization [redacted] was described as a very good citizen.

Mr. [redacted] was a volunteer worker who helped with some of the typing. She was also in charge of ticket sales for several of AMERICA FIRST rallies.

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[redacted] was also said [redacted] to helped on a few occasions with ticket sales, as did [redacted] who is said to reside [redacted]

[redacted] came into the State Headquarters and helped for an hour or two, on one and two occasions, but was not active in the organization beyond this.

[redacted] stated that [redacted] and [redacted] were employees of [redacted] who were sympathisers with the principl of AMERICA FIRST. She added that they generally took care of the obtaining of the lease permits for AMERICA FIRST meetings and served as ushers at these meetings. [redacted] also served in the latter capacity, as did [redacted] on several occasions made it a point to meet speakers at the airport and drive them to a hotel.

Mrs. BENJAMIN MEISNER, of Morristown, N.J., was head of a small group of the AMERICA FIRST in that city, and according to [redacted] she had only seen her on one or two occasions when Mrs. MEISNER attended rallies in Newark, N. She stated she believed that Mrs. MEISNER was Jewish. She was not acquainted with [redacted] other than the fact that he was a speaker sent to N.J. on several occasions by the New York Office.

[redacted] implied that the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE in New Jersey was very loosely knit. She stated that members were accepted upon the payment of $1.00 dues and were issued a membership card. [redacted] She stated further that it was necessary for an individual to be an American citizen before being accepted into that group. The main purpose she stated, of the organization, was to stir up feeling against involving this country into a foreign war.

She denied that any political aspirations, as least insofar as the N.J. group was concerned, was the motive for the group. She denied receiving financial assistance from any other source than the collection of membership dues and stated that the organization was always in financial straits.

[redacted] stated further that her only interest in the organization came about as a result of her desire to see this country involved, and her to fight, in no foreign war. She believed that the same motive influenced most of the other members. She recognized that it was a distinct possibility that th

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organization had attracted some individuals with subversive tendencies. She added that she was certain a number of Communists had been interested in the movement before Russia entered the war, because there was a short drop in membership after the beginning of the Russo-German war. She added that as far as anti-semetic charges against this organization were concerned, she was certain that the New Jersey group was not guilty of this. She went on to say that a number of her very close friends were Jewish and that the leader of the America First in Morristown,N.J. was in her opinion a Jew.

[redacted] stated that the organization was dissolved after the attack on Pearl Harbor, upon the orders of General WOODS, the National Head. [redacted] and she stated that to her knowledge no meetings were held, and no activities have been carried on since that time. The whole reason for existence of the AMERICA FIRST had passed away with the outbreak of war. It was an organization devoted to the keeping of this country out of war, but after the country entered war, there was no reason for its continuance, and it was the patriotic duty of every citizen to support the Government in the war effort. [redacted] She added that there was no meetings planned, and it was her earnest desire that none should be held, and further she stated she had been told General WOODS had taken steps to protect the name of AMERICA first from use by any other organizations.

[redacted]

She advised further that headquarters had been opened at 340 Palisade Avenue, Jersey City,N.J., on June 27, 1941. The organizational meeting w

held on June 30, 1941, at the Odd Fellows Hall, Jersey City,N.J. At that time, voluntary contributions were solicited from the audience to defray expenses of the organization. She estimated that from the date of the opening of headquarters until Pearl Harbor the organization acquired about 3,500 members in Hudson County. She stated that it was received very well by citizens of Jersey City, particularly most of the strength being among the Italians. The largest attendance at any one meeting was on October 15, 1941, when about 2,500 heard an address by Congressman HAMILTON FISH, and ex-senator RUSH HOLT, in Dickinson High School, Jersey City,N.J. Shortly after an Armistice Day meeting was held in school #11, Jersey City,N.J., addressed by Congressman JEANETTE RANKIN, and GEORGE SMITH, who she described as Lindbergh's Body Guard, about seven hundred being in attendance.

In September, 1941, DOUGLAS CHANDLER and KATHERINE LARKIN, of the New York America, first addressed a meeting in Jersey City, in which about two hundred were present. [redacted] stated that she had become interested in the organization because she had always been a Pacifist at heart and did not believe that war successfully settled any issue. She denied that the organization had any political aspirations and said that it was her firm belief that it should not be a political power. To her knowledge most of the former membership of the AMERICA FIRST had been merely either taken into the Army, or were presently supporting the country's war effort in some other way.

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She pointed out that RAY HENFIELD, former title head of the Hudson County Chapter, had volunteered as soon as the attack on Pearl Harbor occurred, and is presently at Fort Bragg, North Carolina. [redacted]

[redacted] She denied knowledge of any underground meetings of the organization, or any continuance of its functions. She stated in the event she learned of this she would communicate with this office. [redacted] advised that after the attack on Pearl Harbor the group decided to disband but that it still had some money in the treasury. On December 15, 1941, group had a social evening in Jersey City,N.J. to spend this left-over money, incident might have given some persons the impression that AMERICA FIRST was a meeting.

She further stated that at that time it had been necessary to keep the headquarters open for a few days after Pearl Harbor in order to make refu

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for tickets sold for a proposed AMERICA FIRST meeting to be held on December 10, 1941, in Jersey City, N.J. The headquarters finally closed on December 15th, 1941.

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[redacted] She denied knowledge of any meetings of the organization subsequent to the attack on Pearl Harbor, and advised that she was now doing all in her power to aid the war effort, and felt that it was a patriotic duty of every citizen to support the administration to the utmost. She did not believe the organization would be a political feature or would ever appear again. Its only reason for existence, she stated, was the necessity that some people felt for keeping this country out of a foreign war, but when the country became involved in such a war, the organization's necessity was deferred.

[redacted] furnished information along similar lines and denied having heard of any meetings of the organization in and around Maplewood, N.J., or Irvington, N.J. She advised that she had assisted at the State Headquarters of AMERICA FIRST in certain clerical work because she believed in the principles of the group that the country should make every attempt to avoid foreign entanglements. She has a young son, in his early teens, and she stated that she fears that he may be sent to be killed on foreign soil.

This Field Division received a letter from the New York Office, dated April 1, 1942, which stated that on March 26th, 1942, an unknown individual who stated that he was a soldier in the U.S. Army telephonically communicated with the New York Office and advised that it had come to his attention that [redacted] who resides at the Y.M.C.A., Hoboken, N.J. had certain information concerning the present activities of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE. It was ascertain that the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE was allegedly working in a dual capacity in the one section supposedly going underground, whereas the other part is organizing what is designated as the George Washington Brigade. It was suggested that [redacted] be contacted to explore the allegations of the complaint.

Accordingly [redacted] was contacted by the writer at the Hoboken Y.M.C.A. but he denied actively of any knowledge of meetings of the organization, and stated that he had no knowledge whatever of continued activities of that group. However it was apparent from conversing with [redacted] that he was a radical individual wholeheartedly devoted to the principles of AMERICA FIRST, who would welcome the birth of that organization, where it to reopen at the present time, or after the

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In fact [redacted] made the statement to the writer that he believed AMERICA FIRST would return after the present war under another name, to prevent the United States from becoming "an International Sucker as it had been after the last war." He added that the Brave European Nations would get money out of this country, finance their armies and navies, and further revenge wars. He added that we would against be called upon to finance the Armies and Governments of various "buffer" states in Europe, who would sell us out in the future as they had done in this war.

[redacted] launched into a particularly violent denunciation of President Roosevelt. He added that the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor was brought on by the "bullying of Roosevelt and Hull." [redacted] stated that he recognized the necessity for supporting President Roosevelt at this time, but indicated that he would support a movement to impeach Roosevelt after the war. He added that in July, 1941, at a Committee meeting of AMERICA FIRST, in New York City, the question of impeaching Roosevelt had been discussed at length. However, they decided at that time not to attempt an impeachment in spite of the fact that Roosevelt had violated the constitution of the United States on this occasion. [redacted] deplored the treatment which has been accorded the Vichy-French by the administration. He referred to one note to VICHY-France written by SUMNER WELLES which he stated was full of "historical inaccuracies." [redacted] stated he did not trust Russia, and he believed that there was still a great deal of resentment in this country toward the war. He stated that he personally knew that the only reason the men of Hoboken were supporting the war was the forty hour week and the high wages being by industry. He believed that they were only supporting Roosevelt because of a belief in this country's cause. [redacted] also appeared very anti-British in his remarks.

He stated that during the time he was working in the AMERICA FIRST movement that there was as much anti-British feeling as there was anti-German. He went on to say that it has been his experience that AMERICA FIRST met with a wonderful reception all over Hudson County. According to him the reception from the Italian element in Jersey City was particularly warm. [redacted] claimed that [redacted]

b7c [redacted] stated that [redacted] possessed most of the information concerning the activities of the AMERICA FIRST in Hudson County, and she would know if the organization was still functioning. He added that it was his understanding that it had completely dissolved. He made the statement that it

was his opinion that the organization had broken up too quickly. He seemed sincere enough but gave the impression of being somewhat of a "crackpot," and it is believed, after conversing with [redacted], that he would readily associate himself with the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE should it be reconstructed.

- P E N D I N G -

UNDEVELOPED LEADS

NEWARK FIELD DIVISION:

AT NEWARK, NEW JERSEY:

Will continue the investigation of the subject organization in New Jersey.

Will contact the leaders of organizations in New Jersey in the event that prior investigation discloses that they are reliable and trustworthy.

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXX

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

__1__ Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

☑ Deletions were made pursuant to the exemptions indicated below with no segregable material available for release to you.

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☐ (b)(1)	☐ (b)(7)(A)	☐ (d)(5)
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☐ (b)(3)	☑ (b)(7)(C)	☐ (k)(1)
_____	☑ (b)(7)(D)	☐ (k)(2)
_____	☐ (b)(7)(E)	☐ (k)(3)
_____	☐ (b)(7)(F)	☐ (k)(4)
☐ (b)(4)	☐ (b)(8)	☐ (k)(5)
☐ (b)(5)	☐ (b)(9)	☐ (k)(6)
☐ (b)(6)		☐ (k)(7)

☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.

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100-4712-405 (2) pg. 17

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X FOR THIS PAGE X
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FBI/DOJ

Federal Bureau of Investigation

United States Department of Justice
607 U.S. Court House
Foley Square
New York, New York

[redacted]

100-9887

June 3, 1942

b7c

Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

[boilerplate] FORMATION CONTA[illegible]
UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10-19-90 SP8BTS/cal

Dear Sir:

RE: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
INTERNAL SECURITY - G

Reference is made to Bureau letter directed to the New York Field Office, Bureau File No. 100-4712, dated May 14, 1942 and captioned as above and also to the copies of the memorandum dated May 1, 1942 received by the Bureau from the Special Defense Unit of the Department of Justice and transmitted therew

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This is to advise that the material which [redacted] had in his possession in connection with [redacted] is only a small portion of the miscellaneous material and reports concerning the America First Committee in the possession of [redacted]

In view of these facts and following contact with [redacted] it has been determined that the only possible mean of securing the material desired by the department is by a complete examination and review of all the material concerning the America First Committee in the possession of [redacted] However, [redacted] has pointed out to this office that such a task will take considerable time, possibly several we[redacted]

In view of the Bureau's instructions in this matter a review of the fil[redacted] will be undertaken for the abstracting of the desi[redacted]terial unless, because of the conditions involved, the Bureau feels that such is not advisable and advises this office to that effect.

Very truly yours,

P. E. FOXWORTH
Assistant Director

RECORDED & INDEXED 100-4712-[illegible]
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
JUN 5 1942
U.S. [redacted] JUSTICE
[redacted]
b7c

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b7c

[redacted] 100-4712 -406 June 25, 1942

RECORDED

[redacted] SP8BIMCo

Special Agent in Charge
New York, New York

RE: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
INTERNAL SECURITY (G)

Dear Sir:

Reference is made to your letter dated June 3, 1942, in the above-captioned matter, advising of the plans to assign an Agent to a review of the complete records of [redacted] as related to the America First Committee. b7D

Pending specific instructions from the Bureau, this project is to be held in abeyance.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E.A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Kramer
Mr. McGuire
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED
★ JUN 30 1942 ★
P.M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

JUL 2 1942

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[redacted]

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

FILE NO. 100-1067

REPORT MADE AT	DATE WHEN MADE	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE	REPORT MADE BY
EL PASO, TEXAS	6-4-42	6-3-42	[redacted] b7C

TITLE	CHARACTER OF CASE
O AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE	INTERNAL SECURITY - C

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS: [redacted] contacted at Albuquerque, N. M. and were unable to furnish any information re present status of AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE, or activities of Mrs. AMY P. HURT, former Regional Director. [redacted] unable to furnish information re this Committee, or L. H. WILLIAMS, former Director. [redacted] did not believe this Committee active in any way at the present time. [redacted] b2 b7C b7D

- EUC -

REFERENCE: Bureau letter to all Field Divisions dated 5-16-42.

DETAILS: [redacted] all located in Albuquerque, New Mexico, were contacted with regard to the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE, and Mrs. AMY P. HURT, former Regional Director, but they were unable to furnish any information which might be of present positive value to this investigation. They were unable to provide any information which might indicate activity of any sort of this committee or Mrs. HURT in the vicinity of Albuquerque, New Mexico, or in the State of New Mexico.

[redacted] Albuquerque, New Mexico, advised that she knew Mrs. HURT was associated with the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE but she did not believe her presently active in this connection. She stated that b7C b7D

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: [redacted] SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES

100-4712-407

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INDEXED

JUN 6 1942

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2 - Chicago (100-4712)
2 - El Paso

JUN 10 1942

she believed Mrs. HURT's attachment to this Committee to be a righteous one, springing from her pacifistic ideals. [redacted] advised that it was her understanding that Mrs. HURT had one son in the Service of the United States Army; that because of this, and the circumstances bringing about the entry of the United States into the War, she believed that Mrs. HURT, as herself, could be satisfied only with a just peace. It is to be noted that

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[redacted]

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[redacted] were unable to furnish any information with regard to the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE or any activity of A. H. WILLIAMS, Encino, New Mexico, in connection with this Committee.

- REFERRED UPON COMPLETION TO OFFICE OF ORIGIN -

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

FILE NO. 100-2827

REPORT MADE AT	DATE WHEN MADE	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE	REPORT MADE BY
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA	6-2-42	5-26-27-42	b7c [redacted]

TITLE	CHARACTER OF CASE
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE	INTERNAL SECURITY - G

10-19-90 SP8B5/CaL

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS: Local chapter of America First Committee at Richmond, Virginia, organized September, 1941, and disbanded in December of same year after declaration of war by this country. Investigation fails to disclose any subsequent activities of group in Richmond and former officials state all records sent to National Headquarters in Chicago after group disbanded. Only other known chapter in Virginia was located in Roanoke, Virginia.

- P -

REFERENCE: Bureau letter to all offices dated March 16, 1942. Bureau teletypes dated May 11 and May 26, 1942.

DETAILS: AT RICHMOND, VIRGINIA

A review of the files in the Richmond Field Office in this case reflects that under date of October 24, 1941, there was received the following information from [redacted] b2 b7D This source stated that a meeting of the Richmond, Virginia, branch of the America First Committee was held on the night of Friday, October 3, 1941, in the Y.W.C.A. building at Richmond, Virginia, and an executive committee was appointed as follows:

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: [redacted] SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES

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2 - Chicago
2 - Richmond

JUN 3 1942

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J. STANLEY COLLINS, President
Mrs. ROBERT WAITT, Jr., Co-Chairman
Miss ELISE SWEENEY, Secretary
[redacted] b7c
[redacted] Members

23 persons were reported to have attended this meeting which was presided over by Mr. COLLINS.

The Richmond Field Office file in this case contains a newspaper clipping from the Richmond Times-Dispatch under date of December 10, 1941, and this clipping contains a photograph of J. STANLEY COLLINS and Miss ELISE SWEENEY listed as Chairman and Secretary respectively of the Richmond Chapter of the America First Committee. The caption under the photograph states that Mr. COLLINS was addressing the membership at a meeting held on the previous night at the Hotel John Marshall.

At the reference room of the Richmond Times-Dispatch the writer reviewed issues of that paper for the month of December, 1941, and an article appeared in the issue dated December 11, 1941, relative to the local chapter of the America First Committee. The article stated that the local chapter of the organization voted on the previous night to disband indefinitely in view of the Japanese attack on the previous weekend and the entry of this country into the war. The meeting was held at the Hotel Jefferson in Richmo and members were read a telegram from the National Headquarters of the organ zation advising the local chapter to disband. The article further states t a telegram was sent by the local chapter to the National Headquarters stat that they concurred to the views of the National Organization and would dis ld. Mr. J. STANDLEY COLLINS, described as chairman of the group, is quoted as ing "America has been attacked. It is the duty of every American now to win war."

b2
b7C
b7D
[redacted]

b2 b7D b7C

In connection with the above individual, [redacted] advised that on September 13, 1940, the Richmond Office of his agency received some pamphlets addressed to [redacted] publications, Royal Oak, Michigan, which pamphlets were trans-shipped from Chicago. No further information could be furnished regarding this particular shipment.

b7C b7D

[redacted] who has been a resident of Richmond for over twenty years and particularly alert to note any activities of a Nazi or Fascist nature, stated that he has not heard of the local chapter of the America First Committee being actige since it disbanded in 1941. He was of the opinion that the structure of this organization is not being used by any groups or individuals at the present time or it would have come to his attention through various acquaintances of his in Richmond.

[redacted] was interviewed at [redacted] He advised that no information had come to his attention which would indicate that the local America First group is again becoming active. He advised that he has heard nothing of their activities subsequent to a meeting held in December, 1941, shortly after war was declared at the time the group announced publicly that it was disbanding.

[redacted] ELSIE SWEENEY resides at [redacted] It is noted that Miss SWEENEY was the Secretary of the local chapter of subject organization. [redacted] that she is unemployed and that he believes she drives a car in connection with local civilian defense work. He stated that he will advise this office in the event [redacted] in the future which appears to be of a subversive nature.

b7D

[redacted], was interviewed at his residence at [redacted] He advised that the organization was rather informal and only consisted of a small group of individuals. He stated that the group disbanded upon the suggestion of the National organization, in Chicago, after this country entered the war inasmuch as there was nothing further that the organization could do. He advised that all membership records and other records of the local chapter were forwarded to the Headquarters in Chicago. No funds were available for sending inasmuch the local chapter disbanded with a deficit.

b2 b7D

[redacted] advised that since the group disbanded no efforts have been made by any individuals or other groups to take over the structure of the local organization or to influence by literature or otherwise, individuals who were members of the local group. He suggested that [redacted] be contacted to ascertain whether or not any efforts had been made to place the

members of the local group on the mailing list of any other organization with a view to influencing their opinions regarding position of this country in the present war. [redacted] in closing advised that he still holds this country above all else and most certainly would report to the F.B.I. any efforts by foreign or subversive groups to use the organization set up by the America First Committee to the advantage of such foreign interest.

[redacted] was interviewed at her home at [redacted] She stated that it was the first organization she had ever joined in her life and did not even join any groups or clubs while going to school. She stated that she was sincerely interested in keeping this country out of war and, therefore, joined up with other individuals who held similar views. [redacted] She stated that no effort whatever has been made to re-activate the organization set up by the America First Committee in Richmond and further that no effort had been made among the former members to maintain contact with each other. [redacted] was asked if she had received any literature or if any efforts had been made by other organizations to influence her way of thinking concerning the present war. She stated that the only literature received was a memiographed letter addressed to her in March of this year on the letterhead of the Post War World Council, of 112 East 19th Street of New York City. She furnished agent with that portion of the letterhead containing the names of the members of the National Committee of the Post War World Council and it was noted that these names included the names of several active in the American Civil Liberties Union, such as JOHN HAYNES HOLMES, NORMAN THOMAS, and OSWALD GARRISON VALLIRD. [redacted] advised that she is not certain that this letter came to her by reason of her activities with the America First Committee befause she recalled that as an individual she had written for some literature of the Fellowship of Reconciliation and it is possible that she received the Post War World Council literature as the result of that inquiry. In conclusion [redacted] stated that although she is very much opposed to the present administration in Washington she is entirely loyal to this country which is her native country and, therefore, if any foreign individuals or groups attempt to make use of the structure set up by the America First Committee she will report the activities of such individuals. She stated that the only other chapter in Virginia to her knowledge of subject organization was located at Roanoke, Virginia, but she did not know the identity of any individuals connected with it.

The letterhead of the Post War World Council is being retained in the Richmond File of this case for future reference.

- PENDING -

UNDEVELOPED LEADS

THE RICHMOND FIELD DIVISION

AT ROANOKE, VIRGINIA

Will conduct appropriate investigation along the lines of Bureau letter to all offices dated March 16, 1942.

In brief this letter requests that investigation be conducted to determine if subject organization is being kept alive by individuals or groups who may plan in some future time using the organization in a manner detrimental to the internal security of the country and further whether the structure set up by subject organization is now being used by foreign interests in such a manner as to interfere with the national defense effort.

- PENDING -

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FBI/DO

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

FILE NO. 100-2651

REPORT MADE AT	DATE WHEN MADE	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE	REPORT MADE BY
PHILADELPHIA, PENNA.	6-6-42	5-29,6-2-42	[redacted] b7C

TITLE	CHARACTER OF CASE
THE AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE	INTERNAL SECURITY (G)

DATE 10-19-90 SP8BJS/COL

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE disbanded as an active, open organization upon entrance of the United States into war. Main office at Philadelphia closed on 1-15-42, and files removed to home of Mrs. IRENE THORN MURPHY, Executive Secretary, Phila. Branch. No evidence of AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE, Philadelphia, members being active in organizations of similar nature.

- P -

REFERENCE: Letter from Bureau to Philadelphia dated 3-16-42. Teletype from Bureau to Philadelphia dated 5-11-42. Report of Special Agent [redacted] dated 5-27-42, at Los Angeles. Report of Special Agent [redacted] dated 5-13-42, at New York City.

b7C

DETAILS: b2 b7D [redacted] advised that, upon the entrance of the United States into the war, the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE has disbanded, and that, according to the information that he has received, there has been no evidence of its being openly active.

During the time that the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE was an active organization in Philadelphia, their main office was maintained at 30 South 17th Street, Philadelphia. According to information received from [redacted] the main office was closed on January 15, 1942, along with the auxiliary offices, which were located at 1917 Passyunk Avenue, 5530 Chester Avenue, and Frankford Avenue and Hawor Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. [redacted] advised that the files, which contained all of the records and lists of membership of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE were moved from the main office

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J. F. Sass jbo SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	100-4712-1409	RECORDED & INDEXED
5 JUN 2 1942	JUN 8 1942	

(5) Bureau
2 Chicago
1 New York (Info)
1 Los Angeles (Info)
2 Philadelphia

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on South 17th Street, Philadelphia, on January 15, 1942, to the home of Mrs. IRENE THORN MURPHY, [redacted]

b7c — It was set out in reference report of Special Agent [redacted] dated 5-13-42 at New York City, that there was apparently no united effort being made by extremist elements of the dissolved AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE, New York City, since its dissolution. However, new organizations, created and supported by such element include "Americans for Peace", "Gifts For Our Boys", "Women United", "Salute Our Men, Incorporated", "Post War Council".

b2 b7D [redacted] advised that in connection with the above-mentioned organizations, he possessed information that the "Americans for Peace" Headquarters is presently located at 1165 Broadway, New York City, the director being HORACE J. HAASE, and he advised that HAASE Has made many direct appeals to former members of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE to become members of the organization, "Americans for Peace".

Concerning the organization named "Women United", [redacted] stated that, according to his information, the "Women United" is not an organization which has come into existence since the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE has been disbanded. He stated that this organization was in existence some time previous to the United States having entered the present war. He further advised that the first record that he had of the "Women United" was when a mass meeting was held at Carnegie Hall, New York City, on April 14, 1941, and he stated that the offices of that organization as of April 14, 1941, were: President, Mrs. HALL HERRICK, of Boston, Massachusetts; Mrs. GERALDINE BUCHANAN PARKER, who was Executive Secretary, and who was formerly connected with the "No Foreign War Committee".

[redacted] further advised that subsequent actions on the part of "Women United" and "No Foreign War Committee" indicated that the organization, "Women United", was unofficially the Women's Auxiliary of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE. It is further reported by [redacted] that this organization is located with headquarters at 545 -5th Avenue, New York City, but that they, at the present time, do not have sufficient finances, and that the office is operating on a part-time basis, with only a skeleton staff.

Concerning the organization "Gifts For Our Boys", [redacted] stated that this organization was in the process of being organized early in the month of January, 1942, and that the headquarters at that time was in New York City, at 150 Broadway, and that Mr. and Mrs. NORMAN HOLMES was in charge of the organization of this committee. [redacted] stated that Mr. and Mrs. NORMAN HOLMES formerly were in charge of the Wall Street office of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE.

b2
b7D

Concerning the organization "Salute Our Men", [redacted] stated that this organization was an off-shoot from the organization known as "Gifts For Our Boys", and that the organization was formed by small groups which broke away from the organization, "Gifts For Our Boys", who had become dissatisfied and wanted to form an organization of their own. It is not known, however, that the organization known as "Gifts For Our Boys" is presently active in Philadelphia. [redacted] stated that it is remotely possible that the Philadelphia connection of the organization known as "Gifts For Our Boys", lies in the fact that at the various recent meetings, following Pearl Harbor, members of the "Mothers of Pennsylvania" and the "Crusading Mothers of Pennsylvania" spoke of projects for sending "Gifts For Our Boys". The expression, however, was not used as referring to any organization, and the subsequent meetings of the "Mothers of Pennsylvania" did not indicate whether the project was carried through.

b7C

Concerning the organization mentioned in Special Agent [redacted] report, the "Post War World Council", [redacted] stated that the offices of this organization are maintained at 119 E. 19th Street, New York City, and that it is an organization which was created from the joint efforts of the organization known as "Keep America Out of War Congress" and the "Provisional Committee for a Democratic Peace". [redacted] stated that the "Post War World Council" has also some connection with the "War Resister's League", which is an old time pacifist organization. [redacted] stated that the connection between these organizations is established by the fact that the "War Resister's League" distributed literature of the "Post War World Council" organization in the form of a pamphlet entitled "The Peace We Lost". It was further stated by [redacted] that the only connection between these groups and the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE is the fact that at a meeting of the "War Resister's League" in New York City a few weeks ago, a small group of minor figures in the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE appeared and tried to gain some measure of influence, but were unsuccessful. [redacted] stated that it is understood that the leaders of the organization known as the "War Resister's League" are: OSWALD GARRISON WILLARD, former editor of a publication known as "The Nation;" NORMAN THOMAS, former head of the Socialist Party in the United States, and DOROTHY DETZER, a professional peace advocate. [redacted] advised that he will endeavor to ascertain the present addresses of the above named persons, who are leaders of the "War Resister's League".

-P E N D I N G -

PHILADELPHIA FILE #100-2651

UNDEVELOPED LEADS

THE PHILADELPHIA FIELD DIVISION
AT PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA

b7c * Will determine whether [redacted]s attempting to reorganize the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE group. Will determine whether he is making a speaking tour and obtain his itinerary if possible.

b2 b7D Will maintain contact with [redacted] and ascertain any information he obtains concerning the present activities of the former officials and members of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE, and will ascertain if the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE is being kept alive and active by individuals or organizations which may plan at some time in the future to use the organization in such a manner which will be detrimental to the United States.

4-750 (Rev. 12-14-88)

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FBI/DOJ

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1
This Case Originated At CHICAGO, ILLINOIS File No. 100-316 [redacted]

Report Made At	Date When Made	Period For Which Made	Report Made By
BUFFALO, NEW YORK	6-2-42	5-6,17-41;12-9-41;2-13-42;3-18-42;5-11, 13,19,26-42;6-1,2-42;	[redacted]

TITLE	CHARACTER OF CASE
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE	INTERNAL SECURITY - G.

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS: Information concerning the general background of the America First Committee in Buffalo set out. Report of America First rally held at the Kleinhans Music Hall in Buffalo, New York on Saturday night, May 3, 1941 set out. Information in the Buffalo Office indicates MILLARD C. DORNTGE is local leader of the America First Committee. Other members and those associated in America First activities named.

P

REFERENCE: Report of Special Agent [redacted] dated 5-13-42 b7c
at New York City
Bureau teletype dated 5-11-42

DETAILS: On January 23, 1941 the Buffalo Field Division was advised that literature was being sent out to Buffalo citizens by the America First Committee which was located at 122 W. Chippewa Street, Buffalo, New York. This unknown source advised "This literature is to our mind absolutely seditious". Subsequent to the receipt of the above mentioned anonymous communication three publications were obtained by the Buffalo Field Division.

1. Four Assumptions About War by STUART CHASE

The above pamphlet was distributed from the Buffalo Chapter of the America First Committee, located at 160 Pearl Street, Buffalo, New York and was received from the National Headquarters of the America First Committee where General ROBERT E. WOOD was acting

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100-47[redacted]-410

Approved and Forwarded: K.M. Piper Special Agent in Charge DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES

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2 Chicago
2 New York
3 Buffalo

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JUN 1 1942

[redacted] b7c

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national chairman with offices located at 141 W. Jackson Blvd., Chicago, Ill. These four assumptions are directed to the people of the United States and are stated as follows:

1. That the United States enjoys a relatively stable culture.
2. That communities in the Old World do not.
3. That the United States cannot remodel and stabilize the Old World by armed force.
4. That a serious attempt to do so will destroy the American pattern.

2. "To Enter the Wars Now Raging in Europe, Asia and Africa would be an Act of National Folly from which out Country must be spared"

The above statement is the title of the second pamphlet obtained from the Buffalo Chapter of the America First Committee at 160 Pearl Street and published by the America First Committee, 1806 Board of Trade Building, Chicago, Ill., without date.

3. America First application blank which states as follows:

"I firmly believe that 'The path to war is a false path to freedom' and that it is my duty to help keep America out of foreign wars. Therefore, I contributing to support the work of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE." Below this is listed a place for the signature, the address, date, telephone number and amount enclosed and a statement offering voluntary services to different divisions of the America First Committee.

On May 4, 1941 the America First Committee of Buffalo held a rally in the Kleinhans Music Hall at which time Senator BURTON K. WHEELER, Montana democrat, was the speaker of the evening. In his speech Senator WHEELER appealed to the audience to repudiate the nations "war-mongers" to stop the rush toward armed conflict and further stated, "We are rushing down the road to war and to dictatorship. One begets the other." At the time of this rally Mr. WHEELER'S picture appeared in the Buffalo COURIER EXPRESS, dated May 4, 1941 with Mr. JOSEPH M. BOEHM who was at that time a member of the Buffalo Chapter of America First Committee which sponsored the above mentioned rally.

Clippings on the report of WHEELER'S speech which were taken from the Buffalo COURIER EXPRESS of May 4, 1941 reflect that WHEELER complimented JOHN E. BUTLER, Republican winner of the recent special election in the 42nd Congressional District on the grounds that he had campaigned on a platform to keep this country out of war and to keep American boys home and away from the battlefields of Europe, Asia and Africa. This newspaper report further reflect that WHEELER attack various leaders of American political, social and industrial life because they were "war-mongers".

The Buffalo EVENING NEWS for May 5, 1941 reflects that the rally mentioned above in the COURIER EXPRESS was held at Buffalo at which Senator WHEELER of Montana spoke. Over 5,000 were conservatively estimated to have attended this rally by the America First Committee. A spot check made by [redacted] reflects that the following cars acted as an escort for Senator WHEELER on his visit to Buffalo, and drove with Senator WHEELER to the Kleinhans Music Hall where the above mentioned rally was held on Saturday, May 3, 1941: b7c

[redacted] b7c

The files of the Buffalo Field Division further reflect that [redacted] of the Buffalo Field Division, attended the rally held by the America First Committee on May 3, 1941 at Kleinhans Music Hall. Mr. [redacted] report reflects that a crowd conservatively estimated at 5,000 people assembled in the hall to hear the address of Senator BURTON K. WHEELER. This report reflects that the crowd was quiet and orderly and that representation of various nationalities was in proportion to their population in this area, and that the audience contained persons from every walk of life. This report further reflects that considerable enthusiasm was evidenced and the strong feeling among the listeners was apparently somewhat checked by Senator WHEELER'S failure to make any strong emotional appeal.

According to the report Senator WHEELER made reference to the F.B.I. near the beginning of his speech when he expressed the opinion that many United States citizens hesitate to express their anti-war attitude because they are afraid of the F.B.I., the Internal Revenue Department, etc. The second reference to the Bureau was not derogatory, according to this report, being simply a recollection mentioned in connection with war hysteria during the World War, when the speaker was a United States Attorney and stated he sent a F.B.I. agent to check on a complaint that German airplanes were sighted flying over the mountains in western United States. The report made by [redacted] reflects that among those on the platform with Senator WHEELER and Chairman HILLARD C. NORTGE were Rev. PAUL A. RASCHE, pastor of Calvary Evangelical Church, Rev. FRANCIS W. MC KENNA, assistant pastor of Holy Family Church, former Assemblyman HOWARD C. DICKEY, Chairman JOSEPH M. [illegible] of the Buffalo Planning Board, Dr. PAUL R. CONROY, professor of history at Canisius College, former Police Commissioner AUSTIN J. ROCHE, EDWARD F. BARRETT, assistant professor of history at Canisius College, Mrs. PRESTON R. SMITH, JR., who was an active peace advocate, NEIL M. HILLARD, president of the Rotary Club of Buffalo, JOSEPH [illegible] STOFFEL, president of the Economics League, and GILBERT J. PETERSEN of the America First Committee

At the above mentioned rally held by the America First Committee the German Roman Catholic Orphan Asylum band played.

The files of the Buffalo Field Division reflect that very little activity was carried on after the above mentioned rally until December 9, 1941 after the attack on Pearl Harbor at which time the local America First group held a rally at the Statler Hotel in Buffalo which was attended by more than 350 members of the local chapter. At this rally the America First Committee passed a resolution backing the United States Government in its efforts to wipe out the Japanese offensive and pledged loyalty and support in the face of the "wanton" attack by the Japs. MILLARD C. DORNTGE head of the local committee of the America First Committee closed the meeting by reading the resolution pledging every aid of the America First Committee in the war effort. The resolution unanimously passed at this meeting is as follows:

"Whereas the America First Committee stands for an impregnable defense of America, and whereas the United States of America has been wantonly attacked by the naval and land forces of the imperial government of Japan, therefore be it resolved that the Buffalo chapter of the America First Committee urges that our government use its forces without stint or limit to bring this war upon America to a triumphant and victorious conclusion.

"To this end, we hereby solemnly pledge our loyalty, our strength, our determination, and support."

b7c

A report of the New York Field Division dated 5-13-42 made by Special Agent [redacted] reflects that information in the possession of the New York Field Division reflects that Mr. MILLARD DORNTGE of the America First Committee in Buffalo, New York, forwarded a letter to HORACE J. HASE, stating that the Buffalo America First Committee was in 100 per cent agreement with the national organization of Americans For Peace and [redacted] indicated a possible effort toward formation of a chapter of the organization in Buffalo.

b7c

On May 19, 1942 a letter was received from the Bureau, advising that a submission slip from the national censorship reflected that a letter dated December 9, 1941 from [redacted] was posted to [redacted] This letter contained the following quotations:

"Not only the fact that we are at war but the disgusting exhibition that our NAVY put on in HAWAII. Roosevelt is to speak tonight and I will indeed be interested to have his report. We have reports that GERMAN authorities announ that 'WAR LOVING ROOSEVELT has at last got his way' and I can't help but agree. I guess, though, that I'll lose my AMERICA FIRST MEMBERSHIP card down the drain and 'come what may."

P E N D I N G

100-315

UNDEVELOPED LEADS

BUFFALO FIELD DIVISION

AT BUFFALO, NEW YORK

Will further investigate the background and general activities of the America First Committee in Buffalo with a view to obtaining information concerning all of the activities to date plus the present status of the America First Committee and its present intentions and purposes from a local point of view.

P E N D I N G

Federal Bureau of Investigation

United States Department of Justice

Chicago, Illinois
June 4, 1942

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10-19-90 BY SP8BTJ/CG C

Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

RE: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Dear Sir:

Reference is made to the report of Special Agent [redacted] b7C
Chicago, Illinois, dated May 29, 1942, in the above-entitled case.

There are being transmitted herewith two photostatic copies of b7C b7D
the following documents obtained from [redacted]

The originals of these documents are being returned to [redacted] b7D
at his request.

RECORDED & INDEXED 100-4712-411

There is also being transmitted herewith one photostatic copy of
a list [redacted]

These were obtained from [redacted]
who made an examination of the America First records at [redacted]

ENCLOSURE BEHIND FILE

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Director, 6/4/42

RE: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

b7D

[redacted] For the information of the Bureau, the Dies Committee at Washington, D. C. is also in possession of copies of the above-described documents. One copy of each of the above is being retained in the files of the Chicago Field Division.

Very truly yours,

A. H. JOHNSON
Special Agent in Charge

b7C

[redacted]
100-668
Enc.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10-19-90 BY SP9BTT/CAL

Dear attorney General Barr,

Please stop the successor to "America First" from meeting now or any other time. It's crust the filthy appeasers and Hitlerites before it's to late. Let's keep America Free Sincerely

[redacted]

No Good Address for [redacted]

b7C

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[redacted] 10-19-90 [redacted] SP8 BTS/CL

Attorney General Biddle
Washington D. C.

Dear Sir:

Concerning our National Unity I think you should attend the meeting of the Re-organized America First Committee on Fri. June 11 1942

Sincerely

[redacted]

b7c

Made complete additions

[redacted]

100-4712-413

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

5 JUN 12 1942

JUN 24 1942

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23431

June 10, 1942

[redacted] b7c

Attorney General Francis Biddle
Washington, D.C.

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JUN 13 1942

Dear Mr. Attorney General:

As a Catholic trade unionist, as well as a loyal American, I wish to protest against a scheduled meeting of "Americans For Peace", an organization which is openly treasonous. There seems to be a systematic campaign to organize confused elements among the Catholic population of New York in support of this movement. Catholic workers in Brooklyn are incensed at the assumption that we are supporters of people like Fathers Coughlin and Curran.

This meeting is scheduled for Friday, June 12, at Prospect Park Y.M.C.A., Brooklyn, and we demand that something be done about it.

Yours very truly,

[redacted]

[redacted]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10-19-90 BY SP8BTS

100-4112-41

RECORDED & INDEXED

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
5 JUN 15 19[illegible]
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

[redacted]

RECORDED 100-4712-414

June 24, 1942

b7c

[redacted]

New York, New York

Dear [redacted]

Please be advised that your letter dated June 10, 1942, directed to the Attorney General, has been referred to this Bureau.

I wish to take this opportunity to thank you for your courtesy and interest in making this information available to the Federal Government, and I want to assure you that it has been made a matter of official record in the files of this Bureau and has received appropriate consideration.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Mr. Nelson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Holloman
Mr. McGuire
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Miss Nease
Miss Gan

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED 12
☆ JUN 24 1942
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

b7c

JUN 240

FED. BU. C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10-19-90 SP8BTS/cac

June 10, 1942

[redacted] b7c

Brooklyn, New York

OFFICE OF
RECEIVED
JUN 13 19
ATTORNEY GE

Attorney General Francis Biddle
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Biddle:

I have just heard about a meeting called by Homer J. Haase at one Prospect Park "Y" in my borough, Brooklyn, N.Y.

As your records probably indicate, Mr. Haase was formerly connected with the "America First" committee, and has not given up any of his "negotiated peace" ideas.

As a matter of fact, he is attempting to build a new organization of Hitler-lovers, under a new name which hasn't the stench of "America First".

Mr. Haase is talking treason. He is openly siding with Hitler.

It seems to me that in this crisis facing our nation we cannot afford to permit such meetings, which call for a Hitler victory. Mr. Haase should be dealt with as a traitor of American democracy.

100-4712-

RECORDED & INDEXED

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
5 JUN 15 1942
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

I belong to a union whose 16,000 members are producing and producing more for Victory. We cannot stand by and see the fruits of our labor being sabotaged by Mr. Haase. We look to you for immediate action.

Sincerely,

[redacted] b7c

RECORDED [redacted] 100-4712-~~445~~ 414X June 24, 1942

b7C

[redacted]
Brooklyn, New York

Dear [redacted]

Please be advised that your letter dated June 10, 1942, addressed to the Attorney General, has been referred to this Bureau.

I wish to take this opportunity to thank you for your courtesy and interest in making this information available to the Federal Government and I want to assure you that this has been made a matter of official record in the files of this Bureau and has received appropriate consideration.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

[redacted]
DATE 10-19-90 BY SP8 BJT/dc

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Holloman
Mr. McGuire
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED 11
☆ JUN 24 1942 P.M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

[redacted] 25 JUN 30 1942

b7C

23430

OFFICE OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL
RECEIVED
JUN 13 1942

June 10, 1942

[redacted]
Rochelle Park, New Jersey

Attorney General Francis Biddle
Washington, D.C.

FED. BU. OF INV.

Dear Mr. Biddle:

I have learned that a Mr. Haase, former official of "America First", is actively organizing the remnants of that group into a new pro-Axis, anti-American group called "Americans For Peace", with head-querters at 1165 Broadway, New York City. This outfit is calling a "Negotiated Peace" rally this Friday, June 12, at a Brooklyn Y.M.C.A.

These "Hitler helpers" must be suppressed. Our nation cannot allow these enemies of ours to sell us out to the Axis. I urge you to use your great powers as Attorney General to ban this meeting and seek the indictment of Haase, Coughlin, and all their ilk for sedition. The die is cast, the battle is on. We must put all fifth columnists out of the way efficiently and quickly. They must be jailed at once.

Yours very truly,

[redacted]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10-19-80 BY SP1 ATS/ch

100-47712

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVE
JUL 15 19
DEPARTMENT OF

RECORDED & INDEXED

23429

RECORDED [redacted] 100-4712-415

June 24, 1942

b7C

[redacted]
Rochelle Park, New Jersey

Dear [redacted]

Please be advised that your letter dated June 10, 1942, addressed to the Attorney General, has been referred to this Bureau.

I wish to take this opportunity to thank you for your courtesy and interest in making this information available to the Federal Government and I want to assure you that it has been made a matter of official record in the files of this Bureau and has received appropriate consideration.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

[redacted]
10-19-90 [redacted]

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED
★ JUN 24 1942 ★
P.M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

b7C

[redacted]

375

[redacted] 1942

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10-19-90 BY SP8ISI/cal

53519

100-4712-416

NOT USED

[redacted] UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

100-4712

To: COMMUNICATIONS SECTION.

Transmit the following message to:

June 13, 1942

SPECIAL AGENTS IN CHARGE
DETROIT, MICHIGAN
MIAMI, FLORIDA
BUTTE, MONTANA
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA

[redacted]
[redacted]
DATE 10-19-90 BY SP8BKK/cl

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE, INTERNAL SECURITY (O). BUREL MAY TWENTY-SIX LAST. ADVISE ONE, WHAT ACTION HAS BEEN TAKEN, TWO, WHEN A REPORT WILL BE FORWARDED.

HOOVER

53518

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RECORDED

100-4712-417
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
3 JUN 16 1942
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

22 JUN 23 1942

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
JUN 15 1942

TELETYPE 1:11 PM Per [redacted]

[redacted]

100-5606

CAT 140-A-90 BY SP8AT/LCC

Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
[redacted]

Dear Sir:

It is believed that the Bureau will be interested in the following conversation which took place on [redacted] between

[redacted] and [redacted]

In order to set out the conversation with versatility, [redacted] is being designated "A" and [redacted] "B". Photographs have been obtained of the "Keller" and "Blue" publications referred to in the conversation. The conversation is as follows:

A. I came to see you about the letter you wrote me some three weeks ago.
B. Yes, I am glad you dropped in and I would like to hear some more about it.
A. How did you hear of me?
B. Through a friend.
A. I have here a news letter in two parts. The blue part specifically will explain our stand in the matter of peace vs. war and, or — by the way, when do you want to see peace brought about?
B. Immediately.
A. That's it. You are the type of person we are interested in — a person who wants peace without victory. And why do you want peace right away?
B. Because I lived in Europe during the last war and the horror of it impressed me so strongly that I want no part of it.
A. Excellent. The trouble is with most people in this country — never having experienced war first hand, they do not know the horrors of it.

[redacted]

9 JUN 22 1942

RECORDED
INDEXED

COPY IN FILE

JUN 22 1942

100-7712-118

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
5 JUN 18 1942
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

[redacted]

b7C
b7D

b7c

B. Could you tell me what the newspapers think of this organization?

A. Most of the large newspapers have condemned us. "Life" magazine recently published a one-statement about us and I am now dickering with them to retract it. There are a number of small newspapers that are definitely our friends, notably: "The Dirt Farmer" published in California; "Farmers' Exchange" New Paris, Indiana; "Liberty" Arvada, Colorado; "Forum" Stockton, California; "The Broom" San Diego, California. "The Broom" specifically has been condemned for Jew baiting.

B. [redacted]

A. (Smiling crably) You ought to know that.

B. Well I know first hand the disgusting behavior of the Jews both in Russia and Germany and I feel very strongly on the subject.

A. (With an amused smile) That, of course, is your privilege and I'll let you guess at my own opinion in the matter.

B. Do you have many members in New Jersey?

A. We are well fixed in St. Louis, on the West Coast, and in New York. New Jersey, however, is rather quiet. We are now negotiating with a Mr. Palmer of Paterson who has a group that now belongs to a somewhat different organization but is interested in joining ours.

(He then, upon question, announced that a Mrs. Amelia DuBois, who lives in a large hotel on the corner of Watchung and Grove in Montclair and who is in her 70's, is a militant member of the organization.)

Furthermore, a great many people who delay in joining our organizations are afraid to, because they have defense jobs or relatives in the armed forces. Our organization is a good one to belong to because we are not radical in our treatment of the subject. Coughlan has been too radical and is now out of business. We intend to keep out of jail because nobody can accuse us of such activities. All they can do is to condemn us in generality but cannot specifically lay their thumb on any one thing that we might say or print.

B. Well, haven't you been accused of being Hitler's willing or unwilling tools?

(Here, A. smiled again in a very superior manner and extracted from his brief case another sheet of yellow paper which he handed to B., pointing out a certain paragraph which was a rather clever piece of sophistry.)

A. This is our answer to such a remark.

(The paragraph read approximately as follows or at least conveyed the quoted idea)

"The fact that peace loving Americans want peace is purely coincidental with the fact that Hitler does not want them to fight. Would you forego something that you want simply to deny Hitler something that he wants — and furthermore, how do you know what Hitler wants anyway?"

[redacted]

b7C

100-5606

June 15, 1942

It has been ascertained that the Mr. Palmer of Paterson referred to in the conversation is Russell Palmer, a leader of America First in that city.

Very truly yours,

E. E. CONROY
Special Agent in Charge

53517

53513

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT CHICAGO FILE NO. 100-233

REPORT MADE AT	DATE WHEN MADE	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE	REPORT MADE BY
OMAHA	6/12/1942	5/25,26,29/42	[redacted] b1c

TITLE	CHARACTER OF CASE
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE	INTERNAL SECURITY - C

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

No indication of activities by America First Committee at Lincoln, Nebraska, since December 7, 1941.

- P -

REFERENCE: Bureau letter to all Field Divisions dated March 16, 1942;
Report of [redacted] dated May 20, 1942, at Omaha. b1c

DETAILS: Reference report of [redacted] reflects that a newspaper item dated October 3, 1941, indicated that there had been a meeting of the America First Group at the Student Union, University of Nebraska. This account did not list the names of those in attendance. It stated, however, that STANLEY LOWE, sophomore at the University of Nebraska, was organizer and acting chairman of the campus group. Former Congressman HENRY C. LUCKEY of Lincoln was the principal speaker of the evening. LUCKEY PAUL, grandson of HENRY C. LUCKEY, and Miss MARIAN ALFORD of Nebraska Wesleyan, were also active at this meeting. A later newspaper item stated that this America First Committee had drawn up a constitution, and AXEL LOUIS ELMQUIST of the University of Nebraska Faculty was sponsor for this group.

At Lincoln, Nebraska

[redacted] b1c b7D

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DISPOSITION OF THIS REPORT:
1 - Bureau
1 - Chicago
2 - Omaha

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 10-22-80 BY SP2 SDL/dlw b1c

COPY IN FILE

[redacted] stated that he was not familiar with the activities of the America First Committee at Lincoln, but he believed that it was not favorably received on the campus and did not exist for a very long period.

[redacted] stated that he had no knowledge or information concerning STANLEY LOWE, who was organizer of this group.

When questioned as to HENRY C. LUCKEY [redacted] stated that he was quite familiar with Mr. LUCKEY, and although he believed him somewhat radical in his theories, he did not believe he was un-American and had no knowledge of any un-American activities in which LUCKEY might have participated.

[redacted] stated that he had not known of the connection of AXEL LOUIS ELMQUIST with the America First Committee but believed that ELMQUIST had only become sponsor for this group after being solicited to do so by some of the student body who were interested in the organization of this group. [redacted]

b7C
b7E

[redacted] did not believe that there had been any activity of the America First Committee in Lincoln since December 7, 1941.

[redacted] advised that he did not believe there had been any activity by former members of the America First Committee at Lincoln since December 7, 1941. [redacted] stated that he was not familiar with either STANLEY LOWE or LUCKEY PAUL and did not know the names of any other members of the America First Committee in Lincoln. He stated further that [redacted]. It was thought that ELMQUIST had only acted as sponsor for the America First Committee at the solicitation of members of this group and had not been active at all in any of the meetings. [redacted]

[redacted] b1C b7D

[redacted] advised that he had no information as to the America First Committee.

[redacted] stated that he had never observed any un-American tendencies or activities on the part of ELMQUIST, and it was his belief that ELMQUIST had merely loaned his name as sponsor to the America First Committee to enable this organization to comply with the requirements of the University of Nebraska.

b2 b7D

[redacted] was contacted and questioned as to activities of members of the America First Committee subsequent to December, 1941. This informant advised that he was not at this time in possession of information concerning the group, but advised that he would obtain the same within a few days. Reporting Agent contacted this informant a few days later and was advised that informant did not believe there was presently any activity of the America First Committee in Lincoln. Informant stated that HENRY C. LUCKEY, who had been quite active in the America First Committee, was believed to be leading a very quiet life and as far as was known, was chiefly concerned with managing the considerable property which he owns in the vicinity of Lincoln. This informant stated that he had no knowledge of AXEL LOUIS ELMQUIST, listed as a sponsor for this group. This informant made discreet inquiry of individuals residing in the vicinity of Lincoln who had been known to be isolationists prior to December 7, 1941. From these contacts, informant was reasonably certain that there was presently no activity of the America First Committee at Lincoln.

A Morning World-Herald newspaper item of October 3, 1941, also had listed Miss MARIAN AXFORD as a speaker at the meeting of the America First Committee. [redacted] b1C

[redacted]

In consideration of [redacted] her limited activity in connection with the America First Committee, Reporting Agent believes that Miss AFFORD'S intentions were not un-American, and there has been no indication that she has been engaged in any activity of this nature since December 7, 1941.

[redacted]

b7
b7

— P E N D I N G —

UNDEVELOPED LEADS

THE OMAHA FIELD DIVISION

At Herman, Nebraska

Will conduct a discreet background investigation of [redacted] bnc [redacted]. If it is determined that from such investigation, [redacted] is a loyal American, he should be interviewed in an attempt to determine whether he is acquainted with any present activity of the America First Committee.

-- P E N D I N G --

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

53510

FORM NO. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

FILE NO. 100-1800

REPORT MADE AT	DATE WHEN MADE	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE	REPORT MADE BY
PORTLAND, OREGON	6-5-42	4-6,7,10,11,17, 18,21,22,23; 5-21,22;6-2,3-42	[redacted] b7c

TITLE
CHANGED
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE, with alias, Peace Group

CHARACTER OF CASE
INTERNAL SECURITY - G

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

Above organization has been meeting in Studio Building, Portland, under leadership Dr. PAUL COTTON, Albany College instructor. Organization has mailing list of approximately 50 members whose identity is confidential, [redacted] Written invitations b7c by COTTON to attend meetings of group containing platform of organization set out. No set membership fee but funds have been collected at various meetings. No evidence of national affiliation; however, connection with America First Committee shown. DELLMORE LESSARD, ex-State Chairman of America First Committee, has been in attendance at various meetings and is reported to be heading an organization known as Waxus, anti-Semitic in character. Anti-Semitism has been displayed at Peace Group meetings, according to informants, together with support for Congressman CLARE HOFFMAN in connection with his speech entitled, "Haul Down the Stars and Stripes." Organization anti-British and anti-Russian, and German and Japanese sympathies have been displayed and blame for present war placed on Treaty of Versailles. COTTON has urged negotiated peace with Germany and Japan by this country and has indicated organization disbanded for the summer months at the conclusion of last meeting, held on 5-25-42. [redacted] b7c

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 10-19-90 BY SP8 [illegible]

REFERENCE: Report of Special Agent [redacted] Portland, Oregon, dated April 2, 1942. b7c

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES

100-4772-120

RECORDED & INDEXED

DATE OF THIS REPORT

5 Bureau
2 Chicago
1 Pittsburgh
1 Phoenix
1 San Francisco
2 Portland

DEPT OF JUSTICE JUN 15 1942

[redacted] b7c

SE [redacted]

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

53511

DETAILS: AT PORTLAND, OREGON:

The title of this case is being changed to include the alias of Peace Group, which was secured as a result of instant investigation.

In reviewing this report, it should be kept in mind that it contains information concerning meetings that have been held by above organization under the guidance of Dr. PAUL COTTON, and the alleged influence of DELMORE LESSARD, ex-State Chairman of America First Committee prior to the time of the public announcement that the America First Committee was being disbanded.

[redacted]

b7C
b7D

[redacted]

On December 13, 1941, this office received a communication from [redacted] reporting that on Fri
evening, December 13, 1941, at the W. O. W. Hall, on Southwest Eleventh Av
a group of America First members gathered. He indicated that the group r
abused the United States of America and the President for declaring war o
Germany and Japan, which verified his suspicions that the organization w
American. Among other things, [redacted] indicated that he would keep hi
for, and get the names of, some of the offenders at the meeting if possil

On January 30, 1942, a [redacted] furnished information regarding a [redacted] The oc
[redacted], and a [redacted] information regarding the two individuals above-mentioned was derived f
membership in the [redacted] and she indicated that both [redacted]
[redacted] were members of that organization. [redacted] indicated that t
[redacted] thought to be [redacted]
pro-Nazi and received literature from [redacted]. Included among the literature received was a [redacted]

"Beacon Light." Both [redacted] were attempting to circulate the literat
in the [redacted] and other places [redacted] believed that both of the
b7C individuals mentioned were attending German meetings, and perticularly, certain
meetings held at Hood River, Oregon. Both [redacted] according to the
informant, were critical of the administration.

b2 In connection with the above complaint, [redacted]
b7D was contacted telephonically by reporting Agent for any information he might hav
concerning possible meeting being held in his community under the name of the
America First Committee or any other group that he thought might be closely
allied with the same. [redacted] was unable to furnish any information along that
line but indicated that he would communicate said information to this office
in the event he should come into possession of such information. [redacted] was con-
tacted on April 6, 1942, and is a personal friend of writer. However, to date
no information has been received that such meetings are being held in [redacted]
community.

In reviewing instant file, the same indicates that meetings of instant
organization were first brought to the attention of this office on April 6, 1942
when [redacted] advised Special Agent
b7C [redacted] that he had received a written invitation to attend a peace
b7D meeting in the Studio Building, Portland, Oregon, to be held every Monday night
at 7:45 p.m. [redacted] presented aforementioned Agent with the invitation
he had received, which indicated that it was signed by PAUL COTTON and contained
the platform of the organization in question. He had received the invitation
from [redacted] at the above address, and
although he did not recall the name of the individual who gave him the invitati
he stated that he resided in [redacted] The invitation furnished by [redacted]
is being retained in instant file; in view of its pertinency to this investigat
it is being set out herein verbatim as follows:

[redacted]

Portland, Oregon April 1, 1942.

"Dear Friends:

"Our recently organized Peace Group, formerly meeting in the Pythian
Building will now meet regularly on Monday evenings at 7:45 at the
Studio Bldg., 919 SW Taylor,(10th & Taylor) on the second floor (go
to the end of the hall and turn left).

"Our platform now reads:

(1) We favor an early peace by mediation, with justice to all the
nations.
(2) We believe that the war may be won, not merely by spending billions
and losing millions of lives, but by presenting such just terms of pea
to the opposing nations as shall cause the people of those nations t
demand their acceptance.
(3) It shall not be a part of our peace aims to maintain the colo

"possession of any nation, but rather every country should be free, having its own trade with all the nations, with no one nation or Empire having its own trade with all the nations, with no one nation or Empire having a monopoly of materials.
(4) We oppose the "Union Now" plan for the U.S.A. and Gt. Britain, or any joint policing of the world when peace is restored, or any such plan that does not include all the nations.
(5) No one nation shall be disarmed more than other nations, for we must not have another Treaty of Versailles, to pave the way for another war.
(6) All nations, large or small, must have freedom of the seas.
(7) We favor an adequate defense of our own nation, rather than spreading our men and resources all over the world.
(8) We shall strive to elect those officials who are most likely to carry out such a peace program, and whose past record is most creditable.

"All loyal citizens of the U.S.A., regardless of political party, who are not fascist, Nazi or Communist sympathizers, are invited to join this organization.

"The following are proposals for immediate action recently adopted:

1. We ask Congress to demand immediate independence for India or else the U.S.A. will make, if possible, a separate peace with the Axis powers, withdrawing all their forces from outside this hemisphere.
2. We ask Congress to publish in the Congressional Record all the texts of negotiations between the U.S.A. and Japan, giving both sides, so the American people may know why we are in the war. We also ask Congress to publish the complete texts of all peace proposals that the Axis powers may give in the future together with the replies that our government makes to these proposals.
3. We ask Congress to guarantee safe passage of surplus food from the U.S.A. to the starving neutrals of Europe.

"Bring your friends who are not in favor of a "long war", or phone them, getting copies of our platform to as many as would appreciate such a plan. Is the above movement needed? - Then help us achieve our goal.

"Yours sincerely,

"PAUL COTTON."

[redacted] attended a meeting of the above organization held in the Studio Building, at 919 Southwest Taylor, on the evening of April 6, 1942, and a summary of the meeting as reported by [redacted] is set out as follows.

[redacted] An American flag was draped behind the speaker's table. The meeting was opened at approximately 8:15 p.m. by an individual who revealed his name as Dr. COTTON. At his request all individuals present stood and sang "The Star Spangled Banner." COTTON indicated that the quotations which he would make during his lecture were to be quoted from the periodicals entitled "Post War Preventative Council" and from the "National Council to Prevent War." Everyone present was going to be given a chance to talk, according to Dr. COTTON, and from the general comments that were made, [redacted] stated that he was of the opinion that the gathering was definitely anti-British, anti-Roosevelt, anti-Churchill, and anti-Eleanor Roosevelt, and in addition thereto, Wendell Willkie came in for his share of criticism. All were called war agitators by COTTON. COTTON was indicated by [redacted] as being very "cagey" and gave approbation to any suggestion made. According to [redacted] it was thought that the meeting was connected with the America First Committee because of the following circumstances. The question was asked from the audience if President Roosevelt had a right to give an opinion on India, and COTTON answered by saying that he wasn't a lawyer and was sorry that DELMORE LESSARD was not present on that occasion to answer the question. [redacted]

b2
b7

[redacted] in view of possible racial prejudices that might be raised. In that connection, he indicated that racial prejudices were injected into the meeting in the following manner: that a man and a woman in the audience who seemed very rabid said that they had heard that the Jews were buying all the land from the Japs who were being evacuated and were importing Negroes to work the land in question. In answer thereto, COTTON said that the Japs were first given a number of days to evacuate and that General DeWITT then changed the order and gave the Japs 48 hours to leave and as a result, the junkmen in California, particularly, would stand around and purchase Japanese property for a few cents on the dollar.

[redacted] commented on the fact that the trend of the meeting seemed to be more or less in sympathy with the Japanese. In addition thereto, the name of LEW AYRES, the motion picture actor recently enrolled in the conscientious objector camp in this area, was brought up. The individuals present thought that it was too bad that AYRES had to pay for his board and keep while various Japanese people who were interned or placed in work camps earned money for their services. It was further noted that COTTON stated he had written to various motion picture houses, asking them not to take the AYRES pictures off the screen and urged all persons present at the meeting to patronize the AYRES pictures.

It was indicated that the organization as yet had no name and he was undecided as to what kind of a name to give the group. Consideration was

given by COTTON to affiliating with some national organization which had the same views of isolationism. COTTON also revealed that it might be better for the organization to have no name at all, and he urged the individuals present to pass out copies of the platform and invitation mentioned, but not to give the distribution very much publicity, as the platform and invitation might fall into the hands of people who might not be friendly. In other words, according to [redacted] it was indicated that the members present be very choosy in the people they asked to attend the meetings.

b2
b2D

In this connection, attention is again called to the interview reporting Agent had with [redacted] b

[redacted] also stated that it was indicated from a discussion in the audience that the organization was not interested in having another peace like the last one, which kept Germany down. He also touched on the treaty between Japan and Germany, to the effect that Japan was only to come to the assistance of Germany in the event that Germany was attacked and there were certain remarks made during the course of the discussion that indicated that there was a general feeling that the United States Navy had attacked the German ship "Bismark" as well as other German naval craft, before Germany attacked the United States.

As far as framing future policies of the organization, mention was made by COTTON of the National Council to Prevent War, which he indicated was at the time meeting in the Stock Exchange Building in Portland.

During the course of the meeting, a collection of $3.50 was made, out of which $2.50 in expenses were deducted. According to [redacted] the individuals present were of the older class of persons and, in his opinion, were definitely and apparently below the average type of person. There were, however, a man and woman present in the crowd who were apparently very well dressed and whom [redacted] was of the opinion might be paid propagandists. Their identity, however, was not ascertained. He was further of the opinion that many of the individuals present appeared to be of German descent or German nationals, and some of them spoke brokenly, in his opinion. In addition to the above discussion, mention was also made of British policy in India and it was pointed out that Britain could definitely not be trusted by India because of its previous colonial policy.

[redacted] did not meet anyone present at the meeting and people generally seemed to stay by themselves. None of them were recognized. [redacted] felt that in view of the fact that he was Jewish, that he had been spotted or was watched carefully by COTTON.

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b2 b7D [redacted] has been contacted and advised that he has not attended any further meetings of instant organization.

On April 8, 1942, [redacted] residing at [redacted] reported to Special Employee [redacted] Agent [redacted] by telephone, that one [redacted] an electrical b7C b7D contractor in Portland, residing at [redacted] had been circulating America First literature and had been very active in making statements against the government, especially since America entered the war. A check of the indices of this office concerning prior information on [redacted] has brought negative results.

b2 b7D b7C [redacted] by written report dated March 24 and March 27, 1942, advised this office, among other things, of certain information regarding present activities of the America First Committee. A complete record of this information furnished by [redacted] is being retained in Portland file 100-1269. The basis of [redacted] information was a conversation in his office with [redacted] According to [redacted] at one time was connected with anti-Semitic organizations and the conversation [redacted] had with [redacted] was reported by [redacted] That portion pertaining to America First Committee in substance is set out here as follows.

[redacted] advised that he had been told that the America First Committee was disbanded at the start of the present war but that on the Monday prior to the interview with [redacted] had attended an organization meeting in the Studio Building, the head of which was Dr. PAUL COTTON. He stated, however, that the real head was DELMORE LESSARD and, [redacted]

Attention is called at this point to the fact that [redacted] has advised reporting Agent that when LESSARD resigned, PAUL COTTON was the acting chairman of the committee and likewise, COTTON has stated that he was the acting chairman. [redacted] LESSARD was asked where the inquirer could get certain America First literature. The answer was that the literature could be obtained from Reverend COTTON

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[redacted] went on in his report of conversation [redacted] to state that LESSARD, [redacted] was an occasional speaker at the Monday evening meetings in the Studio Building, but [redacted] was unable to advise as to whether or not any anti-Semitism was preached at the meetings. [redacted]

As far as COTTON's attitude on anti-Semitism is concerned, [redacted] was unable to furnish any information in that connection. However, he did indicate that COTTON thought that DELLMORE LESSARD was one of the greatest men in America. It was further indicated that one of COTTON's staunch supporters was an individual by the name of [redacted] was further advised by [redacted] that the only head of anti-Semitism in the city of Portland was DELLMORE LESSARD, and [redacted] acquaintance with LESSARD, according to [redacted] has dated from the spring of 1939.

[redacted] indicated that LESSARD for a period of time has been attempting to form an organization of his own, known as "Waxus," meaning White American Christians of the United States. It is LESSARD's intention, according to [redacted] to draw a definite line of demarkation between the Christian people of the United States and the Jewish population. The plan of the organization is similar to that utilized by the Mantle Club and the head of the organization is to be secret and to be designated by the title of Montezuma. Membership is to be $10 per year and all membership funds are to be diverted to the Montezuma.

In connection with the Waxus meetings, [redacted] indicated to [redacted] that he had attended organizational meetings whenever such meetings were held, and a new group of individuals seemed to appear at each succeeding organizational meeting after the older ones had abandoned the project in disgust. There was no further indication, according to [redacted] as to just what progress LESSARD had made in further organization of Waxus

It was further indicated that LESSARD attempted to inject anti-Semitism into the national America First set-up and took a trip to Washington shortly after or shortly before America First came out as an organization, at which time contact was made by LESSARD with Colonel Lindbergh, Rush D. Holt, and many other people in Washington. It was also indicated that LESSARD had contacted General WOOD, of Chicago, and other America First leaders. In [redacted] s opinion, according to [redacted] LESSARD stayed clear of anti-Semitism in his first conversations with General WOOD, for the reason that when General WOOD became definitely aware of LESSARD's anti-Semitism, the control of the America First organization in the State of Oregon was turned over to [redacted] with complete authority to disband the organization or to keep it functioning, as he saw fit. [redacted] indicated that he expected future contact with [redacted] and, if possible, would secure further information regarding the present set-up of the America First Committee in Portland.

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In passing, it should be noted that [redacted] stated to [redacted] definitely that the organization meeting under the chairmanship of PAUL COTTON was the reminiscence of the old America First Committee.

In connection with the above report [redacted] attention is called to the fact that [redacted] on several different occasions has been interviewed by reporting Agent in this office and other information furnished by [redacted] in addition to that furnished by [redacted] from the interview indicates that Waxus was formed by LESSARD around 1938 from picked members of the old Anti-Immigration League which was founded in Portland in 1922, [redacted] Among the individuals present at the first Waxus meetings, according to [redacted], was one [redacted] present address, [redacted] has a lot of information about the old Anti-Immigration League, which, according to [redacted] was formed during the above period to distribute propaganda against the loose immigration laws. [redacted] according to [redacted] however, did not attend any Waxus meetings after 1938, and [redacted] did attend approximately three meetings in LESSARD's office in the summer and fall of 1940, which was during the WENDELL WILLKIE campaign.

Different people attended these meetings, according to [redacted] and although the group was small and he didn't remember all of the names of those present, he indicated that he distinctly remembered the following individuals being present: [redacted] according to [redacted] who presently resides at [redacted] had something to do with the Waxus organization and, according to [redacted] was mixed up during that same period with a possible reorganization of the Ku Klux Klan. [redacted] was indicated as being former partial owner of the [redacted]

During the three Waxus meetings that [redacted] attended, he indicated that LESSARD preached anti-Semitism, with particular quotations being made from the 17th and 18th chapters of Revelations, showing how the Jew was to be destroyed. According to [redacted] LESSARD was after him to head this organization, but, according to [redacted] LESSARD's chief purpose for the organization was to get money. In addition to the fee mentioned in the report of [redacted] stated that there was a $10 initiation fee, plus $10 a year dues, and LESSARD was to remain under cover as the top figure in the group. Indian names were to be used to designate the officers of the organization.

During this same period, according to [redacted] and contact FRITZ WEIDEMANN, then German consul in San Francisco, and the Japanese consul in San Francisco, to tell them

about the organization and, if possible, to secure their financial support. [redacted] was also asked to contact an individual by the name of [redacted] was indicated at that time as [redacted] California. [redacted] advised, however, that he never did contact the individual above described for the reason that he did not believe in LESSARD's anti-Semitic ideas, which, according to [redacted] was the sole reason for the desire to contact WEIDEMANN and the others.

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The last contact [redacted] had with LESSARD was in January of 1942, when [redacted] also mentioned the fact that at LESSARD's request he contacted an individual with German connections who [redacted] the purpose being to secure financial support, if possible, from this individual for the America First and Waxus organizations. [redacted] stated that although he did talk to the individual in question, he, [redacted] did not express any German sympathies or personally solicit the support of the party. [redacted] did not recall the individual's name but stated that he was advised by that individual that [redacted] As a matter of fact, according to [redacted] money was received from this individual by LESSARD and it should be noted that the transaction is mentioned in reference report. The unknown individual described by [redacted] is unquestionably [redacted]

To summarize [redacted] connection with the America First Committee, [redacted] Through his connection with the organization and as a result of requests by LESSARD, [redacted] speeches made in Portland by the following individuals in behalf of the America First Committee: GERALD P. NYE, KATHLEEN NORRIS, Senator RUSH D. HOLT, Senator RUFUS HOLMAN, of Oregon, and Senator BURTON K. WHEELER.

[redacted] stated that he has in his possession a large volume of correspondence in connection with the America First Committee which he will make available to this office.

[redacted] has questioned, [redacted] who was a member of the America First Committee during LESSARD's regime, which touches on the handling of funds collected from members of the group by LESSARD. Questions and answers are in certified form. However, [redacted] refused to sign the same, according to [redacted] The questions propounded and the answers thereto are not being set out in this report, due to the fact that it is thought that they have no present bearing in connection herewith. However, the same are being retained in instant file for possible future reference.

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On April 13, 1942, [redacted] attended a meeting of the Race Group which was held in the Studio Building under the same circumstances as reported by [redacted] According to [redacted] the meeting opened with the usual patriotic songs and a pledge of allegiance to the flag. The meeting was conducted by Dr. PAUL COTTON and it was attended by a total of twenty-three persons, [redacted] All individuals present seemed to be over 40 years of age and in extremely moderate circumstances. The evening was spent in a denouncement of the Government for its war-like activities and it was brought out that India had turned down Sir STAFFORD CRIPPS' proposal and that India was very smart in doing so. One of the points that was particularly stressed in the meeting was that the United States should make a separate peace if Great Britain did not grant India immediat independence. Other statements were made that tended to show that Japan was really not the aggressor, but the United States was, in the present conflict.

[redacted] said that COTTON urged those present to transmit this information to their friends and that by doing so, they could not get in trouble as long as they didn't shout it from the housetop. COTTON indicated that he could get into trouble, but the members of the organization could not. One woman, unknown to [redacted] during the course of the meeting arose and said that she was afraid that Dr. COTTON would be incarcerated for discussing his sentiments and the sentiments of the group. Colonel CHARLES A. LINDBERGH's name was mentioned during the course of the meeting.

[redacted] indicated that the entire meeting was very smoothly and capably handled by COTTON and the apparent intention of the meeting was to sow the seeds of discontent and to place the blame for the war upon Great Britain. [redacted] noted that Germany was not mentioned at all during the entire evening in a critical sort of way, or otherwise.

According to [redacted] it was interesting to him that in place of asking the people their names and addresses, they were offered pamphlets to read, provided that they signed their names and return them within a week or so. This seemed to be a clever way of finding out who was attending the meeting. A collection was taken up and $3 or $4 was the total sum involved. Dr. COTTON expressed himself openly as being well-pleased with the amount.

[redacted] has not attended any further meetings of instant organization.

[redacted] attended a meeting of instant organization on April 20, 1942, and submitted a written report of the activities during the meeting. The original report is being retained in instant file and is quoted as follows:

"I arrived at the meeting room, the assembly hall of the Studio Bldg. on the second floor at 7:50 P.M. where PAUL COTTON was delivering pamphlets to those assembled. "The Peace that Failed" is one of the pamphlets distributed_ I was unable to secure a copy of this pamphlet but was able to secure a pamphlet entitled "India and The War" enclosed with this report, another matter which is being sent out is a copy of the Congressional record reporting a speech by CLARE HOFFMAN of Michigan ? dated Jan. 27th & 30th entitled "Haul down the Stars and Stripes." 1000 of these copies are being sant for and will be available at the next meeting.

"The meeting opened with the singing of the Stat Spangled Banner followed by the mass recitation of the "Pledge of Allegiance." COTTON then read the platform contained in the circular mailed to me and proceded to discuss the same.

"The theme of his talk appeared to be "the peace to follow the war" COTTON urged that we be tolerant to thenations involved win or lose that there should not be another "Versailles," he quoted from a German pamphlet concerning the "fault" of the last war which was not placed on Germany but pointed out the Austrian Hungary dispute immediately prior. He stated this pamphlet was not an American propagand piece but was used as a history study in the German schools his words "We find, then, that the fault was not that of Germany who attempted to prevent war. He indicated that Hitler's rise to power came as a result of the Versailles treaty, that the Germans after the war tried a democracy an_ a "perfect" one at that, but because of the refusal of the English and allied powers to grant trade concessions this failed and Hitler's forces grew until he was placed in power. He stated that while he was hopeful that a system such as Germany had would become a fact in the U. S. A. that he was afraid that it would happen here, and that he hoped that if it did it would be on a considerable higher plane than that which Hitler has brought to Germany. He has openly criticized the British Imperialistic policy and the taking of colonies by the British & French as a result of Versailles. He seemed familiar with the history of Germany ---(illegible) the 1st World War & cited instance of French seizing upper Silesia contrary to the Versailles treaty; the attempt of the Germans to enter into a mutual trade agreement with Hungary or Austria whom he claimed was 90% German anyway & which attempt was turned down by the allied powers flatly.

"He cited from a text of WINSTON CHURCHILL after or during the last war as follows "900000 (?) are starving in Germany now is the time to talk of peace" as an example of the kind of man who is to dictate the peace after this war "Churchill Stalin & Roosevelt" it being apparent

"that these men did not meet with his approval. COTTON repeatedly cautioned against the dissemination of material to persons who might think the organization subversive and thruout the speech while justifying Germany in many senses COTTON returned to the thought that "We are Americans trying to make a more perfect America." However the lasting impression one had was that Germany was thoroughly justified in its position that England was the party at fault and that the United States and its present administration was playing into the hands of England, by issuing statements which would cause the German people to believe that if conquered the same results would occur in peace that followed as happened as a result of the Versailles treaty and that therefor the German people followed Hitler as the only alternative. He stated that it was therefor advisable to sue for peace with Germany i.e. with the people who after the horrors of war with the Russians during the past winter would welcome such a proposal its terms were just, fair, and reasonable & if Hitler was opposed to such a plan the people would force him into the background so that such a proposal would be accepted & welcomed with open arms.

"COTTON further stated that we are led to believe that the Germans are a cruel, uncivilized, and non-religious people, and stated that if we look at the German in America we know this is not true and that we in America are notoriously poor at attending church ourselves & hence should not critize Germans.

"Numerous references were made concerning a letter received from a candidate for office stating that COTTON should be deported.

"A slight discussion was held and DELMORE LESSARD asked that D. D. HAIL a candidate for state legislature say a few words. It appears that HAIL was the party who wrote the letter to COTTON concerning his deportation and who told the assembly that he opposed every matter & platform for which they stood. He was talked to and interrupted and amid general bedlam requiring the appearance of COTTON with upraised hand at numerous occasions HAIL presented his views. Immediately following COTTON called on DELMORE LESSARD who seems to be the guiding hand who keeps the group within reason to rebut the statement of Major HAIL.

"LESSARD's contention was that we should not aid the British whose empire is already lost. That England refused the seas to all except those she desired to use them. That Hitler was not interested in the U. S. A. and was too busy in Europe that our destiny lay in the Pacific & our interested should be confined there. That we should bend every effort to win the war, but that the administration should not allow the Jewish international bankers the right to start prosecute & run the war, and that the Jews controlling the situation were favored in Washington. Major HAIL appeared to agree with statement about the Jewish international banker.

"D. D. HAIL met a great many of those assembled, and entered into several post meeting discussions in one of which one woman was overheard to offer HAIL some literature concerning the views of this group.

"There apparently is no new name of the organization, but material seems to be continuous to be sent to COTTON from some source other than local.

"My impression is that COTTON is definitely pro-German in his feeling but nothing was mentioned concerning Japan by him.

"LESSARD is either sincere in his convictions concerning Jewish international bankers and England or is a moderator for COTTON from the standpoint of legal protection or otherwise. LESSARD attended this meeting in a condition of physical weakness due to an apparently serious & painful bowel disorder, stating that he had been under narcotic treatment for some 2 weeks.

"There was an attendance of about 34 or 35 people at the meeting. The name of each party securing a pamphlet is taken by COTTON when he distributes them. The group is composed of primarily women most of whom are of average or lower middle class. The list follows of those whose name I was able to secure

[redacted] b7c

"The executive committee consists of the secretary a young man whose name I did not learn - apparently a Hitler sympathiser - COTTON, LESSARD, [redacted] and one other member whom I do not know who is the pianist for the songs. Also [redacted]

[redacted] in addition to the above meeting, was able to attend for a sh time a subsequent meeting held in the same place on April 24, 1942, at which time [redacted] It is pointed out the above report of [redacted] that LESSARD had written to CLARE HOFFMAN for the p of securing excerpts from the Congressional Record, from the speech HOFFMAN which is mentioned above. A reply had been received from HOFFMAN, accordin [redacted] which indicated in substance that he was unable to secure the excerpt the Congressional Record, in view of the fact that he, HOFFMAN, was being prosecuted by un-American interests in Washington. At this last meeting, resolution was passed by those present to support HOFFMAN and at that time advised that LESSARD drafted a letter commending HOFFMAN on his stand on Americanism and on his loyalty and advised the members present to support

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in his activities. Although [redacted] was unable to get the names of all the individuals present, he indicated that those he mentioned in the above report were also present at the subsequent meeting.

It should be noted that the [redacted] mentioned above is probably identical with the [redacted] mentioned previously in this report. [redacted] have been reported to this office for Silver Shirt activities. [redacted] name is unknown. [redacted] was a recent [redacted] and [redacted] as previously pointed out, has been noted for her America First activities. It should be noted that [redacted] advised that [redacted] circularized the meeting with [redacted] by means of a small piece of paper with his name inscribed thereon containing his views or theories or beliefs. It is religious in tone and is not being quoted herein. However, one of the circulars is being retained in instant file, with notations thereon by [redacted]

Attention is called to the fact that [redacted] mentioned herein, talked with COTTON on May 28, 1942, [redacted] however, no information was secured as to whether or not COTTON would continue his activities while in that community. COTTON denied that that time, according to [redacted], that his organization was in any way connected with the America First Committee. It is noted that [redacted]

Offices receiving copies of this report will consider the names mentioned herein residing within their territory as possibly being connected with activities of the America First Committee.

P E N D I N G

UNDEVELOPED LEADS

THE PORTLAND FIELD DIVISION

AT PORTLAND, OREGON:

Will continue contact with informants for the purpose of verifying subsequent activities of instant organization and, in particular, will contact [redacted] mentioned herein, residing at [redacted] for the purpose of reviewing the correspondence of the America First Committee which he has in his possession. b7c

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
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DECLASSIFIED

DATE 10-22-90 BY SP2 RMK/KSR

FBI DETROIT 6-17-42 1-37 AM [redacted]

DIRECTOR

MOOM. AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE, INTERNAL SECURITY [redacted] ORGANIZATION COMPLETED. ORGANIZATION DISBANDED AND FORMER MEMBERS JOINED GERALD L. K. SMITHS COMMITTEE OF ONE MILLION. [redacted] REPORT ALREADY DICTATED. WILL BE FORWARDED LATE THIS WEEK.

BUGAS

END

ACK PLS

OK FBI WASH DC 1-32 AM [redacted]

RECORDED & INDEXED

100-#412-40

SERIALIZED

JUL 18 1942

FBI

[redacted]

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

n No. 1
IS CASE ORIGINATED AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Butte FILE NO. 100-1750

REPORT MADE AT	DATE WHEN MADE	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE	REPORT MADE BY
BUTTE, MONTANA	6/13/42	4/8,10-12,14-17,19-21,23,27-29/42 5/2,4-6,9,11,18/42 6/2,4,5/42	[redacted]

TITLE	CHARACTER OF CASE
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE	INTERNAL SECURITY - C

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS: Investigation in Montana and Idaho indicates America First Committee apparently inactive and no indication of underground functioning at present time. MARGARET LAUGHRIN ascertained to be key figure of Subject organization in Butte, Montana, vicinity, but no longer active. HARRY H. MILLER, WILLARD E. FRASER and others identified as leaders in Billings, Montana, area. Investigation other Montana areas indicates no activity by Subject organization. ROBERT W. ADAMS identified as leader of Subject organization in Boise, Idaho, area, but no present activity known. PAUL and VERA FLORY identified as leaders of Subject organization in Caldwell, Idaho, area. Investigation other Idaho areas indicates Subject organization inactive.

RUC

FERENCE: Bureau letter to all Field Divisions dated March 16, 1942.

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 9/30/85 BY SP2 [illegible] 53505
6/24/83

Classified by SP8 [illegible]
Declassify on: OADR 10-19-90

DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES

100-4712-42

RECORDED & INDEXED

6 JUN 15 1942

[redacted]

DETAILS:

AT BUTTE, MONTANA

The following investigation was conducted by Special Agent [redacted] at Butte, Montana, on April 10, 11, 17, 18, 20, and 21, 1942.

From a review of the files of the Butte Field Division relative to any information contained therein pertaining to the America First Committee it was determined that on January 14, 1942, [redacted] whose identity has been previously furnished to the Bureau, informed this office that a new peace organization had come into existence in Butte, Montana, and that the local secretary of this organization, known as the America First Committee, is MISS MARGARET LAUGHRIN, who resides at [redacted] Butte, Montana.

He further advised this office that some literature had been passed out by this committee and that one of the circulars he had received was entitled "What Every Citizen Can Do To Defeat the War Bill," and that this circular was issued in the National Headquarters for the America First Committee at 141 West Jackson Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois. He also furnished this office with other circulars he had obtained which were forwarded to the Bureau and are not being set out as they are not believed to be pertinent to this investigation.

It is noted that on February 5, 1941, [redacted] called at the Butte Field Division and stated that the America First Committee was sponsoring a trip to Helena, Montana, in order to appear before the Senate Legislative Federal Relations Committee for the purpose of opposing the passage of a movement in the Montana legislature to endorse the actions of President ROOSEVELT on his Lend Lease Measures.

[redacted] advised that the Butte representatives for the America First Committee for the aforementioned trip were headed by MARGARET LAUGHRIN and that the following persons, many of whom are connected with the Communist party, are making the trip: [redacted]

all of Butte, Montana.

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Informant further advised that the representatives at this legislative session offered verbal protests to the measures before the Montana State Legislature and advised the Legislature that the America First Committee does not represent any political party, nor does it represent any particular social group.

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On April 17, 1942, (C) [redacted] was again interviewed relative to any information he might possess concerning the activities of the America First Committee, and he advised that the America First Committee has not been active in Butte, Montana; continuing he stated that the Communist group immediately broke away from the America First Committee when Russia and Germany went to war and that even previous to that they had never really taken an active part in this organization.

He stated that MARGARET LAUGHRIN was the Secretary or Chairman of this organization and that it was composed of several women who never really took an active part except to pass out a few circulars and handle hand bills, attempting to keep this country from passing the Lend Lease Measure and also from entering the present conflict. 55507

He further stated that after this country entered the war, it was his understanding that the America First Committee had quit functioning and that the organization is presently dormant in Butte, Montana.

In regard to MISS MARGARET LAUGHRIN, (C) [redacted] stated that MISS LAUGHRIN appears to be a reliable individual and has taken an active part in welfare work in Butte, Montana; that to his knowledge she had never been a member of the Communist Party, nor is she inclined to sympathize with the group, however, that she has had considerable influence in political groups due to her friendship with Senator BURTON K. WHEELER.

(C) [redacted] stated that it is his opinion that this organization is presently inactive and that with this country entering the war and the lack of organization which this particular group had previous to our entering the war, that it could not possibly survive at the present time. He stated that in the event he should receive any information which might indicate that this organization is still active, or is attempting to reorganize, he would immediately furnish such information to this office. It was determined through discreet inquiries of persons known to be reliable to this office and who have previously cooperated with this office, that MISS MARGARET LAUGHRIN [redacted] is believed to be reliable.

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[redacted] advised that since the war has been declared there have been no pamphlets or circulars to his knowledge [redacted] at Butte, Montana.

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On April 21, 1942, [redacted] advised reporting Agent that the America First Committee came into existence in 1941 at the suggestion of MRS. BURTON K. WHEELER, wife of Senator WHEELER who furnished MISS MARGARET LAUGHRIN'S name to the National Headquarters at New York City, requesting them to furnish MISS LAUGHRIN with literature. [redacted] stated that MISS LAUGHRIN, in view of MRS. WHEELER'S suggestion, became secretary or chairman of the organization, but that it was impossible for her to find sufficient time to organize a strong chapter of the America First Committee in Butte, Montana.

She advised that the only activity participated in by members of the America First Committee was the connection with a speech made at Butte by Congressman O'CONNELL at which time a large amount of literature was passed out to those attending, and also at one time a number of representatives of the Butte America First Committee attended a legislative session at Helena, Montana, to protest against a motion being made there to endorse the policies of President ROOSEVELT in regard to the Lend Lease Measure.

This Informant further stated that the America First Committee in Butte, Montana, received contributions amounting to $5.00 or $6.00, and that not a single member of the organization had ever paid their dues in accordance with the requirements of the National Headquarters; that the previously mentic amount is still being retained by MRS. DEAN PATTERSON who acts as treasurer for the group.

[redacted] further informed that there was never any regular election of officers for this group and that MISS MARGARET LAUGHRIN was the only real official officer of the organization. She stated that afte war was declared that MISS LAUGHRIN received a couple of communications from the National Headquarters advising that the America First Committee was being dissolved and that there were certain deficiencies to be met, requesting the Butte Chapter to forward to the National Headquarters their dues so these deficiencies could be met. She advised that to her knowledge MISS LAUGHRIN never replied to these letters and that it was not necessary for the America First Committee to have any meetings to dissolve, inasmuch as it was in reali an inactive organization from the very start.

[redacted] related that she recalled reading somethir in the "Madison Progressive" to the effect that CHARLES LINDBERGH had made a mention of the fact that this organization should attempt keeping its member and become a political party. She advised that to her knowledge MISS LAUGHR had never received any letters or communications indicating that the suggest of CHARLES LINDBERGH was being followed by the America First Committee.

CONFIDENTIAL

The following investigation was conducted by Special Agent [redacted] b7C

AT BILLINGS, MONTANA

[redacted] on April 12, 1942, reported that he had received information from [redacted] that [redacted] b2 b7D

AT PINEVIEW, MONTANA

On April 16, 1942, [redacted] advised that [redacted] He advised that some time ago she spoke over Station KGHL, Billings, Montana, for the America First Committee. He also advised that she frequently makes statements opposing the participation of the United States in the present war. He advised that she stated that she would not let her son, [redacted] b7 be drafted under the Selective Service Act. He also advised that [redacted] is between twenty and twenty-five years old, but has not been called to serve as yet.

AT BILLINGS, MONTANA

It is noted that a chapter of the America First Committee was known to exist in Billings, Montana, and that HARRY H. MILLER, National Bonds, Inc., was known to be the director of this chapter.

Through the cooperation of [redacted] it was ascertained that [redacted] b2 b7D

[redacted] b7C

It is noted that [redacted]

[redacted] on May 11, 1942, advised that he had conducted an investigation of [redacted] who formerly resided in Billings, Montana, and that his investigation revealed that [redacted] was active in the America First Committee. He also advised that [redacted] He advised that [redacted] could furnish further information concerning [redacted] activities in the America First Committee. b2 b7C b7D

It is noted that [redacted]

[redacted] and during the course of the interview furnished the following information concerning the America First Committee in Billings, Montana.

WILLARD E. FRASER organized and acted as Secretary of the America First Committee in Billings and did nothing else for quite a while. During this time he wrote numerous articles which were published in the Midland Review, Billings, Montana, and the Picket-Journal, Red Lodge, Montana. These articles and numerous speeches delivered by FRASER criticized President ROOSEVELT as a war monger and encouraged the United States not to aid England.

Certain political and family connections probably caused FRASER to become interested in the America First Committee. FRASER married the daughter of a poet named FROST. The FROST family and the MORROW family were friendly. FRASER attended the University of Colorado with one of the MORROW family and consequently became a friend of CHARLES A. LINDBERG who at one time worked in a garage in Billings. Through these connections and due to a violent dislike for England, FRASER became enthusiastic about the America First Committee principles.

[redacted]

[redacted] also advised that FRASER and the America First Committee received sympathy from the following prominent men of Billings, Montana. He was unable to advise whether or not they had contributed to its support.

[redacted]

[redacted] advised that [redacted] still advocates that the United States bring back its Army and Navy to this country and let the rest of the world go without aid. However, he volunteered that none of the above mentioned persons, including WILLARD FRASER, were disloyal to the United States at the present time. It is noted that [redacted] stated that the America First Committee had disbanded and had no activity at the present. However, he advised that although he thinks that WILLARD FRASER is not disloyal that he believes it would be a good idea to determine whether or not FRASER is advocating the ideals he previously advocated.

[redacted] on May 15, 1942, advised that he could not recommend any of the above mentioned persons, who were supporters of the America First Committee, as proper persons to contact discreetly concerning the present activities of the America First Committee.

A review of the Butte files reflects that [redacted] reported that WILLARD FRASER, President of the America First Committee, made a speech over the Z-Bar Net advocating that the United States purchase goods manufactured in China. The factories in China are owned by Japanese and it was rumored, according to [redacted] that FRASER was paid to make this speech by someone close to Japan.

The following investigation was conducted by Special Agent [redacted]

AT GREAT FALLS, MONTANA

The following persons, all of Great Falls, Montana, were personally contacted on June 4 and 5, 1942, with reference to obtaining information regarding any possibly activity of, or possible members of, the America First Committee, or any branch thereof, in the vicinity of Great Falls, Montana.

[redacted]

All of the above named persons advised that they have never heard of an America First Committee or a branch thereof in the Great Falls community. They advised that in the event they are able to learn of any such activity, they will immediately contact the Butte Office of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and report all of the information that they have.

AT LEWISTOWN, MONTANA

On June 2, 1942, [redacted] were personally contacted and interviewed relative to obtaining any information they might have in their possession in regard to the America First Committee.

Both of the above named individuals advised that to the best of their knowledge there has never been in existence in Lewistown such an organization. [redacted] have never heard of any local branch of said committee or of individual membership therein in the community.

[redacted] advised that there has never come to his attention information which would indicate that the America First Committee is or was organized in the Lewistown area. He stated that to the best of his knowledge there are no members of the America First Committee in the territory.

All of the persons contacted were instructed to keep the above matter in strictest confidence. They advised that they will be glad to cooperate with the Federal Bureau of Investigation in the above matter and will immediately notify the Butte Office if pertinent information should come into their possession.

X

AT BOISE, IDAHO

b7c [redacted] The following investigation was conducted by Special Agent [redacted] on April 28, 29, and May 4, 1942.

b2 b7D [redacted] advised that during the summer of 1941, Justice of the Peace ROBERT W. ADAMS had been elected head of the America First Organization in Boise, and that he understood that he had lost a great deal of his business as the result of his being associated with this isolationist group. He went on to say that he [redacted] that an organizational meeting had voted the leadership to him without his consent and against his will. [redacted] advised that Mr. ADAMS was never very active in the organization so far as he knows. He recalled that the group sponsoring the America First Organization in Boise held a few meetings, but that as far as he knows, the movement "died" quite some time ago and there has been no evidence that it has been active in any way since war was declared against Japan.

b7c [redacted]

b7c b2D [redacted] stated that America First had some sort of an organization in Boise during the summer months of 1941, but that nothing had been heard of the group in recent months. He went on to say that he did not believe that the America First Organization in Boise had ever held any meeting of any consequence and that, if the members were still meeting quietly, [redacted] stated that he has been acquainted with Justice of the Peace ROBERT W. ADAMS in a business way for several years, and believes that he is a loyal and patriotic individual. He added that he did not know that Mr. ADAMS is or was connected with the America First Organization in any way.

[redacted], who is a prominent merchant and a person who is very active in fraternal organization affairs, advised that quite some time ago he recalls seeing an article in one of the newspapers to the effect that the America First Committee was trying to organize locally. He stated that so far as he knows, the organization never did materialize in an active way and that there is no activity of any kind on its part at the present time. [redacted] stated that CHARLES A. LINDBERG had visited Boi on a tour of the country immediately following his successful solo flight to Europe, and had been widely acclaimed, but that LINDBERG's isolationist attitude in later years had not been popular in Idaho due to the fact that so many Idaho families had sons serving in the armed forces.

At the office of the Superintendent of Mails, it was ascertained that the America First Committee had never had a post office box or had any order been furnished the post office department indicating that mail should

X

be forwarded to any particular person who represented this organization.

Assistant United States Attorney E. H. CASTERLIN, who is prominent in political affairs, advised that the America First Committee had been relatively inactive in Idaho. He stated that there were a few isolationists who approved of the program advanced by America First and may have tried to develop an organization to affiliate therewith. He added that so far as he knows, there is no activity of any sort attributable to America First in Idaho at the present time.

b2
b2c
b2l

[redacted] This investigation was continued until January, 1942, but it failed to develop anything definite relative to an America First Committee organization in Boise. [redacted] stated that he believes that the movement was among a group of disorganized sympathizers who were trying to organize and affiliate with the Committee and that several meetings were said to have been held to accomplish this purpose. He stated that the organization was never very active and that nothing had been heard of it in recent months.

[redacted] telephonically advised that on February 10, 1942, he contacted [redacted] in connection with a neighborhood investigation. During his conversation with [redacted] the latter mentioned the America First Committee and [redacted] attempted to draw him out on the subject. He was informed about the Committee and he was led to believe that there were a number of sympathizers among the Germans living in the particular area, but that they were not organized. [redacted] advised that he had heard rumors that about a year ago, America First meetings had been held in Boise, but that he had received no information in recent months which would indicate that the movement or sympathizers were active in any way at the present time.

[redacted]

[redacted]

b7C [redacted]

[redacted] advised that he knew nothing regarding [redacted] and had never heard that any of these persons had been connected with America First Committee.

b2
b7C
b7D [redacted]

AT CALDWELL, IDAHO

[redacted] advised that Caldwell had had a local unit of the America First Committee about a year ago. He stated that there has been no indication that there has been any activity of this group since the fall of 1941. When the organization was active, according to [redacted] VERA and PAUL FLORY were active in the group and the Boise Valley Herald, published by A. CORNELL and I. W. CORNELL, carried publicity relative to America First matters. [redacted] stated that VERA FLORY had used Post Office Box 634, Caldwell, Idaho, in an effort to organize a group called "Boise Valley Affiliated Peace Organization" following the decline of the interest in America First.

b7D

[redacted]

b7C

A review of many back issues of the Boise Valley Herald in the possession of [redacted] disclosed that the issue of June 26, 1941, quoted an article appearing in the Boise Capital News on June 20, 1941, concerning a protest by National Committeeman RAY McKAIG of the America First Committee, Boise, Idaho, to Secretary DOUGLAS STUART, and a request that the Caldwell Chapter be refused a charter as long as A. CORNELL remained as president. The same edition contained an open letter to the America First Committee by A. CORNELL concerning McKAIG's charges that CORNELL was a sponsor of draft evasion.

The issue of the Boise Valley Herald for June 19, 1941, contains a plea from the "Boise Valley America First Headquarters" to citizens asking that letters be written to members of Congress to avoid involvement of the United States in a foreign war.

[redacted] b7c

[redacted] stated that so far as he knew, America First had never been active in Nampa, Idaho. b7c b7D

When [redacted] was interviewed May 4, 1942, relative to the Silver Shirt Legion, he furnished the following information relative to America First Committee activities in Caldwell, Idaho.

[redacted] stated that he joined the America First Committee, Caldwell Branch, in June, 1941, and at that time it was being "pushed" by PAUL and VERA FLORY. He stated that the Committee continued to be active until the United States became involved in war on December 7, 1942.

According to [redacted] meetings attended by him were held at the Caldwell City Hall or the Church of the Brethren in Nampa, Idaho. These meetings were held every week or every two weeks. He stated that he had no knowledge that any meetings are or were ever held in private homes.

Meetings were called by mailing postcards or by announcements on local radio stations.

Dues were not fixed, but the organization was maintained by those interested making donations according to their means. [redacted] stated that he usually contributed 10 cents at each meeting as that was all he could afford at the time.

Literature was passed out at these meetings and this was from the national organization.

Attendance at the Caldwell meetings attended by [redacted] had a group of about fifteen. Meetings at Nampa had approximately 200 in attendance which included many outsiders, according to [redacted]

According to [redacted] there was no formal dissolution of the Caldwell Branch, but it "just died out".

[redacted] stated that he believed the following were the officers of the Caldwell Branch of the America First Committee:

Chairman- - - - - -VERA FLORY
Secretary- - - - - Mrs. T. H. DARROW

Treasurer- - - -A. CORNELL
(Also active)- -PAUL FLORY

AT NAMPA, IDAHO

[redacted] advised that he had no knowledge that the America First Committee had ever had any supporters in Nampa, and that he felt reasonably certain that there was no activity of any sort by any such group in Nampa at the present time.

The following investigation was conducted by Special Agent [redacted] in Lake, Flathead, Lincoln, Missoula, Mineral and Ravalli Counties, Montana.

In an effort to determine whether the America First Committee is organized either actively or otherwise, Agent contacted [redacted] and made discreet inquiries concerning the possibility that this organization is presently active, or whether any indication has been shown that an effort is being made to keep a mailing list active in the above mentioned counties. All inquiries have resulted in negative information. American Legion sources of information have also been contacted in each of the counties herein named without developing information of value.

[redacted] upon contact advised that they have not been aware of any circularization in the various cities or areas by the America First Committee, but that if such a situation should arise, this information would be transmitted to the office of the Butte Field Division.

The following investigation was conducted by Special Agent [redacted]

The following discreet and reliable individuals, who are in a position to be widely acquainted with activities in southeastern Idaho, were contacted concerning the existence or operation of the America First Organization in that territory, and concerning the identity of any persons living in that territory and known to be affiliated with, or interested in, such an organization. The results of this investigation were wholly negative.

[redacted]

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☐ (b)(3)	☑ (b)(7)(C)	☐ (k)(1)
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FBI/DO

b7C

The following investigation was conducted by Special Agent [redacted]

[redacted]

The following individuals were contacted and questioned in regard to the America First Committee activities in their respective places of residence. In every case each individual advised that to his knowledge no America First Committee had ever been organized or functioned in the town or vicinity of his residence and that no word of any secret meetings of this Committee had ever come to his attention:

[redacted]

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b7D

4-750 (Rev. 12-14-88)

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FBI/DO

The following investigation was conducted by Special Agent [redacted]

[redacted]

The following individuals were contacted in regard to information concerning the America First Committee in their respective counties and all advised that the America First Committee had never been active in their counties and they knew of no individuals affiliated with the group and could offer no information as to the organization being active in their counties at this time.

In addition, they all advised that they knew of no member of the America First Committee residing in their communities and the following were contacted:

BOUNDARY COUNTY

At Bonners Ferry, Idaho: [redacted]

KOOTENAI COUNTY

At Coeur d'Alene, Idaho: [redacted]

SHOSHONE COUNTY

At Wallace and Kellogg, Idaho: [redacted]

BONNER COUNTY

At Sandpoint, Idaho: [redacted]

[redacted] The following investigation was conducted by Special Agent [redacted] b7C

AT TWIN FALLS, IDAHO

The following informants were contacted in an effort to determine any present activity of the America First Committee; however, results were negative. It was ascertained that prior to the entry into the war of the United States the America First Committee was not active in this portion of Idaho, the majority of the population being strongly in favor of all possible assistance to England and all out effort in the National Defense program.

[redacted] b7C b7D

AT BUHL, IDAHO

[redacted], advised that to his knowledge there has never been a chapter of the America First Committee in Buhl, Idaho. He stated that the people have been too bitterly opposed to any isolationist thought to support, or even permit, such an organization to operate in Buhl. This opinion was subsequently verified by [redacted]

[redacted] stated that in his associations with practically all the citizens in the Buhl area, he has never heard the America First Committee mentioned except in a derogatory manner. He advised that he has never heard of this organization in Buhl, Idaho.

AT JEROME, IDAHO

The following informants furnished substantially the same information as reflected by investigation in the above named communities.

[redacted]

AT RUPERT, IDAHO

[redacted] was interviewed in connection with the instant matter and advised that he has not heard of the America First Committee being active in the vicinity of Rupert at any time, past or present. This information was verified by [redacted].

CONFIDENTIAL

AT BURLEY, IDAHO

Investigation in Burley, Idaho, through the following informants resulted negatively concerning past or present activity of the America First Committee.

[redacted]

b1C
b7D

REFERRED UPON COMPLETION TO OFFICE OF ORIGIN

CONFIDENTIAL

4-750 (Rev. 12-14-88)

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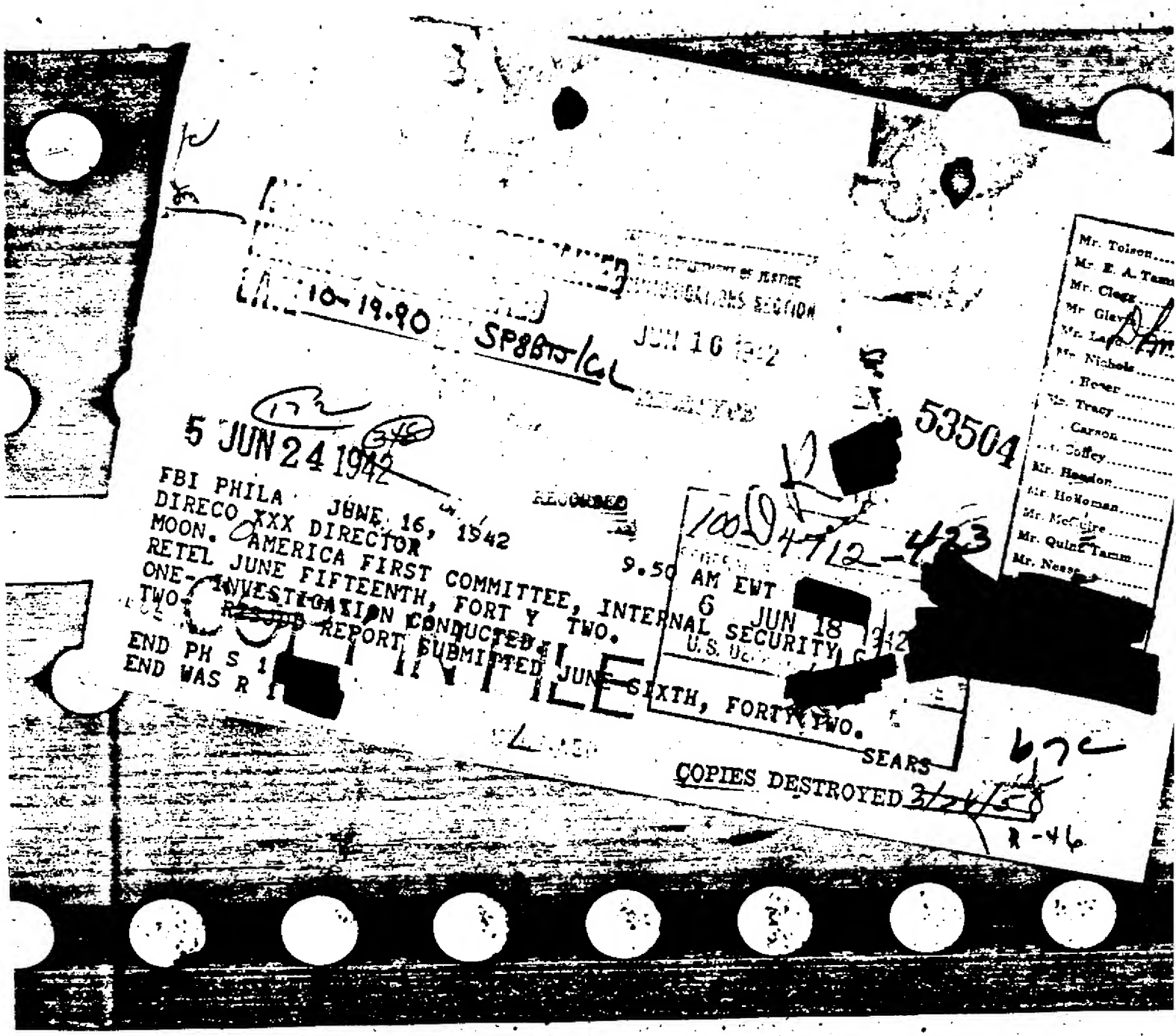

JUN 16 1942

5 JUN 24 1942

53504

FBI PHILA JUNE 16, 1942
DIRECTOR XXX DIRECTOR
MOON. AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE, INTERNAL SECURITY
RETEL JUNE FIFTEENTH, FORT Y TWO.
ONE- INVESTIGATION CONDUCTED
TWO- REPORT SUBMITTED JUNE SIXTH, FORTY TWO.
END PH S 1
END WAS R

9.50 AM EWT
6 JUN 18

SEARS

COPIES DESTROYED 3/24/78

R-46

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Lapham
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Hendon
Mr. McNamara
Mr. McGuire
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease

JUN 15 1942

10-19-90 SP8BTS/cl TELETYPE

COPY IN FILE

RECORDED 100-4712-424

FBI BUTTE 6-15-42 2:20 PM [redacted]

DIRECTOR

MOON. AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE, INTERNAL SECURITY - C. RETEL JUNE FIFTEEN NINETEEN FORTYTWO. INVESTIGATION COMPLETED THIS [redacted] AREA. REPORT SUBMITTED JUNE THIRTEEN LAST. [redacted]

LOGAN

5 JUN 23 1942

[redacted]

IS THIRD WORD SECOND LINE FORTYTWO PLS

YES THATS RIGHT

4-25 PM OK FBI WA [redacted]

COPIES DESTROYED 5-26-87

53503 b7C

R-44

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JUN 15 1942

TELETYPE

[redacted]

10-19-90 SP8BTJ/CL

FBI MIAMI 6-15-42 5-07 PM [redacted]

DIRECTOR

MOON. RE AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE, INTERNAL SECURITY - G. REFTEL [redacted]
FIFTEENTH INSTANT. THIS MATTER BEING HANDLED BY SA [redacted]
WHO HAS BEEN IN INSERVICE TRAINING SCHOOL, WASHINGTON FOR LAST
EIGHT DAYS. FULL REPORT WILL BE MADE TO BUREAU IMMEDIATELY UPON
HIS RETURN.

DANNER

ACK AND HOLS
5-10 PM OK FBI WA [redacted]

53502

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[redacted]

R.M. WORDELL

100-4712-42

1 JUN 24 [redacted]

17 JUL 16

U. S. DEPA[redacted]

COPY IN FILE

[redacted] Ely, N H b7C
June 10, 1942

Atty General Biddle
Washington, D C.

OFFICE OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL
RECEIVED
JUN 12 1942
FED. BU. OF INV.

10-19-90 SP3600/CA

Dear Sir:-

This Friday the most flagrant and deplorable example of fifth column activity is scheduled to take place under the sponsorship of the American for Peace (formerly the American Youth Congress) This traitorous group is headed by Homer J. Hease notoriously known for his pro-Hitlerite sentiments. The group as an informed — and knows the American Freedom quite correctly so, is going ahead with plans for a peace [illegible] next Friday. Will [illegible] be allowed to take place? What are our [illegible] fighting [illegible] for what are we doing [illegible] for — to allow Nazis to hold meetings openly? Mr Biddle, this [illegible] MUST [illegible] stopped now [illegible] sent it!

[redacted]

53507

100-4712-426

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
19 JUN 15 1942
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

EX-7

INTERPRETATION

RECEIVED

American Youth Congress

100-4718 - 426

July 7, 1942

[redacted]

Brooklyn, New York

[redacted]

Dear [redacted]

Please be advised that your letter dated June 10, 1942, directed to the Attorney General, has been referred to this Bureau.

Your courtesy and interest in bringing this matter to the attention of the Federal Government are indeed appreciated. You may be assured that the content of your letter has been noted and will receive appropriate consideration.

Should you obtain any further information which you believe to be of interest to this Bureau, please feel free to communicate directly with the Special Agent in Charge, Federal Bureau of Investigation, United States Department of Justice, 307 U. S. Court House, Foley Square, New York, New York.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

53500

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED
★ JUL 8 1942 P.M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

cc: New York with copies of incoming

JUL 17 1942

[redacted]

b7C

[redacted]

RECORDED COPY FILED IN

[redacted]

Dep't. of Justice
Washington, D. C.

FED. BU. OF INV.

10·19·90 SP1GTS/CaC

Gentlemen:

Enclosed is an old flyer I came upon. I thought your office might want to keep it in the departmental files for future reference. [redacted] b7C [redacted] of Island Park arranged the meeting and a subsequent one. It opened upwith a salute to the U. S. flag in Nazilike fashion. The first two speakers condemned England and refugees---the usual America first line of attack. All this was long ago but one cannot help wondering where these people are now and if Mr. Kuzniok is a retired Army colonel, he might be a little looking up. He appeared as the highest authority on what England could not do militarily and he definitely gave a lot of misinformation as to conditions in continental Europe.

RECORDED & INDEXED

100-4718-427

JUN 23 1942

53497

Respectfully submitted,

One who dares not sign his name.

[redacted] b7C

6-27 [redacted]

FRIDAY, AUGUST 2[illegible]

8:30 Oclock

at Island Park Firehouse

James Coveny, CHAIRMAN FREEPORT CHAPTER

James Blake, LONG BEACH

Col. J. V. Kuznick

RETIRED, U. S. REG. ARMY

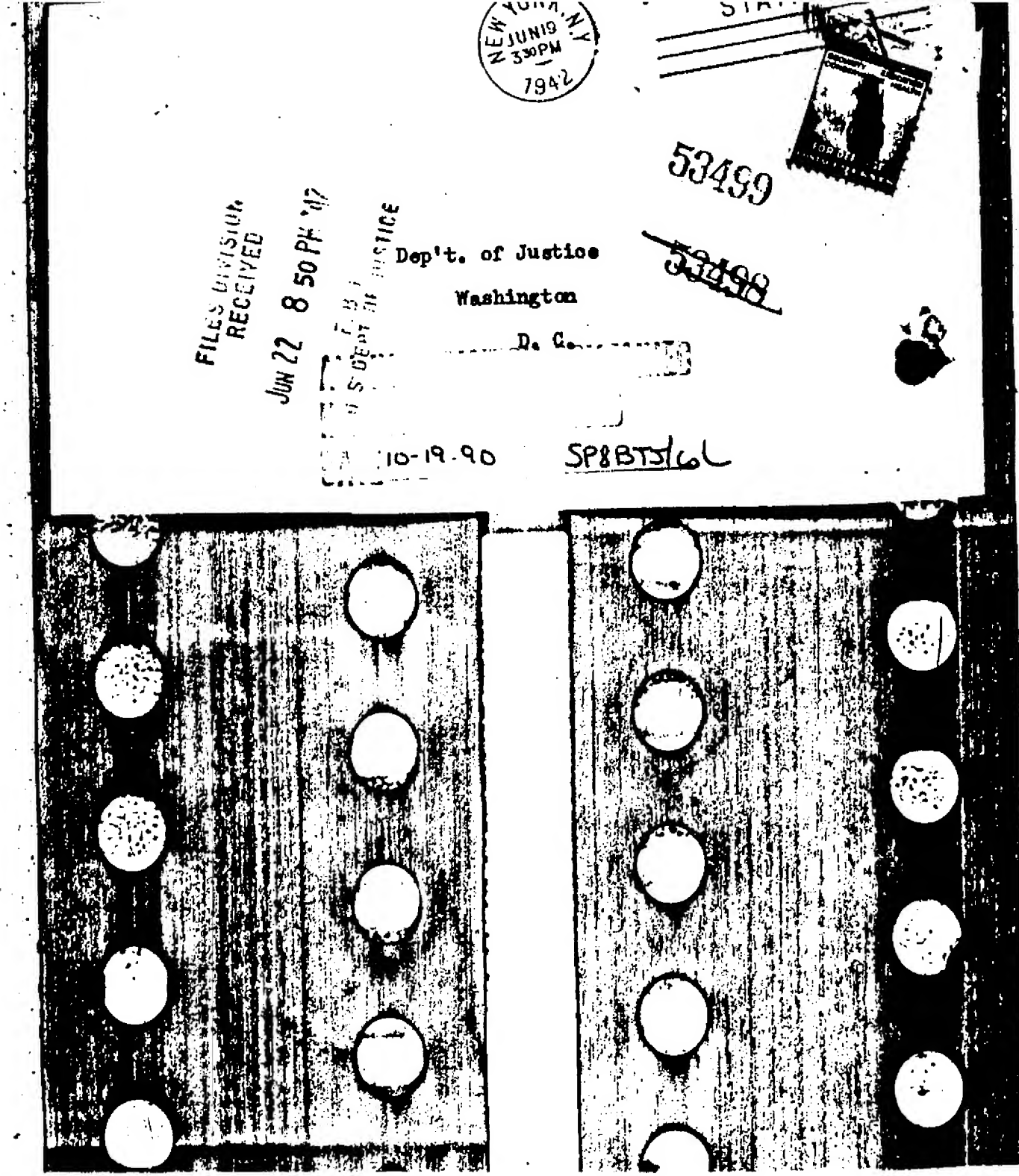
ENCLOSURE 498

Mothers and Fathers of America! A crisis confronts us. America First has kept us from a shooting war. Join now to keep your boys from dying on for foreign soil. Island Park Chapter being formed.

UNIL 10-19-90 SPECIAL

This Is Not Our WAR

C[illegible]g friends [illegible] free


NEW YORK, N.Y.
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FILES DIVISION
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Dep't. of Justice
Washington
D. C.
10-19-90
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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

FILE NO. #100-1077

REPORT MADE AT	DATE WHEN MADE	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE	REPORT MADE BY
KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI	6-22-42	5-16,30;6-3,4-1942	[redacted] b7C [redacted]

TITLE	CHARACTER OF CASE
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE	INTERNAL SECURITY

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS: No activities by AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE or former members in Salina, Kansas or in Joplin, Missouri.

- P -

REFERENCE: Report of Special Agent [redacted] dated at Kansas City, Missouri, May 16, 1942.

DETAILS:

At Joplin, Missouri:

The following investigation was conducted by Special Agent [redacted]

[redacted] advised that to the best of his knowledge there has been absolutely no activity by the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE in Joplin for the past year and a half. [redacted] further stated that the only person in Joplin who had ever done any organizational work for this group was a man by the name of ERNEST HINSON who at the present was doing nothing to further the organization although he is still a resident of Joplin. [redacted] further stated that he, together with some of the members of the City Council, had been members of this group until they became aware of the real purpose and that shortly after this, all activity ceased, this being about a year and a half ago.

[redacted] advised that [redacted] in September 1941 and that since that time he has heard absolutely nothing concerning any activities of

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: [redacted]

DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES

100-4712-428

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EX-30

COPIES OF THIS REPORT:
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JUN 24 19[redacted]

COPY IN FIL[redacted]

The AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE. It is [redacted] opinion that this organization at the present time has no members and is holding no meetings.

b7c b7D [redacted] related that ERNEST HINSON was the organizer of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE in Joplin about two years ago and also that after being active for about sixmonths in organizing and giving out literature, HINSON severed his connections and consequentl all activity had ceased. [redacted] further stated that no one had taken HINSON's place as there was no indication of any activity in any form in Joplin for the pas year or year and a half.

b2 b7D [redacted] upon contact advised that this was his understanding that the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE was organized about four years ago by ERNEST HINSON in Joplin, Missouri and also that this was one of the first chapters to be organized if not the very first. [redacted] further stated that the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE was incorporated in the State of Missouri and also that the only person who was promoting this group was HINSON who had come to Joplin from Elgin and Chicago, Illinois. The writer was advised that many prominent people in Joplin at one time belonged but about a year or a year and a half ago all activity ceased and nothing has been done by HINSON or anyone else along this line.

b7c b7D [redacted] upon contact advised that he knows of no activity in the America First Committee in Joplin at the present time.

At Salina, Kansas

b7c The following investigation was conducted by Special Agent [redacted]

[redacted]

b7c b7D [redacted] stated that Mrs. HOMSKA was the secretary of the AMERICA FIRST COMMIT He advised that the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE wasnot very popular in and around Salina, however, they held one rally at which time Senator CLARK of Missouri and Senator of Kansas, CAPPER, made speeches. He advised that since the Pearl Harbor attack there has been no evidence of activity on the part of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE or any of its members.

[redacted] advised that a VERNER SMITH and Mrs. ZELIA BOSSEN HOMSAK, both of Salina, were the organizers o

the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE in Salina. [redacted] recalled that the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE had one big rally in Salina some time in the Fall of 1941, at which time Senator CLARK of Missouri and Senator CAPPER of Kansas made speeches. Concerning VERNER SMITH, [redacted] advised that he is an American Legion man and has a son in the present conflict and is believed to be very patriotic and would not do anything to harm the United States now that we are in the present conflict. Relative to Mrs. HONSKA [redacted] advised that she had written many articles for the Salina Journal, some of these articles being of an un-American nature, however, since December 7, 1941 she has discontinued writing these articles and it is believed that her attitude has changed on the International situation. He advised further that Mrs. HONSKA's husband, who was a building contractor, passed away this spring and since then he has not heard much about Mrs. HONSKA. He stated that the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE was not popular in Salina and they did not have a large membership.

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[redacted] advised that VERNER SMITH was the Chairman for the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE at Salina, Kansas while Mrs. ZELLA BOSSEN HONSKA was the Secretary. The AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE headquarters were on South Santa Fe Street, however the organization was not very popular and they did not have a large membership. It is [redacted] knowledge that the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE is not active any more, nor is there any indication that any of its members are attempting to organize. He advised that in the Fall of 1941 some literature was given to some of the inductees and that MR. F. A. MC CARTY, who is a member of the local Selective Service Board had called in the inductees and had taken signed statements from them, and he stated these signed statements were to the effect that Mrs. ZELLA BOSSEN HONSKA had given them the literature might before they were leaving for the Army and had requested them to call up to her home the next morning. According to [redacted] the inductees visited Mrs. HONSKA, however they did not take heed of her ill advice.

b7C

[redacted] stated that in the summer of 1941 a group of inductees received some literature from Mrs. ZELLA BOSSEN HONSKA who was secretary for the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE for the Salina territory and they decided to talk to Mrs. HONSKA prior to leaving for the armed services of the United States. After this talk [redacted] took signed statements from the inductees which were turned over to the Federal Bureau of Investigation for investigation. It was through this manner that [redacted] became aware of the activities of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE. He advised that VERNER SMITH, an American Legion man, was chairman of the local chapter while Mrs. HONSKA was Secretary. He stated that the AMERICA FIRST movement was not very popular in Salina and thus the membership of the Committee was held to a minimum. The biggest event put on by the Committee took place in the Fall of 1941 and Senator CAPPER of Kansas and Senator CLARK of Missouri were engaged to speak at the Bowman's Park in Salina. According to [redacted] the

Salina Chapter of the America First Committee maintained headquarters on South Santa Fe Street until the Pearl Harbor Attack, at which time the flags were taken down and the committee ceased to function. [redacted] had not heard of any effort to revive the committee and remarked that certainly WERNER SMITH, the last chairman of the group, did not do so because he is now behind the war effort of the United States and has a son in the service. In his opinion if anyone should attempt to revive the group it would be Mrs. HONSKA, who was very radical. However he had heard nothing to that effect.

[redacted], stated that the America First Committee was organized in Salina in May 1941 and maintained headquarters on South Santa Fe Street. He stated that [redacted] He advised that the group encountered many difficulties and many people in Salina turned against it. Therefore, they did not have many members. He stated that they held one rally in the fall of 1941 when Senator CLARK of Missouri and Senator CAPPER of Kansas gave talks on the International situation. He stated that after the Pearl Harbor Attack by the Japanese that the Committee disbanded completely and that they are not operating now.

[redacted] advised that the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE in Salina, Kansas was disbanded immediately after the Pearl Harbor attack December 7, 1941 and there is no evidence that the Committee or any of its former members are still organized and operating.

- PENDING -

UNDEVELOPED LEADS:

THE KANSAS CITY FIELD DIVISION

* At Wichita, Kansas, will contact [redacted] in an effort to develop information regarding the nature and activities of the organization being formed by [redacted] of which he is alleged to be the head. b7C

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS — DETROIT FILE NO. 65-1086

REPORT MADE AT	DATE WHEN MADE	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE	REPORT MADE BY
DETROIT, MICHIGAN	6/22/42	5/29,30;6/1, 4/42	[redacted] b7c

TITLE
O AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

CHARACTER OF CASE
INTERNAL SECURITY (G)

IS UNCLASSIFIED
10-19-90 SP2 SKL

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

America First Committee organized chapter in Detroit, Michigan, 1941, under leadership of ROBERT F. VIETIG. Meetings and propaganda vigorously urge non-intervention. Leaders closely collaborated with GERALD L. K. SMITH. Immediately after December 7, 1941, America First Committee disbanded and GERALD L. K. SMITH invited all America First Committee members into his "Committee of 1,000,000." SMITH follows program appealing to former America First Committee members in that it is anti-administration, anti-Communist and anti-Jewish. America First Committee completely inactive and ROBERT VIETIG advises others to "lay low for the time being."

- RUC -

REFERENCE: Report of Special Agent [redacted] dated May 13, 1942, at New York, New York. b7c

DETAILS: AT DETROIT, MICHIGAN:

[redacted] submitted a clipping from "The Detroit Free Press" of March 30, 1941, which contained the comments of PEARSON and ALLEN to the effect that the German-American National Alliance, which was closely associated with the German-American Bund, was urging contributions to the America First Committee and attendance at the meetings of the America First Committee.

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100-47125-429

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4 - Detroit (1 - [redacted] File)

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(Detroit file 65-1086)

The America First Committee had its offices in the Industrial National Bank Building, [redacted] In connection with another investigation [redacted] the chairman of the Detroit chapter of the America First Committee [redacted] ROBERT E. VIETIG. [redacted]

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A meeting of the America First Committee was held on March 14, 1941, in the Crystal Ballroom of the Book-Cadillac Hotel. The presiding chairman was ROBERT E. VIETIG. A summary of the meeting, as furnished by [redacted] is as follows:

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VIETIG spoke about the war propaganda over the radio and in the movies and suggested that whenever the members are annoyed by such a motion picture they should leave the theater and demand a refund of their money. The committee had already questioned several theater managers as to why they exhibit war propaganda movies without exhibiting non-intervention propaganda movies. He said the theater managers promised that they would show motion pictures presenting both sides. Mr. VIETIG said it was useless to write to WALTER WINCHELL or DOROTHY THOMPSON but that the members should rather write to the sponsors that their products would be boycotted if these two were not cut off the air.

Mr. EARL JEFFRIES, a visitor from the Chicago chapter, addressed the audience, saying that meetings were being held in many cities that night; that membership in Illinois had already reached 1,000,000 persons and that he was going into every state to organize similar chapters. Mr. JEFFRIES persisted that some day the America First Committee would be the largest political group and that already it had the support of Congressmen and Senators. It was suggested that the Committee meet every other Friday but that in the meantime smaller groups should meet in homes and similar places. It was announced that literature just published by the leading military authorities was available to members at the committee office. Members were urged to write letters to advise the President to keep us out of the European and Asiatic entanglements. Members were urged to get their friends to do likewise, while there is still time, because the President is still very sensitive to public opinion now.

VIETIG then introduced the main speaker of the evening, Dr. GEORGE H. DERRY, who spoke on "Our Foreign Policy." Dr. DERRY said that the "lend-loose" bill had been passed to help the international bankers. In

(Detroit file 65-1086)

order to preserve the democracy of the United States, it should keep out of European and Asiatic wars. The Washington boys should restore the Constitution of the United States and keep the international bankers out of Washington. He said another purpose of the lend-lease bill was to aid the imperialists of Britain, who are the Rothschilds. "America was forced into the last war by a few powerful politicans who made democracy safe for the Rothschilds, Mendelsohns, Warburgs, their associates and confederates, and their tribes. Baruch and Brandeis were Wilson's aides."

DERRY then said that as a secret service agent in the last war he learned that Baruch, Brandeis and others met in Chicago to make a deal concerning battleships. Outrageous lies were perpetrated on the American people. The condition for this war was created by the Versailles Treaty. The Versailles Treaty was also written by these same politicans to serve their own selfish interests. "When Hitler rose to power he got rid of such international bankers. So did France and Japan. If China had it wouldn't be involved in war at this time."

Dr. DERRY then explained how the international bankers, especially the Morgans, took control of Wendell Willkie to make sure they would win the election in either event. Both candidates lied about keeping the United States out of war. Any senator who opposed aid to the international bankers was called into the President's office and reprimanded by Baruch. There is no use to be scared into this war because it would be impossible for Hitler to invade the United States. Britain wouldn't help the United States any more than it helped Poland. This is because of the rulers of Britain. In other words, the Rothschilds, who are trying to rule Washington. The big four who are really ruling the United States from Washington are Baruch, Governor Lehman of New York, Henry Morganthau and Felix Frankfurter. It is up to the 86% of the American people to decide if they want to wind their sons to foreign lands to restore the British rulers. It is up to the mothers who may get a casket and a tag with a son's name on it and not be sure that it is her son.

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[redacted] also exhibited to the writer a letter [redacted] by S. J. ZUSMANN, chairman of the subversive activities committee, Jewish War Veterans of the United States. This letter contained a report of the meeting of the America First Committee at Cass Technical High School on July 3, 1941. The chairman of the meeting was ROBERT VIETIG and the princi;al speaker was Senator Nye. ROBERT VIETIG, secretary of the Detroit branch of the America First Committee, spoke first at great length and then introduced Senator Nye. These talks were

violently anti-British and anti-administration and the audience appeared to be highly enthusiastic and vociferously "booed" the President of the United States and Cabinet members Hull, Knox, Stimson and Ickes. After the conclusion of Senator Nye's talk, ROBERT VIETIG again spoke and made the statement that virtually all the pro-war and interventionist sentiment comes from the southern states.

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[redacted] supplied the writer with a report of the speech of ROBERT VIETIG delivered at the American First Committee rally in Redford High School auditorium on August 27, 1941. The report of this meeting was made by [redacted] who attended the meeting in person and took the following notes:

b

"Roosevelt doesn't really want war; Roosevelt faces internal American revolution by trying to put United States into European war.

"Very few people know a little forum at the University of Michigan, where Wheeler, an affable down to earth American, debated with a U. of M. professor. I was amazed at this professor sitting for half an hour in utter confusion. This pygmy became more of a pygmy compared to Wheeler, he absolutely cringed to Wheeler, who has been round the world 4 times, spent a week-end with Kai-Shek, and says no one has the right to dictate the disposition even of his own son's life.

"Those who control your movies are like the 4th ungreased wheel--3 go quietly about their business, but the 4th wheel makes all the noise.

"Congressmen from southern states are all for war, and super-annuated Stimson who was too old for the Civil War. I feel very sorry for him--a puppet for the war party. And 83% of the southern senators, who represent private privilege, are against labor, and in general for war. 90% of the real Americans, like Wheeler and Nye voted for labor.

"No difference between world war and now. Both between 2 gigantic economic groups, but stakes are higher now, because we're in the middle, between Atlantic and Pacific. We say to Japan, you can't have a word to say about China, but we back up England's claim to domination of a continent.

"I would like to see the Peace Treaty that Hitler signed with Churchill three months ago. Remember, this is precedent #1, the world war treaty was drawn secretly before the war.

"If we play Churchill's game by fighting Japan and at the same time play Hitler's game by taking American navy out of Atlantic, doesn't that sound like an agreement between Churchill and Hitler?

"England's still sending American goods to South America.

"Roosevelt's a very tired person, and I think Roosevelt deep in his heart, thanks God for the resistance of America First, because he does not want war.

"We have a big job to open an America First chapter here.

"We've got to do more than keep U. S. out of war. We've got to keep the ninnys out of Congress and out of Lansing...We're headed for something a lot more vicious than we realize.

"England brings candy over here. Why do they need convoys to go back?

"I hope they tax everyone of you so you know you're being sold down the river, and not the American river.

"Don't allow your rifle or shotgun to be taken from you under any pretext from now on. You know the Spanish experience...The aliens and alien philosophies that run this government had better not try to take hunters' guns from them. Don't let your guns leave your hands. That is your inalienable right. And keep them well-oiled like all good hunters do... I'm more afraid of what's happening here.

"Please watch moving pictures and forward notes on propaganda to Wheeler or Clark, it will help them in their work.

"The Committee of One Million is doing an excellent job in Detroit."

[redacted] exhibited to the writer a clipping from "The Detroit News" of April 8, 1941, which carried a new item relating that an America First Committee luncheon was held at the Hotel Statler, Detroit, Michigan, on April 7, 1941 and the principal speaker was Mrs. BURTON K. WHEELER. Mrs. ROBERT WIELG presided. Mrs. WHEELER in her speech said that SIDNEY HILLMAN and ERNEST BEVIN are Communists and that the United States is controlled by SIDNEY HILLMAN, BARNEY BARUCH and FELIX

FRANKFURTER. In an item in "The Detroit Free Press" of July 20, 1941, which [redacted] also exhibited to the writer, ROBERT VIETIG announced that the three-room suite formerly occupied by the America First Committee at the Industrial National Bank Building had just been expanded to a five-room suite. VIETIG added that the America First Committee expected to have 50,000 members in Detroit.

[redacted] also exhibited a clipping from the "Detroit Times", dated July 24, 1941, which reported that an America First rally was held at the Cass Technical High School on July 23, 1941, and the principal speakers, ROBERT VIETIG and Senator GERALD P. NYE, attacked President Roosevelt and his administration.

Also, an item from "The Detroit Free Press" dated August 15, 1941, reported that a rally of the America First Committee was held on August 14, 1941, in Cass Technical High School and ROBERT VIETIG was quoted as having said, "If we do go to war, however, we will soon be standing alone against a hating world, internally bankrupt and bereft of the four freedoms we set out to deliver."

At a meeting of the National Workers League in September of 1941, according to [redacted] ROBERT VIETIG delivered a vehemently anti-Jewish address. Informant stated that he had learned from a confidential source but he was not at liberty to reveal that ROBERT VIETIG was working with GERALD L. K. SMITH in connection with SMITH'S campaign for election to the United States Senate from the State of Michigan in 1942. The confidential source also indicated to informant that VIETIG also had aspirations to become a United States Senator.

Before the United States actively entered the present war, VIETIG had stated [redacted] that he had a guaranty of a thousand dollars a month from Detroit business men.

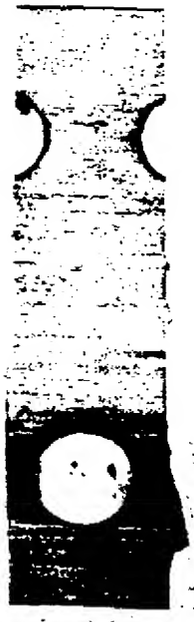
ROBERT VIETIG also admonished PARKER SAGE, who was active in the National Workers League, to "lay low for the time being" just like he, himself, was doing.

[redacted], Michigan, stated that he attended a meeting of GERALD L. K. SMITH'S Committee of 1,000,000 in September, 1941. SMITH introduced VIETIG to the audience and invited VIETIG to sit on the platform with him but VIETIG did not do this. [redacted] stated that he knows the Detroit chapter of the America

First Committee is now inactive but he firmly believes that VIETIG is working with SMITH and that the entire membership of the America First Committee is now associated with GERALD L. K. SMITH.

[redacted] exhibited to the writer a report of the meeting of the America First Committee at Cass Technical High School on November 7, 1941. ROBERT VIETIG, executive secretary of Detroit's America First Committee opened the meeting by urging the audience to continue the telephone and telegraph campaign against the Neutrality Act. He said that he had spoken with Senator WHEELER at 6:00 P. M. that night and that the Senator had predicted a vote that very evening on the act. VIETIG said, "I don't say that we will win but we have made strides because you people have been on your toes. If we lose in the Senate even by ten votes it it still a victory. We may lose because of the votes of some southern senators. We have gone into enemy territory (applause). The American people will win (more applause)."

VIETIG called attention to the meeting held the night before in the same auditorium by the Committee of 1,000,000 and said, "The America First Committee has no connection with the Committee of 1,000,000 but we have the same goal."



VIETIG then read a telegram from General ROBERT E. WOOD urging opposition to the repeal of the Neutrality Act. VIETIG called the administration the "war party" and ridiculed WILLKIE for his agreement with the President's foreign policy. The members of the audience were urged to telegraph their congressmen and the meeting suffered an intermission while telegraph forms were distributed and completed messages and money were collected. VIETIG continued that the southern Congressmen are the ones who favor the war because southerners are anti-labor anyhow.

VIETIG then distributed some literature entitled, "Who Wants War?"

VIETIG next criticized PRESTON SLOSSON of the University of Michigan and said that there was a new chapter of the America First Committee at Washtenaw County which would strike at him. Then VIETIG complimented the Detroit Times for its expose of "Russian Religion" and read from this paper the order of Colonel DUNCAN, LOWRY Field, Colorado, prohibiting soldiers from attending churches where the administration's foreign policy was criticised. (The audience booed).

VIETIG then introduced the speaker of the evening, Bishop RAYMOND T. WADE. WADE said nothing concerning the America First Committee

or any of its policies. He merely explained how churches were being put out of existence in Russia.

After WADE concluded, VIETIG resumed and said that, "I and America First don't and never have subscribed to anti-Semitism." He then referred to a Dr. GLASIER (phonetic) on the West Coast, former head of B'nai B'rith, who has been speaking for the America First Committee on the West Coast. VIETIG then said "For my part there is no anti-Semitism and there should not be in America."

[redacted] exhibited to the writer a clipping from "News Week" magazine, dated November 7, 1941, which stated, "America First Committee is beginning to fall apart." It continued to say that General WOOD is still talking of disbanding the group soon; that LINDBERGH has told friends he fears he must shortly give up and offer his services to the United States government.

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[redacted] exhibited to the writer a handbill announcing a "No foreign war rally" by the Oakland County chapter of the America First Committee at McConnell School, Pontiac, Michigan, on Sunday, October 16, 1941, at 3:00 P. M. The headquarters of the Oakland County chapter was stated to be 553 South Jesse Street, Pontiac, Michigan. It was further announced that GARLAND L. KIDERMAN, Oakland County chairman, would preside. [redacted]

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[redacted]. It was also announced that FLOYD McGRIFF, who covered Europe and Versailles as "European chief of International News Service during Wilson's folly" would speak.

[redacted] exhibited to the writer a document entitled "Michigan's America First November News Letter" signed by ROBERT VIETIG, executive secretary, Michigan America First Committee.

"Lord Strabolgi, Laborite member 'House of Lords, London: When you asked Churchills' government why they had not gone to Russia's aid, were you really serious or was that for 'home consumption', on the Yankee Front? Good Lord! You can't possibly be that naieve .. or can you? You must have lunch with Winnie or Rudolph, one day, real soon. Mr. President: What did you really mean when you said, 'We're in this fight to a finish'? To finish what..? The Constitution?..The Declaration of Independence or both? Frank Knox: The other day you sent a group of graduate officers on their way asking them to take this thought 'We are standing in the middle of our dead', with them, Did you mean to include the group of

(Detroit file 65-1086)

American boys you sent to their graves in a leaking twenty year old submarine last summer while you gave the American Navy to aliens who plan to take America into their empire, without either a shot or the consent of Americans. The dead are the peoples' The guilt is yours. Business as Usual: For those who inquired--You can obtain the Lloyd Machinery catalouge from London or send four dollars to The First National Bank of Chicago and recieve this complete english Machinery and parts catalouge, direct from London, every two weeks. Printed in both English and Spanish, for the South American Trade, terms cash. Delivery--three weeks, London to New York. Anything from a dentists drill to heavy duty machinery. If you suffer from Priorities (four out of five do) see Churchill or Vietig. New York Central, Pennsylvania and other American Railroads: In case you find it difficult to buy rails please contact the United States Government. They have just received a nice, fresh shipment of GERMAN MADE RAILS MARKED 'KRUPP-ESSEN, GERMANY'. Better hurry before they are all gone. They're using them for the Army at Fort Dix, N.J. They just arrived last month from Cuba. Detroit News--Page four..(AP), Oct. 30: Neutrality fight, Senate--As little as FIVE VOTES Switched from the pro war to the anti war side will KEEP THE NEUTRALITY ACT*INTACT. These SOUTHERN votes are in doubt. Wire them to vote against repeal Senators, Robert R. Reynolds, Richard B. Russel, Theodore G. Bilbo, Wall Doxey, Abe Murdock, Denis Chavez, Senate Office Bldg. Washington, D. C. DON'T FAIL TO WIRE OR WRITE THESE SIX ALONG WITH PRENTISS BROWN.. DRAFT EXTENTION WAS LOST BY ONLY ONE VOTE. A FEW WIRES OR LETTERS.. YOURS ALONE.. MAY SPELL VICTORY.. AVOID WAR. Two men, Dingell and Lesinski, are responsible for a million boys spending a year and a half more in camp. Don't forget their names. The boys won't. Traffic Engineers: Can find a new problem to wrestle with in the British practice of 'hit and run' off Iceland. British planes drop depth charges on submarines, then run, leaving American Surface craft to face the music, when submarine comes to surface, nothing in sight except American boat. Result: American boat. Goat. Film officials: Recent denial of interest in Europe on market and war propaganda is proven false by Detroit Times Financial page item.. Nov. 2.. $32,000,000 profits of last years business in Britain to be released to Americ film companys..25% 8 million now..a liek amount in April..etc. if they are go boys. Leave it to the Irish to call a spade a shoval, De Valera: Dublin, Nov. 2.. 'The aim of any foreign power endeavoring to come in here will be to exploit us to their own advantage..anyone who thinks otherwise is a fool. Did you get that Washington? The Irish got rid of the British after 700 years.. George Washington got rid of them in two terms.. refused third term. Taken New Deal three terms to get us.. BACK INTO BRITISH EMPIRE. RECOMMENDED: Herbert Hoovers' Memoirs..Saturday Evening Post, starting last week.

ROBERT VIETIG, EX. SEC. MICHIGAN AMERICA FIR COMMITTEE"

(Detroit file 65-1086)

GERALD L. K. SMITH in his radio address over station WJR, Detroit, Michigan, on December 14, 1941, made the following statement: "I am sorry that the America First Committee disbanded. It was my opinion that they should have transformed the organization immediately into a great educational moral building mechanism for the purpose of uniting America for victory. Any of the America First people who would like to attach themselves to the Committee of 1,000,000 in order that they may be associated with us in this crusade for victory and this campaign for the preservation of America, we invite you to write in for our literature and our new bulletins, which are being issued in the light of our new slogan, namely, "America United for Victory."

[redacted] stated that up until April, 1942, a woman would answer the telephone listed under the name of America First Committee but that since that time calls to that telephone number in Detroit, Michigan are being referred to the residence telephone of ROBERT WIKTIG.

Inasmuch an extensive investigation is being conducted on GERALD L. K. SMITH in the Detroit Field Office, no further investigation is contemplated on the America First Committee.

- REFERRED UPON COMPLETION TO THE OFFICE OF ORIGIN -

4-750 (Rev. 12-14-88)

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☐ (b)(6)		☐ (k)(7)

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100-4712-429 ENCL pg. 11

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FBI/DOJ

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER
DIRECTOR

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

[redacted]
100-6882

June 24, 1942

Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

RE: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
INTERNAL SECURITY--C

Dear Sir:

On the evening of January 15, 1942, as part of his regular weekly broadcast from Station WINX, Washington, D. C., which is known as the "Victory Beacon", A. CLOYD GILL, radio commentator, made the following statement: "Some days ago we reported that certain individuals are planning to revive the America First Committee, probably under a new name. Well, a few days ago, in New York City, the former chief of the America First Committee Speakers' Bureau in Brooklyn sent out a letter to former members of the committee asking them to join with him in setting up a new outfit under the title "American For Peace". What do you think of that? This new leader whose name is FOREST J. HAASE, said his organization meeting would be held at the Prospect Park Y.M.C.A. and 'would be open only to those who are in sympathy with our cause.' The meeting was supposed to have been held on June 12. We wonder if it was held."

RECORDED & INDEXED

[redacted]

This biographical sketch reflects that GILL is a native of Homer, Louisiana, and from a South Carolina family; that he was educated by private tutors and attended a military college. The sketch also reflects that GILL, after a [redacted] and active newspaper career, has in recent years specialized in [redacted]

[redacted]

COPY IN FILE

JUN 30 MECD

factual charts, booklets, pamphlets, etc., to cover in brief form important surveys; also that these books, charts, etc., are standard and authoratative works and have been reproduced as key exhibits in the New York State Legislative Committee Reports, used in Congressional Committee Reports, and frequently quoted on the Congressional Record; that the American Legion from National Headquarters has distributed MR. GILL'S charts, etc., to each of its posts. The sketch also reflects that GILL has appeared over three thousand times on the radio in programs of his own both National and Local; that he founded the famous radio "Thirty" Club in Washington, D. C., and in 1933 he was radio director for the N.R.A. for New York City and State. His sketch reflects that he has worked closely with the intelligence services of the Army, Navy, Treasury Department, Civil Service Commission, and Police Department, who used his documents . making confidential investigations and reports.

53490

MR. GILL claims in his b[illegible]phical sketch to have National contacts who are key first persons a[illegible] to furnish him with confidential data regarding Nazism, Fascism, a[illegible]i-Semitism, and subversive activities. He claims that the Dies Committee of the House of Representatives furnished its investigators with published documents by MR. GILL as a basis for their field work when they organized the committee. He claims to have many influencial friends and newspaper associates who got their training under him. He also sets out his background as a newspaper correspondent, which reflects that he has during the past twenty-five years worked with, in some capacity, most of the outstanding newspaper men of Washington and New York City. His record includes a statement of his past positions as editor of several local newspapers in the Southern states. Also it states that he was called to Washington by the late ARTHUR BRISBANE and was Sunday editor, city editor, special writer, and House and Senate Press Gallery representative of the Washington Times; that he became City editor of the Washington Herald after it was acquired by W. R. HEARST and was later Assistant Publisher. He relates that he was a Special Writer on the New York American and when that newspaper suspended was retained for special work on the staff of the Journal American handling policy matters for the organization. He states that three years ago he severed all relations with the HEARST newspaper with which he had been associated for twenty years to devote his full time to private business which included writing, public relations, lecturing, research and educational work. He sets

out his family history which includes the names of many whom he states have made American history.

A review of the files of the Washington Field Office reflects the following information concerning A. CLOYD GILL: Reference is made to a letter written by Special Agent in Charge GUY HOTTEL to the Director dated June 11, 1940, in the case entitled [redacted]

[redacted] Reference is also made [redacted] Bureau letter of March 13, 1942, in the case entitled [redacted]. A memorandum for this file dated November 1, 1941, contains information obtained from [redacted] to the effect that GILL is considered very reliable and is well thought of; that he is approximately 54 years old at the present time and that he has conducted radio programs over station WMAL for the Times and the Hecht Company.

Contact with MR. GILL regarding his knowledge of the revival of the America Peace Committee under a new name has been contemplated but due to the fact that there is some question about his loyalty to the United States this matter is being presented for your consideration. The files of the Washington Field Office fail to reflect anything but unconfirmed allegations as to A. CLOYD GILL'S loyalty and it is believed that the information which GILL claims to have in his possession might prove of interest in connection with the present investigation of the America First Committee and possibly other pending investigations.

MR. GILL is presently residing at the Hamilton Hotel in Washington, D. C., and has indicated from his radio talks as reflected above that he may be in possession of information concerning a revival of the America First activities.

It is requested that this office be advised whether or not the Bureau would approve of a contact with A. CLOYD GILL for the purpose of obtaining the aforesaid information.

Very truly yours,

S. K. McKEE
Special Agent in Charge

55492

[redacted] b7c

July 21, 1942

RECORDED

100-4712-430

Special Agent in Charge
Washington, D. C.

RE: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Dear Sir:

Reference is made to your letter dated June 24, 1942, wherein you requested advice concerning the advisability of interviewing A. Lloyd Gill.

From a review of the content of reference letter, it appears that A. Lloyd Gill is in a position to obtain considerable information and might possibly be in possession of important data pertaining to the activities of the America First Committee.

53488

I wish to advise that the Bureau has no objection to your Office interviewing Mr. Gill for the purpose of obtaining any information that he might disclose concerning the activities of this organization.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

[illegible] 10-19-90 [illegible] Sp Br Rec'd

Olson
A. Tamm
Legg
Ladd

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
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U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

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[redacted] b7c

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

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FBI MIAMI 6-23-42 1-30 PM
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O D
BOOK. AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE, INTERNAL SECURITY G. INFORMANTS STATE
COMMITTEE NOT ACTIVE IN FLORIDA AT PRESENT. REPORT FOLLOWS.
DANNER

AC
WASH 1-20//1-30 [redacted] OK FBI WA DC [redacted]
CHICAGO OK FBI CG [redacted]
DISCONNECT V

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Lad[illegible]
Mr. N[illegible]
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Fulloman
[illegible]
[illegible]

[redacted]

100-[illegible]9912-431

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
13 JUL 25 1942
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

JUL 2 1942

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57C

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

FILE NO. 100-1007

REPORT MADE AT	DATE WHEN MADE	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE	REPORT MADE BY
SAN DIEGO, CALIFORNIA	6/25/42	6/15/42	[redacted] b7C

TITLE	CHARACTER OF CASE
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE	INTERNAL SECURITY - C

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS: [redacted] has been obtained and is at present retained in the files of the San Diego Field Division. b7R

[redacted] - C -

53485

10-19-90 SP 6 TS/C

REFERENCE: Report of Special Agent [redacted] b7C
San Diego, California, dated March 9, 1942.

DETAILS: AT SAN DIEGO, CALIFORNIA

[redacted] was obtained from [redacted] and is being retained in the files of the San Diego Field Division. [redacted] to the time of discontinuation of activities of the Committee in San Diego. b2 b7D

- C L O S E D -

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APPROVED AND FORWARDED:	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES
[redacted]	[redacted]	100-47124-1352

5 - Bureau
2 - Chicago
1 - ITO 11th Floor
1 - C-2 San Diego
1 - C-2 San Francisco
2 - San Diego

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JUN 27 1942
[redacted]

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b7C

FILE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

FILE NO. 100-508

REPORT MADE AT	DATE WHEN MADE	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE	REPORT MADE BY
MIAMI, FLORIDA	6-23-42	6-22,23-42	[redacted] b7c

TITLE
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

CHARACTER OF CASE
INTERNAL SECURITY - G

DATE 10-19-90 BY SP8B0/6

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS: Informants state committee not active in Florida at present.

- P -

REFERENCES: Report of Special Agent [redacted] Miami, Florida, dated 12-5-41;
Bureau letter, dated 3-16-42.

DETAILS:

AT MIAMI, FLORIDA

[redacted] advised Special Agent [redacted] on March 20, 1942, that he had been a member of the Miami America First Committee and that this organization had been dissolved officially and had decided as a group to support the war. He stated that as individuals the members of this group are backing the United States in the war program and he knows of no attempts on the part of the organization either officially or through its members to evoke a negotiated peace. b2 b7D

[redacted] was again contacted on June 22, 1942, at which time he corroborated the above information and stated there has been no indication that the Subject organization is again active in Florida and that he is quite certain that he would be advised of any activity along this line. b2 b7D

[redacted] PAGE HUFTI, former Regional Director in charge of the South District of the America First Committee; that he saw HUFTI last week and

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100-4712-433
RECORDED & I
JUL 27 1942

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2 Chicago
3 Miami

COPY IN [redacted] FILE b7c

JUL 7 42

inquired as to whether the America First Committee was again active and received a negative reply. He further advised that he is positive that he will be contacted or will be notified in the event the Subject committee again becomes active in this area.

P E N D I N G

UNDEVELOPED LEADS:

THE MIAMI FIELD DIVISION

Will continue its efforts to develop informants among members of the America First Committee in order that it will receive any information indicating that the Subject organization is active in the Florida area.

4-750 (Rev. 12-14-88)

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FBI/DC

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[redacted]

100-4712-[redacted]
5-17-42

NOT RECORDED
DATE 10-19-90 SP8W/Gc

b7c

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. L. M. C. SMITH
CHIEF, SPECIAL WAR POLICIES UNIT

RE: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

b7

Reference is made to your memorandum dated May 1, 1942, captioned [redacted] and relating to a conference had with [redacted] by [redacted] of your unit and Special Agent [redacted] of the New York Field Office of this Bureau on April 28, 1942, at the office of [redacted] New York City. As you will recall, the negotiation culminating in this conference began in November, 1941, at the instance of the Attorney General. [redacted]

b7

[redacted]

Mr. T[redacted]
Mr. E[redacted]
Mr. C[redacted]
Mr. G[redacted]
[redacted]
Coffey
Gurnea[redacted]
Kramer
[redacted]
[redacted]
Case
Read

RECORDED 100-4712-43

246

JUL 1 1942

b7c

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[redacted]

b7D

[redacted]

As you are aware, of course, certain recalcitrant elements of the America First Committee have attempted to form new organizations, one of the most active of which is the "Americans for Peace" headed by Horace G. Haase, formerly affiliated with the Brooklyn Chapter of the America First Committee. [redacted]

b7C

[redacted] Certain other groups of lesser importance have also sprung up as an aftermath of the America First Committee and these are being given attention at the present time. As you are probably well aware, by far the majority of the chapters in the America First Committee ceased their activities upon the declaration of war and since have not followed an active isolationist policy.

b7C
b7D

Another factor that should be considered is that [redacted] mentioned hereinbefore is of questioned reliability. Reports have been received from a confidential source that he has worked closely with the Communists and is probably a Party member. The allegation is also made that "The Hour" follows the party line closely. [redacted] is reported by the same source as being a party member and formerly [redacted].

In view of the change of circumstances since the original negotiations were entered into in this matter and the doubtful worth of the material in the possession of [redacted], no definite steps to consummate this review will be taken pending specific instructions from you. b7D

Very truly yours,

1132 1

John Edgar Hoover

DATE: 10-19-90 SP8 BTS1 Cal

100-4712-435

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT Chicago, Illinois

FILE NO. 100-2293

REPORT MADE AT	DATE WHEN MADE	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE	REPORT MADE BY
Indianapolis, Indiana	6-30-42	5-15,6-14-42	[redacted] b7c

TITLE	CHARACTER OF CASE
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE	INTERNAL SECURITY - C

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

Indices of Indianapolis office do not reveal name of [redacted] Fort Wayne, Indiana group of America First Committee organized in January, 1941 and said to be fostering principally through efforts of Fort Wayne News Sentinel, evening newspaper; dissolved in December, 1941 and not known to be presently active. Names and backgrounds of officers and committeemen in Fort Wayne group set forth.

REFERENCE: Report of Special Agent [redacted] dated at Birmingham, Alabama, 6-27-42.
Report of Special Agent [redacted] dated at Indianapolis, Indiana 5-17-42.

DETAILS: AT INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA

Chief Clerk [redacted] searched the indices of this field division for any information concerning [redacted] who was reported to have formerly resided some place in Indiana; however such indices failed to reveal the name of [redacted]

AT FORT WAYNE, INDIANA

The following investigation was conducted by Special Agent [redacted] on May 15, 1942.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 10-22-80 BY SP8 BTSC

b7c

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56 JUN 21 1942	[redacted]	100 + 4712 + 4361

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2 Chicago
2 Indianapolis

JUL [redacted] 42

RECORDED
INDEXED

[redacted] advised that the America First Committee in Fort Wayne was organized in January, 1941 and was in his opinion sponsored and fostered by the evening newspaper in Fort Wayne, the Fort Wayne News Sentinel. He stated that the newspaper has had a very strong isolationist policy and naturally would be interested and sympathetic to the policies and programs of the America First Committee.

This informant furnished the following list of names of persons active in the organization:

Permanent Organization:

C. C. McKEE, chairman
Mrs. CLARK P. HOLMES, vice chairman
A. E. SHULL, treasurer
VERA SESSLER, executive secretary, [redacted]

Advisory Committee:

Dr. EMOR L. CARTWRIGHT
Rt. Rev. THOMAS M. CONROY
Rev. PAUL F. MILLER
A. K. HOFER
M. SHERMAN PRESSLER, [redacted]
TRYGUE STORM
CARL A. OSTERMAN
Mrs. C. V. HONECK
E. H. KETTNER
Mrs. MAE L. RICHARDS
JAMES B. HUGHES
Rev. B. E. REEMSNIDER

In the opinion of the informant the members of the permanent organization were mere figureheads inasmuch as they were not prominent people in the community. He stated that headquarters for the committee were set up at [redacted] and that Miss VERA SESSLER did most of the work, spending her full time on the job [redacted]

CECIL C. McKEE, [redacted] listed as chairman, is [redacted] Mrs. CLARK P. HOLMES listed as vice chairman is [redacted] A. E. SHULL listed as treasurer is [redacted] The committee reached the height of its activity on the case of CHARLES A. LINDBERGH's visit to Fort Wayne where he made a talk.

The following information was furnished concerning the members of the Advisory Committee. Dr. EMOR L. CARTWRIGHT is [redacted]

The Right Reverend THOMAS M. CONROY is [redacted]

Reverend BERTRAM E. [redacted]REEMSNIDER is [redacted]

Reverend PAUL E. [redacted] A. K. HOFER [redacted]

b7c

[redacted]ILLER is [redacted]

M. SHERMAN PRESSLER, is [redacted]

THYGUE STORM, [redacted] CARL A. OSTERMAN is [redacted]

Mrs. C. V. HONECK is [redacted]

E. H. KETTLER is [redacted]

Mrs. MAE L. RICHARDS is [redacted]

JAMES B. HUGHES is [redacted]

[redacted] advised that since the national group of the America First Committee dissolved there was no indication that the group in Fort Wayne was active, that most of the people who were interested in the movement were reputable persons with strong isolationist views and nothing has ever come to his attention that after declaration of war they were any further interested in the America First Committee.

[redacted]

100-2293

UNDEVELOPED LEADS

THE INDIANAPOLIS FIELD DIVISION

*At South Bend, Indiana.

Will conduct appropriate investigation to ascertain if the Americ
First Committee is engaging in any present activities.

*At Gary, Indiana.

Will conduct appropriate investigation to ascertain if the Ameri
First Committee is engaging in any present activities.

*At Hammond, Indiana.

Will conduct appropriate investigation to ascertain if the Ameri
First Committee is engaging in any present activities.

*At Elkhart, Indiana.

Will conduct appropriate investigation to ascertain if the Amer
First Committee is engaging in any present activities.

*At Evansville, Indiana.

Will conduct appropriate investigation to ascertain if the Am
First Committee is engaging in any present activities.

*At Terre Haute, Indiana.

Will conduct appropriate investigation to ascertain if the A
First Committee is engaging in any present activities.

*At Indianapolis, Indiana.

Will recontact [redacted] for any informat
have obtained subsequent to the last interview.

Will continue investigation of the America First Committee'
leading members.

Will check the incorporation records of the Department
ascertain if various chapters of the American First Committee w

PENDING

RBH:

4-750 (Rev. 12-14-88)

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FBI/DO

ADDRESS REPLY TO
"THE ATTORNEY GENERAL"
AND REFER TO
INITIALS AND NUMBER

LMCS - SSB

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
WASHINGTON, D. C.

JUL 8 1942

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Kramer
Mr. McGuire
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy
Files

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. J. EDGAR HOOVER

DIRECTOR, FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Re: America First Committee
[redacted]

b7C
b7D

Reference is made to your memorandum to this Unit dated June 30, 1942 wherein you suggest that it would be impracticable to thoroughly examine the material in the files of the Anti-Defamation League relative to the above organization and referred to by [redacted] in his conference with Mr. Bisgyer of this Unit and Special Agent [redacted]

I am in agreement with you on this conclusion.

This is arranging for Mr. Bisgyer to read the "red".

Lawrence M. C. Smith
Chief, Special War Policies Unit
War Division

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100-4712-437

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
9 JUL 8 1942
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
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DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
L 31
JUL 8 4 25 PM '42
RECEIVED
WAR DIVISION
JUL 10 '42

Federal Bureau of Investigation

United States Department of Justice
New York, N. Y.

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. E. A. Tamm	
Mr. Clegg	
Mr. Glavin	
Mr. Ladd	
Mr. Nichols	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Tracy	
Mr. Carson	
Mr. Coffey	
Mr. Hendon	
Mr. Kramer	
Mr. McGuire	
Mr. Quinn Tamm	
Mr. Nease	
Miss Gandy	
Files	

100-9887 [redacted]

July 8, 1942

CONFIDENTIAL

b7C

DECLASSIFIED BY SP2BTS/bc
ON 10-22-90

Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Re: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
INTERNAL SECURITY - G
[redacted]
- INFORMANT.

b7C
b7D

Dear Sir:

Reference is made to Bureau letter dated June 10, 1942, captioned "AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE; INTERNAL SECURITY - G" (Bureau file 100-4712), and the letter directed to the Bureau from the Washington Field Office under date of May 26, 1942, and reference is made to the report of Special Agent [redacted] dated at Washington, D. C., May 26, 1942, both similarly entitled and forwarded therewith.

b7C

The letters and report referred to call attention to the articles entitled "Inside the America First Movement" and "Our Fascist Enemies Within" which appeared in the January and March 1942 issues of the American Mercury Magazine. [redacted]

b7C

Please be advised that inquiry among the confidential informants previously used in this investigation disclosed that [redacted]

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FOR VICTORY BUY UNITED STATES DEFENSE BONDS AND STAMPS

5 JUL 21 1942

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100-4712

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
9 JUL 1942
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

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Section 552		Section 552a
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☐ (b)(5)	☐ (b)(9)	☐ (k)(6)
☐ (b)(6)		☐ (k)(7)

☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.

☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.

☐ Documents originated with another Government agency(ies). These documents were referred to that agency(ies) for review and direct response to you.

_____ Pages contain information furnished by another Government agency(ies). You will be advised by the FBI as to the releasability of this information following our consultation with the other agency(ies).

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☐ For your information: _____

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☑ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

100-47712-438 in pp. 2-3

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DATE 10-22-90 BY SP2 BTS/cal

100-4712-439

NOT USED

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS — MILWAUKEE — FILE NO. 100-2936

REPORT MADE AT	DATE WHEN MADE	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE	REPORT MADE BY
MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN	7/6/42	6/13,20/'42	[redacted] b7c

TITLE	CHARACTER OF CASE
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE	INTERNAL SECURITY (G)

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

Names of chairmen or proposed chairmen of various units of AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE in the State of Wisconsin obtained. [redacted] b7D

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 10-22-90 BY SP2 Brick

-P-

DETAILS:

On 6/13/42 the writer obtained from [redacted] a list containing the names of chairmen or proposed chairmen of local, county, and city chapters of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE in the State of Wisconsin. [redacted] stated that some of the individuals are known to him personally, others are not; that none of them have ever become very active in connection with the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE in Wisconsin as the COMMITTEE was just getting organized at the time it disbanded. The list furnished is as follows:

Left to Milw 7/25/42 [redacted]

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: [redacted] SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES: 100-4712-440

RECORDED + INDEXED [redacted] b7c

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IN [redacted] JUL 8 1942 b7c

62-1-12 SERIALIZED FILED

H. H. HELBLE, Appleton, Wisconsin
Jay [redacted] Williams, Appleton, Wisconsin

L. T. Merrill, Beloit, Wisconsin
F. R. O'Neal, Beloit, Wisconsin

J. L. Banser, Bonduel, Wisconsin

Elmer Krause, Cedarburg, Wisconsin

Miss Jul[redacted]McMiller, Chippewa Falls, Wisconsin

C. [redacted] Smith, [redacted] EauClaire, Wisconsin

William Bernhard, Ephraim, Wisconsin

Henry Tumm, Fall Creek, Wisconsin [redacted]

Clyde R. Bunker, [redacted] Green Bay, Wisconsin

George Kissel, Hartford, Wisconsin

Robert C. Schaller, Janesville, Wisconsin

Mrs. William Rieschel, [redacted] Kenosha, Wisconsin
F. C. Seideman, [redacted] Kenosha, Wisconsin
Walter Block, [redacted], Kenosha, Wisconsin

Henry Davis, Lake Mills, Wisconsin

Mrs. Archie Last, [redacted], Manitowoc, Wisconsin

Herbert F. Guenzl, Merrill, Wisconsin

Dr. F. E. Sillick, Neillsville, Wisconsin

[redacted] Steinmann, Oconomowoc, Wisconsin

Sidney S. deRanitz, [redacted] Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin

Arthur Ketchian, [redacted] Racine, Wisconsin

[redacted] Kroenke, Shawano, Wisconsin

N. P. Miller, Sheboygan, Wisconsin [redacted]

Chester Adams, Spencer, Wisconsin

b7C

100-2936

T. A. Rogers, [redacted], Stevens Point, Wisconsin b7C

Charles E. Kading, Watertown, Wisconsin

J. F. Teeple, Waupun, Wisconsin

Walter A. Graunke, Wausau, Wisconsin

J. [redacted] Gates, Wittenberg, Wisconsin

James [redacted] Coleman, Woodman, Wisconsin"

Appropriate leads are being set forth [redacted] b7C

[redacted] to determine if there has been any activity subsequent to the dissolution of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE which would indicate that any subversive element is attempting to utilize the framework of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE for subversive purposes.

[redacted] b7C b7D

[redacted]

- PENDING -

- UNDEVELOPED LEADS -

MILWAUKEE FIELD DIVISION

[redacted]

b7C
b7D

H. H. Helble, Appleton, Wisconsin

Jay I. Williams, Appleton, Wisconsin

L. T. Merrill, Beloit, Wisconsin

F. R. O'Neal, Beloit, Wisconsin

J. L. Banser, Bonduel, Wisconsin

Elmer Krause, Cedarburg, Wisconsin

Miss June McMiller, Chippewa Falls, Wisconsin

C. A. Smith, [redacted], EauClaire, Wisconsin

William Bernhard, Ephraim, Wisconsin

Henry Tumm, [redacted] Fall Creek, Wisconsin

Clyde R. Bunker, [redacted] Green Bay, Wisconsin

George Kissel, Hartford, Wisconsin

b7C

Robert C. Schaller, Janesville, Wisconsin

Mrs. William Rieschel, [redacted] Kenosha, Wisconsin

F. C. Seideman, [redacted] Kenosha, Wisconsin

Walter Block, [redacted] Kenosha, Wisconsin

Henry Davis, Lake Mills, Wisconsin

Mrs. Archie Last, [redacted], Manitowoc, Wisconsin

Herbert F. Gunezl, Merrill, Wisconsin

Dr. F. E. Sillick, Neillsville, Wisconsin

William Steinmann, Oconomowoc, Wisconsin

Sidney S. deRanitz, [redacted] Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin

Arthur Ketchian, [redacted] Racine, Wisconsin

William Kroenke, Shawano, Wisconsin

N. F. Miller, [redacted] Sheboygan, Wisconsin

Chester Adams, Spencer, Wisconsin

T. A. Rogers, [redacted] Stevens Point, Wisconsin

Charles E. Kading, Watertown, Wisconsin

J. F. Teeple, Waupun, Wisconsin

Walter A. Graunke, Wausau, Wisconsin

J. W. Gates, Wittenberg, Wisconsin

James E. Coleman, Woodman, Wisconsin

b7C

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b7C

[redacted] 100-4712-440

July 25, 1942

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 10-22-90 BY SP3BSS/CAL

Special Agent in Charge
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

RE: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Dear Sir:

b7C

Reference is made to the report of Special Agent [redacted] dated July 6, 1942, at Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

It is noted that undeveloped leads are set forth to conduct a discreet investigation relative to thirty-two individuals and in the event no derogatory information is disclosed to contact them concerning the America First Committee. Further it will be noted that according to [redacted] b7C b7D none of these persons had become very active in connection with the America First Committee, since it was in the process of being organized at the time of the declaration of war. Consequently, it is not believed that the leads suggested in the reference report would be productive in relation to the time that would necessarily have to be spent in completing the inquiry.

You should, of course, be alert in following forth any undeveloped leads that could reasonably be assumed to establish that the former America First Committee and its adherents are engaged in any actions that could be considered inimical to the present war effort.

Very truly yours,

DEPT OF JUSTICE
RECEIVED-MAIL & FILES
1942 JUL 25 AM 8:45

John Edgar Hoover
Director

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED
JUL 25 1942
P. M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Kramer
Mr. McGuire
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

b7C

24 JUL 29 1942

4-750 (Rev. 12-14-88)

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

4 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

☑ Deletions were made pursuant to the exemptions indicated below with no segregable material available for release to you.

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☐ (b)(2)	☐ (b)(7)(B)	☐ (j)(2)
☐ (b)(3)	☑ (b)(7)(C)	☐ (k)(1)
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☐ (b)(5)	☐ (b)(9)	☐ (k)(6)
☐ (b)(6)		☐ (k)(7)

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☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT: CHICAGO — FILE NO. 100-3355

REPORT MADE AT	DATE WHEN MADE	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE	REPORT MADE BY
BALTIMORE, MARYLAND	7-8-42	6-22-42	[redacted]

TITLE	CHARACTER OF CASE
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE	INTERNAL SECURITY - G

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

Check of Baltimore indices reflects negative information regarding [redacted] Check of Baltimore and Maryland directories fails to reflect location of [redacted] in this district.

- R U C -

REFERENCE: Report of Special Agent [redacted] dated at Birmingham, Alabama, 5/27/42.

b7C

DETAILS: AT BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

A check of the indices of the Baltimore Field Division fails to reflect any information regarding [redacted], reported as formerly residing somewhere in Maryland.

A check of telephone directories and city directores for the city of Baltimore and the State of Maryland fails to reflect any information regarding this individual as having resided in this district.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE
DATE 10-22-90 BY SP8 Bts/mlc

— REFERRED UPON COMPLETION TO OFFICE OF ORIGIN

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: [redacted] SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE — DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES — 100-4712-142 — RECORDED

COPIES OF THIS REPORT: [redacted]

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

NY FILE NO. 100-9887

REPORT MADE AT	DATE WHEN MADE	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE	REPORT MADE BY
NEW YORK CITY	7/11/42	6/15-20,22-26/42	[redacted]

TITLE: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

CHARACTER OF CASE: INTERNAL SECURITY - G

REC #049863

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 9/4/84 BY SP3 BC/mlk

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

Material in possession of [redacted] tending to identify subversive personnel and activities and foreign support of America First Committee, N.Y.C. prior to its official dissolution, set forth herein, together with supplementary background information. Such material tends to prove support of, or connection with the America First Committee by such known or alleged subversive organizations as the German-American Bund, Christian Front, Silver Shirts, Woman United, Mothers' organizations, Christian Mobilisers, American Destiny Party, Paul Revere Sentinels, League for Institutional Government, Crusaders for Americanism, Citizens Protective League, Protestant War Veterans, American Nationalist Party, Committee for Preservation of America, and such individuals as LAWRENCE DENNIS, WILLIAM DUDLEY PELLEY, CHARLES B. HUDSON, JOSEPH E. MC WILLIAMS, COURT ASHEN, E. J. GARNER, JOHN GEIS, JOHN B. SNOW, MERWIN K. HART, EDWARD JAMES SMYTHE, FATHER EDWARD LODGE CURRAN, GEORGE DEATHERAGE, F. GUY JUNNEMANN, WILLIAM KULLGREN, GEORGE A. VAN HOSDALL, JAMES MC GEE, GEORGE REIFER, AUGUST KLAPPROTT and LEON DE ARIAN.

- P -

COPIES DESTROYED

REFERENCE: Bureau letters to New York dated April 25, 1942, and May 14, 1942 (Bureau file 100-4712).
Report of Special Agent [redacted] dated May 13, 1942, at New York, N. Y.

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APPROVED AND FORWARDED: [redacted] SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

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100-[redacted]-943

1942 240

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1 - [redacted]
1 - New York

18 JUL 13 1942

b2

100-9887

DETAILS:

AT NEW YORK CITY

This report is composed wholly of information abstracted from material in the possession of [redacted] which tends to identify subversive personnel and activities and foreign support of the America First Committee prior to its official dissolution on December 12, 1941. Portions of this material had previously been furnished to [redacted] for the purpose of exposing such individuals, organizations, and activities [redacted], which plan, however, was abandoned following the entrance of the United States into the present war and the official dissolution of the America First Committee on December 12, 1941.

[redacted] made available to agent a copy of a summary report on the America First Committee which was apparently written about October 1941, and which reads as follows:

"The America First Committee was organized in 1940, in Chicago, Illinois. The original members were:

GENERAL ROBERT E. WOOD - Chairman
JANET AYER FAIRBANK - Vice Chairman
HANFORD MC NIDER - Vice Chairman (former National Commander of American Legion and former Minister to Canada)
R. DOUGLAS STUART, Jr. - Director
J. SANFORD OTIS - Treasurer
CHESTER BOWLES
ANTON J. CARLSON - (University of Chicago)
WILLIAM R. CASTLE - (Former United States Ambassador to Japan)
KATHRYN LEWIS - (Labor union executive)
Senator BENNETT C. CLARK
IRVING S. COBB
JOHN T. FLYNN
LILLIAN GISH - (actress)
W. E. HAMMACKER - (Methodist Bishop)
GENERAL F. S. HARMON
JAY C. HORMEL - (Packer)
GENERAL HUGH S. JOHNSON
CLAY JUDSON
WILLIAM KROGNESS
ALICE ROOSEVELT LONGWORTH
FRANK LOWDEN - (former Governor of Illinois)
Mrs. JOHN P. MARQUAND
KAY MC KAIG

STERLING MORTON
KATHLEEN NORRIS
AMOS R. E. PINCHOT
FLORENCE P. KOLN
MAJOR A. J. WILLIAMS
Mrs. BURTON K. WHEELER
Dr. GEORGE H. WHIPPLE
LOUIS J. TABER - (Master of National Grange)
E. RYERSON, Jr. - (Inland Steel Company)

"The Committee has headquarters on the 18th floor in the Board of Trade Building, 141 West Jackson Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois. Rent is $4825 annually and there are forty employees according to latest reports. The Committee has received $231,000 and has spent $207,000. Its advertising expenses are $71,000, pamphlets are $32,000, and general expenses are $60,000. The office has under it 800 to 850 local chapters with about 900,000 members.

"The New York Chapter of the Committee is the second largest. Headquarters are at 515 Madison Avenue, with five rooms on the eleventh floor, one room on the ninth floor, and one room on the twelfth floor. Rent is approximately $170 monthly. Branch offices at 3 East 47th Street, (woman's division) and at 1050 Second Avenue (veteran's and laborer's division). The Chapter opened on January 27, 1941, under the chairmanship of JOHN T. FLYNN, with EDWIN S. WEBSTER, Jr. as Executive Chairman. While WEBSTER is ostensibly the banking source behind the America First Committee, Mrs. COURTLAND D. BARNES put up the money for the New York Chapter. She is niece of the publisher of the New York Daily News.

"There are six to eight employees at 515 Madison Avenue (payroll $200) and about seventy volunteer workers. The chapter has received about $30,000 and has spent $26,000. It claims 41,000 members.

"The New York Chapter has under it eighteen smaller chapters and twenty-two separate units. There is a separate chapter in each borough and the general Committee operates about twenty-five branch offices in various stores throughout the metropolitan district. The actual work consists of rallies, meetings, addresses, telephone calls, and organized tours to Washington, D. C. where time is spent in lobbying. About twenty meetings are held weekly in the New York City area in addition to about thirty street corner meetings. The usual places for the latter are the corner of 42nd Street and 5th Avenue; Pershing Square; 59th Street and Lexington Avenue; and 49th Street and 5th Avenue. There are usually three speakers. The speeches are brief and they move away after about one hour. About two hundred people are usually in attendance.

"During four months 185 meetings were held and 391 addresses were given in New York City. The most frequent speakers at such meetings are the following individuals:

PHILIP LaFOLLOTTE
MICHAEL STRANGE
REPRESENTATIVE HAMILTON FISH
SENATOR DAVID WALSH
Dr. HENRY NOBLE MC CRACKEN
Professor EDWARD REISNER
KATHLEEN NORRIS

"The New York Chapter publishes a weekly bulletin of which JOHN L. SPRINGER is editor. "The Bulletin" is mailed to members at 5¢ per issue. Mr. SPRINGER claims a circulation of 10,000. The names which most frequently appear in "The Bulletin" with favorable comment are:

"Representatives HARRY SANTHOFF, DEWEY, CARL CURTIS, KARL E. MUNDT, FRANK OSMERS, HARNESS, HILL, LUDLOW; and Senators CLARK, WHEELER, NYE, TOBEY, WAYLAND BROOKS, SHIPSTEAD, COPPER, TAFT, W. GEORGE, IGOR SIKORSKY, JOHN CUDAHY, GEORGE N. PEEK; BARON VON STRANGEL writes for "The Bulletin".

"In all of New York City there are three hundred volunteer workers and forty to sixty paid workers.

"Of the chapters in the New York Area the one in Brooklyn is the most active. WILLIAM LEONARD is chairman of that chapter. The chapter has its main office at 44 Court Street, and has about one hundred volunteer workers and offices have been opened in each congressional district. The members are mostly Irish and Italians, and Father Coughlin and Father Curran followers. Attendance at meetings has been as much as 1500 persons, with an equal number waiting on the street. America First Committee Units have been formed in Flushing, Bayside, Woodside, Sunnyside, Elmhurst, Jackson Heights, Queens Village, Bellrose, Bellaire and Corona, Long Island. America First Committee Chapters have also been formed in Honolulu; Nome and Juneau, Alaska; and Diablo Heights, Canal Zone.

"At America First Committee meetings in Madison Square Garden, New York City, as many as 22,000 people have been present. The Committee is weak in Washington, D. C. and generally in the South. The largest membership comes from the Middle West where also most of the twelve America First Committee Bulletins are published. The national membership of the Committee was estimated by JOHN L. SPRINGER to be ten million. General WOOD is reported to have stated to a co-worker that it amounts to fifteen million. The New York metropolitan membership on April 22, 1941, was 25,000, and on June 7, 1941, it was 76,471.

"The following papers and publications are in favor of the America First Committee or its foreign policy:

New York Daily News
Scribner's Commentator
Pelley's Publications
Minnesota Beacon
Flanders Hall Publication
Chicago Tribune
The Herald (Geneva Publishing Company)
America in Danger (CHARLES HUDSON)
The Defender (Reverend G. WINROD)
Beacon Light
Today's Challenge (American Fellowship Forum)
New York Journal-American
The Individualist
The American Citizen
Columbia News Service

"According to EDWIN S. WEBSTER, Jr. Metropolitan New York City has about 200,000 members, while Chicago has about 300,000 members. After the Manhattan Center Rally, the New York membership increased 2500 within two weeks. Mr. WEBSTER estimated that 45 to 50 people work daily at 515 Madison Avenue, New York City, and that there are 65 chapters in New York, Long Island, New Jersey, and Connecticut. In Mr. WEBSTER's words, "The New York Chapter runs on a shoestring and can hardly balance its budget."

b2 b7D [redacted] made available to Agent a copy of a report dated April 30, 1941, and entitled "Subversive Newspapers and Periodicals Endorsing and Supporting America First Committee and Colonel Charles A. Lindbergh". This report reads as follows:

"In AMERICA, the Ukrainian newspaper published three times weekly in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, a full account of Lindbergh's speech is made - the issue is April 26, 1941. This newspaper is one of the chief organs of the Ukrainian Fascists. Their activities are well known to the United States Government and members of their staff have many times been interrogated by the F.B.I. and United States Immigration Officials. The comment in this newspaper reads as follows:

> 'On April 23, Colonel Lindbergh addressed a great meeting in New York; this time as spokesman for the organization America First Committee which is hostile to America's entry into European and Asiatic wars .... Even his adversaries must admit that, as a world traveler, student of relations prevailing in various countries, and as an expert flyer, he speaks with knowledge and understanding of things.'

"In SVOBODA, the other Ukrainian Fascist newspaper, which is published in Jersey City, New Jersey and edited by LUKE MYSHUKA, head man of the Ukrainian Fascists in America, the following statement appeared in the issue of April 25, 1941:

'Lindbergh continues to be against the war and aid to England:

'Colonel Charles A. Lindbergh spoke at a great mass meeting at Manhattan Center in New York City. He stated that England tries once again to entice America to enter the war and that she expects to obtain from America not only help in products; but also an expeditionary army. England must lose the war, Lindbergh said. Even America's aid won't help her to win it; but it would be a tragedy if the British Empire fell. He added that the American Government would be subjected to sharp criticism for its efforts to push America into the war. The majority doesn't want it.'

"Of course this newspaper and its people have been under careful surveillance by the Government and they shied clear of editorial comment. But the manner in which the report is written gives benefit and accent to favor Lindbergh.

"The FREE AMERICAN which is the organ of the German-American Bund, on April 24, 1941, page four, made the following comment: (It was printed in German and the following is a translation)

'Those who sacrifice themselves take a risk in order to convey to the people a true picture of the war situation and are being insulted by the ignorant. Look at the Lindbergh case, a man who has been celebrated as a hero for years is now being condemned by the same powerful clique who want to break the neck of fighting Germandom.

'Father Coughlin and many other freedom loving good citizens, on orders of the powerful, invisible rulers, had to run the gauntlet of our stupid era.'

"In the FREE AMERICAN of April 17, 1941, on page twelve, an item appears in the form of a letter to the editor. It is entitled 'Lindbergh For President'. After castigating England the letter closes as follows:

'Every American should read Lindbergh's letter in COLLIERS. It will open their eyes. He is a real American and too bad that he isn't our President now. We wouldn't be having all of the war hysteria. Lets have less propaganda and more of Mr. and Mrs. Lindbergh. They are true Americans.'

"In THE TABLET, mouthpiece of Father EDWARD LODGE CURRAN and Father EDWARD BROPHY, another well known COUGHLIN supporter, April 19, 1941, issue, page six, announced the address to be given by Colonel CHARLES A. LINDBERGH

at Manhattan Center, New York City. The article also contains various statements by JOHN T. FLYNN, Executive Chairman of the America First Committee. THE TABLET had publicized all of the peace meetings and is one of the strong proponents of the isolationist groups in America. On page eight there are letters to the editor telling about the inspired meeting of WOMEN UNITED which was held at Carnegie Hall. On page nine they list the war propaganda films and it is to be noted that all of the films mentioned are anti-Nazi.

"In SOCIAL JUSTICE of April 28, 1941, the back page is devoted to a tirade against Britain. Reference is made to Colonel CHARLES A. LINDBERGH's speech of April 17 and a few quotes are inserted. An endorsement of LINDBERGH's position is also given. In addition reference is also made to the America First Committee and Colonel CHARLES A. LINDBERGH with a general endorsement of both in the SOCIAL JUSTICE of April 14, 1942.

"In the ROLL CALL, the new magazine put out by WILLIAM DUDLEY PELLEY, issue of April 14, 1941, Volume I, Number 14, carries an article extolling the virtues of LINDBERGH, FORD, MOSELEY, and a few others. They are called 'The True Leaders of a Renovated and Purged America'. The article appears on page five. The same magazine in its issue of January 11, 1941, has an endorsement of the America First Committee.

"One of the most viciously anti-Semitic, pro-German newspapers is PUBLICITY, published in Wichita, Kansas, by E. J. GARNER. Some of its contributors are such well known Fascists as EDWARD JAMES SMYTHE. On page four of the February 27, 1941, issue, an editorial states:

> 'Colonel Charles A. Lindbergh, by his courageous stand against 1776 may prove to be "this nation's man on a white horse", just the answer to the question of who shall ride rough shod into the nation's capital in 1944. He would become another "Honest Abe" -- the long looked for Lincoln of this day and age -- an emancipator of Jewocratic slaves of the 20th Century.'

"In the DEFENDER, the magazine published by that arch-Fascist GERALD B. WINROD, the April 1941 issue states on page sixteen the following:

> 'Colonel Charles A. Lindbergh is one of the men, prominent in the present war controversy, who has shown sufficient capacity to advocate policies adopted to conditions as they <u>are</u> - rather than what he might wish them to be.'

"An extremely important point to bear in mind is that it seems, from various articles, that Rome anticipated LINDBERGH's actions and knew beforehand that he intended forming a new policy which would act as a spearhead for their objectives.

"On August 4, 1940, the newspaper IL MESSAGGERO reported from New York that Colonel LINDBERGH was forming a party of True Americans and praised him for mobilizing isolationist tendencies in the country. The article was written by ENGELO FLAVIO GUIDO, who is the Fascist spokesman for Italians in America. The above was reported in the New York Times of August 5, 1940, on page four.

"In the FREE AMERICAN of May 1, 1941, the headline quotes Colonel LINDBERGH. It is noted that in the last paragraph of the editorial appearing on the first page the readers are asked to join the America First Committee and participate in its work. The same issue was noted to carry a complete transcription of LINDBERGH's speech made at Manhattan Center, made in both English and German.

"In PELLEY's ROLL CALL of April 28, 1941, Volume 1, #16, a complete article endorsing LINDBERGH's speech and the America First Committee is contained."

b7D [redacted] made available to Agent a copy of a summary memorandum pertaining to the political aspects of the America First Committee. This memorandum, which is not dated, was apparently prepared in the fall of 1941 and reads as follows:

"Contrary to the announcement which America First Committee made yesterday that it will support political candidates for the first time, there exists considerable evidence which indicates that America First took this step some time ago. This appears to be an effort to conceal its intention of becoming a political party. Thus it avoids the necessity for disclosing information as to financial support, etc. which is required under our laws.

"PHILIP LA FOLLETTE, ex-Governor of Wisconsin, speaking before 200 Chapter Chairmen and delegates on November 1, 1941, in Washington, D. C., stated the following:

> '..... We of the American Party must go forward as an organized group to fight the battle for the plain people of America. . . . The first round will come in the 1942 elections.'

"Curiously enough SOCIAL JUSTICE was one of the few papers which reprinted the resolution adopted at this meeting. It was: 'We, the chairmen and delegates of 119 chapters of the America First Committee, representing millions of American citizens from coast to coast, from North to South, do individually pledge ourselves to work and vote in the 1942 Primaries and General Election for every member of the Senate and House of Representatives, irrespective of party, who votes to retain the provisions of the present neutrality act which prohibits the entry of American ships into combat areas or belligerent ports. (November 24, 1941)

"It is also of interest to note the interpretation which SOCIAL JUSTICE placed on LA FOLLETTES reference to an 'American Party'. In the same article in which the resolution is reprinted SOCIAL JUSTICE states:

> 'The delegates also had heard former Governor PHILIP LA FOLLETTE of Wisconsin promise that the "American Party" would band together in 1942 to prevent the "War Party" from establishing a Fascist dictatorship in America.'

"At an America First Committee mass meeting on November 5, 1941, at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, SAMUEL P. PETTINGILL, former Congressman, promised that the 'American Party' would take care of the 'traitors' responsible for putting the British Empire ahead of the United States. This emphasis on the 'American Party' is not a casual allusion, but is a preview of the road along which America First Committee is traveling.

"It is worth remembering that the New York Daily News was the first to suggest in an editorial on October 27, 1941, that an America First Party be formed.

"As early as July 1941, the America First Committee launched its propaganda for converting its geographical units into Congressional District Clubs. In a letter to members it stated that 'organization by congressional districts is now very necessary.' Units were established for the 16th Congressional District in Manhattan, and in certain sections in Philadelphia. It is reported that CHRISTIAN FRONTER, Mrs. GALLAGHER, heads one of the Philadelphia units. She was an honorary guest of the Kyffhaeuser Bund in 1939, and is very active in the 'Mothers and Daughters of Pennsylvania' organization.

"In Queens, New York City, members of the America First Committee are compelled to state their congressional district on application blanks, and the Brooklyn Chapter is now busily engaged in compiling membership lists according to congressional districts. Mr. WILLIAM T. LEONARD, head of the Brooklyn Chapter, has told friends that he intends to run for Congress. It is a question of whether he will be able to secure a nomination from either of the two major parties, but if past performances of the America First Committee are any clue, failure to secure an endorsement will not prevent Mr. LEONARD from running. A special political organization will be set up for that purpose. This was done in the recent election where several minor candidates throughout the country, with the active cooperation of important individuals in America First Committee, established independent political clubs for the express purpose of running in the election. Typical of the America First Committee effort to hide its interest in political campaigns is the manner in which it supported Senator JOSEPH R. HARRINGTON who ran in the special congressional election in Massachusetts. On November 17, he was given an opportunity to appear

at an America First Committee rally at Lawrence, Massachusetts. By this device it was made clear to the America Firsters whom they were expected to support.

"It is reported that HENRY VANDER VELDE, who ran for Municipal Council in New York City on a 'Return Manhattan to the Dutch' program, is scheduled to become chairman of the new America First Committee Chapter which is being opened in Washington Heights, New York.

"There is evidence that the America First Committee may officially support the movement for impeaching the President if it becomes strong enough by 1942. The cry heard at the Madison Square Garden rally of the America First Committee on October 30, 1941, for impeachment is but a faint echo of the rumbling that has been going on inside America First Committee. Wild applause greeted LA FOLLETTE at the Indianapolis Rally when he said that if he were in Congress he would impeach the President. Impeachment was also advocated by FRANK COLLINS, editor of the San Marino Tribune, at an America First Committee Rally at Pasadena, California, on October 10, 1941. Through the persistent 'Bulletins' issued by NORMAN H. WILSON and MARGARET NORTON, active members of the Yonkers, New York America First Committee, unanimously endorsed the impeachment idea.

"In one form or another, nearly all of the lunatic fringe groups which have swamped the America First Committee have given probability or endorsement to the idea. The following is a list of some of these organizations or publications:

CHRISTIAN FRONT
SOCIAL JUSTICE
SCRIBNER'S COMMENTATOR
NATIONAL LEGION OF MOTHERS
THE AMERICA WAY (JOHN GEIS)
PATRIOTS OF THE REPUBLIC (E. J. GARNER)
THE BROOM (LEON De ARYAN)
AMERICA IN DANGER (CHARLES B. HUDSON)
UNITED WAR VETERANS (HARRY YOUNG)
X-RAY (COURT ASHER)
ROLL CALL (WILLIAM DUDLEY PELLEY)
BEACON LIGHT (WILLIAM KULLGREN)
THE AMERICAN DIGEST (formerly SOCIAL JUSTICE DIGEST)

"Indicative of the way in which the America First Committee is beginning to adopt the German interpretation of events is JOHN T. FLYNN's

statement at the America First Committee Rally on November 17, 1941, at Lawrence, Massachusetts. FLYNN charged that the President secured revision of the Neutrality Act by lobbying and bribery. A few days prior to this most of the metropolitan newspapers reported that the German press made the same accusation in front page stories."

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A report [redacted] dated February 20, 1941, reported a joint meeting of the America First Committee and the Keep America Out of War Congress at Mecca Temple, New York City. Speakers at the meeting were JOHN T. FLYNN, DOROTHY DUNBAR BROMLEY, Senator NYE, NORMAN THOMAS, and Senator WHEELER. Although all the speakers stressed their belief in Democracy and democratic ideals, this meeting was characterized by the presence of pro-Fascists, pro-Nazis, and radical leftist groups, such as:

THE CHRISTIAN MOBILIZERS
THE AMERICAN DESTINY PARTY
CHRISTIAN FRONT
PAUL REVERE SENTINELS
TROTSKYITES

All types of literature was distributed by these groups. Notorious anti-Semites present were the following:

JOSEPH McWILLIAMS
JOHN CASSIDY
JAMES O'KELLEY
LAMBERT FAIRCHILD
MACKLIN BOETTGER
Reverend HERBERT LEWIS
JOHN GEIS
GEORGE BOYAN
PAUL VINCENT LUCENTI
Mrs. FOX
Mrs. EIBACH
Mr. SHERIDAN
Mr. GLEASON
DAN HARGAN
THOMAS FARRELL
THOMAS MALONEY
Mr. and Mrs. VAN NOSDALL
Mr. WEIR (the printer)

About $2,000 was collected at this meeting.

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A report of [redacted] dated April 23, 1941, set forth information concerning the America First Committee meeting at Madison Center, New York City. It was reported that the following persons who were described as pro-Nazi or pro-Fascist were present at such meeting:

AUGUST KLAPPROOT - Bund leader of long standing and then out on bail on conviction for incitement to hate - Vice-President of Bund Publishing Concern.

GUSTAVE ELMER - Treasurer of Bund

LAWRENCE DENNIS - Outstanding American Fascist of the American Fellowship Forum, and editor of Weekly Foreign Letters publication.

JOHN SNOW - Chairman of the League for Constitutional Government - a white collar pro-Fascist group.

GEORGE A. VAN NOSDALL - Former president of Crusaders for Americanism, notorious anti-Semitic and pro-Nazi organization; and former Bund member.

EDWARD JAMES SMYTHE - Intimate with Bund members; arranged Klan meetings at Bund Camp Nordland; was leader of Klan; anti-Semitic and pro-Nazi.

Mrs. LENORA SCHUYLER - (On platform) Member of Allied Patriotic Society and supporter of various pro-Nazi affiliates; anti-Semitic; anti-British; and has attended meetings of Crusaders for Americanism; Christian Mobilisers, etc.

MAX KALCHER - Member of the Bund; salesman of Social Justice and the Free American.

Mrs. IDA MAE COOPER - Prominently connected with Paul Revere Sentinels and intimate friend of Mrs. LENORA SCHUYLER.

F. GUY JUNNEMANN - Spy for JAMES TRUE and GEORGE DEATHERAGE; contact man for Christian Mobilisers.

THOMAS FARRELL - An associate of EDWARD JAMES SMYTHE.

EDWARD BANTA - Witness before Dies Committee; formerly in Communist Party, now employed by American Women Against Communism, a Fascist front organization.

EVANGELINE ORDING-Mistress of VAN NOSDALL and extremely anti-Semitic.

JAMES STEWART -Speaker for Christian Mobilizers and viciously anti-British, pro-Fascist.

GEORGE REIPER - Mobilizer worker and associated with Fascist groups.

DANIEL HORGAN - Bodyguard for JOSEPH McWILLIAMS.

JAMES McGEE - Christian Front propagandist.

GEORGE ROETH - Treasurer of Christian Mobilizers

EDWARD BURKE - Speaker and organizer for Christian Mobilizers

Reverend HERBERT LEWIS - Bund and Fascist Front member.

WEIR - Member of and printer for the Christian Mobilizer.

GEORGE F. A. BOYAN - Member of the Iron Guard in U.S.A. - violent anti-British, anti-Semitic, and strong Roumanian Fascist.

CHARLES McLAIN - Song leader who lead the singing and who advertised himself as President of the "Society for the Preservation of Patriotic and Sacred Music," 1425 Broadway, N.Y.C. He formerly led music at meetings of the Committee for the Preservation of America, a pro-Coughlin, Fascist outfit which met at Carnegie Hall, and then at the Brown House, New York City, VAN HOLT, ex-Bund leader, maintains rooms there.

"There were representatives of the following anti-Semitic, pro-Fascist, or pro-Nazi organizations present:

CHRISTIAN FRONT
CHRISTIAN MOBILIZERS
AMERICAN DESTINY PARTY
CITIZENS PROTECTIVE LEAGUE
ALLIED PATRIOTIC SOCIETIES
PROTESTANT WAR VETERANS
AMERICAN NATIONALIST PARTY
COMMITTEE FOR THE PRESERVATION OF AMERICA
GERMAN-AMERICAN BUND
GERMAN-AMERICAN BUSINESS LEAGUE
GERMAN-AMERICAN VOCATIONAL LEAGUE
AMERICAN PATRIOTS, INC.
FLYING SQUADRONS FOR AMERICANISM
PAUL REVERE SENTINELS
CRUSADERS FOR AMERICANISM
WOMEN UNITED
NO FOREIGN WARS COMMITTEE

"SOCIAL JUSTICE was sold and SCRIBNER'S COMMENTATOR was distributed free and also distributed were ads for meeting of the American Destiny Party at Astoria, Long Island, on April 24, 1941.

"Speakers for the above meeting were Colonel CHARLES A. LINDBERGH; Senator DAVID I. WALSH; KATHLEEN NORRIS; JOHN T. FLYNN, chairman."

Concerning foreign support of the America First Committee, [redacted] referred to the article appearing in the May 1, 1941, issue of "Deutscher Weckruf und Beobachter" or "The Free American", which was the official organ of the German-American Bund. The issue reprinted in its entirety Lindbergh's speech and in an article by the editor urged readers to support and join the America First Committee. b2 b7D

[redacted] indicated that in the May 8, 1941 issue of the above publication on the front page there was reproduced a letter to the editor from JOHN T. FLYNN, Chairman of the New York Chapter of the America First Committee. Such letter stated that not only does the America First Committee ignore soliciting the membership of the readers of such publication or members of the German-American Bund, but states that such individuals are not eligible for membership in the America First Committee.

Under date of May 5, 1941, [redacted] reported that the America First Committee was opening offices in each congressional district. It was stated that membership is enormous and the bulk of it is Irish and Italian. The day following the Lindbergh speech it was reported that the

New York Chapter increased its membership by 9,000. It was further stated that the Brooklyn Chapter is almost solely a Father Coughlin and Father Curran outfit. Many of the new members advised that they did not even desire the literature simply stating that they had worked for Father Coughlin.

Under date of May 13, 1941, [redacted] reported that the Brooklyn Chapter of the America First Committee was reported to have been working among the workers of the Brooklyn Navy Yard, particularly those of the American Federation of Labor.

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A report [redacted] dated May 23, 1941, concerning the Madison Square Garden Rally of subject organization held on that day, reported the following named Fascists and pro-Nazis present at such meeting:

GEORGE GUNNING
Miss BUTLER (Paul Revere Sentinel)
JOHN GEIS
WEIR (the printer)
Dr. ULRICH
D. MARQUARD
DAN HORGAN
MARY REILLY
JOSEPH MC WILLIAMS
LAWRENCE DENNIS

Among those on the platform at the rally were the following:

Mrs. LENORA SCHUYLER
Mrs. HERRICK of Women United
OSWALD GARRISON DILLARD
Mrs. THEODORE ROOSEVELT, Jr.
Mrs. TAFT,
Mrs. WHEELER
AMOS R. E. PINCHAT

It was reported that Social Justice and the Call (Socialist Party newspaper) were on sale and copies of the March and April 1941 issues of Scribner's Commentator were distributed free. However, it should be noted that JOHN T. FLYNN, chairman, in his address repudiated the support of the Bund, the Fascists, and the Communists, and denounced McWILLIAMS who was present. The audience's feelings toward McWILLIAMS and FLYNN were divided. The other speakers at the meeting were the following:

Senator BURTON K. WHEELER
NORMAN THOMAS
Colonel CHARLES A. LINDBERGH

It was indicated in the report that a banner of "The Copperhead Club of Westchester" was held aloft at the meeting.

[redacted] report dated June 3, 1941, indicated that EDWIN S. WEBSTER, Jr. is the ostensible banking source behind the America First Committee, New York City. However, it was Mrs. COURTLAND B. BARNES who put up the cash for the New York Chapter, and WEBSTER is simply acting as a financial friend. It was pointed out that before Mrs. BARNES's marriage she has been KATRINA McCORMICK, daughter of MEDILL McCORMICk; and that she is the niece of ROBERT MADILL PATTERSON, publisher of the New York Daily News. This fact accounts for the strong support the America First Committee has received from the New York Daily News.

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Informant's report received at a later date indicated that in the June 30, 1941 issue of Social Justice, in the Letters to the Editor section on page 14, the following quoted letter appeared:

> "Of course we American Firsters welcome you Coughlin Folk into our great movement; you are the backbone of the organization!
>
> Do not permit any troublemakers to tell you otherwise. We must not and will not be divided at this most critical time in our nation's history. Back to England with these pro-British; the United States is for Americans."
>
> This letter was signed with the initials D.K.D., Kahoka, Mo.

[redacted] report dated July 11, 1941, and referring to the Brooklyn Chapter of subject organization, stated that there had been a break between the America First Committee and the Christian Front in New York City. The break supposedly occurred with the liberal element of the America First Committee or General WOOD and JOHN T. FLYNN. The Christian Fronters were stated as being bent upon reprisals and their principal objective is organization of all the America First Committee elements with the exception of the liberal element referred to. It was stated that they planned a crusade in the name of Christianity and against Russia.

Material [redacted] included an issue of "News from the Non-Sectarian, anti-Nazi League of 20 West 47th Street, New York City" which was dated July 16, 1941. The publication is quoted as follows:

"America First Committee accused of open page propaganda as first shot in campaign for Hitler's peace propaganda:

"An editorial attacking the 'refugee Germans and their fellow racial and religious brethren' in the current issue of the America First Bulletin was spotlighted yesterday by the Non-Sectarian, anti-Nazi League which accused the America First Committee of indulging in 'open Nazi propaganda' as the first shot in a campaign to propagandize for Hitler's forthcoming peace proposals.

"Mayor LaGuardia recently warned of such proposals soon to be presented by 'representatives of a peace movement' here."

In a wire signed by Professor JAMES H. SHELDON of the Non-Sectarian anti-Nazi League, and sent to General ROBERT E. WOOD, such league accused the America First Committee through the New York Chapter, of using the Hitler line to spread discord in American Ranks. The wire is as follows:

"Are you in accord with the sentiments expressed in the editorial entitled 'Peace' appearing in the July issue of the Bulletin, published by the New York Chapter of the America First Committee? In the editorial which asks for a negotiated peace, the passage occurs, 'If Hitler were to agree to restore the independence of Norway, Denmark, Holland, France, even Poland, while these people in America (the foreign groups) might be appeased there would still be a powerful group - the most powerful of all - the refugee Germans and their fellow racial and religious brethren who would protest. Don't you feel that this libel against the Jews (who happen, incidentally, not to be united in any manner for or against any peace proposals) and other loyal Americans follows the Hitler line in order to arouse discord in American Ranks?

"We feel that your Committee has indulged in open Nazi propaganda as the first shot in a campaign to propagandize for Hitler's forthcoming peace proposals. While the America First Committee is, of course, entitled to propagandize for or against such a peace, it can hardly claim to be American when it uses the Hitler type of propaganda which tries to convince the public that all opposition is Jewish or is motivated by other than patriotic motives. This line constantly recurs in the propaganda emanating from Nazi sources, is it a coincidence that it has cropped up again now in an America First Committee editorial?

"JOHN T. FLYNN, New York chairman of your committee, told us on the phone today that he backed up the editorial in question and the sentiments

expressed therein. Do you stand ready to use the Nazi inspired Jewish smear upon all Americans who do not trust in the sincerity of Hitler's peace proposals?"

Also published by the Non-Sectarian, anti-Nazi League of New York City, and undated, is a pamphlet entitled "The America First Committee - The Nazi Transmission Belt". Such publication attempts to show the affiliation and connection between the America First Committee and such organizations and individuals as The Christian Front, The Paul Revere Sentinels, JOSEPH McWILLIAMS and the American Destiny Party, or Christian Mobilizers, German-American National Alliance and OLOV TIETZOV, JOHN B. SNOW, JAMES TRUE, DONALD SHEA of the National Gentile League, EDWARD JAMES SMYTHE and the Protestant War Veterans, Colonel E. N. SANTWARY and the American Christian Defenders, and also the German-American Bund.

In connection with possible Nazi connections of subject organization the New York Post, on July 25, 1941, printed the following article:

"Until Uncle Sam closed it, the German Library of Information, 17 Battery Place, New York City, had been flooding NEWTON DILLAWAY, Reading, Massachusetts writer, with propaganda although he did not ask for it. The envelopes always had been addressed SILLAWAY. Mr. DILLAWAY thought it a coincidence, at least, when the America First Committee recently began sending him unsolicited propaganda and also addressed him as SILLAWAY."

The above article also included photographs of the SILLAWAY envelopes bearing return addresses of both agencies mentioned.

Under date of August 1, 1941, [redacted] reported that JAMES O'KELLEY of the Paul Revere Sentinels had called at the America First Committee headquarters, Queens, New York Chapter, and was overheard telling Mr. LOCKWOOD that the Sentinels had decided that it was best to in no way conflict with the meetings or work of the America First Committee, however, the Sentinels would still maintain offices at the Murray Hill Hotel, New York City.

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On August 16, 1941, [redacted] reported that every New York City office of the America First Committee seems to have one or two rabid Christian Fronters therein. It was believed that FLYNN was honestly trying to overcome this, and that he had loyal supporters who are strict isolationists and who are working for no war on foreign soil and against the Administration, although they "soft pedal" their efforts in the latter line. FLYNN was reported as stating at a meeting that he was sick of

"having Chicago run things, and that soon he hopes to have the New York City office in charge of publicity. This report stated that the New York membership lists were huge, filling enormous files and taking in every city, town or hamlet wherever there is a voting poll."

[redacted] report of August 19, 1941, stated that the America First Committee is split into three factions: b2 b7D

1 - The Christian Fronters

2 - The Flynn adherents (a new political party - more or less rational)

3 - The Nazis of Jewish origin, or honorary Aryans.

While no open rivalry is apparent, each faction is striving for dictatorship within the America First Committee. It was stated in the report that General WOOD's inner beliefs can hardly be ascertained unless they are fully depicted by his utterances which lean dangerously to the "right." It would hardly be fair to indict a man of JULIUS ROSENWALD's stature without something concrete, but nevertheless, he was a close friend of General WOOD in business and otherwise.

[redacted] report concerning the mass meeting of the America First Committee at Carnegie Hall on August 20, 1941, it is reported that an estimated ten thousand people inside and outside the hall heard the speeches of JOHN T. FLYNN, Ex-Governor PHILIP LA FOLLOTTE, MICHAEL STRANGE, and President McCRACKEN. b2 b7D

The above report stated that the difference in the character of the individuals in the audience was noticeable in that most of the well known Fascists were absent. The audience represented the Catholic Coughlinites and the Whig Machine which the America First Committee is striving to create.

The same report stated that Women United is using the mailing lists of both the America First Committee and the Committee for No Foreign Wars; that though Women United have no money in their own treasury they were able to advise many members to stop worrying about expenses for the last trip to Washington as the organization would pay for these. It is believed that this expense money came from the America First Committee.

In connection with Women United, on August 23, 1941, [redacted] reported that Mrs. SETH MILLIKEN who holds a key position in the America First Committee, made a loan of $1500 to Women United and that the same amount was listed to Mrs. GRANT SIMMONS who headed the Greenwich, Connecticut Chapter of the America First Committee. This report stated that whenever b2 b7D

Women United have an organized trip to Washington the tickets are available at all the America First Committee offices though the two organizations will not admit any connection.

On August 23, 1941, it was also reported that at the Brooklyn America First Committee Chapter, 44 Court Street, Brooklyn, New York, about every third name on the membership list is Italian. It was stated that many joiners can not sign their names, being illiterate; and that a few are decidedly German, many admitting that they are aliens. It was reported that the bulk of this membership Chapter are Coughlinites.

Under date of September 9, 1941, [redacted] reported that the America First Committee has in its offices large stocks of franked literature involving Mrs. LUNDEEN's answer to WINCHELL. These are not mailed out by the America First Committee under its own letterhead, but are given to members with the request to distribute them widely. Mrs. HELLER has mailed over 1000 and someone sits at a desk there all day mailing out from 20 to 30 at a time. Members come in and pick up this material for mailing out themselves.

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[redacted] report noted that the September 15, 1941, issue of Social Justice in a letter to the editor on page sixteen, entitled "It's Up To You", urges readers of Social Justice to join and support the America First Committee.

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[redacted] material also included a memorandum by ARTHUR J. GOLDSMITH, 100 East 50th Street, New York City, entitled "Who is America First?" Such memorandum lists the national and New York officers of the organization; and portions of this memorandum are as follows:

"Whose Battle is America First Fighting?"

"A short wave radio broadcast from Berlin on January 22, 1941, is as follows:

> 'The America First Committee is known as true patriotism, as opposed to the synthetic brand displayed by the Americans enrolled under the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies.
>
> 'The Free American and Deutsche Weckruf und Beobachter of May 1, 1941 - Join the America First Committee and continue to bombard your representatives in Congress with letters and telegrams in protest!"

[redacted] material contained a copy of Social Justice, the issue of April 28, 1941, which contained the following:

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"Colonel Charles A. Lindbergh became a member of the America First

"Committee last week. It is the same committee under whose auspices Senator BURTON K. WHEELER speaks. It is the same committee under whose auspices Father CHAS. E. COUGHLIN would be speaking did he enjoy one half as much liberty as a priest and as a citizen as that enjoyed by Monsignor JOHN A. RYAN of the National Catholic Welfare Council.

"The Fiery Cross (the official publication of the Klu Klux Klan) issue of April 1941, quoted the Klan's attitude toward the present war situation which was aptly expressed recently by General ROBERT E. WOOD, chairman of the America First Committee."

[redacted] material contained a copy of "Roll Call" (publication of Silver Shirt Leader WILLIAM DUDLEY PELLEY) which stated the following: b2 b7D

"Slowly but inexorably the true leaders of a renovated and purged America are beginning to emerge. Colonel CHARLES A. LINDBERGH, HENRY FORD, Major General GEORGE VAN HORN MOSLEY, and last but by no means least, Senator BURTON K. WHEELER of Montana, are stepping into the limelight of Roosevelt opposition and are receiving the plaudits of a hysterical multitude."

The following was cabled by Chicago Daily News correspondent JOHN T. WHITAKER from Rome, Italy, on February 6, 1941:

"The press campaign which has been waged for some days divides America into the Jews, which include - according to VIRGINIO GAYDA - the White House, the press and radio on the one hand, and what are termed 'eminent personalities' on the other. This latter catagory is comprised of Senator BURTON K. WHEELER, Colonel CHARLES A. LINDBERGH, PHILIP LA FOLLETTE, and Brigadier General ROBERT E. WOOD."

In a report [redacted] concerning the America First Committee meeting at Carnegie Hall, New York City, on September 17, 1941, it is stated that such meeting was decidedly poorer than the preceding ones; that Social Justice was on sale; and that JOHN GEIS distributed free copies of The American. Among those present were THERESA HOLM, DAN HORGAN, Reverend HERBERT LEWIS, and a substantial number of Christian Fronters and Christian Mobilizers. It was stated that the openly Nazi rabble is coming into the field in greater strength. b2 b7D

Under date of September 27, 1941, it was reported that TRUMAN BLACKWOOD, known subversive, is on the speaker committee of the America First Committee. It was further noted that the franked mail of the United States Senators was removed from the literature table at the America First headquarters and picked up after the September 26, 1941, attack by the newspaper PM upon Representative HAMILTON FISH's abuse of the franking privilege.

In connection with the alleged foreign and subversive personnel and activities of the America First Committee in the possession of [redacted] were the September 30, 1941, and October 7, and 14, 1941, issues of New Masses which contained a series of articles by JOHN L. SPIVAK, and an expose of the America First Committee, LINDBERGH, MAURICE K. HART, RICHARD A. MOORE, N. DOUGLAS STUART, AVERY BRUNDAGE, STERLING MORTON, and WILLIAM R. CASTLE. Such articles by SPIVAK are entitled respectively as follows: "America First Exposed"; "What is America First Afraid Of?"; and "Secrets of America First's Propaganda."

Under date of October 6, 1941, [redacted] reported that Women United, New York City, were sending out notices of the America First Committee meetings on October 1, 7, and 14, 1941, with their own literature which advertised a political trip to Washington, D. C. on October 10, 1941, against changing the Neutrality Laws, and also advertising a meeting on October 6, 1941, at which speakers were to be LAURA INGALLS and FRIEDA UTLEY.

On October 10, 1941, it was reported [redacted] that MARIE RANLEY and BEATRICE BROWN of Women United in New York City, had recently attended a meeting in Chicago at which consolidation of other women's groups, "We, the Mothers" organizations, and Women United, with the America First Committee was discussed and practically agreed upon. It was agreed to maintain a member in Washington, D. C. for lobbying purposes, such member probably to be MARIE RANLEY.

[redacted] report dated October 13, 1941, stated that a recent meeting in Indianapolis was attended by PELLEY and WINROD with America First Committee leaders, for the purpose of setting up a formula by which PELLEY and WINROD could support the America First Committee movement without harming it.

On October 26, 1941, [redacted] reported that it had been stated that within a twenty-five mile radius of the New York Chapter Headquarters of subject organization there are approximately 144,000 members.

Under date of October 30, 1941, [redacted] reported that the Brooklyn Chapter of the America First Committee was "agog with Christian Fronters". It was stated that there was a man regularly in the office selling copies of Social Justice. Such chapter was reported as having more than 30,000 members at the time.

Concerning the Brooklyn Chapter, and under date of November 5, 1941, it was reported by [redacted] that Chairman WILLIAM LEONARD was having his office staff make a duplicate of every membership card so that such may be filed in the office not only by name and address but also by congressional

districts. He is said to feel that if the place closes these can be preserved and used by the 1944 political party to which the America First Committee alludes as "The American Party", for which the committee has in mind LINDBERGH as head.

On November 17, 1941, at a meeting in Greenwich Village of that chapter of the America First Committee, the chairman presiding was EMIL MORROSSINI, Jr., formerly attorney for GEORGE SYLVESTER VIERECK and law partner of DANIEL F. COHALAN. It was reported [redacted] that the remarks at such meeting were strongly anti-Roosevelt, anti-Administration, and anti-Semitic.

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In connection with the alleged Nazi and Fascist support of the America First Committee, [redacted] called attention to the article appearing in the February 10, 1942, issue of P.M. newspaper concerning the trial of LAURA INGALLS for violation of the Registration Act. The article states that the Nazis rated the America First Committee the best aid to the cause. It further states the following:

"LAURA INGALLS, the flier, received money from high German Embassy officials in Washington for carrying out instructions.....

"LAURA INGALL's lawyer admits German Embassy paid her to promote America First.....

"The best thing you can do for the cause (of Germany) is to continue to promote the America First Committee."

- P E N D I N G -

UNDEVELOPED LEADS

NEW YORK FIELD DIVISION

At New York City:

Will continue investigative efforts for the purpose of determining whether the America First Committee is being kept alive and active by individuals or organizations which may plan at some time in the future to use this organization in a manner detrimental to the best interests of the United States.

4-760 (Rev. 12-14-88)

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

1 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

☑ Deletions were made pursuant to the exemptions indicated below with no segregable material available for release to you.

Section 552		Section 552a
☐ (b)(1)	☐ (b)(7)(A)	☐ (d)(5)
☑ (b)(2)	☐ (b)(7)(B)	☐ (j)(2)
☐ (b)(3)	☑ (b)(7)(C)	☐ (k)(1)
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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

FILE NO. 100-515

REPORT MADE AT	DATE WHEN MADE	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE	REPORT MADE BY
Sioux Falls, S. Dak.	7/21/42	5/31;6/9/11/24; 7/8/13/42.	[redacted] b7C

TITLE

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE IN THE SIOUX FALLS FIELD DIVISION.

CHARACTER OF CASE

INTERNAL SECURITY - G.

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

[redacted] b7D

Names include residents in N. Dak. and in Western Minn. Chapter at Parkston, S. Dak. had 125 members. Membership of Lennox, S. Dak. chapter was about 70. No information obtained that chapter was established at Aberdeen, S. Dak. Investigation fails to disclose any present activities on the part of America First Committee in Grand Forks, N. Dak., Parkston, Lennox, Watertown, Aberdeen and Sioux Falls, S. Dak. [redacted]

- P - DATE 10-22-90 BY SP8BTS/ca

REFERENCE: Report of Special Agent [redacted] Sioux Falls, South Dakota, dated 5/27/42. b7C

DETAILS: AT GRAND FORKS, NORTH DAKOTA.

The following investigation was conducted by Special Agent [redacted] b7C b7D

The agent contacted [redacted]

further advised that [redacted]

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APPROVED AND FORWARDED: [redacted] SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

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100-4712-444

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1 - St. Paul (Information)
2 - Chicago
2 - Sioux Falls

SPECIAL AGENT [redacted] 20 1942

30 JUL 30 1942

the Grand Forks chapter was the only local chapter of the America First Committee in North Dakota, and that it was no longer in operation, [redacted] b7D

Further investigation at Grand Forks, North Dakota, failed to reflect that the America First Committee is operating underground at the present time.

[redacted]

The following investigation was conducted by Special Agent [redacted] b7

AT PARKSTON, SOUTH DAKOTA.

The writer was advised [redacted], that the only people he knew of who were connected with the America First Committee were [redacted] and [redacted] In his opinion, the activities of the committee had ceased after the war for nothing has come to his attention that would indicate otherwise. [redacted] substantiated the above information. Inquiries were made to these people and to those named below [redacted] b7

[redacted] She stated that they had attended only two rallies before the war started, and that the committee never really got going. She added that some folks thought they didn't get their dollars worth (membership fee). It was indicated that many of these people joined to hear good speakers on the war effort and because all their neighbors were going, and that when the war started soon after the committee had gotten underway these people were disappointed that this sort of almost social activity should cease. [redacted] went on to say that no meetings of the committee had been held since, and that she felt that all the members of the organization were now fully behind this country's war effort. She made this response to the Agent's query as to how the local members felt about following the National policy of the committee in pledging full support to the war effort. Also, to the best of her knowledge, none of the members ever got together in-

formally to discuss the war effort; answer made in response to the query if any of the former members were informally deciding to help the war effort.

[redacted] He advised that the Parkston committee was composed of about one hundred and twenty-five members, covering the counties of Hutchinson and the lower part of Davison County. Most of these people came from the area directly surrounding Parkston. He stated that [redacted] and was disbanded very shortly after the war started. At that time all the official records of the committee were sent in to Chicago in response to the orders of the National Committee. He added that two regular meetings were held after November 1 to discuss the war effort, and that the attendance at these meetings was about forty. However, two rallies were held at which speakers were present, one of whom was REVEREND ARMSTRONG of Sioux Falls, and the attendance at these was about one hundred or more. These rally meetings were held in the Parkston theater.

[redacted] had made an unsuccessful effort to organize a committee in Mitchell, South Dakota, but the response was so apathetic that the effort was abandoned. This took place shortly after the committee organized in Parkston in November, 1941.

[redacted]

It is herein noted that the population in and around Parkston is heavily German, and that the language is commonly spoken in churches. However, these are mostly second generation Germans who are fairly prosperous farmers. From time to time this office has opened internal security cases on citizens in this community, most of which have produced no tangible results.

AT LENNOX, SOUTH DAKOTA.

[redacted] advised that he was familiar with the activities of the committee in town, and that the committee had a hard time getting started. He stated that one heard very little war talk around Lennox, and that after war was declared the committee folded quite completely. He added that he was never much in sympathy with the committee and so was never approached to join.

[redacted], advised that to the best of her knowledge there was no indication that the activities of the America First Com-

mittee had not ceased after the war started. [redacted]

[redacted] went on to say that the Committee was only in existence a short time, about from October 25, 1941, before its activities ceased very shortly after Pearl Harbor. [redacted] One rally meeting was held, place not given, at which FRED CHRISTOPHERSON, editorial writer for the Sioux Falls "Argus Leader" spoke. Top attendance was reached at this rally of about seventy people. About three business meetings were held, attendance being about twenty, at the home of JOHN PLUCKER.

b7C
b7D

[redacted] had had a hard time getting the committee going in this community because the people generally were not interested in anything unless it brought in money. [redacted] He went on to say that he became intensely interested in the activities of America First through the actions of GENERAL WOOD and COLONEL LINDBERGH whom he thought to be fine men.

Membership in the Lennox Committee was at the most about sixty to seventy people, which top figure was reached at the rally meeting at which MR. CHRISTOPHERSON spoke. These people were generally from the immediate area around Lennox, although a few people did come in from Chancellor and Davis, nearby towns. Most of the members were elderly people, and there were no young men who were members. No meetings of the committee were held at any time after Pearl Harbor.

[redacted]

AT ABERDEEN, SOUTH DAKOTA.

By memorandum dated May 31, 1942, Special Agent [redacted]

[redacted] advised that he had conducted an investigation in Aberdeen, and that he had obtained no information that the America First Committee had established a chapter in Aberdeen in 1941. He also advised that there is no present indication that the America First Committee is operating underground.

b7c

AT WATERTOWN, SOUTH DAKOTA.

By memorandum dated July 8, 1942, Special Agent [redacted] advised that he had conducted inquiry in Watertown and had failed to obtain any information that the America First Committee had ever established a chapter in Watertown in 1941. Inquiry failed to disclose that the America First Committee had conducted any rallies or meetings or that any activity on the part of the America First Committee had ever taken place in Watertown. Further inquiry failed to disclose that the America First Committee was operating underground at the present time in Watertown, South Dakota.

AT SIOUX FALLS, SOUTH DAKOTA.

Inquiry was made by various agents of this office in Sioux Falls and no information has been obtained that the America First Committee is active at the present time, and further, no information of any sort was obtained to indicate that this organization is now operating underground.

-P E N D I N G-

UNDEVELOPED LEADS

THE SIOUX FALLS FIELD DIVISION:

* AT BISMARCK, NORTH DAKOTA, will by discreet investigation and the use of informants ascertain if the newspaper DER STATTS-ANZIGER is presently connected with the America First Committee in any underground activities.

-P E N D I N G-

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

FILE NO. 100-6018

REPORT MADE AT	DATE WHEN MADE	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE	REPORT MADE BY
CLEVELAND, OHIO	7/20/42	7/18/42	[redacted] b7C

TITLE
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

CHARACTER OF CASE
INTERNAL SECURITY - G

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 10-22-90 BY SP8CTS/cs

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

Further contact with informant indicates Tax Study Association, while outgrowth of subject organization, is distinct from the America First Committee. Informant knows of no other activity by the former America First group.

-RUC-

Reference:

Bureau letter dated June 13, 1942, captioned "TAX STUDY ASSOCIATION - INTERNAL SECURITY - G".

Report of Special Agent, [redacted] dated May 26, 1942 at Cleveland, Ohio. b7C

Details:

[redacted] has advised reporting agent of the further activity of the Tax Study Association which organization is set forth in reference report is an outgrowth of the America First Committee. While many of the individuals connected with the Tax Study group are former members of the America First Committee, there is no information to indicate that the group itself is actually sponsored or connected with the former America First Committee. b2 b7D

[redacted] was active in the former America First Committee, and has in her possession a former membership list, having used that list in connection with the Tax Study Association. b7C

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INDEXED [redacted] b7C

58 AUG 17 1942

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2 - Chicago
1 - G2 Columbus
1 - ONI Cleveland
2 - Cleveland

[redacted] 1942

SECTION

ENCLOSURE [redacted]

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The informant knows of no other activity by the America First Committee as such and therefore, this matter is being closed, all further investigation of the Tax Study group to be reported in a separate investigative file entitled "The Tax Study Association - Internal Security - G" Cleveland File No. 100-7765.

REFERRED UPON COMPLETION TO THE OFFICE OF ORIGIN

4-750 (Rev. 12-14-88)

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FBI/DO

Federal Bureau of Investigation

United States Department of Justice

Sioux Falls, South Dakota
July 21, 1942

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 10-22-90 BY SP8 BTS/LC

Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

RE: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE IN
THE SIOUX FALLS FIELD DIVISION.
INTERNAL SECURITY - C.

Reference is made to the report of Special Agent [redacted] Sioux Falls, South Dakota, dated May 27, 1942, which inadvertently showed the office of origin to be Sioux Falls, South Dakota. This is an error and the office of origin should have been Chicago, Illinois, as set forth in the letter to all Special Agents in Charge dated March 16, 1942.

b7C

Inasmuch as Chicago is the office of origin, an additional copy of the above report is being furnished to that office as an enclosure to this letter.

Very truly yours,

W. HANNI
Special Agent in Charge

[redacted]

Enclosure to Chicago

cc Chicago
cc St. Paul
cc Des Moines

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
4 JUL 23 1942
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

[redacted]

b7C

50 JUL 30 1942

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Form No. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS LSVL. FILE NO. 100-1501

REPORT MADE AT	DATE WHEN MADE	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE	REPORT MADE BY
LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY	7/27/42	7/20/42	[redacted] b7C [redacted]

TITLE	CHARACTER OF CASE
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE	INTERNAL SECURITY - C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 8-22-90 BY SP8 BTS/cb

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS: [redacted] informant, attempted to contact [redacted] and [redacted] to ascertain whether subject committee still active in Kentucky area. No evidence of subject committee's present activities.

- R U C -

REFERENCE: Report of Special Agent [redacted] dated 7/20/42 at Louisville, Kentucky.

DETAILS: [redacted] in response to a request from the writer, contacted one [redacted] who lives [redacted] in an effort to determine whether or not he was the same individual who contacted him on a former occasion, stating at that time that he was associated with the America First Committee.

[redacted] advised [redacted] that he had no affiliation with the America First Committee; that he had never contacted [redacted] stated that he was sure [redacted] was not the same individual as the [redacted] who had originally contacted him, and was unable to ascertain who this first [redacted] was, or from whence he came.

[redacted] also attempted to locate [redacted] who accompanied [redacted] upon their first visit to his home, at which time they represented themselves to be with the America First Committee. He stated that he was unable to locate [redacted] and his only information was to the effect that [redacted] was supposed to be residing in [redacted]. In view of the fact that [redacted] was unable to reconta[illegible]

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2 - Louisville

[redacted] b7C

58 AUG 4 1942

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these individuals who first contacted him on behalf of the America First Committee, and since there is no further indication of activity on the part of this Committee this matter is being

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT: CHICAGO, ILL. FILE NO. 100-2651 [redacted]

Report made at:	Date when made:	Period for which made	REPORT MADE BY
PHILADELPHIA, PA.	7/25/42	7/8,10/42	[redacted] b7c

TITLE:

THE AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

CHARACTER OF CASE

[redacted] INTERNAL SECURITY G

[redacted]

DATE 10-22-90 BY SP8BTJ/CAL

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

FREDERICK JOSEPH LIBBY presently resides at 1013 18th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. LIBBY was born at Richmond, Maine and is married to FAITH LAND. He studied at the Universities of BERLIN, HEIDELBERG and MARLBOURGH, Germany. He has traveled extensively throughout Europe, China and Australia. In 1921 he was elected Executive Secretary of the National Council for the Prevention of War. He is a member of the Joint Committee of National Peace and heads the Philadelphia organization of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. He is a member of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the War Resistors League, World Peace Ways, Youth Committee Against War and Keep American Out of War. He is pro-Nazi and advocates a United States of Europe.

AGENCY [illegible]
REQ. REC'D 1-24
REP'T FORW. 2-15
BY [illegible]

- P -

REFERENCES: Report of Special Agent [redacted] dated June 6, 1942, at Philadelphia, Pa. and report of Special Agent [redacted] dated May 27, 1942, at Los Angeles, California. b7c

DETAILS: AT PHILADELPHIA, PA.

Approved and forwarded	Special Agent In Charge
[signature]	100-4712-448

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14 [redacted] 29 1942

b7c [redacted]

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COURTESY

PHILADELPHIA FILE 100-2651

RE: FREDERICK J. LIBBY

Confidential Informant advised that FREDERICK JOSEPH LIBBEY was born on November 24, 1874 in Richmond, Maine, and is presently married to FAITH WARD, having been married in the month of June, 1932.

LIBBY's present address is 1013 18th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. Confidential Informant advised that some time previous to the present date, the exact dates of which he did not know, LIBBY formerly resided in the city of Philadelphia.

According to Confidential Informant, LIBBY studied at the University of Berlin, University of Heidelberg and Marlborough University in Germany. After having completed his studies in Germany, he went to the University of Oxford, having commenced his studies there in the year 1902. He later studied at the Andover Theological Seminary. He became the Pastor of the Union Congregational Church in Magnolia, Massachusetts, during the year 1905 and continued in his Pastorial duties until the year 1911, at which time he gave up this position to travel. During the years 1911-12, LIBBY traveled extensively throughout China, Australia and Europe. From the years 1912 to 1920, he attended the Phillips Exeter Academy.

According to Confidential Informant, in 1921, LIBBY was elected Executive Secretary of the National Council for the Prevention of War. He is a member of the Joint Committee of National Peace Organization, and heads the Philadelphia organization of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. LIBBY is a member of the following organizations: The Fellowship of Reconciliation, the War Resistors League, World Peace Ways, Youth Committee Against War, and Keep America Out of War.

It was ascertained from Confidential Informant that on November 7, 1938, LIBBY spoke at the Adath Jeshurun, a Jewish Synogogue located at Broad and Diamond Streets, Philadelphia, Pa., at which time he stated that, "in order to escape war, all of France, including many Jews, backed DELADIER."

On October 16, 1939, LIBBY spoke at a meeting of the Society of Friends, a Quaker organization, at the Race Street Meeting House. At that time, Confidential Informant advised, LIBBY stated that World War Number 2, is not a war for the defense of Democracy, but a war for the defense of the British Empire. At that time, he also predicted the defeat of FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT, the President of the United States.

According to Confidential Informant, LIBBY spoke at the Methodist Church located at 18th and Spruce Streets, on October 17, 1940, on behalf of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and the Youth Committee Against War.

On December 16, 1940, LIBBY again spoke at the Adath Jeshurun, at which time he declared, according to Confidential Informant, "We may be able to give Britain help, but I think it is better to withhold assistance and let HITLER's power fall under its own weight."

Confidential Informant advised that [redacted] advised that she attended a meeting in Los Angeles, shortly previous to May 15, 1942, at which time DR. FREDERICK LIBBY made a speech to a gathering which was held in the Methodist Church, located on Figurelle Street, directly across from the University of Southern California, at Los Angeles, and she advised that a number of former America First Committee members were in attendance. She advised that those in attendance, who were formerly with the America First Committee, were Mrs. ULRICH , ANN GFELLAR, MARGARET GINKLEY and Mrs. ALDRIDGE.

She stated further to Confidential Informant that during his speech, Dr. LIBBY sold two pamphlets, which he had in his possession, for the sum of fifty cents each. She described one of the pamphlets to Confidential Informant as bearing the title, "Post War World Will Move Toward Pacifism." Confidential Informant advised that [redacted] was unable to recall the title of the second pamphlet.

According to Confidential Informant, [redacted] stated that Dr. LIBBY in his speech had stated that immediate peace would be necessary, if great slaughter during the coming summer was to be avoided. He then pointed out in detail during his speech that if Communistic Russia won the present war, that all of Europe would be Communistic, and he indicated that if such were the case, a Communistic United States might follow. Dr. LIBBY then point out that we, meaning the United States, might not like either Communism or Naziism, but we must take the lesser evil and choose Naziism, rather than Communism, as only the Nazis stand between us and a Russian victory of this war.

Confidential Informant stated that according to [redacted] LIBBY also pointed out that if the Axis Powers won the present war, a United States of Europe would be the result. He also stated to his audience that it was his opinion that there would be a United States of Europe and that we would live to see it.

Dr. LIBBY also talked about India and GHANDI, and stated that India will never fight. According to Confidential Informant, [redacted] advised that during the intermission at this gathering, someone had questioned Dr. LIBBY concerning the America First Committee. In response to various questions, Dr. LIBBY said that the America First Committee should never have been disbanded. He further stated that there should be an organization among the former women members of the America First Committee and if necessary, this organization should be of a secret nature.

The following information was obtained from Confidential Informant concerning [redacted] and her family.

[redacted]

[redacted] b7c

It was ascertained from Confidential Informant that Mrs. IRENE THORNMURPHY, former Executive Secretary of the Philadelphia Branch of the America First Committee, is active in the Philadelphia Branch of the organization known as the "Mothers and Daughters of Pennsylvania", and that she was in attendance at a meeting held by that organization on July 15, 1942, at the Bellvue Stratford Hotel, at Philadelphia.

P E N D I N G

UNDEVELOPED LEADS

THE WASHINGTON FIELD DIVISION

AT WASHINGTON, D. C.

Will conduct investigation to determine the background and activities of Dr. FREDERICK JOSEPH LIBBY, whose present address is 1013 - 18th Street, N. W., and will also endeavor to determine whether or not he is presently making a speech tour, and if so, will obtain his itinerary, if possible.

According to information set out in the reference report of Special Agent [redacted], LIBBY had been making a tour of the country and came to Los Angeles between May 10, and May 16, 1942, at which time he spoke at a meeting sponsored by the University School of Religion. A lead was set out in Special Agent [redacted] report to endeavor to ascertain whether LIBBY is presently making a speech tour and to obtain his itinerary if possible. b7C

THE LOS ANGELES FIELD DIVISION

AT LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

Will conduct an investigation to determine the background and activities of [redacted] to determine whether or not their activities might be inimical to the best interests of the United States.

THE PHILADELPHIA FIELD DIVISION

AT PHILADELPHIA, PA.

Will again contact Confidential Informant and ascertain any information he possesses concerning the present activities of the former officers and members of the America First Committee, and will ascertain if the America First Committee is being kept alive and active by individuals and organizations which may plan to use the organization some time in the future in such a manner as to be detrimental to the best interests of the United States.

4-750 (Rev. 12-14-88)

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ORIGINATED AT		FILE NO.
Chicago, Illinois		100-2293

REPORT MADE AT	DATE WHEN MADE	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE	REPORT MADE BY
Indianapolis, Indiana	7-27-42	6/30;7/20/42	[redacted] b7C

CHARACTER OF CASE
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE — INTERNAL SECURITY (G)

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS: CONF. INFT. [redacted] has furnished a brief resume of activities of Indianapolis America First Committee which was obtained from MERLE H. MILLER, chairman of executive committee. This committee disbanded immediately after the attack on Pearl Harbor and has never reopened its office. Terre Haute America First Committee had very little following and disbanded immediately after December 7, 1941. b2 b7D

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED - P DATE 10-22-90 BY SP8 BTS/CO b7C

Reference: Report of Special Agent [redacted] Indianapolis, Indiana, June 30, 1942.

Details: AT INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA

On June 30, 1942, the writer contacted [redacted] b7D

obtain from MERLE H. MILLER, chairman of the executive committee of the Indianapolis America First Committee, Inc., which had office space at 30 North Pennsylvania Street, information concerning the activities of the Committee.

This informant furnished a letter [redacted] setting forth the activities and principles of the local chapter of this Committee. The letter was signed by MILLER and sets forth that in

ENCL BEHIND FILE

[redacted]

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: [redacted] SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE — DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES

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11 JUL 30 1942

~~ENCLOSURE ATTACHED~~

5-Bureau (incl.)
2-Chicago
2-Indianapolis

[redacted]

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100-2298

January, 1941, "a half dozen young fellows from our local Junior Chamber of Commerce began meeting at my home in the evenings to discuss the European war situation, and particularly to see how we could best express our opposition to those measures 'short of war.'" These men decided to organize a committee and after discussion decided to join with the national America First Committee rather than attempt an independent organization. They opened a downtown office at 30 North Pennsylvania on Washington's Birthday, after obtaining the sponsorship of outstanding men in the community whose names were on the letterhead on which this communication had been written. All of these names had been obtained previously and are contained in the report of the writer dated May 17, 1942, at Indianapolis.

The first large rally of the local America First Committee was held in the Cadle Tabernacle on March 17, 1941. Senator WHEELER was to have been the main speaker but he did not appear as he was tied up in the Land-Lease debate. Rallies were held at about three-week intervals, built around JOHN T. FLYNN, Senators CLARK and WHEELER. All of these meetings were held at the Cadle Tabernacle. Smaller meetings were held for CLARENCE MANION, STEWART CORWIN WHITE and Father O'BRIEN. During the summer, weekly meetings were held at the headquarters to which local speakers were invited. Among those who spoke were HARRY T. ICE, DOYLE ZARING, DAN W. FLICKINGER, WILLIAM F. REMY, GEORGE L. DENNY, Reverend ERROL T. ELLIOTT, and Reverend S. GRUNDY FISHER.

During this same period of time the women who were interested in the America First Committee had organized an auxiliary and conducted letter-writing campaigns, held weekly afternoon meetings, card parties, and worked up attendance at the larger rallies. The office was run by a paid secretary but women volunteers were always there mailing out literature, answering questions, and helping to organize others. Literature obtained from the national office was also passed out, and included speeches by HERBERT HOOVER, ALFRED LANDON, CHARLES LINDBERGH, ROBERT M. HUTCHINS, JOHN T. FLYNN and General ROBERT E. WOOD. Mr. MILLER forwarded to the informant copies of two types of literature which were put out by the local committee, copies of which have been obtained previously and were set out in the report referred to above of the writer.

Mr. MILLER explained that their funds were obtained from contributions from private individuals, from card parties, and from collections at public meetings. A record was kept of these collections, and a financial statement was periodically submitted. Mr. MILLER forwarded to the informant a copy of the financial statement as of September 30, 1941, which was declared by Mr. MILLER to be accurate, also for the time of closing on December 6, 1941. This statement will be set out later in this report.

The last large rally of the Indianapolis America First Committee was held at the Cadle Tabernacle on November 27, 1941, with DOUGLAS STUART, JR., MICHAEL STRANGE and PHIL LaFOLLETTE as speakers. This meeting was the climax to

a state convention held earlier that day for the purpose of organizing all the chapters into one cohesive unit.

Mr. MILLER asserted that on the night of the attack on Pearl Harbor a meeting of the executive committee was called and the following statement was given to the papers:

> "As individuals and as an organization our services belong to our government. The sole question now is how best we may unite our energies to bring this conflict to a successful conclusion."

Mr. MILLER stated that a copy of the final letter of the America First Committee was sent to the membership of about 3,000.

The executive committee of the Indianapolis chapter of the America First Committee as it appears on the letterhead of this organization is as follows:

MERLE H. MILLER, Chairman
JOHN A. BRUHN, Vice Chairman
H. BRUCE PALMER, Secretary
RALPH L. SWINGLEY, Treasurer
WILLIAM L. FORTUNE
HARRY T. ICE
GORDON CUTLER
R. BURCH NUNLEY
EDWARD J. GREEN
DOYLE ZARING
EDWARD E. McLAREN
R. STANLEY LAWTON
DANIEL J. YOUNG.

Committee members

On the second page of the letter, which was written on the letterhead of the organization, the following additional names appear as committee members:

Mrs. H. F. GILLIE, Secretary
JOHN W. ESTERLIN
FRED HELLMAN
GLENN I. BARR

The name of LYDIA BATES appeared as office secretary.

Included with the letter was a form letter dated October 24, 1941 and an inclosure entitled "A Call to Action." This matter appeared over the

name of MERLE H. MILLER, Chairman, America First Committee of Indianapolis, Inc. The leaflet urges that the individuals receiving it do what they can to oppose the repeal of the Neutrality Act. Plans as formulated by the committee included a letter-writing campaign conducted from the downtown and neighborhood offices, a weekly news service to neighborhood papers, a radio forum, a newspaper column, rallies, and meetings at the downtown office. They called for contributions so that they could accurately determine how much work they could do in the following months, and urged the people to write letters to Senator VAN NUYS telling him that his past efforts were appreciated, and that it is hoped he will vigorously oppose the repeal of the Neutrality Act. The people receiving the leaflet were asked to get five friends to write to Senator VAN NUYS, Senator WHEELER or Representative JOSEPH W. MARTIN, who was then guiding the policies of the Republican Party. People writing were to ask these men to defeat any tampering with the Neutrality Act.

The individuals were asked to volunteer their services in the drive against the repeal of the Act and states that if the people will speak now Congress will assert itself "and the battle for peace will be won."

The letter dated at 40 North Pennsylvania Street, Indianapolis, October 24, 1941, appearing over the name of MILLER as chairman of the Indianapolis America First Committee, requests money and time in order to keep this committee before the American people. It stresses the fact that this country should be kept out of the conflict in Europe and says further that they should seek to hold the President to his promises and his platform.

Obtained at the same time was a financial statement dated December 3, 1941. This statement was compiled by one of the members, who is a certified public accountant, and covers the period from February 4 to November 30, 1941, and is as follows:

SOURCE OF BANK DEPOSITS:		
Membership Contributions Aggregating		$ 3,828.05
Collections at Group Meetings, etc.		1,212.62
Profits from Card Parties, Luncheons, etc.		198.70
Refund of Advances to Indiana State Committee		256.00
Total Bank Deposits		$ 5,495.37
SUMMARY OF DISBURSEMENTS:		
Office Expenses	$1,462.40	
Operating Expenses	2,068.09	
Advertising Expenses	415.19	
Cost of Public Meetings, etc.	769.00	
Cash Advances for Expenses of State Committee	459.30	
Total Disbursements by Check		5,174.18
BALANCE - Cash in Bank - November 30th, 1941		321.19

A specific statement was included to the effect that the local committee had never accepted any contribution from an unknown source, except that taken at public meetings. It also sets forth that the members would be glad to know that the national committee at Chicago was equally careful and maintained a record of every contribution and investigated the source of every contribution over $100. In no instance had they accepted a contribution from an unknown source. It is asserted in this statement that "at the invitation of the committee the FBI has gone over all records and has commended the committee on the thoroughness of our system."

It was also stated that General WOOD had called Congressman DIES and advised him that the records were open to his committee at any time without the necessity of any subpoena and the Dies Committee has looked over those records in which they were interested.

A form letter addressed to fellow members over the signature of MILLER as chairman, dated January 12, 1942, explains the action taken by the committee in disbanding after the attack on Pearl Harbor. This letter sets forth that the committee had sold all of its equipment for about 80% of its cost and all important records had been stored in a safe place. The balance on hand, which amounted to about $300, was invested in Defense Bonds. It stated that the action was taken solely because the course previously advocated could no longer be taken by the United States. The remark is made: "Our sole duty is to join wholeheartedly in assisting our country to travel the road that has been chosen." The letter states that although no great victory can be claimed, the America First Committee did delay the entry of the United States into the war by some six or eight months. The letter continues by advocating that all the members do what they can to aid the United States in the present conflict.

Photostatic copies were made of the correspondence above referred to and the negative and two copies of the positive are being retained in the Indianapolis file on this case. A third positive copy is being forwarded to the Bureau.

b2
b7D

On July 20, 1942, [redacted] was again contacted for any additional information he might have concerning this committee and advised that he had received none since obtaining the letters and other correspondence above mentioned.

b1c
b7D

[redacted] was contacted on the same date and advised also that no additional information concerning the America First Committee of Indianapolis or any of its individual members had been received by him.

At Terre Haute, Indiana

The following investigation was conducted by Special Agent [redacted] b7C

[redacted] advised that the American First Committee, even during its period of greatest activity, had a very small following in Terre Haute, and since December 7, 1941, there has been no activity conducted by the group in Terre Haute, Indiana.

[redacted] advised that the America First Committee had held only two or three meetings in Terre Haute at any time. These meetings were poorly attended. [redacted] stated he was positive this group had disbanded on December 7, 1941. b7C b7D

[redacted] was interviewed, and he substantiated the above information. These men all stated that NATHAN H. ELI, [redacted] Terre Haute, was one of the leaders of the America First Committee in Terre Haute. They stated that this man had a good reputation and was generally believed to be reliable.

[redacted] He stated that the America First Committee was not very active in Terre Haute at any time. They had a very small following and there had only been three meetings of this group at the time the America First Committee was active. [redacted] stated that he attended a few meetings in Indianapolis, Indiana.

[redacted] declared that this Organization in Terre Haute had immediately disbanded after December 7, 1941, and there has been absolutely no activity since that time.

ENCLOSURE: TO BUREAU — One photostatic copy each of correspondence received by [redacted] concerning America First Committee. b2 b7D

- PENDING -

UNDEVELOPED LEADS

INDIANAPOLIS FIELD DIVISION

At South Bend, Indiana

* Will conduct appropriate investigation to ascertain if the America First Committee is engaged in any present activities.

At Gary, Indiana

* Will conduct appropriate investigation to ascertain if the Americ First Committee is engaging in any present activities.

At Hammond, Indiana

* Will conduct appropriate investigation to ascertain if the Americ First Committee is engaging in any present activities.

At Elkhart, Indiana

* Will conduct appropriate investigation to ascertain if the Americ First Committee is engaging in any present activities.

At Evansville, Indiana

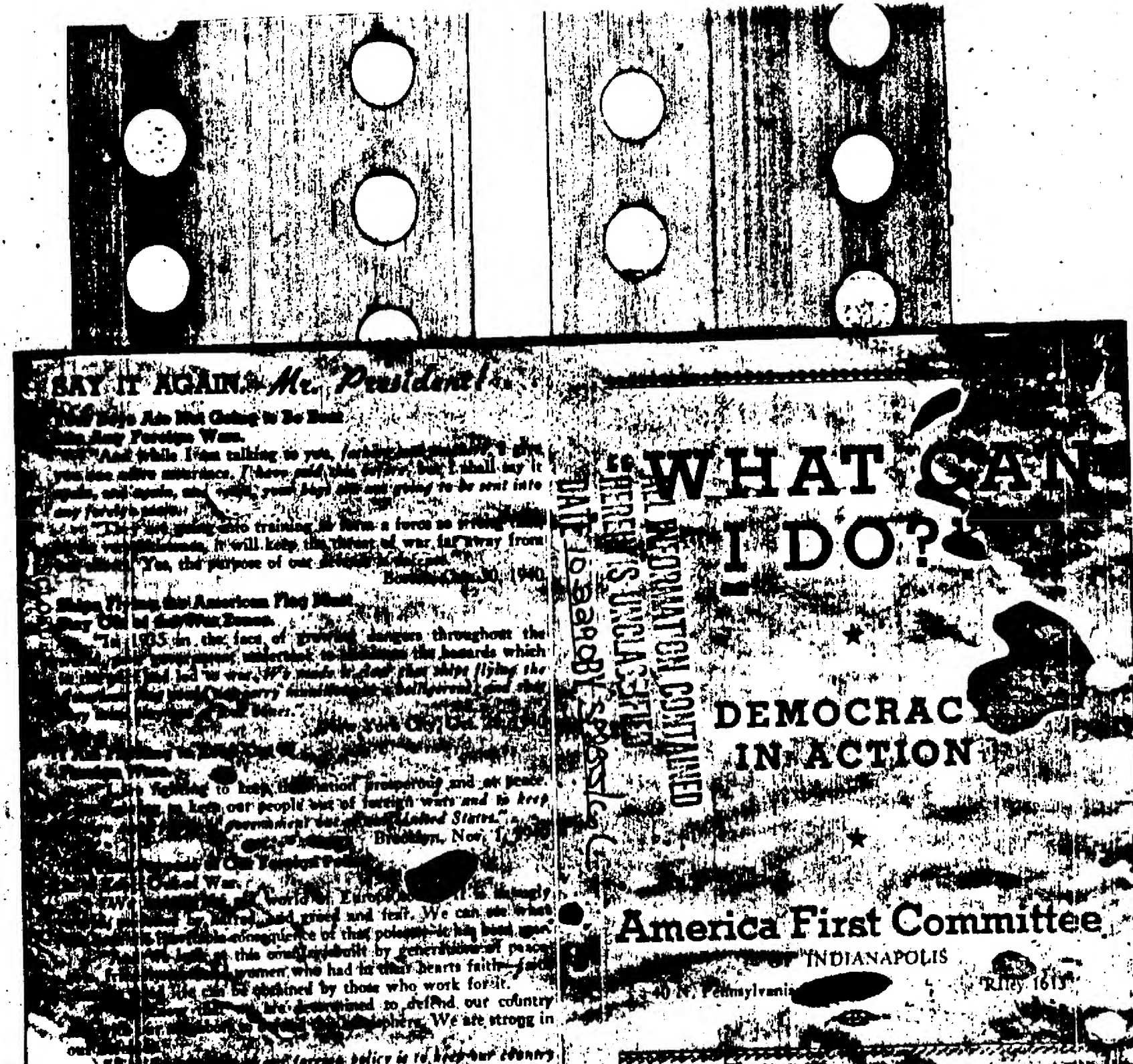
* Will conduct appropriate investigation to ascertain if the America First Committee is engaging in any present activities.

At Indianapolis, Indiana

* Will continue investigation of the America First Committee and its leading members.

* Will check the incorporation records of the Department of State to ascertain if various chapters of the America First Committee were incorporat

- PENDING -



SAY IT AGAIN, Mr. President!

WHAT CAN I DO?

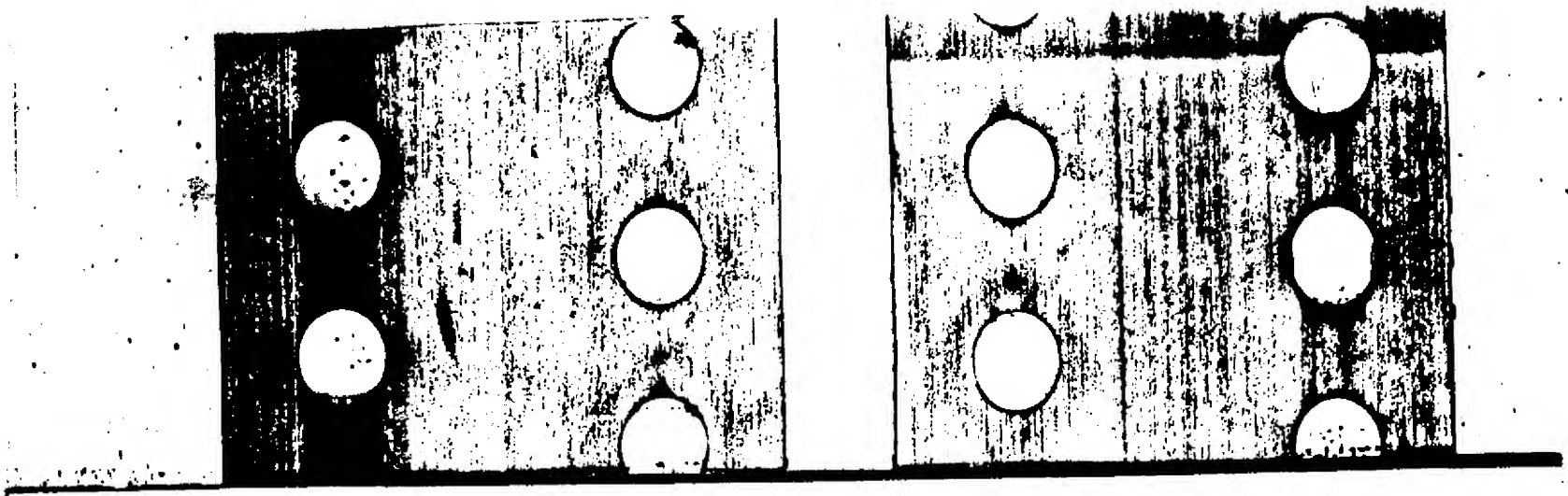
DEMOCRACY IN ACTION

America First Committee

INDIANAPOLIS

Riley 1615

140 N. Pennsylvania



ONLY the opposition of the people, through their letters to Washington, has thus far kept us out of war. Members of Congress and the President, too, are both guided and restrained by the views of the people back home. When they do not hear from you, they naturally assume that you approve their actions, and proceed accordingly.

It is your first duty as a citizen, therefore, to make known your views to your Senators and your Representative, and also to the President, on any important issue. And what issue could be more important to you and to the nation than going to war. Write this week, therefore, and follow this with other letters every ten days or so, urging that the President keep the promises that re-elected him, otherwise, "government of the people, by the people, for the people," has indeed already "perished from the earth."

The proper form of address and salutation to members of the Congress and the President is as follows:

To Senator:

Hon. _____
Senate Office Bldg.
Washington, D. C.
Dear Senator:

To Congressman:

Hon. _____
House Office Bldg.
Washington, D. C.
Dear Congressman:

To the President:

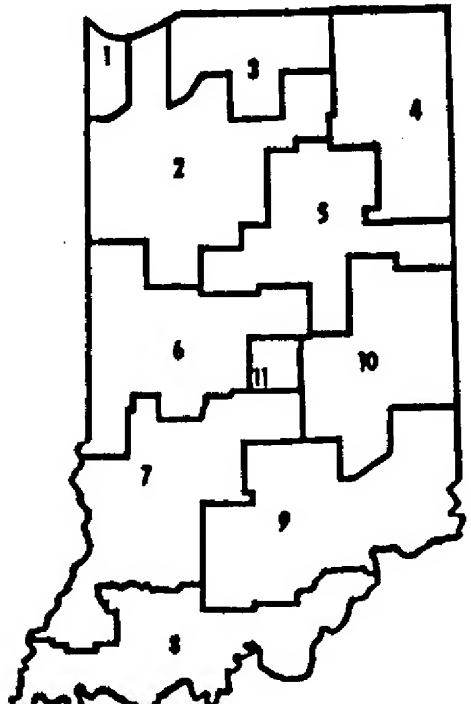
Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt
President of the United States
White House, Washington, D. C.
Dear Mr. Roosevelt:

★

In addition to writing regularly to Washington, write occasionally to the editors of your local newspapers and express your views. Also support your local America First Committee and get your friends and neighbors to join and take an active part in the fight to keep us out of

TODAY AND EVERY TEN DAYS—WRITE TO

1. PRESIDENT FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, White House, Washington, D. C.
2. YOUR SENATORS, Senate Office Bldg., Washington, D. C.
   RAYMOND E. WILLIS and FREDERICK VAN NUYS
3. YOUR REPRESENTATIVE, House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

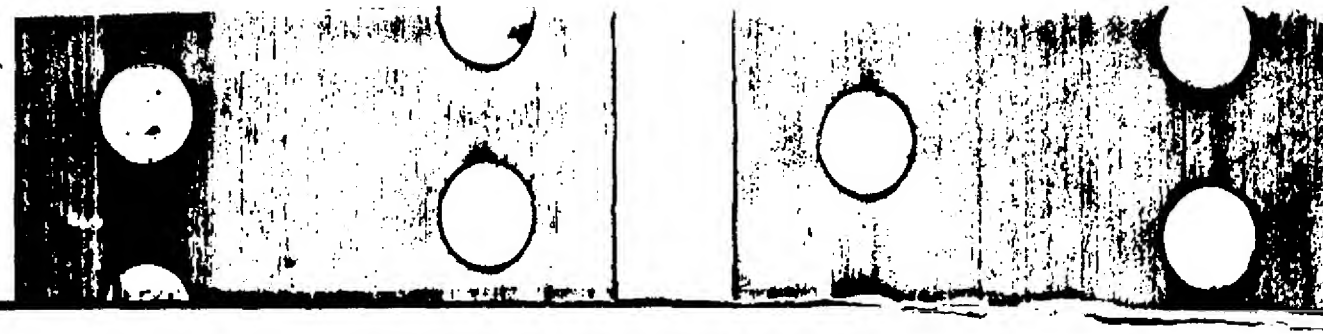


REPRESENTATIVES

1. WILLIAM T. SCHULTE
2. CHARLES A. HALLECK
3. ROBERT A. GRANT
4. GEORGE W. GILLIE
5. FOREST A. HARNESS
6. NOBLE J. JOHNSON
7. GERALD W. LANDIS
8. JOHN W. BOEHNE, JR.
9. EARL WILSON
10. RAYMOND S. SPRINGER
11. WILLIAM H. LARRABEE
11. LOUIS LUDLOW

OTHER KEY OFFICIALS

SEN. TOM CONNALLY, Chairman of Senate Foreign Relations Committee.
SEN. ALBEN W. BARKLEY, Majority Leader of Senate.
SEN. CHARLES L. McNARY, Minority Leader of Senate.
REP. SOL BLOOM, Chairman of House Foreign Relations Committee.
REP. JOHN W. McCORMACK, Majority Leader of House.
REP. JOSEPH W. MARTIN, Jr., Minority Leader of House.



of facts. But in addition, we must thoroughly organize our workers down through each precinct in every county in the state. We can then give a practical answer to the practical problem which confronts every representative in Congress, for we can assure him of non-partisan support to supplant what he will lose when he bucks the Administration.

We have set up a temporary state organization, composed of the existing America First Chapter in the state, and during the past month we have organized new committees in twenty counties. Plans are completed for a state convention of delegates from every county in the state, and a subsequent Mid-West Rally for all workers in the five crucial states. We have the offer of *radio time*, a *newspaper column*, and facilities for neighborhood units of our committee.

To capitalize on these opportunities, we need *funds to obtain* the services of a full time executive to gather in these loose ends and to accomplish in the course of a month what it would take volunteer workers six months to get done. We need to have underwritten a budget of $1,000 a month for the next *five* months in *order thus immediately* to expand our work. That budget will pay for:

Full time executive
Two secretaries
Weekly newspaper of 4,000 circulation
Weekly news dispatch to 400 editors *in Indiana*, and
Literature mailed to 10,000 persons per month

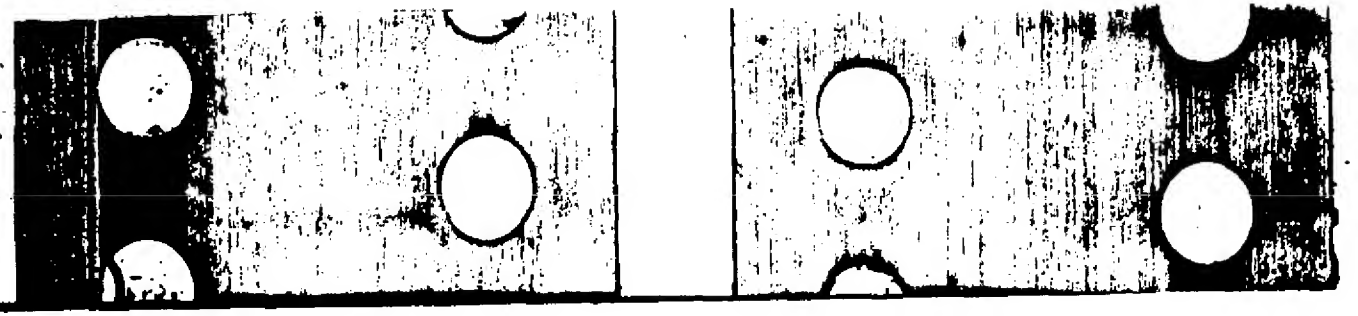
We are no longer debating abstract possibilities. When they talk of war now, it is our sons who will do the fighting and the dying. It is our sons who will have their eyes blown from their sockets or their legs torn away by a land mine as they fight in Russia, India, Egypt, or wherever a war council decides to send them.

It is not a far off European people, but you who will be living under a dictator established, as elsewhere, by a war emergency and entrenched by the greater economic emergency that inevitably follows total modern war. It is you and your descendants who will see life savings swept away by inflation, or your children struggling under an impossible debt load that robs the future of hope.

There is yet time to halt our headlong rush to destruction. One victory by Congress will turn the tide and re-establish representative government in this country. But the time to act is now. Will you help?

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE of Indianapolis
Merle H. Miller, Chairman

40 N. Pennsylvania St.
Indianapolis, Ind.
Phone: RIley 1613



Samples of what your money can do

$1,000—Finance Mid-West Convention to rally and unite workers in Indiana, Michigan, Ohio, Wisconsin and Illinois, with nationally known speakers.

$500—Furnish for one month services of full time executive, two secretaries and their expenses for organizing here and throughout the State.

$250—Large ad in all three local papers.

$100—Supply all 400 Editors in Indiana with weekly news stories for one month.

$50—Finance cost of bringing outstanding speaker to World War Memorial.

$25—Send Herbert Hoover's last speech to all Doctors or Lawyers in town.

$10—Letter to 500 people telling why and how to write their representatives.

The Time Is NOW!

IF we enter the present European destruction, future historians will tell of the fall of a free people who did not know how to use the powers they had won for themselves. Our children will wonder why the hundred million people who did not want to get into this war, did not realize that in a democracy even majorities must be organized to be effective.

The America First Committee of Indianapolis is the only local group now serving as a rallying point for those who are opposed to our entry into this war.

That our people are still so opposed is demonstrated by the vote on draft extension when both senators and twelve of thirteen representatives voted with forces opposing war. This accounts for the flurry of big name speakers of the Administration who have visited this state during the past month. They know that if Indiana wavers in its opposition, the entire country will falter.

The coming showdown calls for greater effort on our part. Letter writing must continue, as must rallies and the dissemination

INDIANAPOLIS
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE, Inc.

30 North Pennsylvania Street
RILEY 1613

Board of Directors

WILLIAM FORTUNE
Chairman
JOHN W. ESTERLINE
A. E. BAKER
MRS. BRANDT C. DOWNEY
REV. C. H. McPHEETERS
ROBERT L. BROSEMBURR
JAMES I. BOBB
RAYMOND C. FOX
DAN W. FLICKINGER

Executive Committee

MERLE H. MILLER
Chairman
JOHN A. BRUHN
Vice Chairman
H. BRUCE PALMER
Secretary
RALPH L. SWINGLEY
Treasurer
WILLIAM L. FORTUNE
HARRY T. ICE
GORDON CUTLER
H. BURCH NUNLEY
EDWARD J. GREEN
DOYLE ZARING
EDWARD E. McLAREN
R. STANLEY LAWTON
DANIEL J. YOUNG

June 22, 1942

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10-22-90 BY SP3BTJ/dc

In response to your telephone request, I am setting out a thumbnail sketch of the activities of our local America First Committee, and am enclosing such copies of our local literature as I can now readily lay my hands on. All of the records are being preserved at my home, and if anything else is particularly wanted, I believe I can find it for you.

In January 1941, about half a dozen young fellows from our local Junior Chamber of Commerce began meeting at my home in the evenings to discuss the European war situation and particularly to see how we could best express our opposition, and the opposition of others we knew, to those measures "short of war," which we felt were getting shorter all the time.

We decided to organize some sort of a committee, and after considerable discussion decided to join up with the National America First Committee rather than to try to go it alone. By this time we had had five or six meetings, so we drew up a plan and had a larger meeting in the World War Memorial one Sunday afternoon to perfect an organization and get under way.

On Washington's Birthday we opened our downtown office at 31 N. Pennsylvania Street. We had obtained the sponsorship of a number of outstanding men in the community whose names are on the margin of this letterhead as "Board of Directors." The "Executive Committee" was the younger fellows of less weight, who were to do the work.

Our first large rally was held in Cadle Tabernacle on Sunday, March 7, 1941, for Senator Wheeler, who got tied up in the Land-Lease debate and didn't show up. We followed this with rallies built around John T. Flynn, Senator Clark and Senator Wheeler - all about three weeks apart, and all at Cadle Tabernacle. We held smaller meetings for Clarence Manion, Stewart Corwin White, and Father O'Brien.

INDIANAPOLIS
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE, Inc.
40 North Pennsylvania Street
RILEY 1813

MERLE H. MILLER
Chairman

JOHN A. BRUHN
Vice Chairman

MRS. H. F. GILLIE
Secretary

RALPH L. SWINGLEY
Treasurer

JOHN W. ESTERLINE
A. E. BAKER
MRS. BRANDT C. DOWNEY
REV. C. H. McPHEETERS
ROBERT L. BROKENBURR
JAMES I. ROSS
WALTER L. SHIRLEY
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DOYLE ZARING
R. STANLEY LAWTON
DANIEL J. YOUNG
FRED WELLMAN
HARRY F. GILLIE
GLENN L. BARR

LYDIA BATES
Office Secretary

Beginning in the summer, we held weekly meetings at our headquarters, at which local speakers were invited. Many of our Committee spoke at these meetings - Harry T. Ice, Doyle Zaring, and Dan W. Flickinger. Other speakers who come to mind are Wm. F. Rexy, George L. Denny, Rev. Errol T. Elliott, and Rev. S. Grundy Fisher.

During this time the women had organized an auxiliary, and were active in conducting letter-writing campaigns, holding weekly afternoon meetings, card parties, and working up attendance at the large rallies. We had a paid secretary at the office, but women volunteers were always there mailing out literature, answering questions, helping organize others. At the office we gave out literature which we purchased from the National office, including speeches by Herbert Hoover, Alfred Landon, Chas. Lindbergh, Robert M. Hutchins, John T. Flynn, and Gen. Robert E. Wood. Also, we gave out literature of our own, of which the enclosed pamphlets are samples. For a while we got out a mimeographed paper every week to our members, and distributed it to the public from our office. I do not have copies of these issues, but I probably can find some if you want them.

Our funds were derived from individual contributions of which a careful record was kept, from card parties conducted by the women's auxiliary and from collections at our public meetings. I enclose a copy of our financial statement as of November 30, 1941, which is about accurate also for our time ofclosing on December 6, 1941.

Our last big meeting was held at Cadle Tabernacle on Sunday afternoon, November 27th, with Douglas Stuart, Jr., Michael Strange and Phil LaFollette as speakers. That was the climax to a State Convention held that morning at which we attempted to organize all the chapters in the State into one cohesive unit.

The night of Pearl Harbor, a meeting of the Executive Committee was called, and the following statement was given the papers:

> "As individuals and as an organization our services belong to our government. The sole question now is how best we may unite our energies to bring this conflict to a successful conclusion."

ENCLOSURE

100 - 4712 - ###

INDIANAPOLIS
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE, Inc.
40 North Pennsylvania Street
RILEY 1613

MERLE H. MILLER
Chairman
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Vice Chairman
MRS. H. F. GILLIE
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DANIEL J. YOUNG
FRED WELLMAN
MARRY F. GILLIE
GLENN I. BARR

LYDIA BATES
Office Secretary

Our office never reopened. A copy of the final letter sent to our membership of about three thousand is included herein.

These are the main high-lights that I recall now. I may have left out something of importance, but not intentionally. If you desire any further details, I will be glad to supply them.

Very truly yours

Merle H. Miller

MHM:NT
Encls.

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE OF INDIANAPOLIS

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10-22-90 BY SP8STS/CC

January 12, 1942

Dear Fellow Member:

In the month that has passed since war was declared and your Committee closed its doors, we have sold our chairs, mimeograph and other fixtures for about eighty-five percent of what they cost us, we have stored all of our important records in a safe place, and we have invested our balance on hand of about $300 in defense bonds. We have taken this action solely because the course which we had advocated can no longer be taken by our country. Since there is now only one choice, no possible good could come from debating further any other alternatives which cannot be taken. Our sole duty is to join wholeheartedly in assisting our country to travel the road that has been chosen.

But while the future commands all our energies and attention, I cannot put aside the temptation to take one glance back at the work of our Committee. We do not find there any great victories to celebrate for we lost on every major issue. No part of the program which we advocated was ever adopted, and the most that we can claim to have accomplished was the delaying of our entry into this war by some six or eight months. We can all hope that during that period our defenses have been strengthened as everyone advocated.

We had together a band of patriotic Americans who, despite defeat, worked without stint for a cause in which they believed and which was becoming daily more unpopular. There were women who worked day after day in our office addressing envelops, folding literature, and writing letters. There were those who worked among their friends, those who called on the telephone, spreading word of our meetings. There were men who gave of their time to plan our rallies to handle our publicity, to write letters, to solicit contributions, to do the weary drudge work that is a necessary part of every activity. Then there were those many members who could not work directly for us in our office, but who spoke out for our cause when it would have been discrete to remain silent, those who attended our meetings when it would have been easier to stay at home, those who prayed for our success. Without the continued support of all of these we could not have carried on. To have been a member of such a courageous, unselfish group should be one of the great experiences of our lives.

Today we are told that our country faces a crisis which will try the mettle of our people and call for all the stamina and courage that has built here a great nation. We may feel sure that those who displayed the courage of their convictions in 1941 will not be found wanting in courage in 1942. This war will be won by a calm, resolute people, whose enthusiasm will not fluctuate and whose determination will not vary. We have shown ourselves to be that type of people.

We all hope that out of the suffering and sacrifice attendant on this war, there may emerge a better world - a more decent place in which to live. The blue prin for that better world has not yet been generally formulated. But this we do kno any chance for a better world is now absolutely dependant upon our winning this struggle. To that essential victory let us each dedicate every ounce of our energies and our resources.

Sincerely yours,

[illegible], Chairman

[illegible] TREASURER

40 N. Pennsylvania St.
Indianapolis, Indiana
October 24, 1941

Dear Sir:

However you may feel about intervening in the present European war, you will be interested in the enclosed story of the America First Committee. Other committees have been formed to stop our drift toward totalitarianism at home, but a withering blast from the President and a few deft swipes with the tar brush and they folded.

The America First Committee grows stronger with each blast and smear. The reason is not hard to find — for our membership consists of mothers and fathers seeking to save their sons, persons who saw this whole thing happen before and want to avoid a similar tragedy again, young men who want the same chance their fathers had to work for a separate destiny for America, independent of the bloody feuds of Europe.

You can see that these types of people would not be scattered by denunciations or smears. And particularly are they steadfast when they reflect that this policy they advocate is the one followed by this country throughout its history except for 1917-1918. Our principles are taken from the wisdom of Washington, Jefferson, Monroe, on down to the platform of both major parties a short year ago and the promises of both candidates for President during that campaign. We seek to hold an American President to his promise and to his platform. To say that we thereby become the tools of Hitler is to say that the makers of those promises were tools of Hitler a year ago, which we do not believe.

If you find you cannot agree with us, we hope your sense of fair play will cause you to look us over carefully. We believe you will find that we are actuated by the same high love of country and desire for her safety and future that you are.

If you do agree with our principles, then give us a hand before it is too late. Give us money so we can tell our story to more people. Give of your time to help us at whatever you do best — speaking, writing, publicity, organizing, planning and determining policies.

Most of all — be willing to stand and be counted, on this grave issue. Men of that type won your independence for you in 1776 — it will take men of that type to preserve it in 1941.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10-22-90 BY SP2 STC/C

Sincerely,

Merle M. Miller, Chairman
America First Committee of
Indianapolis, Inc.

A CALL TO ACTION

Our long-awaited chance has come. In the past every step towards war has been cloaked with words of peace. But they cannot contend this time that to repeal the protective features of the Neutrality Act is a step in the interests of peace. It remains for the American people to speak now on the clear issue of war or peace.

We are prepared to go into action and win this campaign with your help. We need your contribution, as suggested by other literature herein, in order to pay printing and mailing costs of literature. As a suggestion, how about giving us one hour's pay each month? Many, of course, will be able to give more. And many of our people are working full time every day without pay, in the interests of peace. If you can spare an hour's pay -- you will make their work more effective.

Our plans include a letter-writing campaign conducted from our downtown office and from neighborhood offices, weekly news service to neighborhood papers and papers throughout the state, a radio forum, a newspaper column, rallies, noon and night meetings at our downtown office. But all these plans depend for their success upon the support and help that we can get from each member. Here is what we ask you to do:-

1. Fill out the enclosed card and mail it to us with your contribution, telling us what we can count on each month so we will know how greatly we can enlarge our activities.

2. Write a letter to Senator VanNuys, telling him you appreciate his past efforts to keep this country out of war, and that you hope he will vigorously oppose the repeal of the Neutrality Act.

3. Get five of your friends to write to Senator VanNuys, Senator Willis, or Representative Joseph W. Martin who is now guiding the policies of the Republican party. Ask these men to defeat any tampering with the Neutrality Act. Make a special effort to get people to write who have never written before.

When you have done this, call our office at Riley 1615 and offer your spare time services in this big drive. We have lots of jobs in our office and in your neighborhood. If each one can feel his individual responsibility in this great effort, our success is assured. Congress is anxious to regain the role it should play in a democracy. If a sizable portion of the people will only speak now, Congress will assert itself and the battle for peace will be won. It will only take one such victory to turn the tide, and stop once and for all this talk of some men about sending some other men to Russia, Africa, India, or wherever fancy might choose. We can do it. Let's go!

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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Merle H. Miller, Chairman
American First Committee of
Indianapolis, Inc.

AMERICA FIRST NEWS
Indianapolis, Indiana
December 3rd, 1941

We know you will be interested in the financial statement of our Committee. We have kept a careful record of every cent that has come in and, likewise, of all expenditures. One of our members, who is a Certified Public Accountant, has looked over our books and has compiled these figures. They are, of course, mere summaries and, in case you are interested in a breakdown of any particular item, we have an itemized statement at the office which we will be glad to show you. The statement covers a period from February 4th to November 30th, or operations of approximately ten months.

SOURCE OF BANK DEPOSITS:		
Membership Contributions Aggregating.....		$ 3,828.05
Collections at Group Meetings, Etc.....		1,219.62
Profits from Card Parties, Luncheons, Etc.....		198.70
Refund of Advances to Indiana State Committee..,		253.00
Total Bank Deposits ----------		$ 5,495.37
SUMMARY OF DISBURSEMENTS:		
Office Expenses.....	$ 1,462.40	
Operating Expenses.....	2,068.09	
Advertising Expenses.....	415.19	
Cost of Public Meetings, Etc.....	769.00	
Cash Advances for Expenses of State Committee.....	459.50	
Total Disbursements By Check.....		$ 5,174.18
BALANCE - Cash in Bank - November 30th, 1941 -------		$ 321.19

While we are on the question of finance, we want to make clear that your local Committee has never accepted any contribution from an unknown source. We do not know, of course, the contributor of each quarter in the basket at our public meetings, but otherwise we have an entry in our books for every contribution. For example, the item "Membership Contributions", above, represents 647 individual contributions.

You will be glad to know that the National Committee at Chicago is equally careful, and they have not only recorded every contribution but also investigated the source of every contribution over $100.00. In no instance have they accepted a contribution from an unknown source. At the invitation of the Committee, the FBI has gone over all records and has commended the Committee on the thoroughness of their system. General Wood has called Congressman Dies and advised him that the records were open to his committee at any time without the necessity of any subpoenas, and the Dies Committee has looked over those records in which they were interested.

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10-22-90 BY SP8 Bridge

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

FILE NO. 100-233

FORM NO. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT CHICAGO

REPORT MADE AT	DATE WHEN MADE	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE	REPORT MADE BY
OMAHA	7-31-42	7-14,21-42	[redacted] b7C

TITLE: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

CHARACTER OF CASE: INTERNAL SECURITY - C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 10-22-90 BY SP6 [illegible]

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS: STANLEY LOWE, JR., organizer of America First Committee, University of Nebraska, [redacted] b7C b7D States no attempts made to keep the organization and former principles alive.

- RUC -

REFERENCE: Report of SA [redacted] Omaha, 6-12-42. b7C
Report of SA [redacted] Omaha, 5-20-42.

DETAILS: At Blair, Nebraska

[redacted] b7C b7D

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: [illegible] SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

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56 AUG 10 1942

11 AUG 21 1942

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
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☐ (b)(3)	☑ (b)(7)(C)	☐ (k)(1)
_____	☑ (b)(7)(D)	☐ (k)(2)
_____	☐ (b)(7)(E)	☐ (k)(3)
_____	☐ (b)(7)(F)	☐ (k)(4)
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[redacted] b7C

At Omaha, Nebraska

[redacted], was contacted at her home and she advised that she was formerly associated with the American First Committee in Omaha. [redacted] Temporary Chairman, FRANK C. WARD, in attempting to get a local group going, but that war had been declared before a real organization had been formed. Since the organization was still in a formative stage, no meetings were ever held, and war was declared before the organization really began to exist.

[redacted] FRANK WARD had b7C b7D
hoped that the National Committee would send a speaker to Omaha, as they had done in other cities, at which time the group would become a reality, but up to the time of declaration of war, this was not done.

[redacted] advised that she had previously been very much against war, and that she had feared that the United States was headed toward involvement in the European conflict. After we were attacked, she felt that there was no other alternative other than win the war, and she knew that isolationist principles could not survive. She said that she had feared war, because of the hardship and suffering it would cause in this country, especially among the young men of military age.

[redacted]

[redacted] said that she had felt that the America First Committee was composed of some of the most outstanding and patriotic Americans in the United States, and praised the wisdom of the National organization, in requesting that all membership lists be transmitted back to the National Headquarters, where they would not be available to any subversive group. She advised that no attempts have been made to keep isolationist sentiment alive in Omaha.

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b7D

[redacted] was reported on January 16, 1942 of making the statement that, "ROOSEVELT is sending the boys to be murdered", although it was not ascertainable whether this statement was made before or after the declaration of war. [redacted]

[redacted]

In view of the fact that there is no indication of any activity in the America First Committee developed, it does not appear necessary to conduct any more investigation.

- REFERRED UPON COMPLETION

TO THE OFFICE OF ORIGIN -

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

FILE NO. 100-1036

REPORT MADE AT	DATE WHEN MADE	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE	REPORT MADE BY
NORFOLK, VIRGINIA	8-3-42	7-27,30-42	[redacted] b7C

TITLE	CHARACTER OF CASE
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTER	INTERNAL SECURITY - G

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS: Investigation at Newport News, Virginia failed to disclose that subject organization attempted to organize in this immediate vicinity. - REC -

INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 10-22-90 BY SP1BTS/ca

REFERENCE: Report of Special Agent [redacted] dated May 12, 1942 at Norfolk, Virginia. b7C

DETAILS: AT NEWPORT NEWS, VIRGINIA

[redacted] advised that he had heard of the America First Committee but does not recall the organization ever having attempted to organize in this vicinity. [redacted] stated that he had been in public life for sometime and felt sure that if this organization was present or had endeavored to organize he would have been cognizant of it.

[redacted] advised that subject organization had never attempted innovation of their organization in Newport News, Virginia and felt that in view of the nature of this area that an organization such as the America First Committee would have a rather difficult time. He stated that with all the defense workers here, the military and naval branches of the government also present in great numbers, an organization such as this would have no show. He stated that he felt sure that if this organization had endeavored to organize in Newport News he would have been advised of it.

[redacted] advised that he had

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5 AUG 11 1942

5 - Bureau
2 - Chicago
2 - Norfolk

10 AUG 4 1942

[redacted] b7C

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P-46

heard of subject organization in other parts of the country but had never heard of it being in Newport News or this area, nor had he heard of it attempting organization. [redacted] stated that he had always noted that this area was not a fertile field for organizations of this type in view of the number of service men in this area. b1C

[redacted] advised that subject organization had never been in this area, nor had they ever attempted organization. [redacted] stated that he has always been on the lookout for any and all organizations and felt sure that he would have known of it if the America First Committee had endeavored to organize here.

- REFERRED UPON COMPLETION TO THE OFFICE OF ORIGIN -

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS FILE NO. 100-1077

REPORT MADE AT	DATE WHEN MADE	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE	REPORT MADE BY
KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI	8-6-42	7-11-24-42	b7C [redacted]

TITLE	CHARACTER OF CASE
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE	INTERNAL SECURITY - C

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS: Investigation at Wichita, Kansas, reflects that there are no known activities of the America First Committee at the present time nor have there been any open activities of this group in the past in Wichita, Kansas.

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DATE 10-22-90 BY SP8BTS/CL

R. U. C.

REFERENCE: Report of Special Agent [redacted] Kansas City, Missouri, dated 8-22-42.

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b7D

DETAILS: [redacted] again in viewed regarding the nature of the group which he had information was being for under the leadership of [redacted] stated that he had been inform that this group was known as the United Native American and although it appear was to exclude members of the Jewish race that an invitation had been extended one of his intimate friends, [redacted] Wichita, Kansas, to join the organization by [redacted] further s that he believed that this organization was not connected in any way with the previous American First Committee but that it might possibly be an organizati similar to the former Ku Klux Klan. For further information concerning thi [redacted] referred the writer to [redacted]

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: Special Agent in Charge

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52 AUG 17 1942

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100-4752-452

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DEC 13 1942

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b7D

[redacted] when contacted stated that he had received information of the organization of a group of individuals, consisting of business men in Wichita, which was no doubt identical with the group mentioned by [redacted] that this group, headed by [redacted] and [redacted] had attempted to establish the organization with a view of promoting protection in war industries in the City of Wichita and that there had been only one meeting of the group at which meeting contributions were accepted for organization purposes. [redacted] stated that [redacted] attended the meeting and was one of the contributors. He stated that it has been his information that since this meeting no action has been taken by this group nor has any disposition been made of the funds which were collected by contribution at the meeting.

It was also indicated that [redacted] might also be able to furnish information regarding the identity of this group.

[redacted] when contacted stated that he had been active in civic affairs in Wichita over a number of years and that in the fall of 1939 he had been contacted by [redacted] a local business man in Wichita and an unknown individual at which time he was approached with a proposition of accepting a salary of $12,000.00 a year to be the head of a state wide organization based upon the lines of the Klu Klux Klan. [redacted] stated that he turned down the offer at the time and stated that as far as he has been able to determine there has been no further activity in formulating any such group in Wichita in recent months.

[redacted] stated that he had never known of the America First Committee being active in the City of Wichita and believes that if had been active it would have come to his attention.

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Send
V.D. Govern

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-22-76 BY SP2 [illegible]

Dear Sir:-

This Circular are [illegible] Jacks Local Yokels are really stirred up & angry. It would bear inspation before trouble arises then too

There are Junk Yards here in St Louis Cash, St. Louis, Venice Ill. and all little towns around too, full of Scrap Iron and here in St. Louis Mo. on Easton Ave. are old Store Houses full of Rubber Tires loaded, then too big heaps of old Rubber still stacked up on sidewalks where the Scrap Rubber has not been picked up.

Then too scattered thru St. Louis are many Hitlerites, an F.B.I. house to house canvas would be a good sensible act you would find out I would say

Our Praying God to [illegible] Bless America and [illegible] Nations free again

When Lindbergh spoke here in our Auditorium he said — If America goes into

ENCLOSURE 1A
ANONYMOUS COMMUNICATION
KEEP ENVELOPE ATTACHED

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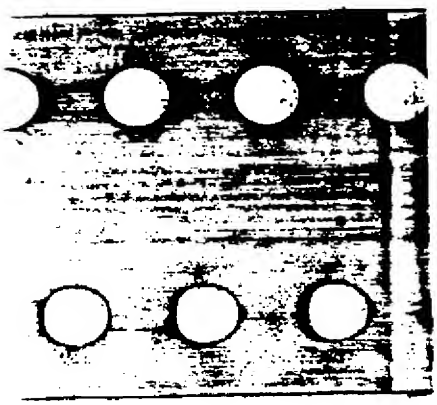
[illegible] 4762-453

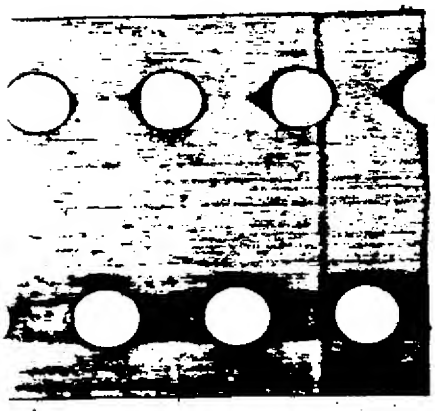
War - "If the America First Committee will give U.S. a long hard War" He has stirred up lot of Strife

America First Committee

A young Man on furlough said in the Camp in Calif. Lindbeg Spread lies paper brought them in Camp to see if agents with the City Papers in whatever Camp they were trapped in outside City Papers outside Those Millionaires should be treated as Traitors Take all their Business away from them use for Government

Our Boys pay with their Blood and Young lives for such Hitlerites I have an only Son in it and my American Blood fairly boils for such Traitors Our Youth has not had a chance for work & livelihood Lazy, worn such Pests can hide behind their Blood think and act Quick and Help our Boys at Home Taste a True Mother





WAKE UP Negro Americ

DO YOU WANT WORK? DO YOU WANT EQUAL RIGH
DO YOU WANT JUSTICE?

THEN PREPARE NOW TO FIGHT FOR IT!

25,000 Negroes Must Stor

THE AIR-COOLED

AUDITORIUM

14th and Market Sts.-Admission Free

FRIDAY NITE, AUG. 14 - 7 P.

DEMANDING JOBS AND PROTESTING

1. Mobbing and Shooting Our Boys in Uncle Sam's Unifo
2. Lynchings at Sikeston and Texarkana.
3. Jim-Crow St. Louis War Plants and Labor Unions.
4. Violation of Pres. Roosevelt's Order No. 8802.
5. Jim-Crow Policy of the Navy, Army and U. S. Marines
6. Insult of the Red Cross in Segregating Negro Blood.

SPEAKERS:

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, Founder of March Movement.
WALTER WHITE, Executive Sec'y., National N. A. A. C. P.
M. P. WEBSTER, Fair Employment Practice Committee.
The Aldridge Players and The Celestial Choristers.

BLACKOUT!!
8:00 to 8:15 P. M.
AUG. 14th

MOBILIZE NOW!

WE ARE AMERICANS TOO!!

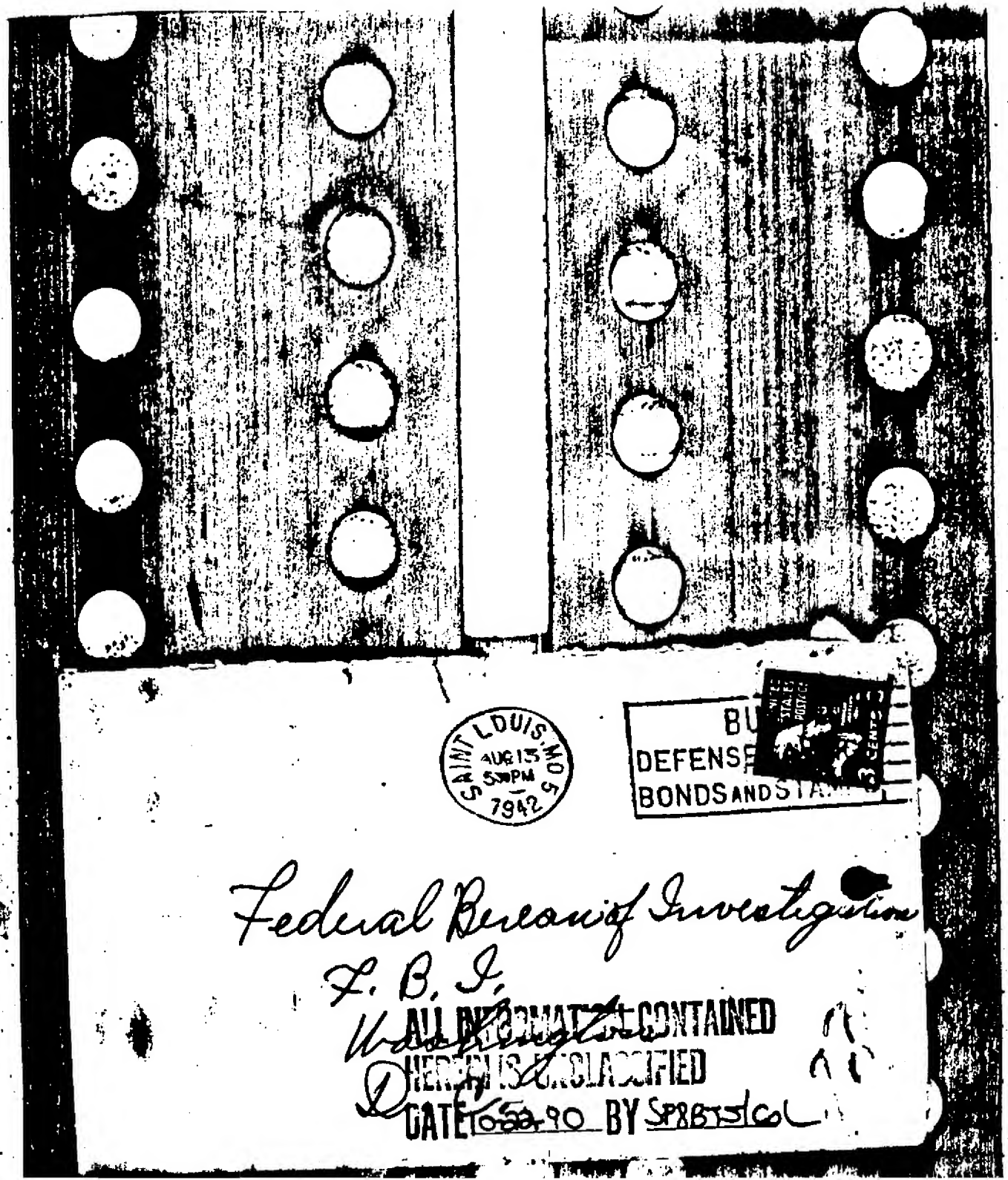
IT IS NO
OR NEVE

MARCH ON WASHINGTON COMMITTEE

Headquarters: 712 Finance Bldg. - 11 N. Jefferson - FR.

D. McNEAL, Chairman THELMA GRANT, Secr

We Fight To Live, Work and Die For Democracy As EQUALS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AUG 13
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DEFENSE
BONDS AND STA
Federal Bureau of Investigation
F. B. I.
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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS — Milwaukee — FILE NO. 100-2936

REPORT MADE AT	DATE WHEN MADE	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE	REPORT MADE BY
MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN	8/18/42	6/27;7/1/42	[redacted]

TITLE	CHARACTER OF CASE
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE	INTERNAL SECURITY - C

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

[redacted], has been distributing literature of the Constitutional Educational League. Occupation listed as a lecturer, and receives his compensation from the Constitutional Educator of New Haven. Nothing definite could be proven that the Constitutional Educational League is a continuation of the America First Committee.

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DATE 10-22-90 BY SP8BTS/cb

-EUC-

REFERENCE: Report of Special Agent [redacted] dated at Charlotte, North Carolina 5/27/42.

DETAILS: AT MADISON, WISCONSIN

[redacted] advised that [redacted] has been distributing literature for the Constitutional Educational League. He further advised that [redacted] would be able to give more information concerning [redacted]

[redacted]

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: [redacted] SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

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100-4712-454

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[redacted] states he has known [redacted] since he has been in the [redacted] Building and that [redacted]. He stated that he was aware that [redacted] had been distributing literature for the Constitutional Educational League, but could not understand why someone had not put a stop to it, inasmuch as the literature [redacted] was distributing was detrimental to the morale of the country at the present time.

He further stated that he could not understand how [redacted] could afford to pay his rental and other miscellaneous expenses, inasmuch as he had no visible means of income. [redacted] stated that [redacted] spent very little time in his office, using it more as a storage space for his various types of literature.

[redacted] stated that the book, "Why Win The War" which was distributed by [redacted] was undermining the morale of the people at this time, and felt that something should be done to prevent the distribution of this type of literature. He stated that the people in the [redacted] Building were more or less suspicious of [redacted] but were at a loss to determine just how and where he received his income and what his purpose w

The records of the [redacted] were searched and reflected that [redacted] was listed as a lecturer and received compensation from the Constitution Educator of New Haven. [redacted]

During the course of the investigation nothing definite could be proven to indicate that the Constitutional Educational League is a continuation of the America First Committee.

REFERRED UPON COMPLETION TO THE OFFICE OF ORIGIN

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

FORM NO. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT CHICAGO, ILL.

FILE NO. 100-2827

REPORT MADE AT	DATE WHEN MADE	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE	REPORT MADE BY
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA	8-21-42	8-4,6,11-42	b7c [redacted]

TITLE
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

CHARACTER OF CASE
INTERNAL SECURITY - G

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

Local chapter of the America First Committee organized at Roanoke, Virginia in October, 1941 and disbanded immediately after U.S. became involved in present conflict. No efforts made to reorganize group and no indication of subversive activities on part of former members. Letterheads showing list of temporary officers obtained.

1942 325

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- RUC

REFERENCE:

Report of Special Agent [redacted] Richmond, Virginia, dated June 2, 1942.

DETAILS:

AT ROANOKE, VIRGINIA

In November, 1941, [redacted] brought to the attention of the reporting agent that members of the America First Committee had circulated in that building a pamphlet, the purpose of which was to keep this country out of the present conflict. When interviewed on August 4, 1942, relative to any further activities on the part of the America First Committee, [redacted] stated that no further pamphlets were distributed in that building and

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20 AUG 22 1942

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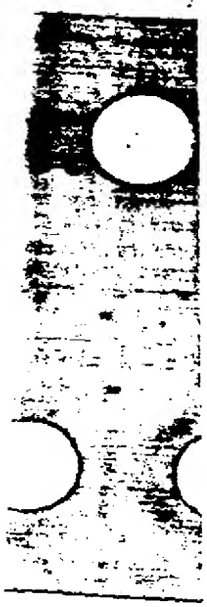

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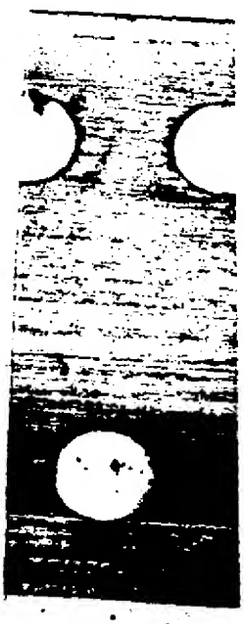
that she had heard of no activity on the part of the America First Committee since the United States became involved in the war. She further stated that it was her understanding that a [redacted] had been active in this committee, although she was not positive of his connection with the organization.

She also stated that a [redacted] of Roanoke, Virginia, had taken an active part in the few meetings which this committee held prior to the time that the United States became involved in the war. In closing [redacted] stated that she does not believe that any attempt has been made to reactivate the America First Committee in Roanoke.

[redacted] advised that he was in no way connected with the America First Committee during its period of activity in Roanoke and that he has heard of no recent activity on the part of this organization.

[redacted] advised that she was a member of [redacted] committee of the Roanoke Chapter of the America First Committee, which chapter was formed early in October, 1941. She further stated that the organization never did elect permanent officers, although RALPH [redacted] SHOAF was the temporary president and Mrs. H. FRANK TAYLOR was the acting secretary.



Continuing [redacted] stated that this organization met only four or five times prior to the time that they had disbanded, shortly after war was declared on December 7, 1941. She stated that the committee had its meetings at the Patrick Henry Hotel and to the best of her knowledge the usual attendance was twenty to twentyfive.

She went on to say that as a member of the Roanoke Chapter of the America First Committee, she was primarily interested in keeping the United States out of war and that all members of the Roanoke Chapter were sincere in their belief that the present war conflict could have been settled without the involvement of this coun

[redacted] stated that she had not seen any mail i any individuals or organizations regarding the America First Committe and that she was sure there had been no attempt to bring the group to life in June.

She added that inasmuch as war was forced on this

b7C
b7D

country there was no point in continuing with this organization.

[redacted] advised that he personally did not have any connection with the America First Committee although [redacted] was a member of the Steering Committee of this organization. This man went on to say that the America First Committee had not been thoroughly organizaed at the time the United States became involved in the war, at which time the local chapter did not continue with its plans of formation. He stated that [redacted] was definitely sincere in his efforts to keep this country out of war and this was his only reason for joining the America First Committee. He added that the America First Committee had only a few meetings between the first part of October and the first part of December. An effort was made to secure a large hall in Roanoke for a large meeting at which a prominent speaker from the National Headquarters in Chicago was to appear. [redacted] stated that [redacted] made a $100 deposit at the Roanoke auditorium in order to obtain this hall, however, this meeting did not materialize prior to the t. war was declared and in accordance with instructions from the National Headquarters, the local chapter disbanded right after the declaration of war. The hall was not used and [redacted] was not able to recover his $100.00.

[redacted] stated that [redacted] had been subjected to additional expense to print up letterheads for the local chapter and after the local organization disbanded, the other former members refused to share this expense with him.

In closing [redacted] stated that he is postive that there has been no attempt to bring the organization to life again, and that [redacted] has not received any literature which would indicate that an attempt was being made to use former members of the local chapte in any subversive manner.

[redacted] presented the writer with two letterheads which were drawn up for use by the local chapter. The following tempor local officers were listed on these forms:

RALPH W. SHOAF	President
Mrs. F. L. TICE	Vice-President
H. R. BABER	Treasurer
Mrs. R. FRANK TAYLOR	Recording Sec'y

The following are listed as members of the Steering Committee:

Mrs. FELIX K. PARKER

HENRY T. SWANN

Mrs. ARTHUR L. STRAS

Mrs. JAS. J. GEARY

G. V. KROMER

J. D. BROOKS

The following quotation from Voltaire also appears on the letterhead:

"I do not agree with one word you are saying ... but I will defend to the death, your right to say it."

These letterheads are being retained in the file of the Richmond Field Division.

b7C
b7D

[redacted] He stated that in joining the America First Committee he sincerely believed that this country could be kept out of the war and that he had no other purpose for joing the organization. He added that the Roanoke chapter of this organization met at the Patrick Henry Hotel several times between October and December, 1941, but at the time war was declared the organization definitely disbanded and that there has been no activity on its part since. He added that he had received no literature regarding the organization and that there has been no attempt to bring it to life again.

- REFERRED UPON COMPLETION TO THE OFFICE OF ORIGIN -

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10-22-90 BY SP8BTP/LC

100-4712-456

CANCELLED

58 SEP 8 1942

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

FORM No. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS — BUTTE FILE NO. 100-1760

REPORT MADE AT	DATE WHEN MADE	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE	REPORT MADE BY
Butte, Montana	8/27/42	7/10,15; 8/18/42	[redacted] b7c

TITLE: AMERICA FIRST [redacted]

CHARACTER OF CASE: INTERNAL SECURITY - C

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

HARRY H. MILLER, Director, America First Committee, Billings, Montana, [redacted], advised [redacted] that President ROOSEVELT was responsible for the Navy's debacle at Pearl Harbor; that the United States should retract its declaration of war against Japan, Germany, and Italy, and sue for peace; that Japan did not harm this country but struck at something which was rightfully hers, and that we are in a war in which we have no business to be in. [redacted]. MILLER is presently treasurer for the China Relief organization, Billings. He advocates financial aid to China.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 10-22-98 BY SP8 50 lcl

- RUC -

AGENCY 116 Armed
FILED 2-15-50
BY

References: Bureau letter to Butte dated March 16, 1942.
Report of Special Agent [redacted] Butte, Montana, June 15, 1942.

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: Special Agent in Charge

DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES

100-4713-457

RECORDED

INDEXED

22 AUG 31 [redacted]

b7C

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4 - Butte

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FILED

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

Details:

It will be mentioned that information with regard to [redacted] was set forth [redacted] in reference report.

A review of the files in the Butte Field Office disclosed that under date of December 17, 1941, [redacted] called at the United States Marshal's Office, Federal Building, Billings, Montana, and advised that HARRY MILLER, President, National Bonds, Inc., is [redacted], MILLER, when discussing the war, bitterly denounced President ROOSEVELT and said that he was responsible for the Navy's debacle at Pearl Harbor. MILLER then stated that the United States should retract its declaration of war against Japan, Germany, and Italy, and sue for peace, and that Japan did not harm this country, but that she struck at something which was rightfully her. He further advised that MILLER stated [redacted] that this country had nothing to lose, and that we were in a war when we had no business being in it, and that Japan would take the Philippine Islands in sixty days.

[redacted] stated that MILLER definitely conveyed the impression that the United States could not win, and that he said that President ROOSEVELT had prodded Japan into war through the lend lease program. According to [redacted] MILLER said that the United States should give China to Japan. [redacted]

AT BILLINGS, MONTANA

[redacted], and that MILLER has taken a prominent part in the America First Committee, and is also the Treasurer for the China Relief organization at Billings, Montana. [redacted]. He stated that MILLER is a professed isolationist and that during the Month of September, 1941, he spoke at an America First Committee rally which was held at the Billings High School; that at this rally Senator BURTON K. WHEELER of Montana was the featured speaker. He stated that the theme MILLER used during his talk was that there was no sense in sending our young men to foreign countries where they would be slaughtered; that MILLER frequently referred to bloody and gory sights which he himself witnessed as a soldier on foreign soil, presumably at France during World War No. 1.

b2
b7D
b7C [redacted], and that MILLER by way of explanation advised that financial assistance to China is all right, but that we should not send our armies to foreign lands to fight wars of foreign countries.

It will be mentioned that the Billings Gazette of both the morning and evening editions were checked to determine if the contents of speeches made by speakers at the America First Committee rally which was held at the Billings High School on September 18, 1941, were set forth, and at this time it was ascertained that the names of the speakers only were mentioned, and that the contents or substance of no speech were set forth in these editions.

b2
b7D
b7C [redacted] He stated that MILLER is an ex-service man, and that he is friendly with Senator WHEELER of Montana. He stated that prior to December 8, 1941 (the date on which Pearl Harbor was attacked by the Japanese), MILLER had a display of America First Committee propaganda in the show window of a small vacant store located next to the National Bonds, Inc., at 217 North Broadway, Billings, Montana. He stated that on the morning after the Pearl Harbor Attack, he walked past this window where the display had been shown for a considerable time, and that at this time he discovered that MILLER during the night removed all evidence of America First Committee literature from this window where it had previously been on display.

b7C [redacted]

b2
b7D
b7C [redacted] In conclusion, he advised that MILLER is a staunch Republican, and that he is bitterly opposed to the present administration and many of the things the present administration has espoused and put into actic

b2
b7D [redacted] stated that he has known MILLER for the past five or six years, and that he knows him to be very angry and antago istic toward the present administration.

b2
b7D [redacted] stated that he has known MILLE for several years, and stated that he is an ardent Republican who is much opposed to the Democratic Party in general and to the present administration in particula

4-750 (Rev. 12-14-88)

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☐ (b)(4)	☐ (b)(8)	☐ (k)(5)
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105-4712-457 in pp. 4-5

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FBI/DOJ

FREEDOM OF INFORMATION AND PRIVACY ACTS

SUBJECT: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

FILE NUMBER: 100-4712

PART: 10 OF 19

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

FILE DESCRIPTION

BUREAU FILE

SUBJECT America First Committee

FILE NO. 100-4712

SECTION NO. 10

SERIALS 458

through

500

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

File No. 100-1259

Origin CHICAGO, ILLINOIS			Report made by [redacted] b7C
Report made at PITTSBURGH, PA.	Date when made 9/24/42	Period 6/23-27; 7/1,2,6, 10/7-16, 20-22, 27, 28/42	Character INTERNAL SECURITY - G

TITLE: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 02290 BY SP8B5/cl

318519

SYNOPSIS:

Unnamed local organization consisting of seven known members, of whom six are former members of America First Committee, has been meeting irregularly at 402 Investment Building and 7 East Montgomery Street, Pittsburgh, office and residence of JOSEPH E. HARRIS, local labor relations consultant and ostensibly head of the organization. [redacted] states organization formed prior to [redacted] for the purpose of influencing Congressional legislation. Material developed by the organization is anti-Semitic, anti-British, anti-Communist, and anti-Administration. Organization has no officers and no dues. Some members believed to be distributing seditious propaganda, [redacted] b7C b7D b7E

Description and background information on various members set out.

- P -

AGENCY Navy Department
REQ. REC'D 1-26-43
REP'T FORW 2-15-43
BY [redacted]

REFERENCE: Report of Special Agent [redacted] dated at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, May 29, 1942. 100-4712-403

In reviewing this report it should be noted that [redacted] a member of the organization was

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100-4712-458

RECORDED & INDEXED

SEP 10 1942

2 - Des Moines
2 - Cleveland
2 - Omaha
2 - Milwaukee
2 - Huntington
2 - Chicago
2 - Washington
1 - Newark (Inf.)
1 - Portland (Inf.)
3 - Pittsburgh (RH)

SEC [redacted]

Handwritten: Pittsburgh; Kansas City; Boston; Los Angeles; Minneapolis; Springfield; San Diego; Cleveland; Omaha; Milwaukee; Huntington; Chicago; Washington; Bos. Mobile; 10/16/42

Handwritten: 100-1259-962-1

the subject of an Internal Security case, Pittsburgh file 100-3211, which file has been closed as all further investigation with regard to his activities will be reported in instant file. It is believed however that a brief resume of the information reported in the above-mentioned case should be included herein.

When interviewed at the Pittsburgh Field Office [redacted] gave the following information, with regard to instant organization.

Formation

According to [redacted] this organization was formed by JOSEPH E. HARRIS, 7 East Montgomery Street, Pittsburgh, but he was unable to give the date of the formation of the group as he explained that he had joined [redacted] at the invitation of HARRIS and that he did not know how long the organization had been formed prior to this date.

Purpose

[redacted] advised that the purpose of this organization is to develop to such a point and to lay the foundation for an organization through which they, the members, might influence or bring about Congressional legislation concerning States' rights, personal rights, and post-war conditions. [redacted] explained the purpose of the organization further by stating that during a period of war it is necessary for the Government to take from the citizens of the country many personal rights and liberties and that one of the primary purposes of this organization is to see that those personal rights and liberties are returned to the citizens of the United States after the war is over.

Meetings, Dues, etc.

According to [redacted] this organization generally meets either in the office of HARRIS, 402 Investment Building, or at the residence of HARRIS, 7 East Montgomery Street; that the meetings are held spasmodically but on an average of four or five times a month; that there are no officers in the group, and that no dues are paid by any of the members.

Material Developed by the Organization

At the time of the above-mentioned interview [redacted] presented to the writer 32 typewritten sheets, one printed sheet, 9 sheets of handwritten material, some of which has been incorporated into the typewritten sheets, and numerous newspaper clippings apparently from local papers. [redacted] stated that this material which he presented is only a part of the material which has been developed by this group and that he thinks that the complete material and records of the group are kept by HARRIS in his office.

The above-mentioned typewritten, printed, and handwritten material has been photographed by the Technical Laboratory and one copy is being retained in instant file and one copy in Pittsburgh file 100-3211.

The above-mentioned printed page is entitled "Roosevelt's Red Democracy, New Deal Government Of, By, and For the Jews" and this caption is encircled by the names of various government employees each with the word "Jew" before his name.

One page of the typewritten material bears the following caption: "List of topics to be developed" and below it are listed, among other items, free speech and assembly, unity, free enterprise, usurpation of States' rights, property rights and human rights, national defense and sabotage, propaganda, post-war conditions, and others. Much of the material contains quotations from prominent government figures among whom are listed Attorney General BIDDLE, Senator BURTON WHEELER, WOODROW WILSON, Justice OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES, and others. Parts of the material are quoted and give as their source various government publications. Other parts of the material are apparently anti-Communist as one page contains in part the following:

Communism Stands For	Americanism Stands For
Individual Surfdom	Individual Labor
Enslavement of Man by State	Man the Master of the State
State Interests Always First	Rights of Man First
Government by Liquidation	Government by the People

The following quotations are excerpts from the above-mentioned material:

"American flesh and blood must not become helpless cannon fodder because of lack of proper equipment. . . We must not commit stupid heartless waste of American blood and substance by incompetent leadership at home or in the field. . . The administration. . . then proceeding to intensity its own political activities puts in office its own Party hacks, and increases its control over the country. This is exactly comparable to the activities of the Nazi Party in Germany or the Communist Party in Russia. Soon, if we do not put a stop to it, the fact will become generally accepted and a belief that political ambitions and activities are only proper for members and supporters of the New Deal members now in power; and the political activity on the part of others will gradually become accepted as treasonable activity. . . Congress must be forced to reassume this legislative function and end usurpation by the executive function. . . The Communists are using the very system they seek to destroy."

At the end of one section of the material which is devoted to religion is the following sentence: "Mr. MAGRUDER to supply quotations from Washington's Farewell Address and from Lincoln's Inaugural Speech."

Under a section of the material entitled "Economy [illegible]overnment" is found the following: ". . . Yet Lend-Lease has nothing to [illegible]h national defense; true, it can be claimed that Lend-Lease is for inter[illegible]l defense—but, this is America, and the spending of inconceivably vast [illegible]rther some plan of a band of international plotters in this country [illegible]nglophiles, Russophiles, and Communists not included in either of [illegible]lassifications) is to put it mildly the most flagrant treason ever [illegible]pon the American people. . . "

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[redacted] stated that no speeches are made by any members of the group and that there has been no dissemination of the material developed. He further advised that the group as a whole is strictly anti-Semitic.

The above-mentioned material has been returned to [redacted]

Members

At the time of the interview [redacted] advised that the organization of which he is a member consists of the following persons and it should be noted that in giving their names and addresses he was unable to furnish the correct spelling or correct addresses, however, subsequent investigation has verified the names and addresses as set out below:

JOSEPH ERNEST HARRIS
7 East Montgomery Street, Pittsburgh, Pa.

b7C

[redacted]

b7C

It should be noted that [redacted] stated that [redacted] is not a member of the organization but inasmuch as she is a close friend of HARRI she does a great deal of the typing for them and her name is therefore being included in this list.

It should be noted that Pittsburgh file 100-3211 contains the following:

On June 1, 1942, [redacted], called at the Pittsburgh Field Office and volunteered the following information. [redacted] stated that he knew that [redacted] had been interviewed and that inasmuch as he was employed at [redacted] Pittsburgh, he wished to explain his connection with the above-mentioned organization as he did not wish to be under suspicion.

[redacted] gave substantially the same information as [redacted] with regard to the formation, set up, and members but stated that the organization has now disbanded and no longer meets. He further advised that the organization had at one time considered using the title "We the People, Inc." but that this name had never been adopted. With regard to the purpose of the group [redacted] stated that it was to strengthen the power of Congress and get Congress to exercise its proper functions and that he believed the purpose of the group of which he is a member is similar to the purpose and aims of the "League for Constitutional Government" but advised that his group was in no way connected with this League nor was it connected with any other organization. b7C b7D

According to [redacted] he has never heard any member of the group make any un-American statements; that none of the group has ever made any speeches, and that no publication has been given to the material developed by the group.

It should be noted that Pittsburgh file 100-577-419 reflects that on May 10, 1941, [redacted], whose identity is known to the Bureau, reported that a number of Fascist groups were officially closed in order that they might carry on their activities more effectively in some new form, an example being JOHN B. SNOW'S League for Constitutional Government formerly located at 18 East 48th Street, New York City. b2 b7D

Pittsburgh file 100-0-3038 reflects that included in a list of organizations opposed to aiding Britain but in favor of aiding Germany and its Allies is the League for Constitutional Government.

Pittsburgh file 61-0-169, page 44, reflects that the League for Constitutional Government distributes pamphlets of anti-Semitic and anti-Administration tenor.

The instant investigation revealed the following information with regard to the members of subject organization.

JOSEPH ERNEST HARRIS

[redacted] Residence Address: 7 East Montgomery Street, Pittsburgh, Pa.
[redacted] Business Address: 402 Investment Building, Pittsburgh, Pa.
[redacted] Occupation: Free lance labor consultant
[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

Neighborhood Investigation: [redacted]

b2
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b7D

Selective Service Status: [redacted]

Description: The following description of HARRIS was obtained fro[redacted] and from his Selective Service file:

Age	55
Date of birth	October 15, 1886
Birthplace	Pittsburgh, Pa.
Race	White
Height	5' 9"
Weight	170 lbs.
Eyes	Brown
Hair	Gray
Complexion	Light
Characteristics	Partially bald, wears glasses, neatly dressed

[redacted], Pittsburgh, Pa., made available to the writer the [redacted] report on HARRIS dated December 11, 1941, which reflects that his wife's first name is ALEDA; that his present occupatic is labor consultant, and that his former occupation was Bureau of National Affairs, Inc., 402 Investment Building, Pittsburgh. No derogatory information w contained in the [redacted] file of HARRIS.

[redacted] checked the records

their respective departments and stated they had no information on HARRIS.

[redacted]

b7C
b7E

[redacted] b7C b7E

It should be noted that a check of the indices of the Pittsburgh Field Office failed to reflect any information on the names contained in the above-reported [redacted]

The writer checked the morgue of the Pittsburgh Sun-Telegraph which reflected the following information. An article dated October 31, 1938, entitled "Sell American Stores Urged" states, "With 1330 consumers signed up the American Independent Workers Alliance is asking Pittsburgh district stores to buy only American-made products. JOSEPH E. HARRIS of East Montgomery Street, North Side, Honorary Vice-President of the organization said. . . "

An article dated January 17, 1939, reflects that at an election of officers of the American Independent Workers Alliance JOSEPH HARRIS was elected temporary President, RUTH DAWSON, Recording Secretary, HARRY CIFELLI, Statistician and librarian.

[redacted]

Residence Address:

Occupation:

b2 b7C b7D

[redacted]

Neighborhood:

[redacted] stated that he did not know [redacted] occupation but he thought that [redacted] writes for some religious organization and described the subject as a peculiar character who is somewhat of a "sissy". [redacted] further advised that [redacted] that he has a 1936 Ford, 2-door black sedan, bearing 1942 Pennsylvania license [redacted]

[redacted] that [redacted] is a Harvard graduate, and that she thinks he is employed in some sort of work of keeping statistics for the government. She said he receives large franked envelopes from Washington, D. C. [redacted] further advised that [redacted]

b7C
b7D

[redacted] and that during this time neither [redacted] nor his mother has ever been in his place of business and that he knows nothing about them.

[redacted] stated he has known [redacted] as a customer for many years but that he knows nothing of [redacted] background, personal history, or his present occupation.

Selective Service Status:

[redacted] made available the Selective Service file of [redacted] which reflects that he registered February 16, 1942; that he received a B.A. degree from Harvard University, and that he was born [redacted] In his Selective Service questionnaire [redacted] indicated that he is a historian and at present is and has spent 3½ years writing an [redacted] and stated that it had not been marketed. He indicated under "Other business engaged in", "home forum leader". [redacted] listed his previous occupational experience as [redacted]

In his Selective Service questionnaire [redacted] indicated as the occupation for which he is best fitted as "public affairs; writing, etc." [redacted] indicated that he lived with his mother [redacted]

and that he began contributing to her support in 1922; that she earned no money in the past year, and that he contributed his total income for the past 12 months in the amount of $201.89 to her upkeep. The following information was contained in [redacted] Selective Service file: "Income of [redacted] cash profit from sale of common stock, $165. Cash from common stock dividends $310." [redacted] indicated that he earned $10 from his work in the last 12 months and listed all other income as $191.89. "My meager financial returns are the result of my volunteer services for worthwhile purposes. My years of big income were earlier. I conscientiously object to furtherance of destructive ends. Surely my country ought to have constructive objectives which I could promote without registering as a conscientious objector or accepting service with a military branch!"

Description: The following description of [redacted] was obtained from his Selective Service file and from [redacted]

b7C
b7D

Age	[redacted]
Race	
Birth date	
Birthplace	
Height	
Weight	
Eyes	
Hair	
Complexion	
Build	
Marital status	
Characteristics	

[redacted] made available the [redacted] report on [redacted] dated June 1, 1942, which indicates that he resides at [redacted] that he is reported to be a genealogist and writer and to have written two books on genealogy and to write for a monthly publication on the same subject. No derogatory information was contained in [redacted] report.

[redacted] checked the records of their respective offices and stated they had no information on [redacted]

[redacted]

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100-4212-458 in p. 11

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FBI/DOJ

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[redacted]

A check of the indices of the Pittsburgh Field Office reflected that Pittsburgh file 61-0-169, page 33, contains a list of subversive organizations of the United States which reflects that the magazine "The Defender" is the official organ of the "Defenders of Christian Faith" [redacted]

b7C

Pittsburgh Office file 100-2396 contains a copy of a letter dated December 15, 1941, at Pittsburgh, Pa., addressed to the Special Agent in Charge at Boston, Massachusetts, by which a letter and newspaper article were forwarded to the Boston Field Office which had been mailed by [redacted]

It should be noted that Pittsburgh Office file 102-4-1, page 10, reflects that [redacted]

b7C
b7E

It should be noted that Pittsburgh Office file 100-621-11 reflects that the "Weekly People" is the official organ in the Socialist Party.

The September 1940 issue of the "Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine" contains, on pages 156 through 162, an article entitled, [redacted] This article is strictly religious in tenor. This article contains the following foot note: "Presented as a part of the program provided by the Historical Society of the Pittsburgh Conference of the Methodist Church at a meeting of the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania [redacted] has written an [redacted] are the first of a projected series of volumes intended to cover the subject to date. Editor." This magazine is published quarterly by the Historica Society of Western Pennsylvania, 4338 Bigelow Blvd., Pittsburgh.

b7C

[redacted] contains the following information on [redacted]

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☐ (b)(4)	☐ (b)(8)	☐ (k)(5)
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[redacted] suggested that [redacted] might possess information concerning [redacted]

stated that he did not know [redacted] very well but that he had heard [redacted] mention the fact that [redacted] is of the type of Father COUGHLIN and that he had heard that [redacted] had been asked to speak before outside groups but that he did not know what groups or if he had accepted.

Selective Service Status: [redacted], made available to the writer the Selective Service file of [redacted] which reflects that he registered April 27, 1942; that he listed his employer and the person always knowing his address as, [redacted]

Description: The following description of [redacted] was obtained from his Selective Service file:

Age [redacted]
Race
Birth place
Birth date
Heigh
Weight
Eyes
Hair
Complexion

[redacted] checked the records of this institution and reported that she had no record of [redacted]

[redacted], checked the records of their respective organizations and reported that they had no [redacted] record on [redacted]

[redacted]

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b7C
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It should be noted that according to an article appe
ing in the Pittsburgh Sun-Telegraph dated November 3, 1941, SAMUEL B. PETTINGII
addressed an America First Committee meeting in Washington, D. C. It should be
noted that [redacted] is the subject of Pittsburgh file 100-3440 captioned

"Internal Security, Registration Act, Sedition Act."

A check of the indices of the Pittsburgh Field Office reflects no further information [redacted]

b7E

It should be noted that Pittsburgh file 100-3440-3, page 2, reflects that an individual designated as [redacted] in the report of Special Agent [redacted] dated May 26, 1942, at Huntington, W. Va., Huntington file 100-1897, furnished information that [redacted]

b2 b7D b7C b7C b7D

This individual (designated as [redacted] in the report of Special Agent [redacted] at Huntington, W. Va.) was unable to state definitely the name of the person who [redacted] but stated that it is fairly certain that such material or at least a part of it is furnished by [redacted]

It should be noted that the report of Special Agent [redacted] dated July 20, 1942, at Washington, D. C., captioned [redacted] with aliases", Pittsburgh file 100-3440-8, reflects that: "On June 5, 1942, the New York Field Office forwarded to the Washington Field Office the following information concerning [redacted] from [redacted]

b7C b7C b2, b7D

"The following unsolicited verbatim report was obtained from a confidential source believed to be reliable. Our informant was present at the home of subject.

[redacted]

b7C b7D

[redacted]

b7C
b7D

[redacted]

b7C

[redacted]

b7C

Pittsburgh file 61-0-169, pages 10 and 11, reflects
b7C that in August 1937 [redacted] attended the American Nationalist Confederation Convention in Kansas City, Missouri, which was called the American Christian Conference. This convention was held by GEORGE DEATHERAGE who also headed the Militant Christian Patriots.

Pittsburgh file 100-3323-1, page 9, reflects that on
b7D March 23, 1942, the individual designated as [redacted] in the report of Special Agent [redacted] dated April 23, 1942, at Huntington,
b7C W. Va., Huntington file 100-1736, advised that on March 21, 1942, [redacted]

[redacted], received a letter from [redacted] advising her that in a short time plans would be worked out for the overthrow of the government and that it is necessary that substantial leaders be obtained immediately. He is reported to have stated that the whole system is set up, even to the plans for the monetary system, and that the only thing lacking is group leaders throughout the country. This individual further advised that upon receipt of the above-described letter [redacted] became frightened and was afraid that this was a plot to frame [redacted] so she forwarded the letter to [redacted], alias [redacted] with a request that she be advised whether or not it was authentic. According to this individual this letter was post marked at Newark, N. J., where [redacted] was at that time engaged in some sort of [redacted] work.

Page 9 of Pittsburgh file 100-3423 reflects that [redacted] is reported to receive his mail at a drug store near his home; that he is said to be closely associated with Father COUGHLIN and to be actively engaged in organizing anti-Semitic groups in the eastern part of the United States, and that in March 1942 he spent considerable time in Newark, N. J., making contact with individuals who are interested in promoting an organization opposed to Jews and members of the Masonic Lodge.

[redacted] stated that [redacted]

[redacted] were forwarded to the Technical Laboratory with the request that they be compared with the typewritten and handwritten material which was furnished to the writer by [redacted]

By letter dated August 3, 1942, under Laboratory report 86309 and 86312, the Technical Laboratory reported that the typewriting on the material emanating from [redacted] was prepared on a machine equipped with Royal pica type, spaced 10 letters to an inch. It was further concluded that the typewriting on this material was not prepared on the same typewriter as the

material submitted by [redacted] nor was the handwriting prepared by the same individual as the handwriting on the material submitted by [redacted] It was further concluded by the Technical Laboratory that the typewriting on the [redacted] material and the typewriting on the [redacted] material was not prepared on the same typewriter as the material submitted to the Technical Laboratory under the case entitled "Unknown Subjects, A. Before B Propaganda", Pittsburgh file 14-2.

[redacted] further advised that [redacted]

Residence Address: [redacted]
Business Address: [redacted]
Occupation: [redacted]

[redacted], made available to the writer the records of this institution which reflect that [redacted]

Neighborhood:

[redacted] verified the fact that [redacted] resides in [redacted] of this hotel and that he has been there for approximately six months. [redacted] stated that [redacted] is quiet, has nothing much to say, and has very few visitors; [redacted]

[redacted] advised that [redacted] was employed as a metallurgist [redacted] that he has several college degrees; that he works ordinary hours, and is paid approximately $1 per hour. He was born [redacted]

Description: The following description of [redacted] was obtained through observation and interrogation:

Age [redacted]
Race
Birth date

Birth place
Height
Weight
Hair
Eyes
Build
Complexion
Marital status

[redacted]

[redacted], checked the records of this organization and stated that he had no record of [redacted]

b7C
b7D

[redacted]

b7E

[redacted]

It should be noted that when interviewed in the Pittsburgh Field Office [redacted] advised that all of the members of instant organization, with the exception of [redacted] are former members of the America First Committee.

b7C

Residence Address: [redacted]
Business Address:

Occupation:

b2
b7D

[redacted]

Neighborhood:

b2
b7D

[redacted] further advised that [redacted] is a Socialist and radically inclined but that the only person he ever noticed [redacted] associating with to any degree was [redacted]

Selective Service Status: [redacted] made available to the writer the Selective Service record of [redacted] which reflects that he registered February 16, 1942; that he was born [redacted] that he is employed by [redacted], that his salary was $1797 in 1941; that is occupation is unlisted trader and statistician.

Description: The following description of [redacted] was obtained from his Selective Service file and from [redacted]

Age	[redacted]
Race	
Birth date	
Birth place	
Height	
Weight	
Eyes	
Hair	
Complexion	
Build	
Scars or marks	

[redacted] made available to the writer a [redacted] report on [redacted] dated October 29, 1941, which reflects no information of value with regard to this investigation.

[redacted] ment, checked the files of their respective organizations and stated that they had no record on [redacted]

b7E [redacted] and produced no information of value.

[redacted]

Residence Address: [redacted]
Business Address:

Occupation: [redacted]

[redacted]

Neighborhood:

b7C
b7D [redacted]

Description: The following description of [redacted] was obtained from [redacted]

Age
Race
Height
Weight
Hair
Complexion
Build
Distinguishing characteristics

[redacted]

[redacted], made available to the writer the [redacted] report on [redacted] which reflects that in 1937 she resided at [redacted] Pittsburgh, and was employed as [redacted] that in September 1941 she resided at [redacted] Pittsburgh, and was employed as [redacted]

[redacted] checked the records of their respective organizations and stated they had no record on [redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

b7D

[redacted] was again contacted and stated that he had no further information with regard to the America First Committee.

[redacted]

b7C
b7D

On June 16, 1942, [redacted] telephonically advised the Pittsburgh Office that she was certain that the leaders of the America First Committee were still holding meetings at 7 East Montgomery Street, North Side, Pittsburgh. [redacted] advised further that this group had held a meeting on Sunday June 13, 1942, and although she was not positive of the place she believed it to be Centerville, Pa.

Upon interview [redacted] advised that she had received the following information with regard to the America First Committee from [redacted] of [redacted] the America First Committee is still meeting at 7 East Montgomery Street, in the rear of the residence of [redacted] According to [redacted] told her that [redacted] has a portable typewriter which she takes to the residence of JOSEPH E. HARRIS, 7 East Montgomery Street, where she does stenographic work for him; that [redacted] and her mother [redacted] are violently opposed to President ROOSEVELT and often call him obscene names.

On July 24, 1942, [redacted] called the writer and advised that there would be a meeting of the America First Committee at 7 East Montgomery Street on instant date at 8:30 P.M. The writer accompanied by Special Agent [redacted] conducted a surveillance on 7 East Montgomery Street from 8:00 P.M. until 9:30 P.M., during which time there was no evidence of a meeting at this address.

[redacted] advised that she is employed as [redacted] stated that Mr. and Mrs. JOSEPH E. HARRIS are the chief instigators of the meetings of the America First Committee and that [redacted] wears an America First Committee button underneath her coat lapel; that she and her mother [redacted] are violently anti-Administration and anti-Semitic and refer to the President as a Jew. [redacted] further advised that this group meets frequently in the rear of 7 East Montgomery Street. According to [redacted] is a great admirer of Senator WHEELER.

b7C
b7D

b7C, b7D [redacted] advised that the following persons [redacted]

b7C
b7D

[redacted]

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[redacted]

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[redacted]

b2
b7D

[redacted] advised that the above list does not contain the names of all the persons who have [redacted] but does contain the names of [redacted]

b7C

It should be noted that Pittsburgh file 14-3-4 reflects that [redacted] was a member of the America First Committee from April 1941 to its dissolution on December 8, 1941, and that she was the subject of a section investigation by the Pittsburgh Field Office

A confidential source made available to the writer the following list of individuals who had completed mimeographed forms addressed to the America First Committee and containing the following statement: "I am willing to serve actively in the work indicated below, and will be available for the days and time as follows:

b7C [redacted]

It should be noted that Pittsburgh file 100-0-2847 contains information alleging that [redacted] is pro-Fascist and pro-Italian.

Pittsburgh file 100-0-3363 reflects that [redacted] has made several un-American statements at the Carnegie-Illinois Steel Corporation plant where he is employed in the time department and that he was formerly a flagrant member of the America First Committee.

b7c

It should be noted that Pittsburgh file 100-0-1573 reflects that [redacted] may be a Communist and is anti-British and an isolationist.

A search of the indices of the Pittsburgh Field Of[illegible] reflected no information on the other individuals contained in the above list.

A confidential source also advised that the local Pittsburgh Committee of the America First Committee was composed of the follow[illegible] individuals:

b7C

[redacted]

It should be noted that Pittsburgh file 100-0-2190 reflects that [redacted] was reported in September 1941 to have cursed the President and made the statement that Roosevelt just wanted the seas opened for England; that the President did not write one of his speeches but that some Jew did; that [redacted] stated that he was 100% with the Nazis, and that Germany would take this country over and shoot all the Jews; that when the Germans came here they would not fool around like they did in Europe. This file further reflects that [redacted] belonged to the America First Committee.

It should be noted that Pittsburgh file 100-2307-1A(2 reflects that [redacted] was among the sponsors of an advertisement appea ing in the Pittsburgh Sun-Telegraph on March 15, 1942, requesting contributions to Russian War Relief, Inc.

b7C

Pittsburgh file 100-0-3371 reflects that on December 10, 1941, [redacted] addressed a letter to the President in which he sever criticized the President for his manner of speech and his administration of the Government. Pittsburgh file 100-0-2134 reflects that on August 20, 1941, [redacted] addressed a letter to Lieutenant General BEN LEAR in which he criti- cized the Jews, the British Empire, labor, farm relief, and the Army, and state that "the organization to which I belong will show you at the next Congressiona election how to change the complexion of Congress..."

Pittsburgh file 67-0-4347 reflects that [redacted] was an applicant for the position of Special Agent with the Bureau in May 1941.

b7C
b7D

Pittsburgh file 100-47 reflects that [redacted] was an informant in the case entitled [redacted]

A check of the indices of the Pittsburgh Field Offi reflects no further information on the above-listed individuals.

[redacted] stated that JOSEPH E. HARRIS keeps on the top of his desk the following telephone list:

b7C

[redacted]

[redacted]

Pittsburgh file 100-3888 reflects that on December 7, 1941, a meeting of members of the America First Committee was held at the residence of [redacted] Pittsburgh; that approximately 20 people attended this meeting, and that the following were present: [redacted] This file further reflects that the group was addressed by a woman from New York, name unknown, who spoke ferociously about Great Britain and expressed her belief that both the President and his wife should be thrown out of the White House and that no one should offer service in civilian defense programs.

Pittsburgh file 100-31-90, page 48, reflects that the name of [redacted], Pittsburgh, appears in the card file of the American Peace Mobilization.

b7c

A check of the indices of the Pittsburgh Office reflects no further information on the names contained on HARRIS' telephone list.

[redacted] advised that the office of JOSEPH E. HARRIS is being used by the Independent Electors Committee of Pennsylvania in the political campaign of JAMES J. DAVIS for governor and that HARRIS is the author of a book entitled "Arbitration versus Strikes" which is published by Watkins and Company, 1560 East Ohio St., Pittsburgh. According to a confidential source JOSEPH E. HARRIS is a member of ane interested in the American Independent Labor Association which association is an outgrowth of the organization formerly known as the "Defenders of America".

A highly confidential source made available to the writer a credential card of the American Independent Labor Association, a mimeographed legal size sheet entitled "World Jack Pot" concerning an article with regard to Germany, United States, British, and Italian bankers profiting as partners in spite of the war, and a typewritten specimen from the Royal typewriter located in the office of HARRIS. The American Independent Labor Association credential card and the "World Jack Pot" are being retained in the Pittsburgh file and the typewritten specimen has been forwarded to the Technical Laboratory.

A confidential source also made available to the writer a letter addressed to [redacted] Pittsburgh, bearing the return address of [redacted], which letter contained the salutation, "Dear

Pop" which in part read ". . . since you changed your name. . ." and was signed [redacted]

A check of the indices of the Pittsburgh Office failed to reflect any information concerning [redacted]

A highly confidential source made available to the writer the following list containing names of individuals connected with the American Independent Labor Association:

[redacted]

b7c

[redacted]

A highly confidential source of information made available to the writer a letter addressed to [redacted] the contents of which are as follows:

"Bet you will think I have left the country. Well - wish I could. Anyhow, was very much surprised to receive your telegram, then one to PEG. . .

"Haven't seen any men with turned down hats yet, so the F.B.I. must not be on trial. Will look for them any day.

"Reason not written, thought maybe we could get hands on some cash for you.

"When write me do so at [redacted] not here at apartment.

"I have nothing whatsoever to do on job, only walk around and look wise all dressed up. My own boss, 9-5-one hour lunch - one-half day Saturday - but don't like it... Don't be surprised if you get a knock any time on door from some guy wanting a bed. I am writing to BETTY J. through P. O. Box. Have only been pressed once, if I ever did, I would tell all these people off and leave and can't right now - will write sooner next time, so let me hear quick like - don't send any mail to apartment - just air mail to box. Best regards to MIKE and all, your pal always." (s) [redacted]

The same source of information had no further information with regard to the activities of [redacted] or the instant organization.

[redacted] New Post Office Building, Pittsburgh, stated that there is no mail box in downtown Pittsburgh under the name of [redacted] Bureau of National Affairs, Inc., and that there is no post office box for JOSEPH E. HARRIS at the North Side Post Office Station; that there is no post office box for [redacted] at the Squirrel Hill

Post Office Station, and that there is no post office box for [redacted] at the Bellevue Post Office. [redacted] further advised that on September 19, 1941, [redacted] in the name of the America First Committee, 629 Liberty Avenue, made application to mail matter without fixing stamps and that in the application he designated that he would mail 10,000 pieces twice monthly. Permit #696 was issued on September 19, 1941, and it is still in effect but the last mail sent was on December 5, 1941, and the America First Committee still has $10 on deposit.

b7c

-P E N D I N G-

UNDEVELOPED LEADS

THE NEW YORK FIELD DIVISION

AT NEW YORK CITY

Will ascertain the nature of the Polish Information Center, 151 East 67th Street and if subversive the connection between it and subject organization as [redacted].

Will discreetly ascertain the nature of the Committee for Constitunal, SAMUEL B. PETTINGILL, Chairman, 205 East 42nd Street and if subversive what connection exists with subject organization as [redacted] PETTINGILL addressed the America First Committee in Washington, D. C., on or about November 3, 1941.

Will discreetly ascertain the name of the individual residin at [redacted] and his connection with instant organization a [redacted]

Will ascertain the nature of and possible connection of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, Room 814, 52 Vanderbilt Avenue with subject organization as [redacted]

b7C
b7E

Will discreetly ascertain the activities of [redacted]

THE PHILADELPHIA FIELD DIVISION

AT PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA

Will discreetly ascertain the connection between [redacted]

AT SCRANTON, PENNSYLVANIA

Will discreetly ascertain the nature of the establishment a 1313 Prospect Avenue and possible connection with subject organization as [redacted]

THE KANSAS CITY FIELD DIVISION

AT WICHITA, KANSAS

Will discreetly ascertain what connection exists between instant organization and the Defenders of Christian Faith whose publication,

The Defender, is [redacted]

THE BOSTON FIELD DIVISION

AT BASS RIVER, CAPE COD, MASSACHUSETTS

Will ascertain what connection [redacted] has with instant organization and [redacted]

Will ascertain the nature of the World's Fellowship, Inc., Auxiliary Worlds Government Foundation, and if subversive the connection with instant organization as [redacted]

AT CONCORD, MASSACHUSETTS

Will ascertain what connection [redacted] has with instant organization and [redacted] It should be noted that the Pittsburgh Office by letter dated December 15, 1941, forwarded to the Boston Office material [redacted]

b7C
b7E

AT UPTON, MASSACHUSETTS

Will discreetly ascertain the activities of the parish prie of the Holy Angels Church and his connection with instant organization. [redacted]

THE LOS ANGELES FIELD DIVISION

AT BEVERLEY HILLS, CALIFORNIA

Will ascertain what connection [redacted] has with instant organization as [redacted]

THE MIAMI FIELD DIVISION

AT ORLANDO, FLORIDA

Will discreetly ascertain what connection exists between t [redacted] and instant organization as [redacted]

THE SPRINGFIELD FIELD DIVISION

AT MOLINE, ILLINOIS

Will ascertain what connection exists between [redacted] and instant organization as [redacted]

THE SAN DIEGO FIELD DIVISION

AT RANCHO SANTA FE

Will discreetly ascertain what connection exists between [redacted] and instant organization as [redacted]

THE CLEVELAND FIELD DIVISION

AT LORAIN, OHIO

Will discreetly ascertain the activities of and the connecti with subject organization of [redacted]

b7C
b7E

THE OMAHA FIELD DIVISION

AT OMAHA, NEBRASKA

Will discreetly ascertain the nature of the firm of [redacted] and the connection with instant organization.

THE MILWAUKEE FIELD DIVISION

AT PULASKI, WISCONSIN

Will contact [redacted] and ascertain the background and other pertinent information concerning [redacted]

THE HUNTINGTON FIELD DIVISION

AT CLARKSBURG, WEST VIRGINIA

b7C
b7D
b7C

Will again contact the person designated as [redacted] in the report of Special Agent [redacted] dated May 26, 1942, at Huntington, captioned [redacted] Huntington file 100-1897, for additional information concerning the activities of [redacted] and the connection of [redacted] with subject organization, it should be noted that reference is also made to [redacted] in the report of Special Agent [redacted] dated April 23, 1942, at Huntington, W. Va., caption [redacted] Huntington file 100-1376.

THE CHICAGO FIELD DIVISION

AT MENDOTA, ILLINOIS

Will discreetly ascertain the activities of and the connect with the subject organization of [redacted] Reference is made to the report of Special Agent [redacted] dated May 26, 1942, at Huntington captioned [redacted]

THE WASHINGTON FIELD DIVISION

AT WASHINGTON, D. C.

b1C
b2D

Will ascertain the connection of [redacted] with instant organization as [redacted] Reference is made to the report of Special Agent [redacted] dated July 20, 1942, at Washington, D. C., captioned [redacted] with aliases".

Will discreetly ascertain the activities of the Franciscan Fathers, 1362 Monroe Street, N.E., as relating to subject organization as this [redacted]

THE DES MOINES FIELD DIVISION

AT SIOUX CITY, IOWA

Will ascertain the activities of [redacted] for possible connection with subject organization as requested by Pittsburgh letter dated July 29, 1942.

THE PITTSBURGH FIELD DIVISION

AT PITTSBURGH, PENNSYLVANIA

Will continue to follow and report activities of subject organization.

Will again contact [redacted] for additional information regarding [redacted] source of income.

1
b2
b1C
b7D

Will again contact [redacted] for additional addresses of an information pertaining to [redacted]

Will again contact [redacted] for information concerning the meetings of subject organization at 402 Investment Building.

Will ascertain the nature of the Franciscan Educational Conference with the possibility that [redacted] is using this organization for the distribution of propaganda as [redacted] is reported to be a member

this Conference.

Will attempt to ascertain the name of the real estate agent who is reported to be working with [redacted] in the formation of chapters of subject organization in Pittsburgh. b7C

Will follow and report results of the Laboratory examination requested by Pittsburgh letter dated August 31, 1942.

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FBI/DC

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS FILE NO. 100-687

REPORT MADE AT	DATE WHEN MADE	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE	REPORT MADE BY
Salt Lake City, Utah	9-12-42	8-17-42; 9-1,8-42.	[redacted] b7C

TITLE: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

CHARACTER OF CASE: INTERNAL SECURITY - C

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS: Further investigation indicates that this organization has been totally disbanded and is not active in any way in Salt Lake City at the present time.

- P -

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 10-22-90 BY SP8BD/

REFERENCE: Report of Special Agent [redacted], Salt Lake City, Ut dated 8-25-42.

DETAILS:

Agent recontacted [redacted] who advised he had made some additional inquiries since contacted by Agent [redacted] that as far as he had been able to ascertain, the America First Committee had not been act in any way in the vicinity of Salt Lake City, since it was officially disbande after December 7, 1941.

On September 3, 1942, [redacted] again contacted Agent stated that he had recently conversed with a [redacted] and that [redacted] had had inquiries made indirectly of [redacted] who was very active in the America First Committee; that [redacted] now state that the America First Committee has been entirely disbanded, and when asked whether the former America First Committee was being used as a nucleus for a n organization, he stated that there may be a few "crackpots" who are trying to f a new organization out of the old America First Committee, but that he had noth to do with same and knew of no such attempts in the vicinity of Salt Lake City.

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: Jay C Nauman SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

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9/18 38

15 SEP 16 19[illegible]

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b7C

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b2 b7D b7C

[redacted] pointed out that [redacted] has been active in the Rosicrucian Fellowship, and recently an article appeared in the local newspaper to the effect that [redacted] had made a trip to Los Angeles to give a series of lectures to Rosicrucian organizations in that vicinity.

b2 b7D b7C

Agent recontacted [redacted] who stated that he had been unable to develop any additional information to that furnished to Special Agent [redacted] that the organization he was trying to think of when conversing with Agent [redacted] was the Rosicrucians, with which [redacted] was affiliated, and he pointed out that he had read in the paper recently that [redacted] had made a trip to Los Angeles to address the Rosicrucian Fellowship in that vicinity.

The article above referred to appeared in the "Salt Lake Telegram" [redacted] and was a short item to the effect that [redacted] head of the Rosicrucian Fellowship of Utah, would leave Salt Lake City to make a series of lectures to societies in Los Angeles and San Francisco.

b2 b7D b7C

Recently while conversing with [redacted] in connection with investigation of a case entitled [redacted], with aliases; INTERNAL SECURITY - G", Agent was advised that [redacted] was an employee of the [redacted] and had been so employed for the past twelve years. This informant stated that [redacted] was very active in the America First Committee, particularly in the summer and fall of 1941 and [redacted]

[redacted] informant stated that he had questioned [redacted] concerning her activities in the Committee at this time and that eventually she made the trip East. He stated that [redacted] had never to his knowledge [redacted] that to the best of his knowledge she is not active in any such organization at the present time.

In view of the above information, it is not believed that any good purpose would be served at this time by interviewing [redacted]

P E N D I N G

UNDEVELOPED LEADS:

THE SALT LAKE CITY OFFICE:

* AT RENO, NEVADA.

Through confidential informants and appropriate sources, will ascertain if any individuals or groups may be using the America First Committee in a manner detrimental to the Internal Security of this country.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
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Section 552		Section 552a
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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INV...

Form No. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT CHICAGO

100-139

REPORT MADE AT	DATE WHEN MADE	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE	REPORT MADE BY
DES MOINES	9/19/42	8/25,26,27,28;9/2,3/42	b7c [redacted]

TITLE	CHARACTER OF CASE
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE	INTERNAL SECURITY

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS: Dubuque chapter, America First Committee, organized Ma 1941. Dissolved 12/7/41. Backed by Arch Bishop FRANC BRUCHMAN of Dubuque who was very active in national organization. Local President HAUPTLI was former empl of Sears Roebuck, Chicago, and personal friend of Gene ROBERT E. WOOD. Members were well known Republicans a members of Social Justice in Dubuque. No evidence o continued activity or foreign influence. List of offi activities, and out-of-town speakers obtained from confidential informants.

-P-

Reference: Bureau letter to Des Moines dated 8/18/42;
b7c Report of Special Agent [redacted] Des Moines, 5

Details: AT DUBUQUE, IOWA

b7c
b7D

[redacted] stated that the America First Com it had been very active during its brief life and that the President had been HERBERT L. HAUPTLI who was also president of the Maizewood Products Company and presid of the Chamber of Commerce. [redacted] said the Co headquarters were at Sixth and Main Street and that t had been a good many out-of-town speakers who had addressed miscellaneous meetings in Dubuque. [redacted] said that the Committee had a few complete mailing li and that although he had never been a member he had received a copy of their pamphlets and advertisements. [redacted] stated that as far as he knows, the Comittee h

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APPROVED AND FORWARDED: [redacted] SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

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2 Chicago
2 Des Moines

b7c

10-28-90 SP3 SJC

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7/6/67 SP3 STS/REG

been completly disbanded and all of the officers and leading members are presently "flag wavers". He said that Mr. HAUPTLI is among the leaders in the local civilian defense projects and had been the sponsor of many bond drives.

b2
b2D

[redacted] stated that the America First Committee in Dubuque had been made up of many of the regular "joiners" of the community, outstanding Republicans, and members of the Social Justice organization. The informant said that in his estimation they were not the most intelligent people in the town although they were some of the most prominent. Arch Bishop BECKMAN was affilliated with the organization but strictly from the humanitarian angle. Since December 7, 1941, Arch Bishop BECKMAN has become a "red hot foot for the American" and presently insists that his Priests pay monthly calls to mothers and families of boys who are in the service. The Arch Bishop also encourages his young Priests to join the Army as Chaplains. Informant said that many people in Dubuque had been more or less "duped into the organization and had afterwards been very sorry that they had become involved." [redacted] said that he is in a position to know about any present activities of the Committee and that from his observations, both the Social Justice organization and the America First Committee are dissolved and not active at the present time.

[redacted] was acquainted with many of the outstanding members of the America First Committee and after rather discreet inquiry into their present activities, stated that there is no evidence of continued activities of the Committee. Informant stated that many of the members have swerved from an anti-war to pro-war effort completely and at present are very active in the war effort, civilian defense, and bond sales. This informant revealed that President HERBERT HAUPTLI of the organization was a personal friend of General ROBERT E. WOOD and was connected with the Sears Roebuck Company in Chicago prior to his coming to Dubuque about two years ago. It is the common opinion of the members that it was through his effort that the Committee was formed and that can be directly traced to General WOOD.

[redacted] was interviewed under pretext and stated that he had been an active member of the America First Committee but had withdrawn just prior to December 7. He stated that the Committee was formed and became active under the leadership of President HAUPTLI who was in some way connected with General WOOD. [redacted] said that as far as he knows the America First Committee is quite inactive at the present time and that most members are even ashamed to admit that they ever belonged to the organization.

[redacted] revealed that the following were the officers of the America First Committee in Dubuque: b2 b7D

FRED A. HAUPTLI president. Mr. HAUPTLI is [redacted]

FRED A. HOERNER, first vice president, [redacted]

Dr. VINCENT CONNELLY, second vice president, [redacted] b7C

Mrs. CARL D. HOERNER, secretary, [redacted]

Miss CATHERINE GEISLER, [redacted]

[redacted] treasurer [redacted] b2 b7D

[redacted] stated that when the America First Committee was at its peak it had probably 600 members of whom very few were active. Due to the short life of the Committee the informant did not believe that any subversive influences had come to bear upon it and that at present it is quite completely dissolved. The informant said that any outside influences would have come in the form of speakers to the various meetings and that she could remember no one other than a man named NORDSBORG who spoke before the Committee on June 21, 1941. The informant described Mr. NORDSBORG as follows:

Height--5'8"
Weight--180
Complexion--Dark
Build--Stocky
Hair--Dark
Age--Apprxoimately 50

The informant was unable to furnish NORDSBORG's first name [redacted] that he traveled with his wife and daughter and that [redacted] was quite a well known figure skater in the United States.

NORDSBORG appeared before a meeting of the active members of the Committee and made a speech at a dinner given at Kertz Cafteria. He [redacted] heated in his denounciations of the administration and [redacted] that the President and Congress were traitors to the

people of the United States and should be indicted and empeached immediately. After this speech Mr. NORDSBORG proceeded to take up a collection for the purpose of going to Washington and indicting the President and Congree. [redacted] He further stated that the Committee did not trust NORDSBORG as they did not know anything about his background but that President HAUPTLI was quite "sold" on him and very much in favor of his going to Washington for the above purpose. President HAUPTLI endeavored to get the endorsement of General WOOD for NORDSBORG but failed in this attempt. NORDSBORG returned to Dubuque several times about this meeting but did not collecte all of the pledges due to thefact that the Committee after an investigation found that he never went near Washington but had had been spending his time in California. The informant was unable to offer any further information on the background or activities of NORDSBORG.

62
62

[redacted] is of the opinion that the Committee at the present time is completely disbanded and that there is no activity whatever. Informant said that any such activity would have come to informant's notice and that there had never even been any attempts to reform the committee along any underlines or any other name.

[redacted] furnished a list exactly similar to the list of officers set out above under the interview with [redacted] This informant stated that there had been no evidence of any subversive or foreign influence brought to bear upon the committee during its brief life and that at present it has completely disbanded. [redacted]

The following information was made available by [redacted] on Mr. NORDSBORG.

ANDREW B. NORDSBORG was a financial writer and expert from Los Angeles, California, who had appeared on a great many America First Committee programs throughout the country with CHARLES A. LINDBERGH. Mr. NORDSBORG was accompanied by his daughter who is a well known roller skating champion of the United States. The informant stated that the Committee made an investigation of NORDSBORG after his collection of $1,500.00 and determined that he had at one time been a teacher in the Los Angeles Public School system. Informant said that NORDSBORG was nottrusted by the members of the Committee except President HAUPTLI and had been dropped when it was discovered that he was misusing the funds which he had collected.

[redacted] stated that in addition to NORDSBORG the following speakers had appeared in Dubuque under the auspices of the America First Committee at a large peace rally held at Loras College Stadium in June of 1941:

Arch Bishop FRANCIS BECKMAN of the Arch Diocese in Dubuque.
General ROBERT E. WOOD of Chicago.
Colonel CHARLES A. LINDBERGH.
Senator BURTON K. WHEELER.
Mrs. JANET AYER FAIRBANKS, Chicago, novelist.

This informant declared that the organization in Dubuque had been made up of townspeople well known for their pattriotism and good character. There was no outside influence brought to bear upon the committee even from other America First organizations in the State. In August of 1941 the Dubuque Chapter was very severely criticized by Chicago headquarters for not being active enough in spreading literature, and increasing membership in the committee.

Informant said that if any outside influence would have been brought to bear it would have been through President HAUPTLI who had come from Chicago or through ANDRALS NORDSBORG. THE informant was quite sure that there is no continued activities of the committee and that there are no subsidiary organizations set-up in Dubuque under another name to carry on any of its work. The informant also advised that a list of the 600 committee members could be produced with some difficulty but that if it was necessary it would be submitted. At present, HERBERT HAUPTLI has the records in his possession in the offices of the Maizewood Produts Company.

-PENDING-

*UNDEVELOPED LEADS-

THE DES MOINES FIELD DIVISION

AT DES MOINES, IOWA

* Will develop confidential informants and conduct investigation for the purpose of ascertaining whether or not the structure set up by the America First Committee is now being used by foreign interests or by individuals cooperating with foreign interests in such a manner as to interfere with the war effort.

AT DAVENPORT, IOWA

* Will conduct similar investigation.

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FBI/DOJ

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Newark, New Jersey

[redacted]
100-5606

September 25, 1942 b7C

Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Re: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
Internal Security - G

Dear Sir:

There is being transmitted herewith for the information of the Bureau a copy of a speech made by CHARLES A. LINDBERGH before an America First Committee rally at Cleveland, Ohio August 9, 1941.

The speech is stamped "AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE, Hudson County Chapter, 340 Palisade Avenue, Jersey City, N. J., Journal Square 2-1937", and was received at this office from an unknown source.

Very truly yours,

E. E. CONROY
Special Agent in Charge

Encl.

#249,868
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10-29-90 SP8BTJ/CAL

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1 ENCLO. B

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SEP 5 1942

FOR VICTORY BUY UNITED STATES DEFENSE BONDS AND STAMPS

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
HUDSON COUNTY CHAPTER
340 PALISADE AVENUE
JERSEY CITY, N. J.
JOurnal Square 2-1937

340 PALISADE AVE.
JERSEY CITY, N. J.

ADDRESS OF CHARLES A. LINDBERGH AT CLEVELAND, OHIO

SATURDAY, AUGUST 9, 1941

349,862
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/6/87 BY SP8BTJ/RB6
10:30a.m. SEPTEMBER

Speaking before an AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE rally in Cleveland Public Auditorium, tonight, Charles A. Lindbergh said:

There is no need for me to outline to you the seriousness of the situation we face today in America. In the past, we have gone on the assumption that our country was governed according to the will of the people. That has been taken for granted as a part of the American system of life. We were taught, even as school children, that government by the people was inseparable from the freedom and liberty for which our forefathers fought. We were taught that, as American citizens, we inherited the right to know about, and to vote upon the fundamental politics of our nation. In the past, we have elected candidates to represent us, and not to rule us. In the past, our President was responsible to our representatives in Congress. And the Supreme Court sat, incorruptibly, as a final safeguard for freedom and justice in our nation. Each one of these branches of government, the Executive, the Legislative, and the Judicial, was intended to be a check upon the others, that our American way of life might be preserved.

But now the question arises whether we any longer have a representative system of government in this country, whether we any longer have the right to know about, and to vote upon, the fundamental policies of our nation. We are faced with the stark fact that we have been carried to the verge of war against the opposition of a majority of our people -- a war not of defense, but of attack; a war not in America, but in Europe and Asia. We are faced with the realization that our President consults our representatives in Congress with less and less frequency, and that, while the direct attempt to pack our Supreme Court failed, its membership has now changed indirectly through retirements. We are faced with the knowledge that the most important issue of our generation -- that of peace or war; that of defense or attack; that of whether or not the destiny of America is to be merged with the destiny of Europe -- has not been placed before a vote of our people. That issue has been withheld from us, and withheld intentionally.

National polls show that from the time this war started in Europe, when Americans were asked whether or not we should enter it, the overwhelming majority answered "NO!" National polls, today, show that the great majority of our people still stand opposed to entering the war. But step by step we have been carried toward it. The Administration in Washington has not even tried to follow the mandate of our people to stay out of war. Many of the office holders in our Government have made every effort to evade that mandate. Instead of informing us, they have withheld information. Instead of taking steps to keep us out of war, they have taken steps to get us into war. From the repeal of the arms embargo to the occupation of Iceland, we have become more and more involved. And each step we have made toward war has been with the promise of the Administration that it was for the purpose of keeping us out.

Men and women of Ohio: While there is still time to think and speak freely, Americans must ask themselves this question -- Are we operating under a government by representation, or are we operating under a government by subterfuge? If our Government carries us to war with the majority of our people against it, are we not faced with a problem that is even more fundamental than war itself?

I fully realize that the charge of subterfuge is serious in the extreme; but let me recall to your minds a few of the facts that lie behind it. Do you remember how we were told that the repeal of the arms embargo would be the surest way to keep this country out of war? The same people who tell us now that we must go to war, told us then that it was only necessary to <u>sell</u> arms on a "cash and carry" basis in order to insure victory for the Allies. They were emphatic in saying that no one asked us to lend money, or to send troops abroad. It was only last spring that the "Lease-Lend" Bill was passed, again with promises that it would keep us out of war; but by that time we were informed that we had to <u>lend</u> arms in order to insure victory. You remember as well as I all those other steps that the Administration said were so definitely "short of war" -- the transfer of planes, and warships, and cannon; the draft of men; the expenditure of countless millions. We were never told the true meaning of the measures the Administration asked us to support. During the weeks before election we were told "again and again and again" that American

boys would not be sent to fight in foreign wars. But we now find that inside of these sweetened promises of peace lay the deadly pills of war, and that we have been swallowing them one after another for many months. We find that while the American people were promised peace, the British people were given to understand that we would enter war. Only a few days ago, the Prime Minister of England confidently told his people that America is on the verge of war. British generals discuss openly when and where an American Expeditionary Force is to be sent. And our President does not renew his promise. Now that the elections are over, we in America ask in vain to be told, even once "again" that our boys will not be sent to fight in foreign wars.

These are not the only proofs of the subterfuge in our present Government. Let me cite a few more examples. Not many months ago, our President told us that "convoys mean shooting, and shooting means war". Then, a little later, when we objected to the use of convoys, we were informed that our navy was not "convoying," but that it was already being used to "patrol" the seas for an indefinite distance from our shores. The word "patrol" has been substituted for the word "convoy", and possibly the letter of the law was satisfied; but whatever may be the legal technicalities, the fact remains that the American people were misled.

The hypocrisy and subterfuge that surrounds us comes out in every statement of the war party. When we demand that our Government listen to the 80% of the people who oppose war, they shout that we are causing disunity. The same groups who call on us to defend democracy and freedom abroad, demand that we kill democracy and freedom at home by forcing four-fifths of our people into war against their will. The one-fifth who are for war call the four-fifths who are against war the "fifth column."

These interventionists, who call themselves the defenders of freedom and democracy, dare not place the issue of war to a vote of our people. They dared not let us vote on war at the last election, and they dare not let us vote on war today. They are afraid to put the issue to a referendum of the people, or to a vote of Congress. They know that the people of this country will not vote for war, and they therefore plan on involving us through subterfuge. As I said months ago, I have listened to interventionists in this country argue among

themselves about what steps "short of war" would take us into war most quickly.

Men and women of Ohio: The war party's plan is clear. Since this country will not enter war willingly, they plan on creating incidents and situations which will force us into it. The interventionists know that if our defense program is extended far enough into Europe or Asia, they can get us into a foreign war under the guise of defending America. They now say, with all the power of their propaganda, that we must occupy Africa in order to defend America. They say that we must control islands lying off the coast of the Eastern hemisphere. They want us to send our soldiers to the East Indies, the Cape Verdes, the Canaries, Madeira, the Azores, Ireland, and possibly England as well. And they know that if our occupation of Iceland doesn't bring on the shooting, the occupation of these other places will.

We are told that we must fight for the freedom of mankind. But the greatest battle for freedom is being fought right here in America today. If we cannot maintain our freedom in the New World, we cannot force freedom on the Old World. What is freedom if it is not the right of a free people to vote on the issue of foreign war? Where is freedom if four-fifths of a nation can be carried to war against its will? Where is freedom when Americans ask unanswered whether or not our navy has already fought upon the sea -- whether or not our forces have already been sent abroad? Where is freedom when the American army is sent to occupy an island of Europe without our Congress even being asked? Where is freedom when it becomes disunity for citizens to meet and discuss their beliefs on the fundamental issues of their nation? Where has freedom gone when we in America are not even informed of the underlying intentions of our Government; when the agents of a foreign power are encouraged to speak and to travel throughout our land, while the same lecture halls that are open to them are closed to those of us who place the welfare and independence of our own country above the interests of any foreign power?

I will tell you where freedom lies today. It lies in the meetings of fearless men and women throughout this land -- in meetings such as we are holding here in Cleveland tonight; in hundreds of similar meetings in every section of the United States -- in cities, in

villages, and on farms. Freedom for us in America lives or dies with the success of these gatherings of our citizens. Freedom for us does not lie on any Soviet battlefield, or on any coastline of Europe, Africa, or Asia. It lies today in the question of whether or not the action of our Government in America is controlled by the will of our people. If we are represented in Washington, we are free men; but if we are ruled by Washington, we are not. Freedom lies in the support we give to those patriots in Congress who still stand undauntedly opposed to war, who still listen to the voice of the people they represent. Freedom for us depends on whether or not we are ready to protect and carry it on through these days of trial and war.

The America First Committee has been organized by American citizens who are ready to fight to maintain the freedom and independence we inherited from our forefathers. We have organized to give voice and strength to the great majority of Americans who oppose this war. We have organized to make their influence - your influence - effective. We stand for the right to vote on the vital issues of our nation. We stand for the right of citizens to meet and to discuss the problems of war and peace. We stand for the right of those who do the paying and the dying, to also have a voice in the deciding. We stand for an impregnable defense and an independent America. If you stand with us, we ask you to join our Committee. We ask you to help us organize these meetings. We ask you to write to your Congressmen and Senators in Washington, demanding that they heed the voice of the people who elected them, and that they in turn demand that the people of our nation be accurately informed of the developments of this war, and of the actions and intentions of our Government.

Men and women of Ohio: For two years I have traveled through this country, speaking in opposition to our entering the war. I have said that I believe it would be disastrous, both for America and Europe, if we took part in it. But the issue today is even greater than the issue of war or peace. It is the issue of whether or not we still have a representative government; whether or not we in the United States of America are still a free people, with the right to decide the fundamental policies of our nation. This is an issue that strikes to the foundations of our way of living, our government, and our rights as citizens. This meeting tonight and the meetingslike it

that are being held all over this country, are held to protest that this nation was founded on the principle of government by consent of the people - an informed people, a trusted people. These meetings are held to demonstrate our adherence to this principle. If you believe in this principle, we ask you to make your voice heard by our Government in Washington. We urge you to speak, to work, and to pray -- that representative government may not perish from this nation.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

FILE NO. 100-687

REPORT MADE AT	DATE WHEN MADE	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE	REPORT MADE BY
SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH	9-22-42	9/11-14/42	b7c [redacted]

TITLE	CHARACTER OF CASE
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE	INTERNAL SECURITY - G

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS: Subject organization never active in State of Nevada although believed to have had a few financial contributors in the State.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 10-22-90 BY SP8 [illegible]

-C-

REFERENCE: Bureau letter dated 3-16-42
b7c Report of SA [redacted] dated 5-25-42.

DETAILS: Discreet inquiry of [redacted] indicated that there has never been any active chapter of the subject organization in Reno or in the State of Nevada.

WILLIAM KANE, Assistant United States Attorney and former inspector of Immigration and Naturalization Service advised that there has never been any chapter of America First in Reno or in the State of Nevada. He stated that there had been a few contributors to the organization in the State, but that he could not name any of them at this time.

[redacted] advised that there has never been any chapter of subject organization in the State and that this organization never received any publicity in the Nevada Journal or the Reno Evening Gazette.

[redacted] advised that he does not recall ever seeing any literature of this organization [redacted] although he is acquainted with the organization and its National Movement.

- C L O S E D -

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: [redacted] SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

FILE No. 100-139

REPORT MADE AT	DATE WHEN MADE	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE	REPORT MADE BY
DES MOINES, IOWA	9-28-42	8-13,14,15-42	b7C [redacted]

TITLE	CHARACTER OF CASE
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE	INTERNAL SECURITY - C

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS: Davenport Chapter American First organized loosely under normal leadership of prominent Republican isolationist but initiative largely in hands of pro-German individuals. Committee rooms maintained as gathering place of generally subversive elements. Officially disbanded December 7, 1941; committee rooms deserted two weeks later. Organization, Davenport, never represented more than a little group of individuals and probably no effort made to maintain the physical structure subsequent to our entry into the war.

- P -

REFERENCE: Bureau letter to Des Moines, Iowa, dated March 16, 1942.
b7C Report of Special Agent [redacted], Des Moines, Iowa, dated May 22, 1942.

DETAILS: AT DAVENPORT, IOWA

A careful review of the files of the Davenport Daily Times over a period during which the America First Committee was active in this District, reveals that the Committee had very little publicity except for a brief period about the time Senator NYE was engaged to speak before Davenport audience, August 16, 1941. On August 11, 1941 a brief article noted that a Mrs. WILLIAM VORDERBERG, 1212 Division Street, had been named temporary chairman. On August 12, 1941, it is noted that Judge W. W. SCOTT of the Iowa District Court had been named permanent chairman. On August 18, 1941, the rally which had been

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held August 16th was reported attended by 3,500 people. At the same time the paper reported that the American Firs Committee announced a Davenport membership of one thousand.

b2
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b7D

[redacted], who has already furnished valuable information to this office relative to the instant matter was recontacted in regard to the activities of the America First Committee in the closing days of its official existence. [redacted] stated that the committee rooms have been maintained by the society some two weeks after American's entrance into the war. [redacted] He said that the essence of all this conversation had been "they have gotten us into it haven't they?".

[redacted] was unable to furnish any further pertinent information.

[redacted] was interviewed by Agent on the advice of [redacted] and was very cooperative, [redacted] but that his connection with the committee had never gone beyond this. He had instructed them not to use his name on the letterheads [redacted] was unfamiliar with the activities of the Committee subsequent to the Nye Rally in August, 1941, and said he assumed the Committee had died a natural death following our entrance into war.

[redacted] was contacted regarding his knowledge of the active membership of the group and stated that it included such supposedly pro-Axis individuals as [redacted]

It would appear that the organization was never physically strong and that except for a brief period of publicity surrounding Senator Nye's appearance in Davenport the Committee never received great public interest but remained the instrument of a few individuals and there is no evidence that these individuals have not made any effort to utilize the structure set up by the America First Committee in Iowa for interests subversive to the national welfare.

All those individuals active in the America First Committee are known to this office. Included in that group is [redacted]

b7C

-P E N D I N G-

U N D E V E L O P E D L E A D S

THE DES MOINES FIELD DIVISION

AT DES MOINES, IOWA

* Will develop confidential informants and conduct investigati for the purpose of ascertaining whether or not the structure set up by the America First Committee in Iowa is now being used by foreign interests or by individuals cooperating with foreign interests in such a manner as to interfere with the war effort.

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[redacted] RM:KELLY 100-4712-464

October 16, 1942

SAC, Pittsburgh

RE: WE THE PEOPLE, INC.
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

b7C

Dear Sir:

Reference is made to the report of Special Agent [redacted] dated September 1, 1942, at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, entitled "America First Committee, Internal Security - C".

A review of the reference report reflects the activity of a small local group of individuals who were formerly members of the America First Committee. However, their activity does not represent a continuation of that Committee in any sense of the word. Accordingly, it is requested the investigation outlined in reference report and dealing with the following individuals be reported in the future under the above caption: [redacted]

With reference to the undeveloped leads set out in reference report, it is believed many of these can be ignored as can be seen by the following examples:

NEW YORK CITY

The Polish Information Center in New York City is the semiofficial organization under the control of the Polish government in exile and puts out material favorable to Poland.

The lead dealing with the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. Its very name does not indicate that it is in any way subversive.

The lead with reference to St. Joseph's Home does not appear pertinen[t] since [redacted]

CLEVELAND

It is not believed that the lead dealing with inquiries concerning th[e] should be initiated at this time, since [redacted] probably visited

WASHINGTON

Lead concerning [redacted] should be ignored as this is a well-known [illegible] standing.

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Ko
Mr. Tra
Mr. Carson
Mr. Col
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Kramer
Mr. McGuire
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

MAILED 10
OCT 19 1942
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 4/29/83 BY [redacted] #245238

The field offices receiving copies of this letter, wherever possible, should submit information already in their files concerning the individuals mentioned in undeveloped leads for that office, and should only conduct such additional investigation as would seem directly logical and pertinent.

Yours truly,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

CC: New York City
Philadelphia
Kansas City
Boston
Los Angeles
Miami
Springfield
San Diego
Cleveland
Omaha
Milwaukee
Huntington
Chicago
Washington
Des Moines

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT CHICAGO

FILE No 100-255 [redacted]

REPORT MADE AT	DATE WHEN MADE	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE	REPORT MADE BY
BIRMINGHAM, ALA.	10-1-42	8-3-42	[redacted] b7c

TITLE	CHARACTER OF CASE
O AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE	INTERNAL SECURITY - G

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS: [redacted] furnished no additional information of value.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 10-22-90 BY SP2 [illegible]

REFERENCE: Report of Special Agent [redacted] Birmingham, 5-27-42.

DETAILS: [redacted], was contacted and he advised that his office is presently located at [redacted] He stated that approximately one year ago he had moved out of the [redacted] inasmuch as the space was being rented to another party, and that while looking for space, he discussed the matter with [redacted] advised him that there was space available in his building, which was located o[redacted] and that if he desired, he could use his, [redacted]

b7c
b7D

He advised that he had known [redacted] in that both were affiliated with [redacted] while the office arrangement was in effect [redacted] would occasionally ask [redacted] to answer his telephone, and about this time [redacted] became interested in the America First Committee. He advised of the newspaper article which is set out in reference report and stated that he had caused a retraction of this to be made.

He was definitely of the opinion that the America First Committee was no longer in existence in the Birmingham area, and stated that it had very little success while in existence. [redacted] definitely recalled that [redacted] had received a communication from the main headquarters of the America First Committee, advising him that on the instant the United States declared war that he was to close up his office and cease all activities in connection with the

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America First Committee. This instruction was followed by [redacted] He did not recall [redacted] having received any funds in connection with the organization other than the original $200 received by him for the purpose of purchasing office equipment.

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3347

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT Chicago, Illinois

FILE NO. 100-6018

REPORT MADE AT	DATE WHEN MADE	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE	REPORT MADE BY
Cleveland, Ohio	10/9/42	9/19/42	[redacted] b7C

TITLE	CHARACTER OF CASE
O AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE	INTERNAL SECURITY - G

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS: No indication that [redacted] ever connected with subject organization or engaged in questionable activities. b7D

- RUC -

Reference: Report of Special Agent [redacted] dated September 1, 1942 at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

Details: AT LORAIN, OHIO

[redacted] b7C b7D stated that there never had been an active branch of America First Committee in Lorain, Ohio, nor had the Committee ever received or been given very much publicity in that City.

[redacted] recalls one individual in Lorain who had written a letter to the editor of the local newspaper regarding the America First Committee, but to the best of his knowledge that was the only reference ever made to that organization.

[redacted] further stated that he was personally acquainted with [redacted] advised that his contacts with [redacted]

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[redacted] was very cooperative and shared the views of [redacted] of the need for careful selection of the personnel in Defense industry.

In the opinion of [redacted] is a loyal American citizen and that neither he nor the [redacted] had ever been involved with the America First Committee or with any activities which might not be considered as American.

[redacted] did not know the name of the assistant to [redacted] but from a license number, [redacted] appearing on an automobile in the [redacted] garage, it was ascertained [redacted] that the registered owner was [redacted]

[redacted] suggested that some inquiry might be made of [redacted] and might possibly have information regarding [redacted] According to [redacted] there was no question about [redacted] loyalty as he had served in the Armed Forces of the United States in the first World War and would be apt to become quite violent should anyone question his sympathies from a nationalistic standpoint.

b7C
b7D

[redacted] He knew both [redacted] fairly well and both seemed to be "regular individuals." [redacted] was also acquainted with many members of [redacted] and all of these individuals have expressed real respect and admiration for the [redacted] This informant felt that if either or both of these individuals had not always been loyal in their conversations and activities that he surely would have heard of it through some one of his friends in the [redacted]

[redacted] also stated that quite frequently [redacted] spends some time at the [redacted] but this is not unusual [redacted]

There being no indication that [redacted] was ever connected with the America First Committee or that there has ever been any indicatfon that the [redacted] has engaged in any activities of an un- American nature, no further investigation is being conducted in this district and the matter is being considered as referred upon completion to the office or origin.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT Chicago, Illinois

FILE NO. 100-1007

REPORT MADE AT	DATE WHEN MADE	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE	REPORT MADE BY
San Diego, California	10-8-42	10-5-42	b7C [redacted]

TITLE	CHARACTER OF CASE
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE	INTERNAL SECURITY - G

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS: GEORGE N. PEEK, former agricultural economist in ROOSEVELT administration. Isolationist before the war. [redacted] b7D

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXC
DATE 10-22-90 BY SP8BDkc

REFERENCE: Report of Special Agent [redacted] b7C Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, dated September 1, 1942.

DETAILS: AT SAN DIEGO, CALIFORNIA

[redacted] b7

reflect the following information concerning GEORGE N. PEEK; that he was a member of the America First Committee in San Diego, California [redacted] b7

In the report of Special Agent [redacted] at San Diego, California, dated May 9, 1942, entitled "AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE", the following information was obtained. [redacted] b7

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b2D

[redacted] advised that GEORGE N. PEEK has lived at Rancho SantaFe, California for approximately 20 years. He is well known as an agricultural economist, having written several books on agriculture and also having been an agricultural economist for a time in the ROOSEVELT administration. [redacted] stated that Mr. PEEK did not agree with some of the ROOSEVELT farm policies and as a result resigned from the Department of Agriculture.

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b2D

[redacted] also stated that he believed that at one time Mr. PEEK was a director of the Import and Export Bank. [redacted] further advised that before the present war Mr. PEEK was well known as an isolationist. He further stated that to the best of his knowledge he did not know whether he was ever connected with the America First Committee and that he had never received any America First Committee literature through his office.

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Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice

New York, New York

October 14, 1942

100-9887 [redacted]

Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

DECLASSIFIED BY [redacted]
ON 8/2/02
10-22-90
Special

Re: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
INTERNAL SECURITY - G

Dear Sir:

[redacted] furnished the following information on October 8, 1942, in regard to the whereabouts of certain individuals who have been connected with the above-entitled organization.

He advised that EDWIN S. WEBSTER, Jr., former Secretary, presently held a Government position. His exact whereabouts were not known to informant. Captain GEORGE SMITH is presently reported to be a Major in the United States Army Air Corps, stationed at some Post in Florida. EDWARD BLISS, former National Director, is also reported to be in the Air Corps in Florida. Mrs. FAIRBANKS is campaigning for Senator BROOKS in Illinois and DOUGLAS GREGORY, head of the Speaker's Bureau in New York City, is on the stage. He is a member of the Actor's Equity and is reported to be in New York City.

Informant also furnished four carbon copies of a report of an interview had with [redacted]

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Very truly yours,

P. E. FOXWORTH
Assistant Director

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Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Kramer
Mr. McGuire
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy
Files

FOR VICTORY BUY UNITED STATES DEFENSE BONDS AND STAMPS

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[redacted] Oct 9. 1942

Honorable Herbert Hoover

Dear Sir I read an articule in the confidential Detective on the American First Committee about who constituted and who made up its rank-and-file member ship and what its source of income were. One Preacher of the full Gospil church traveled from one Tabernacle to another telling the people what a mess the President were getting the Country in, and telling what good Lindberg and Senator Wheeler could do for the U. S. A. it was the most disgusting talk I ever heard when he was here and I know some member of this domination have listed the President as the beast that the Bible speak of. Winrod the big Full Gostil preacher keep in touch with the members here.

The Preacher who cepe here is named Ham he is a nation known Evanglist

[redacted]

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[redacted]

b7C

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100-4778-469

3318

RECORDED 100-4712-469 October 27, 1942

[redacted]

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DATE 10-22-90 BY SP9BTS/C.C b7C

Dear [redacted]

I wish to acknowledge receipt of your communication of recent date.

It was indeed kind of you to bring this information to my attention, and your courtesy and interest in so doing are sincerely appreciated. Should you obtain any further information which you believe to be of interest to this Bureau, please feel free to communicate directly with the Special Agent in Charge, Federal Bureau of Investigation, United States Department of Justice, 476 Federal Building, San Antonio, Texas.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

cc San Antonio with copies of incoming.

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Kramer
Mr. McGuire
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

[redacted]

52 NOV 2 1942

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
[redacted] 2 P.M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

b7C

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

FILE NO. 100-515

REPORT MADE AT	DATE WHEN MADE	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE	REPORT MADE BY
Sioux Falls, S. Dak.	10/15/42	9/14,15/42	[redacted] b7C

TITLE
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE IN THE SIOUX FALLS FIELD DIVISION

CHARACTER OF CASE
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS: No information obtained that the "Staats-Anzeiger", German language newspaper in Bismarck, N. Dak., is connected with the America First Committee in any underground activities.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 10-22-90 BY SP6 BTS/lc

- RUC -

REFERENCE: Report of Special Agent [redacted] made at Sioux Falls, South Dakota dated 7/21/42. b7C

DETAILS: AT BISMARCK, NORTH DAKOTA:

[redacted] advised that they had, for several years past, kept rather close track of the activities of various organizations in Bismarck, and further that to their knowledge the America First Committee had never, at any time, had a committee in Bismarck.

[redacted] advised that he was able to read German and that he had read the "Staats-Anzeiger," German language newspaper in Bismarck on numerous occasions and that he had never noticed where the paper had solicited members for the America First Committee in Bismarck. He advised, however, that as he remembered, the "Staats-Anzeiger" did publish news items about the America First Committee and its activities during 1941, but that it did not publish anything more than would appear in any other newspaper in that part of the country.

[redacted]

He advised he had never noticed anything in the paper concerning the activities

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: W. [redacted] SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

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100-4712-470

RECORDED & INDEXED [redacted] EX-40 b7C

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[redacted] 10/24

OCT 17 1942

[redacted]

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U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE : 1941 — 0 - 30000

334

between the America First Committee and the "Staats-Anzeiger." He concluded, however, by stating he could not read, write or speak German and that he was unable to advise as to any activities engaged in on the part of the editorial or managerial staffs of the newspaper.

b7C

[redacted] that he could write, read and speak German fluently and that he read every issue of the newspaper. He stated that he had never noticed any activities on the part of the newspaper or its managerial staff to be affiliated with the America First Committee and that he had never heard anyone speak of soliciting subscriptions. He advised, however, that the managerial personnel of the "Staats-Anzeiger" were, in his opinion, all loyal Americans but were definitely non-interventionists and would be the type of persons who would have joined the America First Committee in the first part of 1941.

It should be noted that FRANK BRANDT, former owner of the newspaper, died on June 15, 1942. [redacted]

b7C

[redacted] it was ascertained that the deceased Mr. BRANDT was sympathetic to the German cause prior to Pearl Harbor. [redacted]

There being no further undeveloped leads in the Sioux Falls Field Division, this case is being referred upon completion to the office of origin. However, in the event any information is developed in the future regarding the underground activities of the America First Committee, in this Field Division, the case will be vigorously investigated and reports submitted.

- REFERRED UPON COMPLETION TO OFFICE OF ORIGIN -

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

FILE NO. 100-2293

REPORT MADE AT	DATE WHEN MADE	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE	REPORT MADE BY
INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA	10-14-42	8,24,27,30; 9-3,8-42	[redacted] b7C

TITLE	CHARACTER OF CASE
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE	INTERNAL SECURITY - C

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS: Investigation discloses America First Committees at South Bend and Elkhart, Indiana dissolved December 1941 and have not been active since. America First Committee at Gary, Indiana had approximately 500 members and was headed by KENNETH ROUB, practicing attorney. Subject organization both at Gary and Hammond inactive since the war. There is no record of any corporation of subject organization in the State of Indiana, according to records of the secretary of state. Corp. Dept. [redacted] has no further information concerning subject organization at Indianapolis, Indiana. b2 b7A

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 9/31/84 BY SP5

- P -

REFERENCE: Report of Special Agent [redacted], dated July 27, 1942 at Indianapolis, Indiana.

DETAILS: The following investigation was conducted by Special Agent [redacted] SA BTS/G

AT SOUTH BEND, INDIANA.

On August 24, 1942, [redacted] b2 b2D advised that shortly after December 7, 1941 the national committee desired all local chapters to indicate whether or not the committee should dissolve or should continue their activity.

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: [redacted] SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

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100-4712-1-47

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22 OCT 17 1942

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3 306

and the decision of the national committee would be guided by the majority vote of all the local committees. [redacted] stated that the South Bend Committee voted to continue activity but was guided by and accepted the will of the majority which had voted to discontinue and consequently the South Bend Committee dissolved shortly after December 7, 1941. This committee has not been active since. [redacted] could furnish no information relative to conditions in Elkhart, Indiana.

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AT ELKHART, INDIANA.

On August 27, 1942, [redacted] advised that the America First Committee had been organized and fostered by ED GORGENSON, HERMAN VOGIS and OTTO EDWARDS, but that it had never flourished and was not very successful. It is not active at the present time and is believed to have been dissolved sometime in December, 1941.

AT GARY AND HAMMOND, INDIANA.

The following investigation was conducted by Sp

b7C Agent [redacted]

[redacted]

b7C
b7D

was interviewed on August 28, 1942 at which time he advised that the Americ First Committee had disbanded and ceased operations at Gary upon the Japan attack on Pearl Harbor and that it is his opinion that there has been no a vity among the members since that date.

[redacted] informed that KENNETH RAUB, attorney, was chairman of the Gary Unit of the America First Committee and that RAUB has recently enlisted in the United States Army. He advised that GILBERT LANE was secretary of the Gary Unit. He informed that there were approximately five hundred members of the chapter at Gary, Indiana; that the leaders in Unit were in his opinion OTTO HEISIENG, GILBERT LANE, VICTOR COONRAD, and Mrs. JOSEPH E. BALDWIN. He stated that these four were instrumental in organizing the America First Committee at Gary; that after a few meetings, an election was held at which time RAUB was made chairman; LANE, secretary COONRAD, treasurer; HEISIENG, publicity man; and Mrs. BALDWIN, vice-chairm

[redacted]

On August 30, 1942, [redacted]

[redacted] advised that the America First Committee ceased its activities at Gary, Indiana immediately upon the attack on Pearl Harbor. He stated that he attended some meetings of the America First Committee, but that it was his opinion that the activities were not influenced by persons with Nazi sympathies, but that the organization was composed of good substantial citizens who were simply opposed to the war.

[redacted] was also questioned concerning Nazi influence in the Gary Unit and stated that even though he thought [redacted] might be a sympathizer with the Fascists, he has no proof of this.

With reference to the Unit at Hammond, PAUL T. McCAIN, [redacted], was the leader of the Hammond Chapter of the America First Committee there up until about three weeks before the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. At this time, he resigned and was succeeded by JOHN J. MULLIGAN, [redacted]

b7C
b7D

[redacted] advised on September 28, 1942, that there were between 75 and 125 members of the Hammond Unit and that the East Chicago citizens attended the meetings of the Units at Hammond and Gary, but did not have a unit of their own. He stated that VERNON C. ANDERSON was secretary of the Unit at Hammond, Indiana. [redacted]

[redacted] stated that he is unable to name any German group or German individual who was associated with the Hammond Unit of the America First Committee. He stated that he definitely knows that the activities of the Hammond Unit of the America First Committee ceased upon the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor.

[redacted] were all contacted on September 1, 1942, but none of them had any information concerning any present activities on the part of the America First Committee.

AT INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA

The writer personally examined the records of the secretary of Indiana at the Indiana State House, Indianapolis, Indiana, and ascertained there was no record of the coporation of the America FirstCommittee in Indiana either as a pecuniary or non-profit corporation. More over, there was no authority to do business in Indiana on the part of the America First Committee used as a foreign corporation.

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[redacted] advised that he had no further information in addition to that which has already been reported in the report of reference. [redacted] was quite positive that there has been no activity on the part of the America First Committee in Indianapolis.

-PENDING-

UNDEVELOPED LEADS

THE INDIANAPOLIS FIELD DIVISION

At Evansville, Indiana.

Will conduct appropriate investigation to ascertain if the America First Committee is engaging in any present activities.

At New Albany, Indiana.

Will conduct appropriate investigation to ascertain if the America First Committee is engaging in any present activities.

At Jeffersonville, Indiana.

Will conduct appropriate investigation to ascertain if the America First Committee is engaging in any present activities.

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Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice

Chicago, Illinois

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 10-22-90 BY SP3 Brock

September 28, 1942

Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Attention: J. MUMFORD Re: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
Internal Security

Dear Sir:

Reference is made to telephone call of [redacted] of the Bureau on September 28, 1942, requesting a photostatic copy of a list [redacted] b7C b2 b7A b7C as mentioned in reference report of Special Agent [redacted] made at Chicago, dated May 29, 1942, on page 6.

There is being transmitted herewith one photostatic copy of this list [redacted] b2 b7A
By my letter dated June 4, 1942, one photostatic copy of the above mentioned list [redacted] and members of the America First Committee who were found to be also members of the German American National Alliance was forwarded to the Bureau

Very truly yours,

[redacted]

A. H. JOHNSON
Special Agent in Charge
ENCLOSURE

Enc-Retained among Bufiles dated 10/16/42

AMASD
[redacted]

100-668

RECORDED 100-47112-477
8 1
19 OCT 20 1942

memo Leads 10/16/42 [redacted]

FOR VICTORY BUY UNITED STATES DEFENSE BONDS AND STAMPS

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER
DIRECTOR

CC-287

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

October 16, 1942

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E.A. Tan
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffee
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Kramer
Mr. McGuire
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Quinn Tam
Tele. Room
Mr. Nease
Miss Beahm
Miss Gandy

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. LADD

Re: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
INTERNAL SECURITY (G)

Mr. Samuel Klaus, Treasury Department, in discussing other matters with me, expressed an interest in information that the Bureau might possess regarding records of the America First Committee, and particularly [redacted] b7D

A review of the Bureau file reflects that the Chicago Field Office, through a confidential source, had secured [redacted] b2 b7D

In accordance with your instructions a photostatic copy of the [redacted] delivered to Mr. Samuel Klaus by his own messenger on September 30, 1942. This copy had all identifying marks linking it with the Bureau obliterated therefrom. It will also be noted that an additional copy of this list is contained in file #100-4712-411.

ACTION: No further action is necessary.

Respectfully,

J. K. Mumford

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 10-22-90 BY SP8BTS/CAL

I ENCLO. 13 [illegible]

RECORDED 100-4712-411
F B I
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FOR VICTORY BUY UNITED STATES DEFENSE BONDS AND STAMPS

Des Moines, Iowa
October 22, 1942

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 10-22-90 BY SP8BTK/L

Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

RE: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
INTERNAL SECURITY

Dear Sir:

Your attention is directed to the report of Special Agent [redacted] on the above captioned matter at Des Moines, Iowa, dated 9/19/42.

On page two, paragraph one, line nine, the following quotation is set forth: "Since December 7, [redacted] has become a red hot foot for the Americans."

This quotation should read "Since December 7, [redacted] has become a red hot Fourth of July American."

Very truly yours,

J. L. DALTON
Special Agent in Charge

RECORDED & INDEXED
100-4712-473
12 OCT 26 1942

FOR VICTORY BUY UNITED STATES DEFENSE BONDS AND STAMPS

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cc: Chicago
100-1395

EX-41

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Case originated at: CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

File No. 100-3325

Report made at:	Date made:	Period made for:	Report made by:
SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.	10/20/42	9/7,16,17/42	[redacted] (A)

b7C

Title:

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 10-22-90 BY SP8BTJ/cl

Character of case:

INTERNAL SECURITY - G

SYNOPSIS: No indication of any organized activities on the part of the former AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE in the San Francisco Bay Area at the present time.

- RUC -

REFERENCE: Report of Special Agent [redacted] dated 5/26/42 at San Francisco.

b7C

DETAILS: [redacted] were recontacted and were unable to furnish the writer with any information concerning any activities on the part of the former AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE.

b7D

[redacted] advised that since December, 1941 the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE disbanded and to his knowledge there have been no meetings since that time.

[redacted] was contacted and she stated that a friend of hers, [redacted] told her that the local chapters of AMERICA

b7D

Approved & Forwarded: N.J.L. Special Agent in Charge

100-4912-4

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D-73
12 OCT 30 1942

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(5) Bureau
3 Chicago
2 ONI, San Francisco
1 G-2, San Francisco
2 San Francisco

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R-4

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FIRST had been dissolved, and that all funds had been turned over to the American Red Cross. [redacted] was formerly very active in the organization and told [redacted] that the AMERICA FIRST is dead in San Francisco, at least for the time being.

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Informant also furnished a newspaper clipping which was taken from the "People's World", the Communist newspaper, issue of June 23, 1942, which reported under a New York date line of June 22 that a HORACE J. HAASE was attem ing to lead a revival of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE committed to a negotiated peace with Hitler. Mr. HAASE has offices at 1165 Broadway, Room 203, New York City, and was suppose to have been one of the principal speakers for the AMERIC FIRST COMMITTEE's Bureau at Brooklyn, New York.

The "People's World" claimed that a letter had been sent out in connection with the organization of this new group formed by HAASE headed "To My Friends Who Were Formerly Members of AMERICA FIRST", suggesting that everyone attending his meetings write in and make suggestions for local meetings of frie in their homes, offices, or other places.

On September 17, 1942 the writer contacted [redacted] San Francisco, who was formerly very active in the North Beac Chapter of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE. In May of 1942 the writer requested [redacted] to inquire around among her friends in order to determine whether there were any meetings of any former members of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE. [redacted] stated that she had talked to several of the people she was forme associated with in the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE, and as far as she could ascerta none of the former groups had attempted to meet since the meeting which was hel on December 10, 1941, at which time it was decided on to discontinue the organi tion as it would serve no purpose in the future.

b7C

This case is being closed and will be opened in the event it is determined that there are any activities of an organized nature by the members of the former AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No.1
This Case Originated at CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

File No. 100-1789

Report Made At	Date Made	Period Date	Report Made By
HUNTINGTON, W. VA.	11/6/42	10/24/25,26/42	[redacted] b7c

Title: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

Character of Case: INTERNAL SECURITY -G

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 10-22-90 BY SP2 BTS/c.c

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

Information furnished at Clarksburg, W. Va., to effect that [redacted] is one of a group of leaders promoting separate organizations throughout country which are anti-Semetic, anti-Masonic and anti-Administration, and which organizations will eventually be consolidated into one nation-wide organization. [redacted] Clarksburg, W.Va., is said to have been in contact with [redacted] of New York City, who works with [redacted] and with [redacted] Mendota, Ill., who is also in contact with [redacted] although no indication that [redacted] in direct communication with [redacted]

b7c

- RUC -

REFERENCE: Report of Special Agent [redacted] dated 9-1-42, at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

DETAILS: AT CLARKSBURG, WEST VIRGINIA

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[redacted] furnishes information that [redacted] who is known to associates as [redacted] is one of a

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100-1789

number of persons who are interested in promoting organizations throughout the country based on anti-Semitism, anti-Masonry and anti-Administration.

[redacted] advises that information she has received relative to the activities of [redacted] has come to her through contacts with [redacted] who is known to have been recently interested in distributing propaganda of an anti-Semitic nature, and other literature in which President Roosevelt is described as a Jew who deliberately planned the present war so that the Jewish race might gain control of the world.

[redacted] states the general plan of organization, as promoted by [redacted] is for each locality in the country to set up its own individual organization, giving it such name as is deemed appropriate, because such an apparent separation of organizations will not draw the general attention of the Nation to such an extent as would a single large organization. [redacted] further states that it is planned that an appropriate time all the single organizations will be consolidated into one national organization and will unite for action, such action to be directed toward evicting every Jew and Mason who holds any public office of any kind.

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With relation to the connection of [redacted] and instant organization, [redacted] states that she does not know that [redacted] has ever been in direct communication with [redacted] but that she has often heard [redacted] state that [redacted] works with [redacted] who claims to be interested in an organization known as the "DEFENDERS OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES", and who resides in New York City. [redacted] states that to date all efforts to establish a going organization in Clarksburg, West Virginia, have not been successful and that [redacted] has in the past two months been inactive in attempting to promote such an organization. She states, however, that [redacted] has told her that she is only waiting for the proper time to continue her activities.

When questioned as to other so-called leaders with whom [redacted] works in organizing described groups, [redacted] furnished the following names as those known to her:

[redacted] who is active in an organization called, "UNITED MOTHERS OF AMERICA", at Cleveland, Ohio; [redacted] who resides at Mendota, Illinois; [redacted] Pasadena, California.

From a highly confidential source it was ascertained that the following letter was written to [redacted], from [redacted]

3277

100-1789

Newark, N. J.
March 15, 1942

[redacted]

I will send you a copy of an appeal in the near future. Give us all the support that you can.

[redacted]

It is to be pointed out that the above letter was directed to [redacted] from [redacted], confirming information furnished by [redacted] that [redacted] and [redacted] are engaged in activities which, though they are carried out in organizations of separate names, have a common purpose.

b2
b7D [redacted] stated that several months ago, when [redacted] was more active, she conducted all her dealings directly with [redacted] It is to be noted that the writer personally observed [redacted] visiting at the home of [redacted] during the past summer. Information relative to the activities of [redacted] who was also associated with them, and who is known to have distributed some literature provided by WILLIAM DUDLEY PELLEY, has been set out in reports in the three files relative to these individuals.

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b2
b7D [redacted] advised that she recalls the following organizations as those which are a part of the general plan of [redacted] that is, organizations which will be included in an eventual consolidation:

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
CRUSADING MOTHERS OF AMERICA
CITIZENS' NO FOREIGN WAR COALITION
UNITED MOTHERS OF AMERICA
WE, THE MOTHER, MOBILIZE FOR AMERICA
WE THE MOTHERS UNITED

Inasmuch as the New York Field Division has been designated as the office of origin in the case entitled, [redacted] with aliases, INTERNAL SECURITY", no leads are being set out for that office in instant case. It is called to the attention of the Chicago and Pittsburgh Field Divisions that reports emanating from New York in the above entitled case should contain information pertinent to subject organization, especially with relation to the activities of [redacted]

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS — FILE NO. 100-6882

REPORT MADE AT	DATE WHEN MADE	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE	REPORT MADE BY
WASHINGTON, D. C.	10-30-42	10-17-42	[redacted] b7C

TITLE: THE AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

CHARACTER OF CASE: INTERNAL SECURITY - C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 10-22-90 BY SP8BD/kmz

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

[redacted] b7C b7D advised that he has not been associated with the America First Committee since the middle of 1941. He stated that he had only given two speeches for the Committee, one in St. Louis and one in Washington, D. C. He stated further that the America First Committee definitely discontinued operations on December 11, 1941 and that he has had no information reflecting subsequent activity.

R.U.C.

REFERENCES: Report of Special Agent [redacted] dated July 25, 1942 at Philadelphia, Pa. b7C
Letter from Washington Field Division dated June 24, 1942 to the Bureau.

DETAILS: AT WASHINGTON, D. C.

[redacted] b7C b7D advised upon interview that his association with the America First Committee had been very brief. He stated that he did not approve of the aims of the America First Committee but that he went along with the group because it had the same final goal as that of his organization, namely, keeping the United States out of war. He stated

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: S. K. McK [illegible] SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

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100 - 6882-2-476

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DEC 1 1942

5-Bureau
2-Chicago
[redacted]

NOV 17 1942

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3271

that he is a pacifist and that his record [redacted] will verify this statement. He advised that the America First Committee advocated an impregnable defense line for the United States but that he, [redacted] and as a pacifist could not support this idea.

He stated that he had been very well acquainted with General WOOD, the nominal leader of the Committee and that his acquaintanceship among the national officers and leaders of the Committee had been very widespread. He advised that he had made two speeches for the Committee, one in Washington, D. C. late in 1940 and one in St. Louis, Missouri in April, 1941. He advised that the audiences that composed these meetings were somewhat different from those which he usually addressed. He pointed out in this regard that naturally the Committee would attract to it some elements which were not conducive to the better welfare of this country.

b7C
b7D

[redacted] stated further that because of his friendship with some of the leaders of the Committee that he knows definitely the America First organization was closed down for all time, on December 11, 1941. He stated that on that date an all-day meeting was held in Chicago where a heated discussion was held whether to continue with the activities of the organization. He pointed out that it was decided to disband and that this move was prompted from sentiments received from Senators WHEELER and NYE wherein the organization was advised that this move would be the better policy. [redacted] further stated that there is no activity in Washington, D. C. at the present time by this organization as far as he knows, and there is none whatsoever on a national basis.

In view of the fact that there is no further investigation apparent in Washington, D. C. and that the America First Committee has disbanded both locally and nationally, no further inquiry is contemplated and this matter is being referred upon completion to the Office of Origin.

REFERRED UPON COMPLETION TO THE OFFICE OF ORIGIN

b7C

[redacted]

ov.19, 1942

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10-29-90 BY SP2BTJ/CAL

Mr. J.Edgar Hoover,
F.B.I.,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir:

In their recent book, SABOTAGE: THE SECRET WAR AGAINST AMERICA. the authors, Michael Sayers and Albert Kuhn, state that every member of the America First Committe is tied up with the Axis Fifth Column, is an Axis agent and potential saboteur. This is, also, the charge from other sources.

This fills me with alarm. If its millions of members are connected, in any way, with the Axis, why have you done nothing about it? Are you afraid, because of the high position of some of its members, like Mrs. Alice Roosevelt Longworth, her brother, Archis Roosevelt, and various men now active in Congress? The latter should be impeached, if, as charged, they are tied up with the Axis.

Rickenbacker was a member, also, but was forced to resign, I understand, because of Administrative pressure against his company. How can he be trusted, as he is, with secret missions, when he belonged to the committee and resigned against his own desires?

Then there is Lindbergh, called a copperhead, who is working on important war work in Detroit. I am afraid that , if he is an Axis agent, he will, if possible, let Hitler know all that might interest him and commit sabetage whenever feasable.

The public should know just where the America First Committee stands. Only you, and, possibly, the Dies Committee, can force a showdown on that issue. An investigation of a few of the leaders, using the lie detector, would settle matters. If traitors, they should all be sent to Concentration Camps, or some place where they could do no more harm. If found not guilty, it would not mean that they would be smeared less, but people who distrust them would learn the truth.

Perhaps you can tell me if any act of sabotage ,or treason, has been traced tothe committee.

To me, it is imperative that action should be taken, before the Axis gets all our secrets and sabotage becomes widespread, if the facts are as stated.

Hoping this will move you to a needed investigation, I remain

EX-48 RECORDED & INDEXED

Very truly yours,

100-4712-477

[redacted]

b7C

[redacted] 329

RECORDED 100-4312-477

December 19, 1942

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10-23-90 BY SP8 BTW/Co

[redacted]

Dear [redacted]

I wish to acknowledge receipt of your letter dated November 19, 1942.

I have noted your comments regarding the book recently published, the content of which you advised has alarmed you. It should be stated that the opinions expressed in the book mentioned are those of the writers. You may be assured that appropriate attention has been given to all information indicating possible sabotage and other activity endangering the security of this nation, which has come to the attention of this Bureau from the source referred to by you and any other sources.

The interest and courtesy that prompted you to communicate with me in this matter are indeed appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Traman
Mr. Carnes
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Kramer
Mr. McGuire
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED 14
DEC [redacted] 42 P.M.

FBI
RECEIVED READING ROOM
[illegible]

55 JAN 6 1943

Federal Bureau of Investigation

United States Department of Justice
Washington Field Office, 1437 K Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

[redacted]
100-6882

November 23, 1942

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10-23-90 BY SP8BTJ/CAL

b7C

Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

ADDITIONAL INDEXING
N169

Dear Sir:

Re: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
Internal Security - C

For the information of the New York Field Office, the Washington Field Office directed a letter to the Bureau on June 24, 1942, in which information was set forth concerning the background of one [redacted] in Washington, D. C. In order that the New York Field Office may be appropriately advised concerning this individual, the following brief resume of the life of this individual is set forth.

[redacted]

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b2

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100-4312-478

[redacted]

EX-26

[redacted] 1943

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_____	☐ (b)(7)(F)	☐ (k)(4)
☐ (b)(4)	☐ (b)(8)	☐ (k)(5)
☐ (b)(5)	☐ (b)(9)	☐ (k)(6)
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☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.

☐ Documents originated with another Government agency(ies). These documents were referred to that agency(ies) for review and direct response to you.

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FBI/DOJ

Director
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
November 23, 1942
[redacted] 100-6882

b7C

b7C
b7D

[redacted]

The Bureau, by letter dated July 21, 1942, entitled as above, advised that there was no objection to the Washington Field Office's interviewing [redacted] regarding the America First Committee and obtaining any other information believed of interest to the Bureau.

Accordingly, an attempt was made to contact [redacted] and information was received [redacted] that he is presently residing at [redacted] Street, New York, New York. His present employment is unknown.

b7C

In view of the fact that inquiry concerning the America First Committee has been discontinued in this area and there is no further basis for contacting [redacted] regarding this organization, no request is being made of the New York Field Office to interview [redacted] regarding the America First Committee. However, it is suggested that this individual might be of assistance regarding [redacted]. Any such contact with [redacted] is being left to the discretion of the New York Field Office.

Very truly yours,

S. K. McKEE
Special Agent in Charge

CC New York

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT Chicago, Illinois FILE NO. 100-1726

REPORT MADE AT	DATE WHEN MADE	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE	REPORT MADE BY
St. Louis, Missouri	11-23-42	10-26;11-2,16 19,20-42	[redacted] b7C

TITLE	CHARACTER OF CASE
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE	INTERNAL SECURITY - G

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS: Informants believe St. Louis Chapter of America First Committee is completely disbanded and that no effort is being made to keep the idea alive here. Several prominent persons were affiliated previously in St. Louis, but are now reported as one hundred per cent for the war effort. No evidence of attempt to organize a chapter of Americans for peace in St. Louis area.

- RUC -

REFERENCE: Report of Special Agent [redacted] St. Louis, Missouri, dated 5-28-42. b7C

DETAILS:

At St. Louis, Missouri:

On October 26, 1942 [redacted] was contacted at his office, at which time he advised that he had previously had considerable information concerning the activities of the St. Louis Chapter of the America First Committee. He advised that he had never actually been a member of this organization and that he had not been a supporter of it. He explained that the presence of his name on the list of original sponsors of the local group was entirely without his knowledge and that he certainly never appeared in court as a sponsor of the pro forma decree granting charter to the local chapter. b2 b7D

However, this informant, because of business association, is personally acquainted with several leaders of the St. Louis chapter. The informant

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F259

volunteered to contact these local leaders and ascertain discreetly as to whether or not there was any local activity of the America First Committee at the present time.

Later this informant reported that he had contacted JOSEPH FORSHAW and several other former leaders of this organization and they had all assured him that there was absolutely no local activity of the group since a few days after the attack on Pearl Harbor.

b2
b7D

[redacted] was also contacted and after discreetly consulting his sources of information advised that he is certain that the St. Louis Chapter of the America First Committee is no longer in existence.

Both of the above named informants reported that from their personal acquaintanceship with the former prominent persons in St. Louis who were affiliated with the St. Louis Committee, they are certain that these persons are now one hundred per cent for the war effort and are not in any way advocating that the United States not engage in the present war. Both of the above named informants were also questioned concerning the possibility of the organization in St. Louis of a local chapter of Americans for peace.

b7C

Although it has been previously reported that [redacted] also known as [redacted] Missouri, had volunteered to organize a local chapter of the Americans for Peace, there has been no indication that such an organization was ever started.

The reference room of the St. Louis Globe Democrat and the research bureau of the Chamber of Commerce were both checked for the possibility that such an organization had been started. All of this investigation has produced only negative results and it is felt certain that there is no such organization in the St. Louis Area at the present time.

As there does not appear to be any further investigation necessary concerning the disbanded St. Louis Chapter of the America First Committee, no further investigation will be conducted unless added information is received to indicate the necessity.

- REFERRED UPON COMPLETION TO THE OFFICE OF ORIGIN -

4-750 (Rev. 12-14-88)

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☐ (b)(4)	☐ (b)(8)	☐ (k)(5)
☐ (b)(5)	☐ (b)(9)	☐ (k)(6)
☐ (b)(6)		☐ (k)(7)

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FBI/DOJ

F256

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Des Moines, Iowa
December 5, 1942

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 10-23-90 BY SP8BSLCL

Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

RE: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
INTERNAL SECURITY - G

100-4712-458

Dear Sir:

Reference is made to the report in the above captioned matter of Special Agent [redacted], Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, dated September 1, 1942. The lead set out for the Des Moines Field Division is to ascertain the activities of [redacted]. It will be noted that the report of Special Agent [redacted], Des Moines, Iowa, dated September 23, 1942, entitled [redacted] INTERNAL SECURITY - G covers the lead.

The Chicago Field Division is being furnished one of the copies of Agent [redacted] report and the matter is being referred to the office of origin upon completion.

Very truly yours,

J. L. DALTON
Special Agent in Charge

[redacted]

cc: Chicago (Encl)
Pittsburgh
100-3207
100-1395

100-4712-480
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12 DEC 8 1942

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

FORM No. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT Chicago

FILE NO. 100-2295

REPORT MADE AT	DATE WHEN MADE	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE	REPORT MADE BY
Indianapolis, Indiana	12/9/42	10/21,22,24, 26,11/24/42	[redacted]

TITLE: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

CHARACTER OF CASE: INTERNAL SECURITY - C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 10-23-90 BY SP8 BSS/CAL

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

Investigation at Evansville, New Albany, and Jeffersonville, Indiana discloses that although some persons were reported to have been interested in the Committee previous to the declaration of war, there is not at present nor has there in the past existed any organized America First Committee.

-END-

REFERENCE: Report of Special Agent [redacted] dated July 27, 1942 at Indianapolis, Indiana.

DETAILS:

AT EVANSVILLE, INDIANA

The following investigation was conducted by Special Agent [redacted]

[redacted] stated that to their knowledge there was no previous/present existence of the America First Committee.

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: J. M. Lopez SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

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100-4712-481

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5 Bureau
2 Chicago
3 Indianapolis

6 DEC 10 1942

EX-15

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F252-

or a body affiliated with such a group in Evansville, Indiana.

On October 22, 1942 [redacted] stated that about eighteen months previous [redacted] had been talking the doctrine of the America First Committee and had some literature of that organization. Informant stated, however, that he was positive that there is no America First organization in Evansville at the present time to his knowledge.

[redacted] Evansville, Indiana stated that it was his opinion that the America First group had a couple of organization meetings in Evansville eighteen months or two years ago but that no group was at present active and could furnish no further information concerning this matter.

According to [redacted] there was several months ago a move on foot in Evansville to form a unit of the America First Committee but that such movement never got under way. In addition, inquiries were made by Special Agent [redacted] of the following individuals relative to the America First Committee. However, none of these individuals was cognizant of any existence of the America First Committee:

[redacted]

The following investigation was conducted by Special Agent [redacted] at Jeffersonville, Indiana:

On October 24, 1942 the following individuals were interviewed, namely, [redacted]

Each of the above individuals related that according to his knowledge there is not at present nor was there in the past any America First Committee active in Jeffersonville, Indiana.

AT NEW ALBANY, INDIANA

On October 22, 1942 [redacted] were interviewed and each of these individuals related that to their knowledge there was not presently in existence nor was there in the past an active body of the America-First

F 253

Committee of New Albany.

On October 22, [redacted] United States District Court, New Albany advised that he had heard approximately two years ago that an individual in New Albany had been somewhat interested in the movement of the America First Committee and the writer advised of the source from which information could be obtained in this respect. b7C

On October 22, 1942 [redacted] related that previous to the declaration of war between the United States and the Axis powers, he had received a letter from the headquarters of the America First Committee in Chicago, Illinois and in reply thereto had forwarded to that committee the sum of $1.00 for certain literature. The informant stated that he has at all times been interested in the preservation of peace if such were plausible, but upon the development of subsequent information he was able to understand more clearly the issues and became no longer interested in such a movement. This informant related that he was certain that no organized America First Committee was ever present in New Albany and that, in fact, at the time of the receipt of the literature from Chicago he made inquiries as to whether there were any local groups with whom further contact could be had and that inquiries and discussions with his friends failed to develop any organized group of individuals who had even become initially interested in the America First Committee. b2 b7D

The informant related that he has had no correspondence with the Committee nor any group representing it under another name since considerable time before the declaration of war and that he was positive that there were no longer any individuals in New Albany in any connected with the America First Committee or any organization which may have followed upon its dissolution.

It is to be noted that inquiry made of the above informant and from the persons previously interviewed indicated the informant to be a reliable, intelligent, and thoroughly patriotic life resident of the community concerning whom no derogatory information of any nature had ever been reported.

Since there is no further investigation to be conducted in this Field Division, this matter is being referred upon completion to the office of origin.

-REFERRED UPON COMPLETION TO THE OFFICE OF ORIGIN-

4-750 (Rev. 12-14-88)

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
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☐ (b)(5)	☐ (b)(9)	☐ (k)(6)
☐ (b)(6)		☐ (k)(7)

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FBI/DOJ

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Ponder
Mr. Kramer
Mr. McGuire
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy
Files

ADDRESS REPLY TO THE ATTORNEY GENERAL AND REFER TO INITIALS AND NUMBER

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

WASHINGTON, D. C

WB:DEB:llh

b2

October 16, 1942

MEMORANDUM FOR THE DIRECTOR,
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION.

In response to our request of the United States Attorney at Chicago he has informed us that the following is a list of the organizations whose records are in the possession of that office as a result of action taken by the Grand Jury empaneled in that district. He informs us that some of these records were obtained by subpoena duces tecum and others were turned over voluntarily to the Grand Jury.

b3
Rule 6e, FRCP

Winterrowd
to Chicago
Enclosure

100-4712-

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3 OCT 17 1942

FOR DEFENSE

BUY UNITED STATES SAVINGS BONDS AND STAMPS

Let Chicago file.

b3
Rule 6e, FRCP

The United States Attorney informs us that officials in the above organizations have testified before the Grand Jury relative to the history and functions of the groups they represent. He also has informed us that the records in some instances are by no means complete.

The above records and the material developed by the United States Attorney are available to the Federal Bureau of Investigation for examination and reporting. It is requested that the material pertaining to the and the be given special attention and be reported at the earliest date possible, and that the other material be reported in due course.

Respectfully,

Wendell Berge

WENDELL BERGE,
Assistant Attorney General.

3249

b6 [redacted]

RECORDED

100-4712-482

b7C

December 1, 1942

SAC, Chicago

EX-23

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 10-23-90 BY SP2 8375/cl

Dear Sir:

There are attached hereto copies of a memorandum dated October 16, 1942, received by the Bureau from the Criminal Division of the Department of Justice. It will be noted that there are thirty-five organizations mentioned

b3 [redacted]

The Criminal Division is desirous that the information secured by the grand jury with reference to the organizations mentioned therein be examined and the pertinent portions thereof included in an investigative report on each group.

In view of the specific interest in the review of the records pertaining to the German-American Bund and the German-American Vocational League, Incorporated, separate communications were addressed to you under date of November 2, 1942, relative to these groups. I would like to point out at this time that the records of the German-American Business League, the Haus Vaterland, Incorporated, and the Teutonia Publishing Company, probably should most logically be considered in connection with the case entitled "German-American Bund, Voorhis Act." This matter, however, is being left to your discretion as there may be a question of office administration involved.

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Kramer
Mr. McGuire
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease

Sufficient copies of this letter and enclosures are being supplied to you so that a record may be made in the file of each organization mentioned in the Criminal Division, and it is my desire that you make every effort to comply with the request of the Criminal Division without any undue delay.

b3 cited in conjunction with Rule 6c. Federal Rules of Criminal Procedure

Yours truly,

E. A. Tamm

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Enclosures

COMM. STAMP ON ORIGINAL

ORIGINAL = 8

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Buffalo, New York

November 23, 1942

Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir: Att: Technical Laboratory.

We are transmitting under separate cover one 100 foot reel of thirty-five millimeter film of exposures taken [redacted]

b7D

It is recommended that these photographs be developed and that one 8 x 10 copy of each be submitted for the files of the Buffalo Field Division.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10-23-90 BY S8BDdcL

Very truly yours,
K. M. PIPER,
Special Agent in Charge.

[redacted]

DE[redacted]

b7C

ack-12-21-42 [redacted]

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FOR VICTORY BUY UNITED STATES DEFENSE BONDS AND STAMPS

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CC-285a

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b7C

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10-23-90 BY SP8BAW/cal

Date: December 21, 1942

To: SAC, Buffalo

RECORDED 100-4712-423

From: J. Edgar Hoover - Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

Subject: AMERICAN FIRST COMMITTEE

Reference is made to your letter to the Bureau dated November 23, 1942, transmitting one reel of film for developing and printing.

In accordance with your request, the film was developed and one enlarged photographic print of each exposure, and the developed negatives are being forwarded to your office under separate registered cover.

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Howdon
Mr. Kramer
Mr. McGuire
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED 6
★ DEC 22 1942 P.M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

60 JAN 23 1943

FBI

[redacted]

b7C

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

NY FILE NO. 100-[redacted]

REPORT MADE AT	DATE WHEN MADE	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE	REPORT MADE BY
NEW YORK, NEW YORK	12/26/42	9/22,30;10/1,6,7,9,10,15/42	[redacted] b7C

TITLE	CHARACTER OF CASE
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE	INTERNAL SECURITY - C

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS: Informant's reports indicate NYC Chapter of AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE has filed petition in Supreme Court, Manhattan, NYC, for legal dissolution, and no apparent efforts being made to hold organization together by former leaders. Reports on present activities and affiliations of former leaders and controlling personnel set forth herein indicate complete dissolution of AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE in NY area.

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10-23-90 BY SP8BTJ/bcl

- EDC -

REFERENCE: Bureau file 100-4712
Reports of Special Agent [redacted] dated 7/11/42 and 5/13/42 at New York City

Report of Special Agent [redacted] dated 5/29/42 at Chicago, Illinois b7C

Report of Special Agent [redacted] dated 9/1/42 at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

DETAILS: At New York, New York

[redacted] b2 b7D, upon contact and when questioned concerning any indications that subject organization was being held together in the New York City area by any of the former leaders or controlling personnel who would possibly be in a position to prevent the dissolution of subject organization with a view toward its being put to possible activity in the future, advised that since the few meetings of the organization's former leaders which were held in New York City in January, 1942, and which were reported in

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6 Bureau
2 Chicago
1 [redacted]
1 Pittsburgh
2 New York

15 DEC 28 1942

[redacted] b7C

EX-145

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reference report of Special Agent [redacted] dated May 13, 1948, there has been no indication that any such leaders or persons were making any efforts to prolong the life of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE in this area. Informant stated that if any such gatherings or secret meetings had been held since the ones reported, news of them would undoubtedly have come to her, and likewise of any other activities or efforts being made to prevent the disintegration of subject organization. She stated that at present the former personnel of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE in New York City is almost entirely disorganized, and those who have maintained efforts and activities in the same or similar lines, have affiliated with or are working for any number of smaller groups which have been or presently are under investigation by the New York Field Office. The names of various such organizations have previously been set forth in reference reports of the New York Office.

Informant suggested, however, that in some cases, the officers and leaders of the individual chapters in the New York City area had, upon the Declaration of War and the dissolution of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE by its national officers in Chicago, Illinois, copied or retained portions or all of such local unit membership lists for possible use by them with other organizations of a similar nature with which they might affiliate. In this line, informant pointed out that HORACE J. HAASE, chairman of the organization known as Americans for Peace in New York City, and who was formerly chairman of the Speakers' Committee in the Brooklyn, New York, chapter of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE, was known by her to possess fairly complete duplicate membership files of such chapter of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE, and he has used them in his efforts with his present organization, Americans for Peace. Informant also stated that it has been her observation that very probably [redacted] of subject organization, possesses, at least in part, duplicate membership records of such unit. [redacted] reported as being active now with such organizations as [redacted] in New York City. Informant also suggested that [redacted] New York City, and who now is an officer in the organization, [redacted] has indicated that she possesses in whole or in part duplicate membership records of the unit with which she was affiliated. Informant also stated that she knew that [redacted] who had organized the Post War World Council in New York City and, about the time war was declared, attempted to secure duplicate membership records of the New York AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE from JOHN T. FLYNN, New York Chairman, for use in her new organization, but it was reported that FLYNN had flatly refused to cooperate with her along such lines.

F-233

NY 100-9887

It should be noted that all organizations previously mentioned as springing up following the outbreak of war and the dissolution of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE, are, with their officers, presently under investigation by the New York Field Division, in accordance with Bureau instructions.

Agent contacted [redacted] for any information in his possession which would indicate continued activities pointed toward keeping subject organization alive. When questioned concerning the individual officers and personnel of subject organization who would possibly be in a position to do such, [redacted] advised that ROBERT L. BLISS, former director of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE, New York City, who was a member of the staff of the newspaper PM, is presently listed as an honorary committee member of the Citizens Defense Committee, 342 Madison Avenue, New York City. Informant had no information concerning the recent or current activities of JOHN T. FLYNN, former chairman of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE, New York City; however, he furnished the following background information on FLYNN:

"John T. Flynn is an economist and writer with tremendous drive and output of economic and political literature. He was pro-Roosevelt in 1933, which later turned into a bitter hatred. His 'Country Squire in the White House' was a best seller around election time. He is Irish and anti-British. His associates [redacted] in , uncensored, 'Our Pacifist Appeasers' and [redacted] in Scripps-Howard slightly pro-Fascist. He has expressed anti-Jewish sentiments."

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[redacted] further advised that EDWIN S. WEBSTER, JR., former secretary of the New York AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE and generally believed to be its foremost financial backer, was reported in the NEW YORK ENQUIRER of June 1, 1942, as having been appointed Assistant to former Governor ALFRED E. SMITH of New York in the United Service Organization in its campaign to raise funds. [redacted]

[redacted] advised that his sources of information indicated that H. DUDLEY SWIM and AMOS R. E. PINCHOT, both former officers of subject organization in New York City, had given no indication of any desire or efforts to keep subject organization alive since the outbreak of war. Informant advised that SWIM apparently was connected with subject organization as treasurer only as a business proposition, and, since subject organization's dissolution, has severed all relation with its officers and personnel. Informant pointed out, however, that PINCHOT is

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NY 100-6687

listed as a trustee of the Committee for Constitutional Government which maintains an office in New York City but has its headquarters in Washington, D. C. Informant, however, was unable to furnish any additional information concerning subject organization or PINCHOT'S activities in connection therewith.

Concerning DOUGLAS GREGORY, formerly on the Speakers Committee of subject organization, [redacted] advised that the only activity recently noted on his part was that in support of GEORGE DYSON FRIOUS in the latter's campaign for Congress from the Brooklyn District of New York City. Informant advised that FRIOUS was also a former "America Firster" and had dropped out of the race for Congress prior to the election.

Contact was had with [redacted] New York City, and a resident of [redacted] for any information in his possession which would indicate continued activity on the part of officers or members of subject organization with a view toward keeping it alive as a unit. He advised that, although he had not made a recent investigation of the activities of the leaders of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE in New York City, he has observed no further effort being made to prevent the complete dissolution and disintegration of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE as an organization in this area.

On October 6, 1942, agent contacted [redacted], whose identity is known to the Bureau. When questioned concerning any indication of sustained existence on the part of subject organization or pertinent activities on the part of its controlling personnel, he advised that, although he has not, in recent months, been in contact very much with his contacts, who formerly were officers and members of subject committee, it has been his general observation that the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE in New York City is in the general process of disintegration. He has observed that the radical members who would be interested in continuing the activity along isolationist lines seem to have scattered and affiliated themselves with numerous smaller groups and organizations with similar purposes. He stated that he did not believe there was any person or group of persons still in a position to hold subject organization together in the New York City area in the absence of any definite efforts on the part of the national officers of the organization, and he doubted whether such efforts on the part of the former national officers would have much effect at the present time.

The only information concerning the former officers of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE in New York City which [redacted] was able to furnish was that he had heard that ELWIN S. WEBSTER, JR. now has a government job and that Captain GEORGE SMITH is now a Major in the Air Corps and is believed to be stationed in Florida; that ROBERT L. BLISS is also in the Air Corps in Florida; and that DOUGLAS GREGORY, former head of the Speakers Committee is now back on the stage in New York City.

At the time of this contact with [redacted] he furnished a copy of a report covering an interview he had had on September 29, 1942, [redacted] copies of which report have been made available to the Bureau. Portions of such report are quoted as follows: b2 b7D

[redacted] b7C b7D

Contact was later made directly with [redacted] at which time he affirmed in effect the opinions expressed [redacted] as previously set forth in this report. He advised, moreover, that since the outbreak of war and the official dissolution of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE, he has generally lost contact with those members and officers who could be said to have been in control of the New York City organization. He stated that he felt sure that if any efforts were being made by such officers or any of the personnel of subject organization, he would have been advised of it or would at least have learned of it through his numerous friends and contacts in the organization. He ventured the opinion that possibly some efforts were made by the national and local officers in the line of throwing political support to certain candidates in the fall elections who expressed or stood for their views and the views of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE; however, he pointed out that b2 b7C

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NY 100-9887

there was no evidence that any political efforts, such as those which had been made, had been attempted, so far as he knew, to make use of or exploit the members of the committee as it existed prior to the declaration of war. He advised that he had not been contacted since early in the year by any of the former officers or controlling personnel of the organization, and, in his opinion, the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE as an organization is in a state of almost complete disintegration in the New York City area.

b2 b7D

It should be noted that under date of July 6, 1942, [redacted] whose identity is known to the Bureau, submitted the following report concerning subject organization to the New York Field Office:

"Newspaper reports indicate that the New York Chapter of subject (AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE) has filed petition in the Supreme Court, Manhattan, for its legal dissolution, since its spokesmen stated that its officials wanted to erase the last legal vestige so that no one could claim it was active in any way whatsoever, although actual activity is said to have ceased immediately following December 7. This action follows dissolution of the national AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE in Illinois on April 22."

Agent contacted [redacted] who advised that no information has come to his attention indicating any intent or effort on the part of those persons who were leaders in the New York AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE to prolong the life of subject organization. With the cooperation of [redacted] a complete review was made of his records which in any way concerned former officers or leading personnel of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE in New York City in an effort to determine their present affiliations and activities. The following is a complete report of such as submitted by informant to the New York Office under date of October 9, 1942:

"1. John T. Flynn was in the hospital for stomach ulcers. He is now recuperating.

2. Edwin Webster (as of June 24, 1942) is co-chairman of the Greater New York USO Joint War Appeal. He is circulating a rumor that he has an important job in Washington, believed to be one of the dollar-a-year jobs.

3. Robert Bliss [redacted] He is now training in the Air Corps in Florida. [redacted]

b7C

"4. Douglas Gregory is now sporting his America First button (September 10, 1942), talking about isolationism and saying that something must be done about the terrible trend of things. Gergory has been doing a job [redacted] He is also making a personal appearence in movie theatres and expects to get back on Broadway next month. b7C

5. Bea Bettinger has planned to move into a Government job in Washington, but received word from her sister-in-law not to come.(September 10, 1942). The report was that her former association with America First would embarrass her brother who is a Commander in the Navy. She is now working for the Jesuit Publishing Company on the periodical, 'America'.

6. Mrs. I. Pierce is working on Youth Employment in New York City. (September 10, 1942).

Mrs. I. Pierce and her husband, Colonel Pierce, are now running the Army Navy Country Club in Washington, D. C. She boasts that she finds it a good chance to spread isolationist propaganda. (October 5, 1942)

7. Captain George Smith is now Major George Smith of the Army.

8. The Brighams, (Ethel, Barbara, and Peggy) are devoting their entire time to the stage. Barbara toys with the idea of possibly working again for her political beliefs after she has made some success of her career on the stage. Right now, however, the Brighams seem to be out of political circulation.

9. Samuel Bettingill is running the Republican Finance Committee.

10. General Hammond has long been operating his plant on war orders and has taken an active Army commission again in the Ordnance Division.

11. Chester Bowles is continuing his advertising business and is as isolationist as ever. [redacted] b7C

12. Mrs. Seth Milliken is now active in the Post War World Council.

NY 100-9887

13. Mrs. Donald Budd Armstrong is also in the Post War World Council. She puts emphasis on the peace and boasts that three of her friends are in conscientious objector camps. She is also working as a volunteer in a hospital in Scarsdale, New York. [redacted] b7C

14. Doris Reed, [redacted], is operating as an investment counsel in a brokerage firm. She says that helping America First was very profitable to Edwin Webster, that coincidental to taking an active part in America First, he got a substantial volume of German and Italian security liquidating business for Kidder and Peabody. She says that he is a dollar-a-year man.

15. Amos Pinchot is recovering from an attempted suicide. The family version is that he was afraid he was getting cancer. Mrs. Ruth Pinchot, his wife, says that they are both as strongly isolationist as ever.

16. Greta Palmer (Mrs. Sanford Clark) in addition to her writing for womens magazines is very interested in the current political scene.

17. Mrs. Rose De Lucca of Queens is active in the local political campaign for 'Bennett for Governor'.

18. Gregory Mason is writing the story of the political importance of the America First Movement. He says that he is as strongly isolationist as ever and that he is doing some writing which he is confident 'will be useful when this phase of the war is over'.

19. Ernest E. Wheeler [redacted] b7D

[redacted] and is very patriotic and particularly very anti-Norman Thomas.

20. Eilene Woods, [redacted] is now studying Japanese. She says, 'Our position in America First was entirely justified. I am waiting for the turn of the tide.'

Reference is made to the lead set out in the reference report of Special Agent [redacted] dated September 1, 1942, at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, in this case, concerning the residence of [redacted]

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Bronx, New York, [redacted] Agent contacted [redacted] who advised that [redacted] is occupied by [redacted] FRANK PARKER, his elderly sister, Miss LUCINDA PARKER [redacted] further advised that Mr. PARKER and his wife have been separated for some years and that Mr. PARKER is a retired United States Army officer, having served in World War I. He is believed to have retired with the commission of Major. He and his family have resided at their present address for approximately fifteen years and are very well regarded in the neighborhood. [redacted] He described the whole family as people of good character, reputation, and 100 per cent Americans. He advised that Mr. PARKER has been employed by several large firms in the New York area and is an expert in economics, statistics, traffic management, and related fields; however, he was unable to state with whom Mr. PARKER is presently employed. He further advised that Mr. PARKER has been quite active in local politics, being a staunch Republican, but he knows of no organization outside of local political groups with which Mr. PARKER has ever affiliated. Informant feels certain that Mr. PARKER would not affiliate with any group which might be deemed subversive. He stated that he did not know whether or not Mr. PARKER had been a member of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE.

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[redacted] was contacted [redacted] and affirmed all the statements made by [redacted] He stated that he understands that Mr. PARKER has done considerable writing, being the author of several books in the field of economics. He knows nothing derogatory about the family and described them as "reputable people and red hot Americans".

[redacted] upon a search of his records, advised that he had no record of FRANK PARKER as having registered from [redacted]

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Concerning [redacted], the files of the New York Field Office disclosed that [redacted] attended a conference in August, 1937, at Kansas City, Missouri, entitled, "The American Christian Conference of the American Nationalist Confederation," a subversive organization which was headed by GEORGE DEATHERAGE. This information is contained in the memorandum entitled, "SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES - GENERAL", prepared by the Chicago Field Division, and transmitted to all Field Divisions under date of November 27, 1939, (New York file 61-0-390).

Concerning the Polish Information Center, 151 East 67 Street, New York City, and the connection between it and subject organization, it should be noted that such an organization is the subject of a pending Registration Act case in the New York Field Division. Such investigation is based upon allegations that the publication of the Polish Information Center, namely the "Polish Review" is very similar to the former German Library of Information's publication, "Facts in Review".

It is noted that the Polish Information Center has filed registration statements with the State Department.

In view of the above information concerning the Polish Information Center, no investigation is being conducted on it in connection with this case.

Concerning the Committee for Constitutional Government, the files of the New York Field Division reflect that this organization is incorporated under the laws of the District of Columbia, and that its headquarters are situated in the National Press Building, Washington, D. C. This organization also maintains an office at 205 East 42 Street, New York City. The officers of the organization are listed as follows:

SAMUEL B. PETTINGILL, Chairman and President;
LOUIS J. TABER, Vice-President of Advisory Council;
REVEREND NORMAN VINCENT PEALE, D.D., Secretary;
SUMNER GERARD, Treasurer.

The trustees of the organization are listed as follows:

SAMUEL B. PETTINGILL, Lawyer and Democratic member of Congress from Indiana, 1931-1939
EDWARD H. MOORE, business man, Tulsa, Oklahoma
NORMAN VINCENT PEALE, D.D., Minister, New York, New York
S. S. McCLURE, founder of McCLURE'S magazine, New York, New York
WILLIAM MacFERRAN, JR., Banker, Topeka, Kansas

FRANK R. GANNETT, Public Register, New York
SUMNER GERARD, lawyer and business man, New York, New York
LOUIS J. TABER, Master, National Grange, Columbus, Ohio
AMOS PINCHOT, attorney and publicist, New York, New York
[redacted]

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There is no additional information concerning the Committee for Constitutional Government, Inc., in the files of the New York Field Office with the exception of an unspecific complaint to the effect that it was believed that this organization was engaged in some sort of subversive activity. This complaint was made by [redacted] However, the files of the New York Field Division reflect that the report of Special Agent [redacted] made at Portland, Oregon, October 21, 1941, in the case [redacted] INTERNAL SECURITY - G, REGISTRATION ACT," sets forth a lead to ascertain the identity and position of the Committee for Constitutional Government, Inc., 205 East 42 Street, New York City. In view of the fact that investigation is presently being conducted concerning such lead, no additional investigation is being conducted of this organization in connection with this case.

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Concerning the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, 52 Vanderbuilt Avenue, New York City, the files of the New York Field Division reflect that as of September 19, 1941, a two-page pamphlet entitled, "Anti-Semitism—One America and One Christian," which condemns the anti-Semitic movements and prejudice, was put out by this organization., from the address, 297 —4th Avenue, New York City (NY file 65-2020-12149).

In a letter to the Bureau dated August 20, 1937, and captioned, "SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES - GENERAL", it is stated that the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America joined with the Spanish Child Feeding Reserves of the American Friends Committee, 20 South 12 Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and the Committee on Militarism in Education in a solicitation of funds for impartial relief for war-stricken children and women in Spain. (NY file 61-507-295 A).

In a letter to the Bureau under date of May 5, 1937, and entitled "SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES IN EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS" (Bureau file 61-7558), there is mentioned a four-page printed leaflet entitled, "The Churches and Military Training in Schools and Colleges", with a sub-title, "Conscience and Compulsory Military Training". This is a statement adopted by the biennial meeting of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America

at Dayton, Ohio, December 5, 1934. It is, in substance, a plea for the adoption of legislation freeing conscientious objectors from military training in civil educational institutions. The folder was apparently prepared by the Director of International Justice and Good Will of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, (NY file 61-506-18).

b7c The New York files further reflect that in a letter to the Bureau dated September 11, 1940, captioned, [redacted] INTERNAL SECURITY", it is stated that St. Joseph's Home, 425 West 44 Street, New York City, is a Catholic home which is operated on a basis similar to that of the Y.W.C.A. (or Y.M.C.A.). In view of this fact, it is felt that any active investigation in this line is not advisable.

Because contacts with informants mentioned in this report have failed to disclose any indication that there are any efforts being made to continue the life of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE as an organization or group in the New York City area, no further active investigation is contemplated, and this case is being referred upon completion to the office of origin.

- REFERRED UPON COMPLETION TO THE OFFICE OF ORIGIN -

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4-750 (Rev. 12-14-88)

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☐ (b)(3)	☑ (b)(7)(C)	☐ (k)(1)
_____	☑ (b)(7)(D)	☐ (k)(2)
_____	☐ (b)(7)(E)	☐ (k)(3)
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☐ (b)(4)	☐ (b)(8)	☐ (k)(5)
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CC-281

100-4712-486

Date: January 14, 1943

To: SAC, Pittsburgh

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 10-23-90 BY SP2 STS/CAC

From: J. Edgar Hoover - Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

Subject: American First Committee
Internal Security - C

The Bureau is in receipt of your letter of January 5, 1943, which quotes the three versions of a [redacted] message supplied by [redacted] one of the subjects of the above case, to [redacted]. These messages have been designated in the Laboratory as number 13803.

The first message, originally written on December 14, 1942, contains certain words which would not ordinarily be used in a communication of this kind. In a search of code books in the Laboratory which use English words as their code groups reveals the fact that quite a number of these unusual words are listed in the book as having definite meanings. Even such an unusual word as the word "Cavalierly" was found present. Tests showed that, if any one of these books was being used, other groups known only to the correspondents were being employed, as decodes possible from the meanings given in the actual book did not yield good English. Failure to effect a decode makes it impossible to state whether one of these code books was being used or not. The two subsequent messages are lacking in any words which arouse particular suspicion, and are believed to be authentic although they give a great deal of personal views.

A copy of your letter, quoting the messages in question, is being retained in the Laboratory in the event that future study is deemed necessary.

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Kramer
Mr. McGuire
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Mr. Gandy

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED 15
JAN 16 1943 P.M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

JAN 25 1943

RECEIVED
JAN 15 1943
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CANCELLED

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 3
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS FILE NO. 100-1809

REPORT MADE AT	DATE WHEN MADE	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE	REPORT MADE BY
PORTLAND, OREGON	1-8-43	12-4,2,42	[redacted] b7c

TITLE
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE alias Peace Group

CHARACTER OF CASE
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 10-23-80 BY SP8 [illegible]
INTERNAL SECURITY - GERMANY

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS: Dissolution of subject organization apparently complete in this area. Peace Group of PAUL COTTON also dissolved. Correspondence, circulars and pamphlets pertaining to America First Committee obtained from [redacted] and circular, dated 12-16-41, from headquarters of America First Committee addressed to PAUL COTTON, corroborates dissolution. b7c b7D

-RUC-

REFERENCE: Report of Special Agent [redacted], Portland, Oregon, dated June 5, 1942. b7c

DETAILS: [redacted]ortland, Oregon, provided agent b7c b7D with the bulk of the correspondence, circulars and pamphlets that he had concerning the America First Committee. A perusal of them failed to reveal anything of a pertinent character concerning the activities of the America First Committee. However, they are being retained in instant file for possible future reference.

Included in that correspondence was a circular from the headquarters of the America First Committee at Chicago, Illinois, dated December 16, 1941, addressed to all chapter chairmen and signed by R. DOUGLAS STUART, JR. This circular was addressed to DR. PAUL COTTON, Post Office Box 92, Portland, Oregon. The circular is not being set forth in detail, it being sufficient to note that it repeated that the National Committee on December 11, 1941 voted to dissolve the America First Committee and all its chapters, clubs, branches and other constituent or affiliated organizations throughout the United States. It went on to state that it was of the utmost importance that the membership lists and other records of their chapters be stored in one place under proper custody for the reasons that they anticipated various kinds of investigations and wanted to maintain their files under proper guardianship lest they fall into the hands of unauthorized persons and used for some ulterior purpose. It stated that at a meeting of the National Committee it was resolved that all the records would be impounded in the personal custody of

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2 - Portland

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RECORDED & INDEXED 144

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59 MAR 8 1943

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General WOOD. It was requested that all records, including files, books, and membership lists, be shipped to General WOOD at Chicago, Illinois.

[redacted] advised that to his knowledge, which he feels is authoritative in view of his previous connection with the America First Committee, the group has failed to exist or function as such.

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[redacted]

DELMORE LESSARD, ex-state chairman of the America First Committee, is well-known to this office and investigation has revealed him to have been active in attendance at a group called the Research Club in Portland, Oregon, which club was organized by HENRY L. BEACH along the lines of the Silver Shirts program. This club has been under continual investigation by this office and its activities have been reported fully. It was discovered that their program paralleled the program of the Silver Shirts as headed by WILLIAM DUDLEY PELLEY. It is noted that [redacted] advised that LESSARD was relieved of his leadership of the America First Committee perhaps for the primary reason that his known anti-Semitism was felt to be an obstacle in the development of the America First Committee's program.

Inasmuch as the activity of instant group has apparently ceased, it is not believed that further inquiry is warranted and instant case is being

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3:189

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

REPORT MADE AT	DATE WHEN MADE	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE	FILE NO. 100-5606
NEWARK, NEW JERSEY	1/16/43	6/8,22,12/28/	REPORT MADE BY [redacted] b7c

TITLE: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE 10-23-90 BY Sp6 15/cd

CHARACTER OF CASE: INTERNAL SECURITY - C

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS: Subject organization presently inactive in New Jersey. [redacted] b7D set out. Background information concerning

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REFERENCE: Report of Special Agent [redacted] made at Newark, New Jersey dated May 30, 1942.

Report of Special Agent [redacted] b7C made at Chicago, Illinois dated May 29, 1942

Bureau letter to all Special Agents in Charge dated March 16, 1942.

DETAILS: [redacted] furnished this Field Office with the following information concerning a conversation [redacted] b2 b7D The complete interview is being set out as follows, and for brevity [redacted] b7C and [redacted] designated as "A" and "B" respectively. This conversation has already been furnished to the Bureau by letter dated June 15, 1942: b7D

See Serial 498

"A. I came to see you about the letter you wrote me some three weeks ago.

"B. Yes, I am glad you dropped in and I would like to hear

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APPROVED AND FORWARDED: E. E. Conroy SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

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3 Chicago
2 New York
2 Newark

3 JAN 19 1943

RECORDED & INDEXED 179

61 FEB 6 1943

F 190

100-6606

some more about it.

"A. How did you hear of us?

B. Through a friend.

A. I have here a news letter in two parts. The blue part specifically will explain our stand in the matter of peace vs. war and, er -- by the way, when do you want to see peace brought about?

B. Immediately.

A. That's it. You are the type of person we are interested in-- a person who wants peace without victory. And why do you want peace right away?

B. Because I lived in Europe during the last war and the horror of it impressed me so strongly that I want no part of it.

A. Excellent. The trouble is with most people in this country-- never having experienced war first hand, they do not know the horrors of it.

B. Could you tell me what the newspapers think of this organization?

A. Most of the large newspapers have condemned us. "Life" magazine recently published a mis-statement about us and I am now dickering with them to retract it. There are a number of small newspapers that are definitely our friends, notably "The Dirt Farmer" published in California; "Farmer's Exchange" New Paris, Indiana; "Humanity" Arvada, Colorado; "Forum" Stockton, California; "The Broom" San Diego, California. "The Bromm" specifically has been condemned for Jew-baiting.

B. For Jew Baiting?

A. (Smiling archly) You ought to know that.

B. Well I know first hand the disgusting behavior of the Jews both in Russia and Germany and I feel very strongly on the subject.

A. (With an amused smile) That, of course, is your privilege and I'll let you guess at my own opinion in the matter.

B. Do you have many members in New Jersey?

A. We are well fixed in St. Louis, on the West Coast, and in New York. New Jersey, however, is rather quiet. We are now negotiating with a Mr. Palmer of Paterson, New Jersey who has a group that now belongs to a somewhat different organization but is interested in joining ours.

(He then, upon question, announced a Mrs. Amelia DuBois, who lives in a large hotel on the corner of Watchung and Grove in Montclair and who is in her 70's is a militant member of the organization.)

Furthermore, a great many people who delay in joining our organizations are afraid to because they have defense jobs or relatives in the armed forces. Our organization is a good one to belong to because we are not radical in our treatment of the subject. Coughlan has been too radical and

F 191

100-5606

is now out of business. We intend to keep out of jail because nowbody can accuse us of such activities. All they can do is to condemn us in gerality but cannot specifically lay their thumb on any one thing that we might say or print.

B. Well, haven't you been accused of being Hitler's willing or unwilling tools?

A (Here he smiled again in a very superior manner and extracted from his brief case another sheet of yellow paper which he handed to B, pointing out a certain paragraph which was a rather clever piece of sophistry.)

A This is our answer to such a remark.

(The paragraph read approximately as follows or at least conveyed the ensuing idea:

"The fact that peace loving Americans want peace is purely coincidental with the fact that Hitler does not want them to fight. Would you forego something that you want simply to deny Hitler something that he wants -- and furthermore, how do you know what Hitler wants anyway?"

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From [redacted] it was ascertained that the leaders of the America First Committee in the Paterson and Passaic area were, RUSSELL PALMER, EDWARD WILMS, JOSEPH MENEGUS.

At [redacted] it was ascertained that [redacted] resided at [redacted] that he is an employee of [redacted] in Paterson, New Jersey. He is [redacted] years of age, married and is a salesman for [redacted] He formerly resided at [redacted] New Jersey, and also at [redacted] Jersey. At one time he was employed as [redacted]

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It was ascertained that [redacted] is a resident of [redacted] New Jersey, living at [redacted], and is employed by [redacted]

The City Directory revealed that [redacted] resides at [redacted] New Jersey. He is a next door neighbor who is [redacted]

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[redacted]

FAV

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[redacted]

The following description of [redacted] was obtained fr[redacted]

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Age	[redacted]
Height	
Weight	
Hair	
Eyes	
Complexion	
Features	

[redacted]

There is no further evidence of activity by the America First Committee in the State of New Jersey and indications are that it has completely ceased functioning. [redacted] who was very active in the organization, advises that it is dead in the State of New Jersey and this case is accordingly being closed.

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It will be re-opened if there are indications that the subject organization becomes active. The lead in the reference report of Special Agent [redacted] for this Field Division was covered in the report of Special Agent [redacted] at Newark, New Jersey, May 30, 1942.

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FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

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☐ (b)(3)	☑ (b)(7)(C)	☐ (k)(1)
_____	☑ (b)(7)(D)	☐ (k)(2)
_____	☐ (b)(7)(E)	☐ (k)(3)
_____	☐ (b)(7)(F)	☐ (k)(4)
☐ (b)(4)	☐ (b)(8)	☐ (k)(5)
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FBI/DOJ

CC-285

b7C

Date: January 22, 1943

To: SAC, Chicago

From: J. Edgar Hoover - Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

Subject: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Reference is made to my letter to you dated December 1, 1942, concerning the records of some thirty-five organizations which were procured by a grand jury sitting at Chicago, Illinois.

I desire to be advised of the date when I may expect to receive a report incorporating a review of these records.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10-23-90 BY SP8BTS/cc

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED 6
JAN 23 1943 P.M.
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U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

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100-4712-489
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JAN 25 1943
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Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Kramer
Mr. McGuire
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

[redacted] b7C

F373
68 FEB 1943

133

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Report No. 2
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

FILE NO. 100-515

REPORT MADE AT	DATE WHEN MADE	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE	REPORT MADE BY
BUFFALO, NEW YORK	1/22/43	10/8,31;11/12, 13,14,16/42; 1/5,7/43	[redacted] b7c
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE			CHARACTER OF CASE: INTERNAL SECURITY -C

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

Local chapter organized in December, 1940. Names of chairman, secretary and steering committee of local chapter set forth. All parties contacted advise purpose of A.F.C. was to keep the U. S. from becoming entangled in European war. Committee financed by contributions and collections taken at meetings. Prominent individuals were guest speakers for local chapter. Last meeting held December 8, 1941, and committee not active since that time. Former chairman and secretary received letters from Americans for Peace relative to organizing a local chapter. However, both replied in the negative.

AGENCY MC Army
[redacted] Material obtained reviewed and pertinent parts set forth. b7D
BY

- RUC -

REFERENCE:

Report of Special Agent [redacted] dated 6/2/42 at Buffalo, New York.
Report of Special Agent [redacted] dated 6/13/42 at New York City. b7c

DETAILS:

The following investigation was conducted by Special Agent [redacted]

A search of the city and telephone directories of the city of Buffalo revealed that [redacted] b7c

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100-4712-490

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3-Buffalo

59 MAR 8 1943

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 9-27-83 BY [redacted]

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[redacted] had no information that [redacted] had been active either in the America First or anyother organization since the attack on Pearl Harbor.

[redacted] was interviewed in his office at the [redacted] and stated that soon after the fall of France in the spring of 1940 he and his wife believed that America needed an awakening to the dangers of totalitarian power and that the best way for America to protect itself was to aid those others which had subsequently become America's allies in the present conflict. [redacted] informed the Writer that he [redacted] issued letters to a list of approximately 150 individuals requesting them to organize under this plan.

A meeting was held on July 4, 1940, and a formal organization drawn up under the name of the Niagara Frontier Committee for the defense of America. [redacted] until after the attack on Pearl Harbor, at which time it decided against any more formal meetings but to maintain the organization for use in the future in furthering America's war effort.

During the period of the organization's activity, it came into opposition with the local committee of the America First Committee. [redacted] advised that he had personally attended many meetings of the America First Committee presided over by MILLARD C. DORNTGE, the chairman of this group, and on one occasion took issue with Mr. DORNTGE over the issues presented.

The Niagara Frontier Committee for the Defense of America was the local representative of the Committee for the Defense of America by Aiding the Allies headed by WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE.

[redacted] informed the Agent that he had never known or heard of MILLARD C. DORNTGE prior to the time that he was elected chairman of the America First Committee. From his observations of DORNTGE during the period he was chairman of the America First Committee, he was of the opinion that he was probably sincere in the cause he sponsored but believed the driving force behind DORNTGE was the opportunity his position presented for appearing in the public eye. The position as chairman of the America First Committee placed him in a position to meet the various prominent speakers of the America First Committee, such as SENATOR WHEELER, who appeared

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[redacted] the auspicies of the local committee. [redacted] informed that members of his committee had often discussed the motives behind various persons in the America First Committee but never could believe that they were disloyal to the United States.

[redacted] has heard of no activity on the part of DORETTE or his associates since Pearl Harbor but has learned that DORETTE was prominent in the Petroleum Distributors Association in regard to the rubber scrap drive [redacted] had never heard of any organization known as the Americans for Peace but expressed a willingness to inform this office of any information which came to his attention in this matter. [redacted] was warned of the discreetness necessary in making any inquiries.

Among those former members of [redacted] whom he believed might have information concerning any activity of the [redacted] deceased were [redacted] made available to the Agent a portion of a letterhead of that group which contained the names of the chairman, secretary, and the steering committee of the local chapter.

In looking over the list of prominent members of the America First Committee, he suggested the following persons could give information and whom he believed were loyal citizens and could be trusted:

GILBERT J. PEDERSEN, [redacted] Mr. PEDERSEN was formerly secretary of the America First Committee.

Professor EDWARD F. BARRETT [redacted]

JOSEPH M. BOREN [redacted]

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MRS. WALTER L. LAUTZ, former executive secretary of the America First Committee.

MR. AUSTIN J. ROCHE, [redacted]

Mrs. ARCHIE THOMAS, [redacted]

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DR. PAUL [redacted]

MR. KENNETH BRUCE MACDONALD, [redacted]

DR. IRA TREVETT

MR. NEIL M. WILLARD, [redacted]

The following investigation was conducted by Special Agent [redacted] and the Writer:

[redacted] was contacted by the Agents and advised that his only knowledge he had of MILLARD C. DORNTGE was the fact that he was formerly chairman of the America First Committee. [redacted] advised that he did not know DORNTGE prior to that time and could furnish no information concerning either Mr. DORNTGE or the America First Committee. He advised, however, that he had heard of no activities on the part of the America First Committee subsequent to the attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941. [redacted] stated that he had never heard of the American for Peace or of any of the members of the America First Committee having been contacted in this regard. He stated that [redacted] had been a member of the America First Committee and felt that he was a loyal and patriotic American and would give whatever assistance he possibly could to the Agents.

He stated, however, that he was of the opinion that Mr. DORNTGE was a loyal American. [redacted] also referred the Agents to Mr. GILBERT J. PEDERSEN, [redacted]. He is of the opinion that PEDERSEN has a good reputation and believes him to be an honest man. He informed the Agents that PROFESSOR PINGATORE, [redacted] had made several speeches before the America First Committee. [redacted] could furnish no further information concerning the America First Committee.

[redacted] stated that he had expressed his views [redacted] in favor of aiding those countries that subsequently became our allies and in so doing had incurred the animosity of the America First Committee, including its chairman, MR. DORNTGE who expressed his dislike for [redacted] on numerous occasions. [redacted]

informed the Agents that DORNTGE wrote letters to him criticizing his opini and the principles which he expressed [redacted] further stated that he had heard of no activity of the America First Committee since the attack on Pearl Harbor and, in his opinion, there was no activity of this organization for he felt sure had there been any he would have heard about it. He informed that he had never heard of any organization known as the Americans for Peace but should any information concerning this organization come to his attention he would gladly refer same to this office [redacted] was warned of the discreetness necessary in conducting any inquiries on this matter and he advised the Agents that they could expect his cooperation and that he was aware of the confidential nature of this inquiry.

The following investigation was conducted by the Writer:

[redacted] He informed the Agent that the local chapter of the America First Committee was organized during December of 1940 and that he had been requested to join this group by GILBERT J. PEDERSEN, [redacted] He advised the Agent that PEDERSEN had been secretary of the America First Committee for a considerable period of time. [redacted] stated that the local chapter of the America First Committee was organized by MILLARD DORNTGE and GILBERT PEDERSEN. He stated that MILLARD DORNTGE at the first meeting of this group was elected temporary chairman and remained as such up until the time of the attack on Pearl Harbor. GILBERT J. PEDERSEN was the secretary of this group and remained in that capacity up until October or November, 1941, at which time he resigned. The steering committee, which never got beyond a temporary committee, was composed of PROFESSOR PAUL CONROY [redacted] AUSTIN J. ROCHE, [redacted] REVEREND LEONARD BUSHMAN, [redacted] and BRUCE MACDONALD.

[redacted] informed the Writer that he was unable to state the membership of the America First Committee because he had never handled any of the records of that group. He stated that the America First Committee was financed by contributions and by collections at their meetings. two large meetings of the America First Committee were held at Kleinhans usic Hall, one during May of 1941 at which time Senator Wheeler was the uest speaker. On this occasion, a collection was taken up to cover the xpenses of renting the hall. Another meeting, the exact date unknown, as held at the Kleinhans Music Hall and Senator Nye and John Flynn were he guest speakers. Other than the two large meetings held at Kleinhans sic Hall, the America First Committee held bi-weekly meetings and local mbers of the committee would speak to the gatherings. The membership

list of the America First Committee, [redacted] believes, is in the possession of MILLARD DORNTGE. [redacted] informed the Agent that he became inactive during the fall of 1941 but that the last meeting of the America First Committee was held December 8, 1941, at which meeting JOHN FLYNN was scheduled to speak. However, at this meeting, the Committee decided against the continuance of this organization and to the best of his knowledge disbanded entirely. [redacted] stated that he has never heard of any organization known as the Americans for Peace and that he has never approached by MILLARD DORNTGE or any of the other America Firsters relative to joining any such group. [redacted] was questioned by the Writer concerning other branches of the local chapter in this district, and he advised he thinks that there was a group organized in Rochester, New York, but that they were only getting started at the time of the attack on Pearl Harbor.

[redacted] informed the Writer that the sole purpose of the America First Committee during the time it was in existence was to keep the United States from becoming entangled in European wars. He stated that at one of the meetings at which Senator WHEELER addressed the committee a group of Socialists distributed handbills but that this group was in no way connected with the America First Committee. [redacted] stated that the America First Committee had always made it plain in all of their correspondence and literature that they had no connection with the Communist or Nazi parties.

[redacted] upon [redacted] member of the America First Committee [redacted] He stated that GILBERT J. PEDERSEN, a local attorney, and MILLARD C. DORNTGE were the organizers of this group. PEDERSEN was elected secretary at the initial meeting of this group and MILLARD C. DORNTGE was elected chairman. A steering committee was appointed which was composed of the following individuals: JOSEPH BOEHM, NEIL WILLARD, EDWARD BARRETT, MILLARD DORNTGE, PAUL CONROY, MRS. WALTER LAUTZ.

[redacted] was not familiar with the actual working of the group and his activities were limited to speeches which he made to the committee. He stated that the membership was approximately 1,000 to 1,200 but that the official membership list was in the possession of either Mrs. LAUTZ or DORNTGE. [redacted] further informed the Agent that DR. MAXWELL became treasurer of the America First Committee about six months before it disbanded. He stated that the America First Committee had not been active subsequent to December 8, 1941, at which time a meeting was held and it was agreed that there were no further necessities for an organization of this type.

He said that he has never been approached by DORNTGE or any of the other members relative to re-organizing the America First Committee

31

100-315

or any other group of this nature and that he has never heard from the Americans for Peace. He said that in March of 1942, Mr. DORNTGE had told him that he had received a letter from the Americans for Peace but that he had told him it sounded insane to him and he was not going to have anything to do with it. [redacted] stated he had read the letter which DORNTGE received and that it advocated a recruited peace and wanted DORNTGE to join the organization. It declared that this war was an aggressive war on our part. [redacted] stated that the person who signed the letter was a former chairman of the America First Committee in New York City. In addition to the letter, there was mimeographed material dealing with the Americans for Peace.

[redacted] stated that he was not familiar with the activities of the America First Committee. However, he knew that MILLARD DORNTGE was chairman of this group. [redacted] informed the Writer that he had never heard of the Americans for Peace and that he felt sure that the America First Committee was inactive at this time and had been since December 8, 1941, at which time they probably announced that they were disbanding.

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[redacted] named the following individuals as having been active members of the America First Committee:

JOSEPH BOEHM, [redacted]

JOHN A. [redacted]OLF, [redacted] but has a lot of contacts and should know if the America First Committee is active.

GILBERT J. PEDERSEN, an attorney [redacted]

EDWARD F. BARRETT, JR., [redacted] very active and one of the principal speakers at their meetings.

MRS. WALTER LAUTZ, whom he stated was very active in the America First Committee.

AUSTIN J. ROCHE, [redacted]

MRS. GERTRUDE HORNER, who was very active and one of the best workers of the A.F.C., [redacted] could furnish no further information concerning the America First Committee.

[redacted] former member of the America First Committee, upon interview advised that he had been a member of the America First Committee during the time this organization was in existence but that to the best of his knowledge the America First Committee had disbanded shortly after the attack on Pearl Harbor and since that time there had been no further activity. [redacted] advised that he felt certain that should there have been any further activity of the America First Committee, he would have been advised of this fact or would have been approached relative to membership in the organization. [redacted] informed the Agent that should any information concerning further activities of the America First Committee come to his attention, he would immediately advise this office of these facts.

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The following individuals were not contacted by the Writer in view of the fact that [redacted] informed the Agent that they were talkative individuals and, inasmuch as this investigation was of a discreet nature, it was not deemed advisable to contact these parties: [redacted].

[redacted] was contacted and he advised that he had formerly been connected with the America First Committee [redacted] A steering committee was organized which was composed of EDWARD F. BARRETT, JR., JOSEPH M. BOEHM, DR. PAUL CONROY, MILLARD C. DORNTO MRS. FRANKLIN K. GURLEY, MRS. WALTER L. LAUTZ, KENNETH BRUCE MACDONALD, DR. MAX L. MAXWELL, GILBERT J. PEDERSEN, AUSTIN J. ROCHE, DR. IRA TREVETT, NEIL M. WILLARD.

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[redacted] stated that the America First Committee, to the best of his knowledge, was organized and formed for the purpose of keeping Ameri out of European war. He stated that the members of the America First Committee, as far as he knew, were loyal and patriotic Americans. He informed the Agent that during April of 1942 he had received a communication from the Americans for Peace containing literature concerning this organization. The Americans for Peace had requested that he join this organization and stated that they were interested in organizing local chapters of the group throughout the country. He stated that he had written a letter to the Americans for Peace, 1165 Broadway, New York City, declining their request. He stated that prior to this time he had never heard of the Americans for Peace and this was the first communication he had received from any organization of that type. He advised that the last meeting of the America First Committee was held at the Statler Hotel on December 8, 1941, at which time the Committee decided it was useless to continue in view of the fact that the country was at war. [redacted]

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[redacted] the following list of individuals corresponded with the local chapter of the America First Committee and expressed a desire for membership or contributed financially to the support of the local chapters:

W. S. GAIN, [redacted]

ELL SHEPARD, [redacted]

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100-315

CECIL S. FARRAR, (no address)

EDWARD D. O'DEA, [redacted]

LESLIE ROBINSON, [redacted]

LOIS NEWTON-THURBER, [redacted]

LESTER FANEUF, [redacted]

DANIEL W. STREETER, [redacted]

RAYMOND CARLSON, [redacted]

MRS. HARRY BEEBE, [redacted]

M. B. ROVNER, [redacted]

NORMAN BRUM, [redacted]

CLAYTON MAXWELL, [redacted] b7C

GEORGE E. TOLES, (no address)

DR. ALBERT P. SY, [redacted]

DR. BART A. NIGRO, [redacted]

Mrs. FRANKLIN GURLEY, [redacted]

MRS. MARIAN QUINN, [redacted]

EDWARD C. SCHICK, [redacted]

HOWARD W. KURTZ, [redacted]

JACOB BRACH, [redacted]

EDWARD F. BARRETT, JR., [redacted]

DR. IRA TREVETT, [redacted]

MRS. FLORENCE L. CLARK, [redacted]

R. H. LYDON, [redacted]

311

100-315

PERCIVAL G. BIXBY, [redacted]

MRS. JOSEPH SHEPPERLY, [redacted]

DR. LEWIS G. FUCHS, [redacted]

L. A. GATES, [redacted]

MRS. WALTER L. LAUTZ, [redacted]

LEWIS P. GOULD, [redacted]

MISS KAY VAN DEMATER, [redacted]

ADELBERT C. SPRAGUE, [redacted]

SAMUEL GOLDFARB [redacted]

JOHN J. LANDERS, [redacted]

b7C

CHARLES A. SCHEELER, [redacted]

MISS HELEN F. ZIMMERMAN, [redacted]

D. P. RUMSEY, [redacted]

REV. LEONARD BUSCHMAN, [redacted]

ROBERT M. KUNZ, [redacted]

EUGENE HOGAN, [redacted]

MR. AND MRS. NORMAN J. VESTER, [redacted]

MRS. ALICE B. WAGNER, [redacted]

MRS. SOPHIE MERCHENS, [redacted]

MR. AND MRS. A. H. KRETCH, [redacted]

NORBERT L. SCHEUERMAN, [redacted]

DR. ALLEN VALENTINE, [redacted]

CAROL H. OWEN, [redacted]

FRANK E. SPRING, [redacted]

3-17

100-315

MRS. G. FRANCIS, (no address)

MISS MARGARET W. BOEHLE, [redacted]

LAWRENCE ZIMBARIS, [redacted]

JOHN W. EKINGER, (no address)

MRS. KATHERINE DUGAN, [redacted]

[redacted] individuals to sit upon the platform at a rally of the America First Committee at which Senator BURTON K. WHEELER of Montana was the principal speaker were [redacted]

JUSTIN C. MORGAN, [redacted]

JEROME C. KREINHEDER, [redacted]

PHILLIP V. BAEZKOWSKI, [redacted]

FRANK J. CAFFERY, [redacted]

FRED M. HAMMER, [redacted]

HAROLD D. EHRLICH, [redacted]

FRANK A. GUZINA, [redacted]

CHARLES O. BURNEY, JR., [redacted]

WALTER J. MAHONEY, [redacted]

JOHN R. PILLION, [redacted]

HON. STEPHEN J. WOJTKOWIAK, [redacted]

MARK HOWE, [redacted]

[redacted] the following bulletins of the America First Committee are being retained in the files of this case. [redacted]

BULLETIN NO. 14 dated January 21, 1941, entitled "Captain Edward Rickenbacher.

BULLETIN NO. 14 dated January 12, 1941, entitled "Poll on Standing of Representatives in Washington."

b2
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BULLETIN NO. 16 dated January 21, 1941, entitled "Cooperation with Other Anti War Groups" and which reads as follows:

> "The America First Committee has no connection with any other group in the field. It is a wholly independent organization.
>
> "No chapter of the America First Committee may undertake whole sponsorship with anyother organization for local public meetings, forums, lectures, advertising, publicity, mail, or telephone campaigns, etc., without first obtaining permission from national headquarters."

BULLETIN NO. 17 dated January 21, 1941, entitled "How to Direct Your Communications."

BULLETIN NO. 18 dated January 21, 1941, captioned "Telephone Campaigns."

BULLETIN NO. 19 dated January 21, 1941, entitled "Bulletin Binders."

BULLETIN NO. 27 dated January 25, 1941, entitled "Telephone Script."

BULLETIN NO. 28 dated January 25, 1941, captioned "Telegram to Congressmen and Senators."

BULLETIN NO. 99 dated March 5, 1941, captioned "One Woman's Experience."

BULLETIN NO. 107 dated March 6, 1941, entitled "Committees on Correspondence

BULLETIN NO. 123 dated March 11, 1941, entitled "Friday Night Meetings."

BULLETIN NO. 133 dated March 18, 1941 entitled "Convoys" and reads as follows:

> "The America Second Committee (committee to defend America by aiding the Allies) announced yesterday that it has adopted the slogan 'Deliver the Goods to Britain Now.' The committee calls for convoying immediately, if necessary.
>
> "Convoying is the quickest way to get America into the war. Send postcards, letters, and telegrams to the President at the White House urging that no such plan be considered. Oppose this dangerous step which spells involvement."

BULLETIN NO. 142-A dated March 21, 1941, entitled "Principles of the America First Committee" and reads as follows:

F14

100-515

"(1) Our first duty is to keep America out of foreign wars. Our entry would only destroy democracy, not save it. 'The Path to war is a false path of freedom.'

"(2) Not by acts of war abroad, but by preserving and extending democracy at home can we aid democracy and freedom in other lands.

"(3) In 1917, we sent our American ships into the war zones and this led us to war. In 1941, we must keep our naval convoys and merchant vessels on this side of the Atlantic.

"(4) We must build a defense for our own shores, so strong that no foreign power or combination of powers can invade our country by air, land, or sea.

"(5) Aid to Britain, which we have advocated since the formation of the America First Committee, is now in progress of fulfillment. Humanitarian aid is the duty of a strong, free country at peace. With proper safeguards for the distribution of supplies, we should feed and clothe the suffering and needy people of England and the occupied countries and so keep alive their hopes for the return of better days.

OBJECTIVE

"The very life blood of democracy is study and analysis, conferences and discussion of national issues by all citizens. Let us carry on!

MEMBERSHIP

"Membership in the America First Committee is open to all patriotic American citizens. We exclude from our roll Fascists, Nazis, Communists, and members of the Bund."

BULLETIN NO. 149 dated March 24, 1941, entitled "Our Boston Chapter Uses A New Petition."

BULLETIN NO. 151 dated March 24, 1941, captioned "Today's Book."

BULLETIN NO. 166 dated March 28, 1941, entitled "Membership and Finance Envelopes."

BULLETIN NO. 172 dated March 31, 1941, captioned "New Membership Cards."

BULLETIN NO. 175 dated April 2, 1941, captioned "Literature."

3-15

100-315

BULLETIN NO. 176 dated April 2, 1941, entitled "Rubber Stamp."

BULLETIN NO. 177 dated April 2, 1941, captioned "What We Must Do To Stop Convoys."

BULLETIN NO. 177A dated April 2, 1941, entitled "It Is Not Too Late."

BULLETIN NO. 178 dated April 2, 1941, captioned "Incidental Intelligence on Convoys."

BULLETIN NO. 250 entitled "America First Film Series."

BULLETIN NO. 253 dated May 14, 1941, captioned "America First Film Series."

BULLETIN NO. 364, dated May 19, 1941, entitled "Running Schedule of Speaking Dates" and is as follows:

May 20	Toledo	HON. PHILLIP LAFOLLETE	Macomber "V" High School
May 21	Akron	HON. PHILLIP LAFOLLETE	Central High School
May 22	Columbus	HON. PHILLIP LAFOLLETE	Memorial Hall
May 23	New York	COL. LINDBERGH SENATOR WHEELER	Madison Square Garden
May 24	* Atlanta	SENATOR TOBEY	
May 24	Harrisburg	REP. JOHN VORYS	
May 24	Rochester	SENATOR D. WORTH CLARK	
May 25	South Bend	SENATOR NYE	
May 26	Scranton	REP. JOHN VORYS	
May 26	Ft. Wayne	SENATOR NYE	Shrine Temple
May 26	Knoxville	REV. JOHN CLAYTON MORRISON	
May 26	Bridgeport	REP. DEWEY SHORT	
May 26	Binghamton	SENATOR D. WORTH CLARK	
May 26	Springfield	REP. HAMILTON FISH	
May 26	Detroit	REP. MARTIN SWEENEY	Cass Technical School
May 28	Albany	SENATOR D. WORTH CLARK	
May 28	Indianapolis	SENATOR WHEELER	Cadle Tabernacle
May 29	Philadelphia	COL. LINDBERGH	Philadelphia Arena
June 2	Appleton, Wis.	SENATOR NYE	
June 3	* Omaha	REP. JAMES O'CONNOR	
June 4	* Fremont, Neb.	REP. JAMES O'CONNOR	
June 5	* Lincoln, Neb.	REP. JAMES O'CONNOR	
June 6	* Topeka, Kan.	REP. JAMES O'CONNOR	

* -- cities tentative.

BULLETIN NO. 266 dated May 19, 1941, entitled "Person & Allen Column--May 19, 1941."

BULLETIN NO. 262 dated May 19, 1941, captioned "Advertisement: 'Will He Do It?

BULLETIN NO. 263 dated May 19, 1941, entitled "Radio Address by ALF M. LANDON Radio address referred to in this bulletin is the address broadcast by ALF M. LANDON over the Columbia Network in Topeka 3:15 to 3:30 P.M., Central Standa Time May 18, 1941.

BULLETIN NO. 265 dated May 19, 1941, entitled "Let's Take a Poll on Convoys."

BULLETIN NO. 267 dated May 20, 1941, entitled "We Will Stay Out of War."

BULLETIN NO. 268 dated May 20, 1941, captioned "New York Meeting With Colonel Lindbergh."

BULLETIN NO. 269 dated May 20, 1941, entitled "School Is Out."

BULLETIN NO. 270 dated May 20, 1941, entitled "Memorial Day Seals."

BULLETIN NO. 271 dated May 20, 1941, captioned "New York Meeting With Colonel Lindbergh."

BULLETIN NO. 382 dated July 2, 1941, entitled "Just One Year Ago Today Col. FRANK KNOX Appeared Before the Senate Naval Affairs Committee for Confirmation of his Cabinet Appointment as Secretary of the Navy; Two Days Ago Col. KNOX repudiated his statements made in that testimony."

BULLETIN NO. 391 dated July 7, 1941, captioned "Minority Louder Than Majority part of which is quoted as follows:

> "The poll shows also that the 10 per cent minority who want to involve us in the war are vociferous, wealthy, and powerful; so powerful with the eastern press, radio, and communists, that the 90 per cent are fearful that they may be in the minority.
>
> "What American mother will want her sons to fight and die for the red flag, communism and Russia. The idea of talking about bringing the four freedoms to Soviet Russia—freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom of opportunity-- with American blood and treasury only shows that we should keep out of this rotten European mess."

BULLETIN NO. 396 dated July 8, 1941, entitled "Radio Bulletin."

BULLETIN NO. 396 dated July 8, 1941, captioned "Confidential Interviews With Senators and Representatives regarding an Advisory Referendum on War."

BULLETIN NO. 397 dated July 8, 1941, entitled "Another ALF? CONGRESS Says No!

BULLETIN NO. 400 dated July 9, 1941, entitled "Your Greatest Step Against War," pertinent parts of which are quoted as follows:

> "General Wood addressing the nation Monday night over the Mutual Broadcasting System, said 'Seizure of these points (Iceland) can be considered as another step to edge us into the War, not a step for defense.'"

BULLETIN NO. 401 dated July 10, 1941, entitled "Gallup Poll Begins War Against War."

BULLETIN NO. 402 dated July 10, 1941, captioned "Cold Comfort."

BULLETIN NO. 532 dated August 28, 1941, entitled "Printed Postcards."

BULLETIN NO. 537 dated September 6, 1941, entitled "Radio Bulletin."

This office is also in possession of one photograph of a letterhead of the local chapter of the America First Committee [redacted]. This letterhead contains the names of the temporary officers naming MILLARD C. DORNTGE as chairman and GILBERT J. PEDERSEN as secretary. It also lists the Buffalo Committee and the following names are set out as members of same: EDWARD F. BARRETT, JR., JOSEPH M. BOEHM, REV. LEONARD V. BUSHMAN, DR. PAUL CONROY, MILLARD C. DORNTGE, KENNETH BRUCE MACDONALD, GILBERT J. PEDERSEN, AUSTIN J. ROCHE, ELIZABETH OLMSTEAD SMITH, DR. IRA TREVETT, and NEIL M. WILLARD. It also sets forth the names of the national committee but same are not being incorporated in this report because it is felt that it is already in possession of the Bureau. It further sets out the address of the temporary headquarters of the Buffalo chapter as 122 West Chippewa Street and Telephone No. Cleveland 2458.

Two photographs of a membership card of the America First Committee, one showing a front view of the membership card and the other the reverse side. The front view is being set out as follows:

"AMERICA FIRST MEMBERSHIP CARD"

> "I hereby enroll as a member of the America First Committee, in order to help keep our country out of foreign war. I am a patriotic American citizen. I am not affiliated in any way with any foreign power."

As revealed by the membership card, there were three types of members an individual could enroll as (1) a contributing member, (2) a sustaining member and (3) a supporting member. The reverse side of the membership card set forth the principles of the America First Committee and these are not being set out at this time inasmuch as they have already been set forth in this report.

This office is also in possession of a photograph of America First membership certificate No. 1432, the face of which is similar to that of the membership card.

The Buffalo office is maintaining a photograph copy of a membership and contribution form of the America First Committee.

This office is also in possession of two photographs of the authority granted GILBERT J. PEDERSEN by the acting chairman and national director of the America First Committee to organize a local chapter and is set out as follows:

> "Whereas GILBERT J. PEDERSEN has consulted with ROBERT E. WOOD, acting chairman, and R. DOUGLAS STUART, JR., national director of the America First Committee, and whereas the aforementioned persons have concluded that Mr. PEDERSEN would do an excellent job in the formation of a local chapter of the America First Committee, Mr. PEDERSEN is hereby directed to proceed with the formation of the above described local committee.
>
> /s/ R. DOUGLAS STUART, JR."

One photograph of a list of the steering committee of the local chapter of the America First Committee as of December 31, 1940, is being retained in the files of this office and is set out as follows:

EDWARD F. BARRETT, JR., [redacted]

JOSEPH M. BOEHM, residence address [redacted]
chairman of the Buffalo Planning Board; [redacted]

REVEREND LEONARD V. BUSHMAN, residence address [redacted]

DR. PAUL COMBOY, residence address [redacted]

MILLARD C. DORNTGE, (acting chairman), residence address [redacted]

KENNETH BRUCE MACDONALD, residence address [redacted]

GILBERT J. PEDERSEN (acting secretary), residence address [redacted]

ELIZABETH HOLMSTEAD SMITH, residence address [redacted]

DR. IRA TREVETT, residence address [redacted]

NEIL M. WILLARD, residence address, [redacted]

AUSTIN J. ROCHE, residence address [redacted]

This office is also in possession of a photographic copy of the America First Committee manual, which is being set out in full as follows:

CHAPTER MANUAL

America First Committee
141 West Jackson Boulevard
Chicago, Ill.

F 20

100-315

HOW TO ORGANIZE CHAPTERS OF THE AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

The America First Committee is a non-political, non-partisan organization of American citizens, who believe that the preservation of American liberties and the advancement of American democracy depend upon keeping out of the present conflict abroad.

The organization of the America First Committee is reaching out to every municipal ward and rural district in America. No section of the country is too small or too remote to establish a local unit that will work for the preservation and defense of our American democracy.

Every American citizen is invited to join the America First Committee and work with us. We exclude from our ranks those who have ulterior motives -- anything other than the welfare of our country. Those who are unwelcome include the Communists who really desire to destroy our Government; the Nazis and the members of the Bund, who put the interests of Germany above those of this country; those of the school of thought who call themselves or may be considered American Fascists; some ultra-pacifists who forgot the interest of their country in their desire for peace at any price.

THE AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

The membership of the National Committee, under the Chairmanship of General Robert E. Wood of Chicago, is made up of men and women who are devoting their time, money and energy to the protection of what we believe to be the best interests of the United States.

The members are:

NATIONAL COMMITTEE

General Robert E. Wood, Acting Chairman. Merchant; Acting Quartermaster General U.S.A., 1918-19; Commander of the British Order of St. Michael & St. George; Knight of the French Legion of Honor.

R. Douglas Stuart, Jr., Director

J. Sanford Otis, Treasurer
Banker

Chester Bowles
Advertising executive, N.Y.

Alice Roosevelt Longworth
Civic leader

F 21

100-315

Dr. Anton J. Carlson
Head of Department of Physiology, Univeristy of Chicago, Lieut. Col. Sanitary Corps U.S.A. 1917

William R. Castle
Former Under secretary of State, former U.S. Ambassador to Japan

Mrs. Bennett Champ Clark
of Missouri and Washington, D.C.

Irvin S. Cobb
Author; Chevalier of the French Legion of Honor

Janet Ayer Fairbank
Author, civic leader

John T. Flynn
Author, economist

Bishop Wilbur E. Hammaker
Methodist of Denver, Colorado

General Thomas S. Hammond
Manufacturer

Jay C. Hormel
Meatpacker

General Hugh S. Johnson
Columnist, former NRA Administrator

Clay Judson
Lawyer

Kathryn Lewis
Labor Union Executive

Frank O. Lowden
Former Governor of Illinois

Hanford MacNider
Former National Commander of the American Legion, former Assistant Secretary of War, Former U.S. Minister to Canada

Thomas N. McCarter
Industrialist, New Jersey

Ray McKaig
Farm Leader, Idaho

Sterling Morton
Industrialist

Amos R. E. Pinchot
Lawyer

George N. Peek
Manufacturer, foreign trade analyst

William H. Rognery
Manufacturer, philanthropist

Edward L. Ryerson, Jr.
Industrialist, civic leader

Louis J. Taber
Master of National Grange

Mrs. Burton K. Wheeler
of Montana and Washington, D.C.

Dr. George H. Whipple
Nobel prize winner in medicine, 1934

Major Alford J. Williams
Aviation expert

F 22

100-315

PRINCIPLES AND OBJECTIVES

The principles and objectives of the America First Committee are as follows:

1. The United States must build an impregnable defense for America. With such a defense no foreign power, or group of powers, can successfully attack us.

2. With proper safeguards for the distribution of supplies and the maintenance of our neutrality, Americans should, to the limit of their ability, give humanitarian aid to the suffering and needy people of England and the occupied countries.

3. The cash and carry provisions of the existing Neutrality Act are essential to American peace and security. Within the limits of that Act Americans may properly aid Great Britain. Aid to her beyond the limitations of the present Neutrality Act would weaken our defense at home, and might well involve us in conflict. We oppose any change in the law which would permit American vessels to enter the combat zone or which would permit the American navy to convoy merchant ships through that zone, as any such course would inevitably plunge this country into Europe's war.

4. Americans should and do cherish the ideals of democracy and abhor dictatorship, but the welfare of one hundred thirty million Americans and the preservation of democracy on this continent demand that the United States keep out of foreign wars.

FUNCTIONS OF THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE

The purpose of the Committee is to strengthen and encourage the considerable majority of American citizens, who whole-heartedly agree with these principles and objectives as stated.

The National Committee establishes and interprets the broad policies that govern the activities of all branches of the Committee organization, and furnishes an aggressive and vigorous leadership. It provides the background for a national campaign, which penetrates into every city and state in the union.

Through its efforts the Committee's point of view and its analysis of developments in the international situation as they relate to our country are constantly being presented to the public for action. This is accomplished through a succession of messages addressed to the American people through the media of metropolitan newspapers, the three nation-wide radio networks, as well as local stations.

In addition, an intensive campaign of publicity is conducted from Chicago, New York and Washington over the three national news wire services (Associated Press, United Press and International News Service).

The national Committee is also responsible for direct liaison with members of both houses of Congress through constant personal contact and discussion.

All these activities form the basis for intensive local efforts--carrying the message to the grass roots -- which is the most vital part of the entire campaign.

Therefore, one of the most important functions of the National Committee is to stimulate and supervise the formation of local chapters through which intensive coverage of every individual community can be secured.

While local chapters are largely self-directed, their credentials must be first secured from and their chapter approved by the National Committee. They must abide strictly by the interpretations of the Committee's policies as stated from time to time by National Headquarters.

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS

The work of the America First Committee is directed from the national headquarters office, 141 West Jackson Boulevard, Chicago. (Room 1822)

The National Headquarters stands ready at all times to guide and foster the activities of local groups so that their activity may reach maximum effectiveness in the shortest possible time. The National Headquarters is prepared to furnish literature and other desired materials at the lowest possible cost and to offer suggestions as to procedure whenever desired or necessary.

F24

109-315

CHAPTERS

All applications to form chapters of the America First Committee must be presented to National Headquarters in writing before authorization to organize your group can be considered.

It is the aim of the America First Committee to have a chapter in every city in America. This chapter will act as the central clearing house for National Headquarters activities in your city, coordinating the work and interpreting the policies of the National Committee.

The major objective of the chapter is to clarify a bewildered public opinion by placing unbiased facts before the people. In this way, we plan to arouse American citizens to forceful action.

HOW TO MAKE APPLICATION FOR YOUR CITY CHAPTER

If you want to organize a chapter in your town, here's what you must do.

1. Send for material describing the aims and policies of the America First Committee. Read what our spokesmen have said on the subject. Thoroughly acquaint yourself with the purpose of the America First Committee. Be sure you thoroughly agree. Inasmuch as the responsibility for the local direction of our program will be centered in your Chapter, both in interpretation of National Committee policies and direction of your local program, all applications will be thoroughly investigated before approval can be granted by the National Committee. Be sure that you fill out the application form completely.

2. If you are ready to go to work, you'll need help. This is a big job. There is no room for dilettantes, publicity seekers or people with personal interests involved. There is room for real Americans who want to work hard, long hours to save an American Democracy that was not fabricated by dreamers, but built by unrelenting toil.

The most effective means for setting up a chapter is for a group of citizens, earnestly interested in our efforts, to hold a series of luncheons, at which the organization of a local chapter can be thoroughly

F 25

100-315

discussed. Inasmuch as these preliminary meetings are of a "thinking-out-loud, off the record" nature, it is better that they be conducted without publicity.

Remember time is important. Get busy today!

In succeeding luncheons each of the original group should bring three or four friends who may be interested in lending their support. Try to pick people who can swing particular groups behind them once they are acquainted with what we are doing.

Discuss your program frankly. Tell what you want to do and what you want each of them to do. Pass out the material we have sent to you; ask them to read it carefully and discuss it thoroughly at succeeding meetings.

Tell each person present what his specific job is. (You chose him for his ability to organize; to raise money; to develop membership; to organize a speakers' bureau; to handle publicity; to donate office space; etc. etc.)

Experience has indicated that it is best at the first of these luncheons to discuss the physical requirements of the Chapter. Succeeding meetings can be devoted to widening the basis of leadership within the community and continuing the discussion. Do not allow your luncheon to break up without setting a time and place for the following luncheon; summarize what has been accomplished at the current luncheon and state the agenda for the succeeding one. Keep the meeting in hand -- don't let it digress from the issues -- and the problem -- to get organized immediately.

You, as Chairman, should take the lead, shaping the discussion. Show the importance of doing this work -- why this stand has been taken.

You should try to get at least five leaders in your city to join with you when you fill out your application to organize a chapter. Choose your supporting committee with thought for their ability to set your operation in motion immediately, once your charter has been granted.

As quickly as you have ascertained who they are and have your application completed, mail it in immediately. Be sure first that you agree among yourselves on our principles and methods. You must subscribe completely to the policies and aims before you can undertake the work.

Your application will be presented to the National Committee immediately upon receipt of it at Chicago. First we must check the responsibility and background of your group, and your qualifications to carry on the work must be reviewed.

F 26

100-315

After the Committee has acted upon your application you will be notified immediately. Later you will be sent your America First Committee Chapter Charter, which records your authorization to establish your Chapter, and which must be displayed in your headquarters office at all times.

HOW TO ORGANIZE YOUR CHAPTER

When authorization has been granted and you have received approval, call together the members of your Committee so that you may set up your organization and get going. This meeting is <u>important</u>.

It is difficult to set up a hard and fast pattern for developing your chapter functions. Conditions in different communities will vary; but we will give you the benefit from best experience to date in this direction. This suggested outline will serve as a guide.

1. Elect a Chairman.

   The Chapter Chairman will be the active head of your group, responsible to the National Headquarters for conduct of committee affairs in your city, and for the local interpretation of the Committee's policies. He will coordinate your local program with our National campaign. He should be a leader in the affairs of your city, regularly identified as an outstanding citizen of unquestioned patriotism and Americanism.

2. Elect a Treasurer.

   The treasurer shall be responsible for moneys collected by the Chapter from contributors to the program; shall see that receipts are given for all such contributions collected; shall see that an accounting is rendered for all expenditures made from donations for the work.

The operations of the chapter should be self-liquidating and no chapter shall incur expenses that will obligate the National Committee or National Headquarters. (Most chapters have found that this officer may be most effective if he is also an official of your local bank.)

F27

100-315

3. Elect a Secretary.

The Secretary should keep minutes of your meetings; mail out notices and direct the use of your Chapter mailing lists for the distribution of material, buttons, pins, etc. He shall submit progress reports on Chapter program developments at least every two weeks to the Organization Department, National Headquarters.

4. Appoint a Publicity Chairman and Committee.

It is the duty of this Committee to keep your local newspapers informed of your Chapter growth, your meetings, forums, activities, etc. Ask them to give full publicity to this information. The Chapter publicity director will receive releases from the Publicity Department of the National Headquarters for local use. Be sure that pictures and the story of your organization, with picture and choice of officers, are told to the people in your community through your newspapers. As you grow you may wish to hire a publicity organization to help you.

5. Appoint a Speakers Bureau.

Set up a speakers bureau to develop representatives who can talk before prepared audiences (closed meetings of existing clubs in your local area before which our point of view may be presented) to discuss the America First program in forums, before church, labor, civic and school groups and study organizations; to talk on local radio programs; to address your public meetings which you will arrange under your own auspices.

6. Appoint a Membership Committee.

This committee should build up membership in your Chapter as rapidly as possible, securing mailing lists of all local groups who may have members sympathetic to our aims, who will work with us.

F28

100-315

OFFICE

After organizing your Committee you should immediately proceed to set up your Chapter headquarters office. Good store space in the downtown business section is most convenient. (More often than not, you can get it donated.) A street level office with good window space is best. Doors and windows should be suitably lettered indicating that this is the America First Committee Chapter headquarters in your city. For example:

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
Greater Boston Chapter.

It is here you will be rendering daily service to the man in the street. Pick a spot where you can reach him and he can find you easiest.

If your Committee cannot immediately underwrite this expense, ask one of your local banks or real estate offices friendly to our work if they can contribute space. Perhaps one of your members has real estate that is partially idle.

OFFICE PROCEDURE AND PERSONNEL

You will need a telephone installed right away and your number listed. People will be wanting to reach you, and you will be conducting telephone campaigns.

You will need a secretary-stenographer -- one girl who can do typing and handle the telephone inquiries. It is important that she be an intelligent person. She should have a pleasing telephone personality and know how to greet and handle people. She should understand our aims so that she can be articulate in discussing the principles of the America First Committee. (At first the position could be filled by a secretary contributed by a member of your committee, or possibly a volunteer worker. If you do have volunteer help, remember this is a full time job -- and there is no time for personal interests. Experience has shown that volunteer help is uncertain, often not efficient, difficult to control.)

As you progress you will need a full time office manager. Perhaps some members of your committee will want to help direct the office, doing this important contact work themselves; but a full time manager or executive secretary should be present at all times during business hours.

His duties:

1. To direct the office activities for your chapter.

2. To handle mail. See that it is answered the same day it is received.

3. To order supplies of literature, buttons, pins, etc. from National Headquarters and handle their distribution to the public.

4. To order, receive and route radio transcriptions for local stations and to handle in like manner the movie film "Which Way, America?" available in 16mm size for meetings and in 35mm size for commercial use by your local neighborhood theatres.

5. To make up weekly progress reports for your chapter and to transmit them to the Organization Department at National Headquarters.

6. To receive and post weekly bulletins from National Director of Organization. To coordinate in like manner public releases, etc. from National Headquarters.

7. To organize the mechanics of mail, telephone and telegram campaigns to Washington.

8. To receive and be responsible for contributions from visitors to your headquarters. To give a receipt for these, account for them and turn them over to the treasurer of your chapter. (This person should be bonded as a protection to your chapter.) (Books of standard receipts are available at stationery stores.)

9. To discuss the aims of the chapter - its local program, etc., with visitors - handle inquiries for speakers, etc.

SOME GENERAL NOTES

Often it is difficult to get a sound projector for the film "Which Way, America?" for showings before your meetings. Experience has indicated that some offices with large sales forces, like the Ford Motor Company, the National Cash Register Company, etc have such projectors which they may loan or rent. Very often local school Boards have them. Sometimes they are permanent installations in school auditoriums which may be available for your meetings.

F-31

100-315

In rural areas the International Harvester Company, Caterpillar Tractor Company and others may be consulted. We have no arrangements or understanding with these companies, and local inquiries must be undertaken on your own initiative.

Some of the Peace groups have asked to be associated with our work locally. This is a question for you to decide. Many of these groups do not approve our strong stand for defense, others are more practical. We do not condone any joint sponsorship with other organizations for meetings, radio broadcasts, etc., without first securing approval from National Headquarters. The America First Committee is not connected with any other existing organization.

----oOo----

The America First Committee is a temporary emergency organization, not interested in permanent anti-war organization entity, nor dues paying memberships. It is supported entirely by your voluntary contributions.

----oOo----

Chapters are instructed not to engage in advertising, conduct large mass meetings, take part in radio forums, nor undertake any publicity work where the America First Committee will be on public record without first communicating that fact to the national headquarters and getting the written approval of the America First Committee.

----oOo----

Chapters are requested not to undertake any obligations or become involved in any contractual agreements that will in any way commit the American First Committee, its officers or its national headquarters. They should incorporate under the laws of their individual states as soon as they undertake any financial obligations which require more than out-of-pocket financing.

----oOo----

Chapters should understand that there is no obligation upon them to finance the activities of the National Committee, but if they are able to, they should do all in their power to make funds available to help take care of the radio, newspaper, and general public relations campaign, which can be more effective on a national basis.

----oOo----

(END)

F 31

100-315

One photograph of a release of the National Headquarters of the America First Committee, 1806 Board of Trade Building, Chicago, Illinois, dated December 10, 1940, was obtained and is as follows:

> "Mr. R. DOUGLAS STUART, JR., today made the following comment on Adolph Hitler's speech: 'This is not the first time Hitler or his cohorts have screamed at the United States, and it probably will not be the last; but his threats are futile in the face of an America that is prepared and confident in its democratic institutions. If we become panicky and spend our strength and our democracy in military adventures abroad, we will be lost. We will be doing exactly what Hitler quite obviously wants us to do, but Hitler is optomistic. We will adjust our policy to our needs, not to his fist-beating boasts. We will refuse to play his game of war. We will defeat Hitlerism by making America impregnable, by keeping democracy alive and dynamic and by keeping out of foreign war.'"

One photograph of a copy of a letter dated March 12, 1941, addressed to "You, Who Are Parents" and signed by MILLARD C. DORNTGE, chairman of the local chapter of the America First Committee. This letter was sent to parents of draftees, playing upon their sympathy and love of their sons who were drafted for military service and attempting to secure their membership in the America First Committee.

One Photographic copy of a letter dated April 16, 1941, addressed to "Mothers of America" and signed by MILLARD C. DORNTGE, chairman of the local chapter. This letter advises that Miss JEANNETTE RANKIN, Congresswoman from Montana, would speak under the auspicies of the America First Committee on Saturday, April 19, at 1:45 P.M. in the Chinese Room of the Hotel Statler. Her Subject was to be "Keep Our Men Out Of Europe."

One photograph of two telegrams, one dated April 25, 1941, addressed to the America First Committee, 515 Madison Avenue, New York City, and signed by GILBERT J. PEDERSEN, Secretary of the Buffalo America First Committee, which reads as follows:

> "Local papers featuring and editorializing AP dispatch that 'Crowds cheered when Lindbergh expressed belief that England is losing war.' Did that take place? Advise circumstances. Reply Western Union immediately, so that we may make statement at tonight's meeting."

The second telegram in answer to the previously mentioned one is dated April 25, 1941, addressed to GILBERT J. PEDERSEN from EDWIN S. WEBSTER, JR., Executive Secretary of the New York chapter and reads as follows:

"AP quote correct. Crowd greeted every pause by Col. Lindbergh with applause and cheers. It was applause for him, not necessarily for the particular statement made by him."

One photograph of a letter to the America First Committee, 1412 Jackson Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois, signed by GILBERT J. PEDERSEN, Secretary, dated May 6, 1941, a pertinent part of which reads as follows:

"We had a very successful rally here Saturday night; better than 7500 filled the hall. Many were turned away outside. Better than 1,000 new members were signed up. The cash response was enheartening; we took in almost $1,000."

Two photographs showing the office managers and office workers. This list is being set out as follows:

OFFICE MANAGERS

MRS. A. C. FISCHER

MISS GWEN JACOBS

MRS. WALTERS

OFFICE WORKERS

MRS. CHARLES T. RYAN	PA 3456
MRS. C. W. ROTHAUG	UN 7664
MRS. W. C. MERNAN	BA 6146
MRS. H. C. ROTH	PA 6146
MRS. WALTERS	AM 8467
MRS. E. BUSSENDORFER	GR 6592
GERTRUDE HORNER	UN 0456
BARONESS VON RANGELL	GR 5812
Mrs. AUGUST MERCKENS, JR.	
MRS. A. C. FISCHER	GA 7754
MISS GWEN JACOBS	PA 5610
MRS. M. LITTLE	
Mrs. IRENE LEE	UN 9480
MRS. H. KUELKE	UN 8629
BARBARA COLE	RI 4420 Ex. 5
	LI 0197)
MRS. QUINN	PA 2285
MRS. BETTY REIMERS	TA 4464
GERTRUDE KELLER	

[redacted] b7

MISS ELIS & ELNOR MAYER

F 33

100-315

One photographic copy of a letter dated June 20, 1941, addressed to the America First Committee, 1412 Jackson Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois, from the secretary of the Buffalo chapter of the America First Committee, which reads as follows:

> "In answer to yours of June 12, please be advised that we have approximately 4,000 members enrolled in our Buffalo chapter. Over 200 have made monthly pledges; over 2,000 others have contributed. The names and addresses of the leaders of our Buffalo chapter are:
>
> MILLARD C. DORNTGE, chairman, 122 W. Chippewa Street.
> GILBERT J. PEDERSEN, Secretary, 1407 Genesee Building.
> EDWARD F. BARRETT, JR., chairman of speakers committee, 225 Cresent
> MRS. WALTER L. LAUTZ, chairman of Women's Division, 223 Linden Avenue."

One photograph of a letter to MILLARD C. DORNTGE, chairman of the America First Committee, from W. G. ANDREWS, a pertinent part of which reads as follows:

> "For your information, there is serious question in my mind on whether Mr. FISH or any member of Congress has the right under law to use the franking privilege to distribute so many envelopes. He sent them to a large percentage of voters and certainly was paid for his printing. Technically speaking, it was an abuse of the franking privilege."

One photograph of a letter to MILLARD C. DORNTGE, chairman, from G. J. PEDERSEN, in which Mr. PEDERSEN resigns as secretary of the America First Committee.

One photograph of a letter dated October 17, 1941, to MILLARD C. DORNTGE from G. J. PEDERSEN confirming his resignation as secretary and requesting that his name be withdrawn from the membership of the steering committee.

One photograph of a letter dated December 19, 1941, addressed "My Dear Friends" and signed by MILLARD C. DORNTGE. This letter quotes the message which General WOOD conveyed to the America First Committee advising them that the national committee had decided to dissolve and quoting directly from this speech. In addition, DORNTGE expressed his thanks to the members of the local group for their efforts in behalf of the America First Committee.

F 34

100-515

This office is also in possession of photographs of the following pamphlets, which are being retained in instant file:

"One Year of America First" which deals with the progress of the America First Committee made during its first year of existence.

"Can Hitler Invade America" published by the America First Committee, 160 Pearl Street, Buffalo, New York, dealing with a discussion of the possibilities of invasion of the United States by Hitler.

"How to Write Your Congressman" distributed by the National Headquarters of the America First Committee.

"Uncle Sam, A Fellow-Traveler" distributed by the America First Committee, National Headquarters, Chicago, Illinois.

"Can Hitler Cripple America's Economy" expressing the opinions of Bernard Baruch, Raymond Moley, George N. Peek.

"Defend America First" distributed by the America First Committee, National Headquarters, Chicago, Illinois.

"This Bewildered Democracy" reflection on American foreign policy by Arthur J. May, Professor of history in the University of Rochester, Rochester, New York.

"Must We Fight For Our Foreign Trade?" distributed by the America First Committee, National Headquarters, Chicago, Ill.

"America and the War" which is an address by Robert M. Hutchins, President of the University of Chicago, which was broadcast over the N.B.C. red network on January 23, 1941.

"Our Foreign Policy" which is a speech by General Robert E. Wood, acting chairman of the America First Committee, delivered before the Council on Foreign Relations on Friday, October 4, 1940.

One photograph of an address by the Honorable Herbert Hoover, which he delivered at New York on May 11, 1941, upon the immediate relation of the United States to this war.

This office is also in possession of the following photographs of the following releases of the America First Committee:

Z 35

100-315

Release of December 30, 1940, which includes the statement made by General ROBERT E. WOOD, Acting National Chairman, of the America First Committee, on the president's fire-side chat.

Release of January 6, 1941, from the America First Committee, Chicago, Illinois, of PHILLIP M. LAFOLLETTE, former governor of Wisconsin of comments on President Roosevelt's message to Congress over a nation-wide hookup.

Numerous photographs of newspaper clippings, documents, advertisements, letters, and handbills were secured from [redacted] but are not being set out at this time as they are not deemed of any particular interest. These items are being retained in the files of instant case. b2 b7D

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MJR

F-37

TITLE: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE; INTERNAL SECURITY -G

S. A. [redacted] b7c

DATE: 1/22/43

TABLE OF CONTENTS

BAEZKOWSKI, PHILLIP V.	11
BARRETT, EDWARD F.	3,4,5,6,7,7A,8,9,16,17,32
BEEBE, HARRY MRS.	9
BIXBY, PERCIVAL G.	10
BOEHLE, MARGARET W.	11
BOEHM, JOSEPH M.	3,6,7,7A,8,16,17
BOWLES, CHESTER	19
BRACK, JACOB	9
BROWN, THOMAS C.	3,4
BRUM, NORMAN	9
BURNEY, CHARLES O. JR.	11
BUSHMAN, LEONARD V. REV.	5,7A,10,16,17
BUSSENDORFER, E., MRS.	31
CAFFERY, FRANK J.	11
CARLSON, ANTON J., DR.	20
CARLSON, RAYMOND	9
CASTLE, WILLIAM R.	20
CLARK, BENNETT CHAMP MRS.	20
CLARK, D. WORTH	14
CLARK, FLORENCE L, MRS.	9
COBB, IRVIN S.	20
COLE, BARBARA	31
CONROY, PAUL	4,5,6,7A,8,16,17
DEWATER, KAY VAN	10
DORNTGE, MILLARD C.	1,2,4,5,6,7,7A,8,16,18,30,32
DUGAN, KATHERINE MRS.	11
EHRLICH, HAROLD D.	11
FAIRBANK, JANET AYER	20
FANEUF, LESTER	9
FARRAR, CECIL S.	9
FISCHER, A. C., MRS.	31
FISH, HAMILTON	14,32
FLYNN, JOHN T.	5,20
FRANCIS, G., MRS.	11
FUCHS, LEWIS G., DR.	10
GAIN, W. S.	8
GATES, L. A.	10
GOLDFARB, SAMUEL	10
GOULD, LEWIS P.	10
GUINN, MARIAN MRS.	9
GURLEY, FRANKLIN K. MRS.	8,9
GUZINA, FRANK A.	11
HAMLIN, CHAUNCEY J.	2,3
HAMMAKER, WILBUR E.	20
HAMMER, FRED M.	11
HAMMOND, THOMAS S.	20
HOFFMAN, ROBERT A.	3,7
HOGAN, EUGENE	10

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 10-23-90 BY SP6 BTG/COL

HORMEL, JAY C. 20
HORNER, GERTRUDE, MRS. 7,31
HORTON, JOHN A. 4
HORTON, JOHN T. 3
HOWE, MARK 11
HUTCHINS, ROBERT M. 33
JACOBS, GWEN 31
JOHNSON, HUGH S. 20
JUDSON, CLAY 20
KEETCH, A. H. 10
KEETCH, A. H., MRS. 10
KELLER, GERTRUDE 31
KREINHEDER, JEROME C. 11
KUNZ, ROBERT M. 10
KURTZ, HOWARD W. 9
LA FOLLETE, PHILLIP 14,34
LANDERS, JOHN J. 10
LAUTZ, WALTER L., MRS. 3,6,7,7A,8,10,32
LEE, IRENE MRS. 31
LEWIS, KATHRYN 20
LINDBERGH, CHARLES A. 14,15
LITTLE, M., MRS. 31
LONGWORTH, ALICE ROOSEVELT 19
LOWDEN, FRANK O. 20
LYDON, R. H. 9
MAC DONALD, BRUCE 5
MAC DONALD, KENNETH BRUCE 4,7A,8,16,18
MAC NIDER, HANFORD 20
MC CARTER, THOMAS N. 20
MC KAIG, RAY 20
MAHONEY, WALTER J. 11
MAXWELL, DR. 6
MAXWELL, CLAYTON 9
MAXWELL, MAX L., DR. 8
MAY, ARTHUR J. 33
MERCHENS, SOPHIE MRS. 10
MERCKENS, AUGUST MRS. JR. 31
MERMAN, W. C., MRS. 31
MORGAN, JUSTIN C. 11
MORRISON, JOHN CLAYTON 14
MORTON, STERLING 20
MUELKE, H., MRS. 31
NIAGARA FRONTIER COMMITTEE 2,4
NIGRO, BART A. DR. 9
NYE, GERALD P. SENATOR 5,14
OSCONNOR, JAMES 14
O'DEA, EDWARD D. 9
OTIS, J. SAMFORD 19
OWEN, CAROL H. 10
PEDERSEN, GILBERT J. 3,4,5,6,7,7A,8,16,17,18,30,31,32
PEEK, GEORGE N. 20
PILLION, JOHN R. 11
PINCHOT, AMOS, R. E. 20
PINGATORE, PROFESSOR 4
QUINN, MRS. 31

RANGELL, BARC [illegible] ON 31
RANKIN, JEANNETTE 30
REIMERS, BETTY MRS. 31
REXINGER, JOHN W. 11
ROBINSON, LESLIE 9
ROCHE, AUSTIN J. 3,4,7,7A,8,16,18
ROGNERY, WILLIAM H. 20
ROTH, H. C., MRS. 31
ROTHAUG, C. W., MRS. 31
ROVNER, M. B. 9
RUMSEY, D. P. 10
RYAN, CHARLES T. MRS. 31
RYERSON, EDWARD L., JR. 20
SCHEELER, CHARLES A. 10
SCHEUERMAN, NORBERT L. 10
SCHICK, EDWARD D. 9
SHEPARD, ELI 8
SHEPPERLY, JOSEPH MRS. 10
SHORT, DENEY 14
SMITH, ELIZABETH HOLMSTEAD 7A,16,18
SPRAGUE, ADELBERT C. 10
SPRING, FRANK E. 10
STREETER, AMIEL W. 9
STUART, R. DOUGLAS JR. 17,19,30
SWEENEY, MARTIN 14
SY, ALBERT P, DR. 9
TABER, LOUIS J. 20
THOMAS, ARCHIE MRS. 3
THURBER, LOIS MENTON 9
TOBEY, CHARLES W. 14
TOLES, GEORGE E. 9
TREVETT, IRA DR. 4,7A,8,9,16,18
VALLENTINE, ALLEN DR. 10
VAN DEWATER, KAY 10
VESTER, NORMAN J. 10
VESTER, NORMAN J., MRS. 10
VON RANGELL, BARONESS 31
VORYS, JOHN 14
WAGNER, ALICE B., MRS. 10
WALTERS, MRS. 31
WEBSTER, EDWIN S. JR. 30
WHEELER, BURTON K. 2,6,11,14
WHEELER, BURTON K., MRS. 20
WHIPPLE, GEORGE H. 20
WHITE, WILLIAM ALLEN 2
WILLARD, NEIL M. 4,6,7A,8,16,18
WILLIAMS, ALFORD J. 20
WOOTKOWIAK, STEPHEN J. 11
WOLF, JOHN A. 7
WOOD, ROBERT E. 17,19,32,33,34
ZIMBARIS, LAWRENCE 11
ZIMMERMAN, HELEN F. 10

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26989

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL
BY SPECIAL MESSENGER

January 25, 1943

MEMORANDUM for Mr. Forn[redacted]

Pursuant to our recent telephone conversation, I enclose herewith for photostating the contributors' lists and membership lists for the America First Committee which were located in the Hoover War Memorial Library, Palo Alto, California.

An inventory of each group of lists is also enclosed.

Samuel Klaus

SAMUEL KLAUS

Enclosures

encls returned for further info. re letter dated 3-04-46 with same subject

9 Encls. as

Blue memo to Mr. Fields 2/6/43

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100-4712-[redacted]

FEB 26 1943

b7C

No. 64

...fice Mem...a...m • UNITED ... VERNME...

TO : MR. CARTWRIGHT

DATE: MARCH 26,1946

FROM : MISS THOMPSON

SUBJECT: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
INTERNAL SECURITY - G
Bureau File # 100-4712-491

The attached bulky enclosure has been reviewed in the Filing Unit and it's destruction is hereby suggested.

The reason on which the above recommendation is based is checked as follows:

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RECOMMENDATION

As this material is occupying valuable space in the Records Section, it is requested that this file be reviewed by Security Division for an expression as to its disposition.

It is recommended that the material be destroyed here at the Seat of Government.

[redacted] no duplicates destroyed 3/27/46 [redacted] 3/28/46 [redacted] 3-28-46

b7C

100-4712-491

54 MAR 28 1946

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

This Case Originated At CHICAGO, ILLINOIS — File No. 100-1338

Report Made At	Date When Made	Period For Which Made	Report Made By
Dallas, Texas	2-18-43	2-1,2,15-43	[redacted] b7C

TITLE	CHARACTER OF CASE
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE	INTERNAL SECURITY - G

Synopsis of Facts: Small amount of activity in connection with America First Committee in Dallas in 1939. No activity since that date.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN UNCLASSIFIED DATE 10-23-90 BY SP8BTS/cal

- RUC -

REFERENCE: Report of SA [redacted] b7C dated 5-18-42, At Dallas, Texas.

DETAILS: [redacted] b2 b7D stated he had contacted numerous people in Dallas, and he was confident there was only a small amount of activity in connection with America First Committee in Dallas during 1939, and no activity since that date.

[redacted] b2 b7D stated he had no record of any individual by the name of [redacted] b7C

[redacted] b2 b7 stated that sometime during 1939, an announcement was made to the effect that the America First Committee would stage a rally at Fair Park Auditorium. However, this Rally was cancelled, and so far as he recalls, no other meeting was had, nor any further attempts made to call such a meeting in connection with the America First Committee in Dallas. He stated he had never heard of anyone by the name of [redacted] b7C

[redacted] b2 b7 b7

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DALLAS # 100-1338

[redacted]

b7C
b7D

[redacted] According to Informant [redacted] was in Dallas for only a few weeks during the summer of 1940. During this time, he did no work and was very interested in the promotion of the America First Committee. Informant stated he and his step-son were also interested in this organization at that time, but changed their opinion as soon as the war started. He stated his step-son enlisted shortly after Pearl Harbor.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

FILE NO. 100-1395

REPORT MADE AT	DATE WHEN MADE	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE	REPORT MADE BY
DES MOINES, IOWA	2/19/43	2/5,11/43	[redacted] b7c

TITLE: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

CHARACTER OF CASE: INTERNAL SECURITY

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 10-23-90 BY SP8B5/aL

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS: Preliminary inquiry indicates America First Committee no longer active in Des Moines, Iowa. Former leaders were well-known Republicans, who although strong isolationists prior to the US entry into the War, stated to be of unquestioned loyalty to the US and entirely patriotic. Indication that individuals cooperating with foreign interests mailing propaganda to former members of America First Committee.

- P -

REFERENCE: Report of SA [redacted] Des Moines, Iowa, 5/22/42. b7c

DETAILS: AT DES MOINES, IOWA

[redacted] stated that he is well-acquainted with the men who had been leaders in organizing a branch of the America First Committee in Des Moines and throughout Iowa prior to the United States' entry into the war. [redacted] advised that in his opinion these leaders, who were first and foremost strong Republicans and secondly ardent isolationists, were sincere in their beliefs that the United States should not become involved in the present War. He stated, however, that all of these men were in his opinion entirely patriotic and loyal American citizens, and that since the United States entered the War, any activities which might in any way interfere with the War effort were immediately terminated.

[redacted] specifically mentioned as leaders of the Committee in Des Moines ROBERT J. BANNISTER and ARMISTEAD M. PARKER, both prominent Des Moines attorneys. [redacted] advised that although these men had been very active in furthering the interests of the America First

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Committee, after LINDBERGH made the speech in Des Moines which received national publicity because of his criticism of the Administration, England and the Jews, they terminated their connections with the Committee.

[redacted] in order to illustrate his point that the leaders of the America First Committee were nevertheless of unquestioned patriotism, stated that HANFORD MacNIDER, who within the last year has gained recognition for his bravery and conduct in the War, is nevertheless one of the foremost leaders of the Committee in Iowa. Regarding the possibility that foreign interests or individuals cooperating with foreign interests might be taking advantage of the structure set up by the America First Committee to hinder the War effort, [redacted] stated that he had no information.

[redacted] stated that he had received from time to time in the past four or five months, communications of a scurrilous nature from various organizations who flaunt their patriotism but nevertheless criticize the manner in which the War is being conducted and speak of the War as being caused by the "International Jewery." [redacted] stated that he had thrown these communications into the waste basket, but in the future if any were received he would submit them to the Des Moines Field Division. To the best of his recollections, [redacted] advised that the early communications had been received from Chicago, while the last one had been mailed to him from Cincinnati, Ohio. [redacted] also stated that he would inform the Des Moines Field Division if he obtained information regarding such communications being received by any men who had been active in the America First Committee. [redacted] advised that the mailing list of the America First Committee might be available to organizations cooperating with foreign interests so as to interfere with our War effort.

On February 15, 1943, [redacted] submitted to the Des Moines Field Division a bulletin mailed to him from Cincinnati on February 12, 1943, and signed "The Mothers Of Sons Forum, 111 W. St. Clair Street, Cincinnati, Ohio." This bulletin which severely criticized the Administration and England and blamed the War on the "foreign interests," has been mailed to the Bureau for whatever action might be deemed appropriate.

-PENDING-

-U N D E V E L O P E D L E A D S-

THE DES MOINES FIELD DIVISION

AT DES MOINES, IOWA

b2
b7D

Will within the month of March, 1943, recontact [redacted] and ascertain whether he has any additional information regarding the possibility of foreign interests attempting to influence former members of the America First Committee so as to hinder the United States' War Effort.

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111-4712-493 in p.4

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FBI/DOJ

Oct 3-24-43

[redacted]

b7c

My name is not to be used in anyway, for publication or —

This clipping from a Wall St. Journal was sent to me by a very dear friend whose loyalty to America cannot be questioned. But she is a most rabid Republican, very strongly anti New Deal, believes all this is true and should be read by all.

It sounds to me suspiciously like the lectures and literature of the former "America First" crowd. I dislike these extreme things, they are harmful at these times.

Is the writer of the article merely a Republican political opportunist [redacted] German agent not yet interested?

RECORDED & INDEXED 044 100-4713-494

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 10-23-90 BY SP4 [redacted]

1 ENCL. 8

(P) [redacted] VER

HE GRAPES OF THE PRESIDENT'S WRATH

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10-23-80 BY SP1 JESSICA

(An Editorial)

From The New Bedford (Mass.) Standard-Times by BASIL BREWER, Publisher

On Oct. 3, 1942, the President issued an executive order REDUCING salaries of executives and others in the United States to a maximum of $25,000 after Federal taxes.

The order was issued under a bill which the President had demanded, and which Congress had passed, "TO PREVENT INFLATION."

Wages and salaries of all, except the "$25,000 class," were "frozen"; that is, in general, could not be INCREASED over a September level.

NO OTHER SALARIES OR WAGES, except this "$25,000 class," were REDUCED by the executive order.

In the same executive order, EMPLOYERS WERE FORBIDDEN to REDUCE SALARIES OR WAGES of any receiving less than $5,000 per year.

Harsh penalties were provided for violation of the order and an attempt was made, by executive decree, TO DENY THE RIGHT OF APPEAL TO COURTS.

MYSTERY OF THE ORDER

It is now clear this strange and unusual order HAD NO DIRECT CONNECTION with INFLATION CONTROL.

It is known Congress included NO SUCH AUTHORITY in the inflation bill.

Senator Brown, the President's representative in the Senate, stated the bill contained NO SUCH AUTHORITY.

On four or more prior occasions, Senate and House had refused to grant the President similar power.

The order was not a revenue measure, for it will REDUCE the Federal income—PERHAPS BY MILLIONS.

The order is UNJUST, DISCRIMINATORY, PROBABLY UNCONSTITUTIONAL.

WHY WAS IT ISSUED?

THE PRESIDENT AND C. I. O.

For a year or more, before the President had espoused the so-called "$25,000 income limitation," this had been a plank of the C. I. O. platform.

The C. I. O. had borrowed the plank from the Communist Party, whose machinery Lewis had used in organizing the C. I. O.

In the same platform of the Communist Party of 1928 was a demand for the abolition of the U. S. Senate and the U. S. Supreme Court.

From its Communist associations, past and present, the C. I. O. has taken MUCH OF ITS SOCIAL and POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY.

It also had acquired, from Communist association, propaganda technique, political talent and membership discipline.

All of these had made the C. I. O. A POWERFUL ALLY, A DIFFICULT AND DANGEROUS FOE, as the President and his advisers were quick to see.

It was no hardship, IN THE PRESIDENT'S EYES, that the C. I. O.'s supremacy was A BIT SYNTHETIC AND TAINTED.

The President himself had been known, ON NOTABLE OCCASIONS, to be opposed to taking the American Constitution "TOO LITERALLY."

Adoption of the C. I. O. "$25,000 limitation plank" by the President [illegible] with the [illegible] other things, [illegible] CLOSE RELATIONSHIP [illegible]

[illegible] saving [illegible] on the [illegible] PAUL OF THE TREASURY [illegible] income limitation."

About this time Attorney General [illegible]

The President's PRESTIGE, and SUPPORT from labor WAS AT STAKE.

But, more than these, here was the President's chance TO PUT THE SCREWS ON THOSE HE HATED MOST, the BIG BUSINESS LEADERS who had fought him and whom he had fought ALL THE NEW DEAL YEARS.

Only CONGRESS stood in the way; FIRST THE SCREWS must be PUT ON CONGRESS.

If he failed, he still had a card, which he had referred to in his inflation message.

He could take matters IN HIS OWN HANDS, in which case he said "when the war is won, the powers under which I act (those granted or not granted by Congress) will automatically revert to the people—TO WHOM THEY BELONG".

But he much preferred, he said, to put the matter through Congress the Constitutional way.

But, BEFORE THE BILL SHOULD BE PRESENTED TO CONGRESS, there must be PRESSURE from the public—on CONGRESS.

So the showmen of the Administration got together—and a good show was planned.

On Sept. 7, 1942, the Congress had heard from the President of impending disaster from inflation, OF WHICH THEY WELL KNEW.

But on the night of Sept. 7, THEY WERE STUNNED to hear CONGRESS WAS CHARGED point-blank, by the President, WITH BEING TO BLAME FOR THE IMPENDING DISASTROUS INFLATION.

Moreover, the President was taking no chances. CONGRESS WAS FLATLY TOLD THAT, while the President preferred the Constitutional process—

IF THE CONGRESS DIDN'T ACT within a dated time, HE, THE PRESIDENT, WOULD ACT.

WITH DEVASTATING "LOGIC," the President said if the country was being INVADED, the country would expect him to act, law or no law.

That, since American soldiers were fighting ON EVERY FOREIGN FRONT, it was equally important that he act WITH OR WITHOUT CONGRESS.

The stunned Congress, threatened AS HAD NEVER BEFORE been done in history, went to work on the bill.

Congress didn't make the "desperate changes in the President's bill.

But there was one little change—ENOUGH.

In a bill to freeze wages and prices "to prevent inflation" about which the President addressed the country—

There was the following clause:

Section 4:

"Provided, that [illegible] WAGES OR SALARIES [illegible] ADJUST (raise or lower) WAGES OR SALARIES in any case TO CORRECT GROSS INEQUITIES AND ALSO in the effectuation of the war."

Senator Vandenberg [illegible] Vandenberg [illegible] specifying that IT should not see the REFORMS, such as THE SENATE [illegible]

Senator Brown [illegible] then said, "I will say to the [illegible] ives OF THE TWO [illegible] EED WITH THIS [illegible]

In other words, the higher salaried executive, under the President's order, MAY BE COMPELLED TO DISCONTINUE HIS CHARITIES, DEFAULT ON HIS DEBTS and FEDERAL TAXES, DEFAULT ON LIFE INSURANCE PREMIUMS, or become A SUPPLICANT AT THE DESK OF THE COMMISSIONER, pleading for additional salary to "prevent undue hardship."

This is putting the HARD in hardship.

This is the COMPLETE CONTROL OF BIG BUSINESS in America which the New Deal HAS BEEN REACHING FOR FOR YEARS.

It controls by controlling the body and soul OF THE LEADING BUSINESS EXECUTIVES—by THE "CAT AND MOUSE" OPERATION of the so-called "HARDSHIP CLAUSES" of the salary reduction order.

No wonder the President and the C. I. O. WANTED THIS SALARY REDUCTION ORDER.

No wonder he demanded it, THOUGH IT HAD NO RELATION TO INFLATION.

No wonder he wanted the order, THOUGH IT REDUCED FEDERAL INCOME TAX RECEIPTS.

No wonder he "would not, EVEN THOUGH CONGRESS DID NOT."

BUT THIS WAS NOT ALL, NOR EVEN THE WORST.

An attempt was made, AND STILL STANDS, TO DENY THE RIGHT OF APPEAL TO THE COURTS.

With the President's approval, the director issued the following order:

"ANY DETERMINATION OF THE COMMISSIONER IS FINAL AND NOT SUBJECT TO REVIEW BY THE TAX COURT OF THE UNITED STATES OR BY ANY COURT IN ANY CIVIL PROCEEDINGS."

This was modified, inconclusively, in a provision which permits appeal to courts ON QUESTION OF LAW, BUT ON FINDING OF FACT the Commissioner's discretion and order STILL IS FINAL.

THE EXECUTIVES THUS SO UNFAIRLY AND UNLAWFULLY ATTACKED BY THE PRESIDENT INCLUDE MANY ON WHOM THE COUNTRY MUST DEPEND TO PRODUCE THE WEAPONS TO WIN THIS TOTAL WAR.

VETERANS—OF CLASS WARFARE

A PROFOUND AND TRAGIC CIRCUMSTANCE is that this war of survival was projected upon America on the heels of 10 YEARS OF CLASS WARFARE.

There can be no question of the President's sincerity or loyalty in the war effort, nor of that of his official family.

But many of the President's official family, and to some extent the President himself, ARE VETERANS OF CLASS WARFARE.

The methods and technique of class warfare DO NOT FIT—THE HATES AND PREJUDICES carried over DO NOT BELONG—in the TOTAL WAR AMERICA NOW FACES.

MORE THAN ALL ELSE COMBINED, this explains the confusion of the public mind in the war today and THE VULNERABILITY of the public mind to attack of the enemy, without and within.

TAINTED WITH NAZISM AND COMMUNISM, where it flowered, class warfare is based ON THE THESIS that most people are fools or of low mentality.

The American people, TRAINED IN 150 YEARS OF POPULAR GOVERNMENT, are neither ignorant nor fools.

It is doubtful if the New Deal class warfare program EVER deeply impressed more than A SMALL MINORITY of the American people.

With sons and daughters on every front, and casualties mounting, the people are IN DEADLY EARNEST in the war.

The familiar class warfare appeal leaves them DISTURBED AND SHOCKED.

Missing generally in the propaganda of the Administration is the thing which always has sustained America at war, A DEEPLY SPIRITUAL NOTE.

It is fair to say the American people, with sons dying on all fronts, ACHE MORE FOR FRANKNESS AND HONESTY from Washington than for anything—OR FOR ALL ELSE.

The real American people today [illegible] ADMINISTRATION ATTACKS ON "WEALTH" [illegible] for one deeply spiritual speech LIKE LINCOLN'S [illegible] HEARTFELT PRAYER such as WASHINGTON'S [illegible] [illegible] said don't let it be said the American people [illegible] OF THESE, Lincoln at Gettysburg or [illegible] WHITE, VICE-PRESIDENT WALLACE [illegible]

[illegible] should be said, in brutal frankness, THE ABSENCE OF THE SPIRITUAL NOTE in the New Deal and class warfare propaganda IS NO COINCIDENCE.

In the NAZI and COMMUNISTIC SOC[illegible] IT

...AR THEN, I REPEATEDLY urged the "$25,000 ...

...About this time [illegible] General Robin[illegible]o A RE-MARKABLE STATEMENT in the effect "THIS IS A LABOR GOVERNMENT, and YOU MIGHT AS WELL RECOGNIZE IT."

At that time WE WERE AT WAR and the Government presumably represented ALL GROUPS without DISCRIMINATION or DISTINCTION.

It could not properly be called "a labor government," for the A. F. of L. was not included.

So also had the relations of the President and the C. I. O. become, by the time of the C. I. O. Boston Convention last November, that ALMOST EVERY RESOLUTION ADOPTED, on war, political or war matters, resounded with LOYAL HOSANNAS "TO OUR GREAT LEADER, PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT."

THE C. I. O. TRADE

BY MID-SUMMER the President was being catapulted into a situation of extreme gravity.

It was not entirely NOT OF HIS OWN MAKING, as history shall record.

But it was to test the WARMTH and SOLIDITY of his newly-cemented friendship with the C. I. O.

Because of the delay in needed freezing legislation, INFLATION WAS GETTING OUT OF HAND.

Responsibility, of course, WAS DIVIDED between President and Congress.

Congress, insulted by futile commitments and bitter criticism of labor strikes, from home, REFUSED FURTHER FARM PRICE FREEZING until the President would TAKE HIS HANDS OFF VETOING NEEDED LABOR and WAGE LEGISLATION.

The President, anxious as always about his labor political [illegible] WOULDN'T GIVE IN TO CONGRESS.

Caught between runaway inflation threat, on the one hand, and the need for labor co-operation on wage freezing, plus the need for political support, particularly from the C. I. O., on the other—the President MADE A TYPICALLY ROOSEVELTIAN TRADE, or "meeting of the minds," as he would call it.

Labor, WHICH MEANT THE C. I. O., the highly organized, efficiently organized group, which usually could "deliver" its membership, "WOULD CO-OPERATE" on wage freezing, IF THE PRESIDENT WOULD GIVE IT THE "SALARY LIMITATION," the "$25,000 plank from the C. I. O. PLATFORM."

That this was the trade WAS SUBSTANTIALLY ADMITTED by Economic Director Byrnes himself, IN HIS 1942 HERALD-TRIBUNE FORUM speech, in which he says the "$25,000 limitation" was necessary to SECURE LABOR'S ACCEPTANCE OF WAGE FREEZING.

This seems to be CLEARLY CONFIRMED by a much overlooked statement in the President's message to Congress of Sept. 7.

This was the speech in which the President demanded [illegible] price, [illegible] legislation from Congress BY A GIVEN DATE, with the threat of taking things INTO HIS OWN HANDS.

Only [illegible] required legislation, according to the President, "an adequate law program, and a law permitting the fixing of price ceilings on farm products at parity prices."

NUMBER THREE of the President's "SEVEN POINT" program—"stabilize the remuneration received for individuals for their work," REQUIRED NO LEGISLATION, he said.

Obviously AGREEMENT HAD THEN BEEN REACHED WITH "LABOR," the agreement which Byrnes said could not be made without "$25,000 limitation" of salaries.

OBVIOUSLY "LABOR" HERE MEANT ONLY THE C. I. O.

For the A. F. of L. was opposed to the "$25,000 limitation," President Green having declared against it in a Senate hearing.

THE SCREWS ON CONGRESS

The agreement with labor made, there could be NO SLIP-UP ALLOWED.

Co-operation of labor, the C. I. O., ON WAGE FREEZING [illegible]

RECORD, [illegible] ED TO PASS.

THE SENATE H[illegible]

Senator Brow[illegible] of the bill, accepted the amendment, [illegible] then said, cryp[illegible] Vandenberg THE [illegible] and more in one for [illegible] "I will say to the [illegible]or (Vandenberg) that [illegible]ven OF THE TWO [illegible]ARGE LABOR ORGAN-[illegible]ED WITH THE VI[illegible]W IN THE COMMITTEE [illegible]ary limitation" W[illegible]AS NOT AUTHORIZED). O. here may have be[illegible] questioning WHETHER OR NOT the President could, UNDE[illegible]R THIS CLAUSE, make good his promise on the $25,000 sa[illegible]ary limitation.

But the President was in no [illegible] quandary, he was determined to act, as he said, WHETHER OR NOT HE HAD THE AUTHORITY.

And the "regulations" may already have been prepared which WOULD [illegible] ATTEMPT TO DE[illegible] THE COURTS to anyone disposed to question THE LEGALITY of the President's order.

Both Senate and House, in reference to this clause, acted with certain naivete, including Senator Vandenberg's inconclusive "amendment," POSSIBLY STILL SOMEWHAT SHELL-SHOCKED by the President's attack.

Also, THE PURPOSES and intentions of both Senate and House being well known, AND THE PRESIDENT'S REPRESENTATIVE'S WORD GIVEN, both houses should have been able to DEPEND ON THAT WORD.

But in less than 24 hours after the bill was passed, the rules and regulations evidently DRAWN IN ADVANCE, the President issued the directive, including the "$25,000 salary reduction."

THE SCREWS ON THE EXECUTIVES

Having issued the salary order under the claim "to aid in the prosecution of the war, AND TO CORRECT GROSS INEQUITIES," the President had lost no time in PUTTING THE SCREWS on the business executives and other large salary recipients.

There is a principle of law, older than America, which says the law must be clear—THAT THE ACCUSED MAY KNOW what he has done WHICH IS CHARGED TO BE UNLAWFUL.

In the President's order, and in the Treasury regulations which followed, IT IS IMPOSSIBLE for an employer to know what salary HE MAY LEGALLY PAY, nor what the employe MAY LEGALLY RECEIVE, under the "$25,000 salary reduction" rules.

The order restricts the salary, after Federal taxes and without any further credits, to $25,000.

But there is a clause in both the order and the Treasury regulations which "PERMIT" an employer to pay, and an employe to RECEIVE, additional amounts "TO PREVENT UNDUE HARDSHIP."

It is this "HARDSHIP" clause, and the regulations which follow, which really PUT THE SCREWS TO THE BUSINESS EXECUTIVES of the country, who are affected by the President's order.

Additional sums may be allowed the executive, under the regulations, for the following purposes:

CHARITABLE CONTRIBUTIONS "under certain circumstances," INSURANCE PREMIUMS, FIXED OBLIGATIONS and FEDERAL TAXES OF PREVIOUS YEAR.

But in every case, the order says, the executive "must establish, TO THE SATISFACTION OF THE COMMISSIONER (of internal revenue) that, after resorting TO OTHER INCOME FROM ALL SOURCES, (other than salary), he is UNABLE, without the disposing of assets at SUBSTANTIAL FINANCIAL LOSS, resulting in 'undue hardship' TO MEET THE ABOVE OBLIGATIONS."

EDITOR'S NOTE:

Neither Basil Brewer, publisher and principal owner of The New Bedford, Mass., Standard-Times, nor any of his associates are affected by the so-called "$25,000 salary reduction."

This article is published, as a patriotic contribution, solely at the expense of The Standard-Times, without financial contribution from any outside source.

Republication of this editorial is permitted with the only stipulation that, where it is republished for compensation, the names of persons or the group contributing must be published. Matrix in full page will be sent without charge on request by wire or mail to The Standard-Times, New Bedford, Mass.

EDITORIALS BY BASIL BREWER PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED INCLUDE:

Preparedness Platform (June 4, 1940)

George Washington and the Third Term (Oct. 3, 1940)

Mr. President! (May 22, 1941)

Half at War—Half Asleep (July 1, 1941)

Farewell to Lindbergh (Oct. 1, 1941)

A Statement and Statement Too Bill (Oct. 19, 1942)

OF THESE, Lincoln at Gettysburg or Washington at Valley [illegible] WITH VICE-PRESIDENT WALLACE'S [illegible] OF MEDIOCRITY [illegible] SPIRITUAL NOTE in the New Deal and civil warfare propaganda IS NO COINCIDENCE.

In the NAZI and COMMUNISTIC SOIL FROM WHICH IT SPRUNG, there is no place for religion—IT IS IN THE WAY.

'JUSTICE' BY JUSTICE BYRNES

There is a line of thought in Washington that former Justice Byrnes was drafted from his new Supreme Court seat, with the idea he could get along with, "handle Congress," better.

This may well be, for the new Economic Director, who has charge, among other things, of the "salary reduction" order, undoubtedly is personable and popular.

SUCH WOULD BE THE TYPE OF MAN SELECTED FOR SUCH A TASK.

But Byrnes' selection DOES NOT CHANGE THE CHARACTER of the sorry task the President handed him.

Nor does Byrnes' action ADD TO HIS LUSTER as a Justice.

As Supreme Court Justice, Byrnes added his votes and vote to the newer tendency of the court TO CONSTRUE THE LAW "ACCORDING TO THE WAY CONGRESS INTENDED THE LAW TO BE CONSTRUED."

It was under this legal thesis that Byrnes voted WITH THE UNION AND AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT in the racketeering case of the U. S. Government against Local 807 of International Brotherhood of Teamsters.

This meant Justice Byrnes voted that Congress HAD NOT MEANT TO INCLUDE THE TRUCKERS or other unions in the punishment for racketeering in interstate commerce.

But, in his first act as administrator, he approved the salary reduction scheme of the President, THOUGH HE KNEW BOTH SENATE AND HOUSE HAD NOT INTENDED TO APPROVE IT—had in fact many times REFUSED.

In the same administrative act, Byrnes declared NO DECISIONS ON THE SALARY REDUCTION ORDER could BE APPEALED TO ANY COURT, not even to the Tax Court.

Later this was amended to permit limited appeal to COURTS ON LAW ONLY, NOT ON THE FACTS.

Byrnes also, of course, turned THE "CAT AND MOUSE" provisions of the so-called "HARDSHIP CASES," which are so drawn that only THE STOUTEST EXECUTIVE HEART WOULD RESIST.

Seldom has an executive administrator, even under the present Administration, attempted to construe the provisions of a bill, CONTRARY TO THE WILL OF CONGRESS, as Byrnes did in the salary reduction regulations.

Seldom, if ever, has an administrator IN ANY ADMINISTRATION OR IN ANY DEMOCRACY attempted to prevent appeal of a citizen to the courts, BY ADDING, IN THE REGULATIONS, A FORBIDDING CLAUSE.

HOW BLENDER was the excuse must be clear to the former Justice himself.

The excuse is that Congress MUST HAVE INTENDED the administrator TO FORBID APPEAL TO COURTS in the regulations, BECAUSE CONGRESS HAD NOT FORBIDDEN IT TO BE DONE.

'EQUALITY OF SACRIFICE'

In his defense of his salary reduction order, the President has said it promotes greater "EQUALITY OF SACRIFICE."

Of course, there is no such thing in war or peace, this merely is a clever propaganda phrase.

In war whoever looks for, or is appealed to, by "equality of sacrifice" is prepared NEITHER MENTALLY NOR MORALLY for ANY SACRIFICE.

The sacrifices of the American boys WHO DIED AND ARE DYING IN THE HELL HOLES OF THE SOLOMON ISLANDS, NEW GUINEA AND NORTH AFRICA, cannot be "EQUALIZED"—OR MITIGATED.

God only can equalize the sacrifices of war and only He in His own way.

THE SUREST REWARD for those who fly, and those who shall return, IS TO RETAIN—NOT TO DESTROY—THE PRINCIPLES OF DEMOCRACY, which have made America great and for which we and they fight.

THE PRESIDENT'S SALARY REDUCTION ORDER VIOLATES EVERY FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLE OF DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT.

A SACRIFICE FOR THE PRESIDENT

The President has made great sacrifices in the war.

He might well make for himself, and for the country at war, ONE MORE, PERHAPS A VERY GREAT SACRIFICE—

FORGET HIS PREJUDICES AND HATES, of class warfare days—EXORCISE HIMSELF of his genius AS A CLASS WARFARE PROPAGANDIST—

He should also remove from important posts in the country's war effort THOSE VETERANS OF HIS CLASS WARFARE, who are falling down on the job and CONFUSING and FRUSTRATING the American people.

The President has said we must arrange that the soldiers, who return from war, must have jobs.

That is important, and it must be done if humanly possible.

BUT IT WOULD BE A SAD HOAX for the returned soldier, if THROUGH A DESTROYED OR DOCTORED DEMOCRACY, the soldier returned TO A WPA JOB—

If he returned just in time TO ATTEND THE FUNERAL of [illegible]

SURVEY THE SKELETON—OF HORATIO ALGER.

Only the United States of America has an Horatio Alger—

FABLED BUT REAL SYMBOL—that from poverty through honest intelligence and hard work—American youth MAY [illegible] WHEREVER find OPPORTUNITY AND REWARD—LIMITED ONLY [illegible] THEMSELVES.

March 27, 1943

100-4712-494

RECORDED

[redacted]

b7C

Dear [redacted]

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of recent date with enclosure.

Your interest in bringing your enclosure, as well as your comments thereon to my attention is appreciated. You may be assured your communication and enclosure are being made a part of the official records of this Bureau.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 10-23-90 BY SP8 Bsd cd

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Carson
Mr. Hendon
Mr. McGuire
Mr. Mumford
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED 11
☆ MAR 27 1943 P.M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

APR 1 1943

b7C

[redacted]

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT CHICAGO, ILL. FILE NO. 100-1259

REPORT MADE AT	DATE WHEN MADE	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE	REPORT MADE BY
PITTSBURGH, PA.	3/12/43	3/2/43	[redacted] b7c

TITLE
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

CHARACTER OF CASE
INTERNAL SECURITY - G

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 10-23-90 BY SP8BTS/cd

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS: America First Committee no longer active in Pittsburgh. Activities related organizations are being followed and are being reported in separate cases.

-RUC-

REFERENCE: Bureau letter dated October 16, 1942 entitled "We the People Inc." Internal Security - G. b7c

DETAILS: It is noted in the report of Special Agent [redacted] dated May 29, 1942 at Pittsburgh that the America First Committee organizations of Pittsburgh disbanded on December 8, 1941, directly following the attack on Pearl Harbor. Since that time there has been no evidence of activity of the America First Committee organization as such, although former members have established other organizations which apparently have purposes very similar to those of the America First Committee. One of the local organizations is "We the People, Inc." A separate case is being maintained on this organization in the Pittsburgh office and Pittsburgh is designated as the office of origin in this case.

In view of the above stated facts relative to the America First Committee this case is being referred upon completion to the office of origin.

- REFERRED UPON COMPLETION TO THE OFFICE OF ORIGIN -

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: [redacted] Special Agent in Charge

DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES

RECORDED 100-47799 495

INDEXED

RECEIVED 13 MAR 15 1943

(5) - Bureau
2 - Chicago
2 - Pittsburgh

50 APR 8 1943 BH

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT CHICAGO, ILL. FILE NO. 100-1481

REPORT MADE AT	DATE WHEN MADE	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE	REPORT MADE BY
Chicago, Illinois	3-15-43	1-6,7;2-27-43	67c [redacted]

TITLE	CHARACTER OF CASE
LINCOLN PARK CHAPTER, Inc. America First	INTERNAL SECURITY - C

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

The Lincoln Park Chapter of America First existed as a branch of the national organization until October 1941, at which time the national organization withdrew its charter because they regarded Lincoln Park Chapter to be "radical", and because Lincoln Park Chapter refused compliance with policy laid down by national organization. Subject group incorporated in Illinois through efforts of CARL SANDS, attorney, who acted as treasurer and vice president. Other officers included ALFRED W. BRUHN, Chairman, HENRY LARSON, Director and A. R. NORDSKOG, delegate sent to Washington, D.C. Membership estimated 10,000 persons, of which 65% of German descent. Three meetings held after Pearl Harbor, two of which were discussions of the possibility of keeping the chapter alive during war "to discuss the people". Third meeting held March 27, 1942 in conjunction with Midwest Monetary Federation, at which meeting JOSEPH E. [illegible]WILLIAMS was the principal speaker. The Lincoln Park Chapter associated and cooperated with MRS. ELIZABETH DILLING, "We, the Mothers Mobilize", "Citizens Committee to Keep America Out of War", PATRICK HENRY Forum, and other similar groups in exchanging speakers and supporting meetings. No activities since March 27, 1942, although corporation not dissolved.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 4/27/85 BY SP2 BTS/LC

#245238

RECORDS DESTROYED 7-21-54 RJV

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: [signature] SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

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5 Chicago (1 file 100-[illegible]
1 file 14-25)

16 MAR 17 1943

EX-37

b7c

59 MAR

Chicago File No. 100-11451

REFERENCE: Bureau letter dated 12-1-42;
report of Special Agent [redacted]
Chicago, Illinois, dated 6-29-42 in the case
entitled "America First Committee" - Internal
Security - C". b7C

DETAILS: AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

In the report of Special Agent [redacted] dated b7C
6-29-42, Chicago, Illinois, in the case entitled "America First, Inc., Internal Security - C", on page 23 it was set forth that the Lincoln Park Chapter of America First, Inc., was a regularly established branch of the national organization known as America First prior to September 1941. Because of radical speeches and activities carried on by this group, CLAY JUDSON, a national committee member of America First, directed a letter dated October 9, 1941, to the subject organization advising them that they no longer had authority to use the name America First or to hold meetings which appeared to be under the auspices of America First.

Notwithstanding this letter, the subject organization continued to meet, and a subsequent letter written over the signature of T. S. HAMMOND and addressed to MR. R. H. KIEHL, [redacted] then director of the b7
Lincoln Park Chapter, advised this group that complaints concerning the character of the meetings conducted by the subject organization had been received at the national headquarters. The letter continued "We must ask you that you hold no more meetings using the name America First Committee. We ask you that you return to the Chicago headquarters such stationery and supplies as have been furnished you together with your membership list. Please do not misunderstand me, this is in no way intended to control your activities. This is a friendly note, and you can do as you please, but I must remind you that the America First Committee is incorporated, and those who wish to use its name must keep within the principles approved by it."

The investigation conducted of the national America First group failed to reveal that subject organization returned its membership list, or discontinued holding meetings using the same name.

[redacted] b2 b7D

[redacted] b3

b3 cited in conjunction with Rule 6e, FRCP

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☑ (b)(3)	☐ (b)(7)(C)	☐ (k)(1)
Rule 6e, Federal Rules of Criminal Procedure	☑ (b)(7)(D)	☐ (k)(2)
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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

FILE NO. 100-508

REPORT MADE AT	DATE WHEN MADE	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE	REPORT MADE BY
MIAMI, FLORIDA	3/20/43	1/29,30;2/17/43	[redacted]

TITLE	CHARACTER OF CASE
THE AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE	INTERNAL SECURITY - C

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS: Inquiry through informants throughout important population centers reflected subject organization no longer existent in State of Florida. PAGE HUFFY, National Director in charge of organization, advised since dissolution meeting of National Committee in his Chicago residence in December 1941 to his knowledge no attempts had been made to revamp organization for any purpose whatsoever.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10-23-90 BY SP6BTS/CC - RUC -

REFERENCE: Report of Special Agent [redacted] Miami, Florida, dated June 23, 1942.

DETAILS:

This report is the result of investigative efforts on the part of Special Agents [redacted] and reporting Agent.

A review of Miami file in instant case disclosed that inquiry [redacted] at Jacksonville, Florida by Special Agent [redacted] during months subsequent to June 1942 has failed to disclose any activity on the part of adherents to the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE.

At Tallahassee, Florida

Investigation conducted by Special Agent [redacted] was had with authorities and informants in and surrounding Tallahassee, [illegible]

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: [redacted] SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

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100-4712-[illegible]
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MAR 25 1943
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3-Miami

59 APR [redacted]

of October 10 and December 18, 1942, disclosed no known activity on the part o the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE.

Special Agent [redacted] interviewed [redacted] and from [redacted] determined there never had been any known organization of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE, although when that organization first came into existence some local individuals adhered to its belie and lended some support; however, investigation conducted by Agent [redacted] through inquiry [redacted], failed to disclose that the subject organization ever had engaged in any open activity in that area.

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AT MIAMI, FLORIDA

On November 19, 1942, [redacted] advised Special Agent [redacted] that she had no knowledge of a contemplated plan for the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE to become again active as organization. [redacted] formerly was associated with the AMERICA FIR COMMITTEE as a speaker in New York City.

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A review of the Miami file in instant matter discloses that inquir [redacted] at Key West, Florida, Orlando, Florida, Fort Myer and Sarasota, Florida failed to disclose any activity which could be attribu to the organization.

AT PALM BEACH, FLORIDA

Under date of November 30, 1942, the writer contacted [redacted] at Palm Beach, and subsequent contacts with that informant as late as Januar 1943 failed to disclose any activity on the part of the subject committee in that area of Florida. [redacted] advised that when the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE on the up-swing and coming to the national front in the winter season of 19 at Palm Beach, a luncheon was given by [redacted] winter resident Denver, Colorado, in honor of GENERAL ROBERT E. WOOD, then a member of the National Committee. [redacted] advised he attended the luncheon where numerous per of social and financial prominence, including such figures as [redacted] of New York and Palm Beach, [redacted] of Palm Beach and Brooklyn, [redacted] of Palm Beach and South Hampton, Long Island, New York; [redacted] of Palm Beach and Westbury, Long Island; [redacted] of Palm Beach and New York City, and numerous other persons of promi also were in attendance. [redacted] advised that luncheon for all apparent purpose was given in an effort to raise money, and he stated he was convinced now th the primary reason for many persons of wealth and prominence adhering to the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE at that time was because their first concern was the pocketbooks, and they feared serious inroads on their respective financial s

in the event the United States entered the European war. He also advised that at that time the question of political differences also caused numerous individuals to adhere to the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE, although he stated he was sure that subsequent to the incident of Pearl Harbor those individuals of Palm Beach mentioned as former adherents to subject committee immediately dropped their political and personal feelings and differences in favor of full support to the war effort.

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Through [redacted] the writer was contacted by [redacted], advised with the inception of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE he immediately lent his support [redacted] and he stated so far as he was concerned, and he felt sure his own convictions were shared by most of the other persons who were members of the National Committee, the primary thought behind the organization was to keep the United States from being drawn into the European war. [redacted] stated that with the advent of Pearl Harbor and the entry of the United States into the present conflict, the week following December 7, 1941, the various members of the National Committee met [redacted] in Chicago, Illinois and there held a final dissolution meeting. [redacted] stated all of the records of the National Committee were turned over to the custody of GENERAL ROBERT E. WOOD, Chairman, and that so far as he knew, those records had been turned over to Stanford University and were deposited in the library at that place. [redacted] stated following the dissolution meeting in December 1941, so far as he had any information, there never had been any effort to bring the Committee back to life, and he said he was sure there was no effort made to revamp it or to use the organization structural set-up for any other purpose or organization.

Inasmuch as there are no further investigative leads presently outstanding in the Miami Field Division, this matter is being considered referred upon completion to the office of origin.

REFERRED UPON COMPLETION TO THE OFFICE OF ORIGIN

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FBI/DO

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
NEWARK, NEW JERSEY

100-5606 [redacted]

April 22, 1943

b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 10-23-90 BY SP8BTS/cl

Director, F.B.I.

Re: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Dear Sir:

b7C

Reference is made to the report of Special Agent [redacted] dated at Newark, New Jersey, January 16, 1943, in the above-entitled case.

Attention is directed to the conversation between [redacted] which is set out in [redacted] and [redacted] is that report. As stated therein, [redacted] designated "A" and [redacted] is designated "B" in the quoted conversation. However, these designations are erroneous and the correct situation is that [redacted] is that designated as "B", and [redacted] conversation is that designated "A".

b7C

It is respectfully requested that this correction be made in the copies of the report received at the Bureau.

Very truly yours,

S. K. McKee
Special Agent in Charge

CC Chicago
New York

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100-4712-498

14 APR 24 1943

[redacted]

58 MAY 4 1943

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT CHICAGO

FILE NO. 100-3249

REPORT MADE AT	DATE WHEN MADE	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE	REPORT MADE BY
LOS ANGELES	5/18/43	3/29,4/6,8-10,13,5/10/43	[redacted] b7C

TITLE: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

CHARACTER: INTERNAL SECURITY - C

DATE 10-23-90 BY SP8 [illegible]

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS: No indication of any attempt to reorganize the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE in Los Angeles. The only known organizational interest of [redacted] is the Hollywood Women's Republican Club. [redacted] employed as a studio electrician by 20th Century Fox Studios, Calver City, California, where he has an excellent reputation. [redacted] is presently in the United States Army.

b7C

- RUC -

REFERENCE: Report of Special Agent [redacted] Los Angeles, dated May 27, 1942. Report of Special Agent [redacted] Philadelphia, dated July 25, 1942.

DETAILS:

On April 7, 1943 [redacted] whose identity is known to the Bureau, advised that there has been no indication of any attempt to reorganize the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE in the Los Angeles area.

Of the former leaders of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE in Los Angeles, [redacted] advised that JOHN WHEELER, son of Senator BURTON K. WHEELER, and [redacted] have not been active in any way. [redacted] stated that information has come to his attention that JOHN WHEELER no longer enjoys the full confidence of his father and should there be any attempt to reorganize, JOHN WHEELER would probably not be active.

[redacted] advised that [redacted] has not been active in reorganization activities, although he is apparently the moving force behind the apathy in the organization.

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: R. B. Hood SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

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16 MAY 24 1943

[redacted]

of INFORMED VOTERS OF AMERICA, INC., which organization maintains an office in the Gratt Building, 617 South Olive Street, Los Angeles, California.

[redacted] Although several former AMERICA FIRST members have joined the INFORMED VOTERS OF AMERICA, INC., there is no indication that any attempt is bein made to perpetuate the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE through this organization.

[redacted] stated that of the former secondary leaders of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE in Los Angeles, he has lost all track of [redacted]. [redacted] is reported to be presently working in some defense plant in the Los Angeles area and not active in any organizations. It has been reported to [redacted] that [redacted] has held meetings in his Glendale, California, home, but the nature of these meetings is not known to [redacted]. He said that [redacted] is now [redacted] HOLLYWOOD WOMEN'S REPUBLICAN CLUB and so far as he knows this is her only organizational activity. He stated that [redacted], former AMERICA FIRST member, is also a member of the HOLLYWOOD WOMEN'S REPUBLICAN CLUB and he said that at a meeting of the club on February 27, 1943, [redacted] and a group of women became involved in a discussion of the war effort and their dissatisfaction with the way the war was being conducted. So far as [redacted] knows, [redacted] has no other organizational connections.

On April 12, 1943, [redacted] American Legion, 17th District, advised that nothing had come to his attention to indicate any attempt to reorganize the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE in Los Angeles. He stated that JOHN WHEELER has not been active at all and that [redacted] although anti-British, had apparently confined himself to his political activiti only. [redacted] said that [redacted] who is anti-ROOSEVELT and anti-British, is a loyal American of Irish descent, who, when war broke out, made a public declaration that he was through with the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE and all it stood for. [redacted] said that so far as he knew [redacted] have not been active in any way. He described [redacted] as anti-ROOSEVELT and active in the HOLLYWOOD WOMEN'S REPUBLICAN CLUB, but so far as he knows she has no other organizational interest

[redacted] formerly resided at [redacted], but are presently residing at [redacted], West Los Angeles, California. [redacted] is employed as a studio

electrician by the Twentieth-Century Fox Studios, Culver City, California, is [redacted] years of age and registered with Local Draft Board 228, [redacted]

Inquiry at [redacted] by Special Agent [redacted] disclosed that [redacted] was born on [redacted] at San Francisco, California, attended public school [redacted] in the Bronx, New York, and high school at the [redacted] in New York City. He has had no military experience and lived in Mexico from [redacted] being employed by the Servicio Sunoco in Mexico City as service manager from May, 1930, to August, 1933. He has been employed by Twentieth-Century Fox Studios as a lamp operator from September, 1933, to the present time. One brother, [redacted] lives in Beverly Hills, California; one brother, [redacted], resides in Los Angeles, California, and another brother lives in Italy. He has one son, [redacted] who has been employed as a clerk by the Bank of America in Los Angeles.

[redacted] advised Special Agent [redacted] that he has known [redacted] well since 1935 and during this time [redacted] has been an excellent employee, making no remarks of any nature that could be considered un-American or pro-Axis. [redacted] could recall no mention ever being made by [redacted] concerning the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE. He said that he considered [redacted] trustworthy in every way.

[redacted] advised that [redacted] son, [redacted] was inducted into the United States armed forces on November 27, 1942, and is presently serving on active duty.

REFERRED UPON COMPLETION TO THE OFFICE OF ORIGIN

4-760 (Rev. 12-14-88)

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

FILE NO. 100-1395

REPORT MADE AT	DATE WHEN MADE	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE	REPORT MADE BY
DES MOINES, IOWA	5-28-43	5-26-43	[redacted]

TITLE	CHARACTER OF CASE
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE	INTERNAL SECURITY

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS: [redacted] advises no further activity of this committee in Iowa, and all members have climbed on the "bandwagon" of Brigadier General HANFORD MacNIDER, now fighting in the South Pacific and formerly a leader of this committee in Iowa.

-RUC-

REFERENCE: Report of SA [redacted] Des Moines, Iowa, 2/19/43.

DETAILS: AT DES MOINES, IOWA

[redacted] advises that there has been no further activity of the America First Committee in Iowa, and all members have climbed on the "bandwagon" of Brigadier General HANFORD MacNIDER, now fighting in the South Pacific and formerly a leader of this committee in Iowa.

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APPROVED AND FORWARDED: [redacted] SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

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FREEDOM OF INFORMATION AND PRIVACY ACTS

SUBJECT: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

FILE NUMBER: 100-4712

PART: 11 OF 19

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

FILE DESCRIPTION

BUREAU FILE

SUBJECT America First Committee

FILE NO. 100-4712

SECTION NO. 11

SERIALS 501

through

527

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100-4712-501, 502, 503, 504

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62-43818-201X, 254X, 267X, 260X

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS — FILE NO. 100-668

REPORT MADE AT	DATE WHEN MADE	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE	REPORT MADE BY
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS	6/10/43	6/7/43	[redacted] b7C
TITLE: THE AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE			CHARACTER OF CASE: INTERNAL SECURITY - G

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS: No indication subject organization has remained active in Chicago area. Many persons formerly in America First Committee, Chicago, now associated with WILLIAM J. GRACE in the Citizens U.S.A. Committee formerly known as Keep America Out of War.

REFERENCE: Report of Special Agent [redacted] dated May 29, 1943 at Chicago, Illinois. b1C

DETAILS: AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

[redacted] advised that no information has come to his possession in recent months which would indicate in any way that the recognized leaders or members of the America First Committee are active at the present time or have been active in recent months. [redacted] stated that many of the members of the Chicago America First Committee are now followers and members of the Citizens U.S.A. Committee headed by CAPTAIN WILLIAM J. GRACE. [redacted] advised that these persons, all of whom before Pearl Harbor expressed isolationist viewpoints, were members of America First, Mid-West Monetary Federation, Patrick Henry Forum, We, the Mothers Mobilize for America, Inc., and other similar organizations. The Citizens U.S.A. Committee, formerly known as the Keep America Out of War Committee, is the subject of a pending investigation in the Chicago Field Division. [redacted] advised GERALD K. SMITH of Detroit has recently formed an organization which he is calling "The America First Party," but according to [redacted] there is no indication that the members of this group were connected in the past with the subject organization. [redacted] further advised that it is believed SMITH'S organization is composed of his former followers and the only similarity between this and the subject

b2 b7D

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6 JUN 25 1943

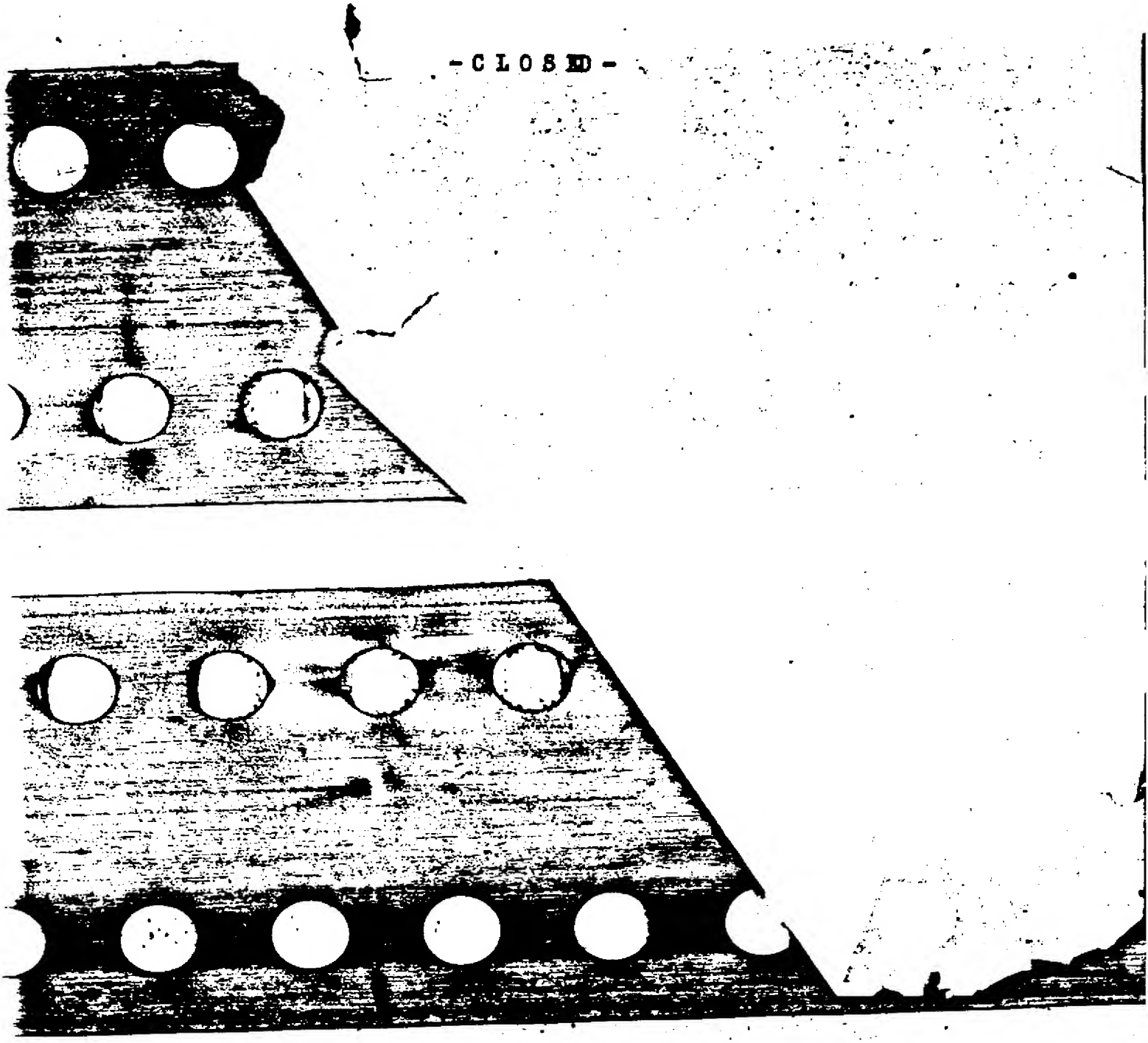
EX-58

7—3084

organization is to be found in its name.

A review of the file in instant case reveals that all offices have submitted RUC reports and there being no further investigation this case is being considered as closed.

-C L O S E D -



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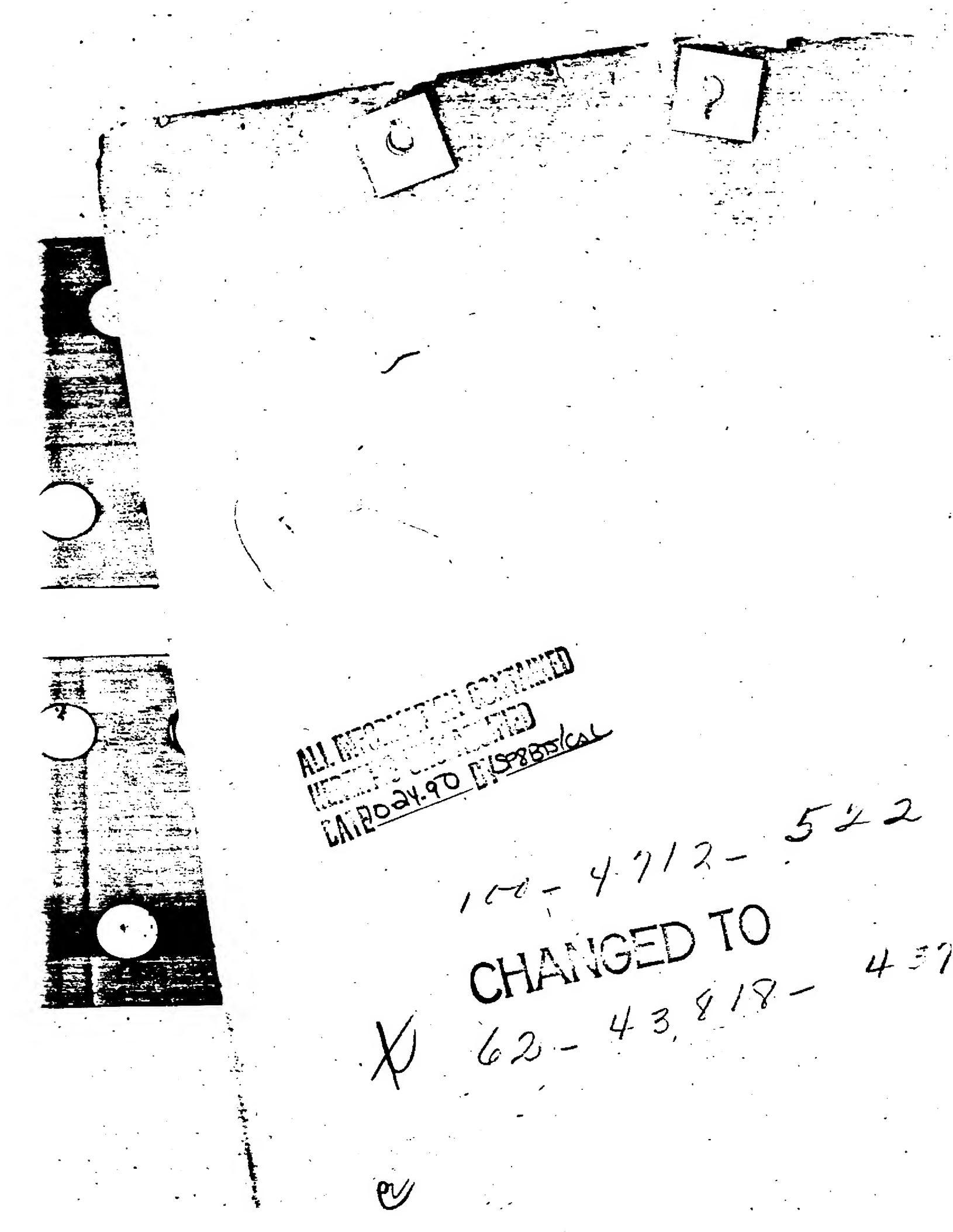

100-4712-542

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62-43,818-457

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice

Chicago, Illinois

March 25, 1944

LSB

Director, FBI

RE: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Dear Sir

The Chicago office recently received a letter from the Buffalo Field Division requesting advice as to the disposition of certain exhibits obtained during the course of the investigation conducted in instant case. These exhibits are at present retained in the file of the Buffalo office. They are set out in full in the report of Special Agent [redacted] dated January 22, 1943, at Buffalo, New York.

49
100-4712

b7C
4/18/44 [redacted]

From a review of this report it does not appear that the exhibits in question are of particular value in future legal action to this office, but it is believed possible that the Bureau may desire to retain them for information purposes, or for possible prosecutive action in this or related cases.

Therefore it is requested that the Bureau advise the Chicago and Buffalo Field Divisions as to the destruction or preservation of instant exhibits.

Very truly yours

Ltd Chicago
cc Buffalo
6/2/44 [redacted]

S. J. DRAYTON, SAC

b7C

[redacted]
100-668
cc Buffalo

FOR VICTORY BUY UNITED STATES WAR BONDS AND STAMPS

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE
DATE 10-24-90 BY SP8 BTS/Lcl

100-4712-52
X
MAR 29 1944

[redacted]

[redacted] b7C

RECORDED 100-4712 - 523

SAC, Chicago

May 2, 1944

EX - 56

J. Edgar Hoover - Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
INTERNAL SECURITY (G)

Reference is made to your letter in the captioned matter dated March 25, 1944, wherein authority is requested for the destruction of certain exhibits being held by the Buffalo Field Division in its file on the America First Committee.

The Bureau has reviewed the material set forth in the report of Special Agent [redacted], dated January 22, 1943, at Buffalo, New York, and it is not believed that any necessity exists for the continued retention of the prints of this material unless same appear to the Buffalo Field Division to be applicable to some other individual cases in that or other field divisions. It is believed, however, that for the time being the photographic negatives of this material should be retained by the Buffalo Field Division for possible reference purposes.

Mr. Clegg
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Egan
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Dowd
Mr. McGuire
Mr. Nease
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Mr. Tracy

SAC Buffalo

DEPT. OF JUSTICE
FBI
RECEIVED-MAIL ROOM
MAY 2 2 PM

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED
MAY 2 1944
P.M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

[redacted]

DATE 10-24-90 BY SP8 BAS/60

[redacted]

56 MAY 3 13

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS — FILE NO. 100-2651

REPORT MADE AT	DATE WHEN MADE	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE	REPORT MADE BY
PHILADELPHIA, PA.	4/12/44	12/7/43;1/10/44	[redacted] b7C

TITLE	CHARACTER OF CASE
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE	INTERNAL SECURITY - C

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS: America First Committee members ceased to be active as such in Philadelphia Field Division. IRENE THORN MURPHY, Executive Secretary is now editor of the "News Letter" published by the Mothers and Daughters of Pennsylvania. The Crusading Mothers of Pennsylvania, also known as Blue Star Mothers, is the active nucleus of any America First group in Philadelphia.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 10-24-90 BY SP8BTS/bc

- C -

Reference: Report of Special Agent [redacted] Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, on 7/25/42. b7C

Details: [redacted] advised he is not aware of any activity being conducted by the America First Committee as such in the Philadelphia Field Division and that in his opinion any activity occurring among the former members of this group would come into being through the various Mothers groups operating in Philadelphia at the present time. b2 b7D

It was previously reported in an investigation concerning GERALD LYMAN KENNETH SMITH, with aliases, that a meeting was held in November, 1943 at the Bellevue-Stratford Hotel in Philadelphia, sponsored by the Blue Star Mothers of Pennsylvania. It is noted that at the meeting there were present CHARLES WALLINGTON, JOHN KLISTER and IRENE THORN MURPHY, all formerly active as America Firsters. At that time Mr. SMITH, referring to the Mothers group stated, "These women were donating their time and working hard for the cause of America First . . . . . " It is noted that

COPIES DESTROYED

APPROVED AND FORWARDED:	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES
	O.W. Hall	100-4712-524

COPIES OF THIS REPORT
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2 - Chicago
2 - Philadelphia
COPY IN FILE

19 APR 14 1944

RECORDED & INDEXED

[redacted] b7C

Ph #100-2651

Mr. SMITH was introduced as the outstanding America Firster in the Country and he made the following statements, among others already reported, during his remarks.

"I would to God there was no need for a third political party in these United States, but when you have a family perpetrating a dynasty out of the United States treasury, it is time we took drastic action . . . . ."

"We America Firsters are the balance of power between the old parties. Neither party can win without us and we will give our vote to the GOP if they do not give us another fake like Wilkie. If they do, we will run a third party candidate . . . ."

"We have an organization in thirty-four States and are completing arrangements in the others. The ground work will be laid and if necessary we will have a separate party . . . . ."

"The best America First speech made this year was delivered by the five Senators who visited sixty-four battle fields on their world tour . . . . ."

"I tell you the aims of the America First Committee are to retire the Roosevelt dynasty . . . . ."

"Any contributions which you want to make to further the work of America First you are requested to place in the envelope and seal it."

It is also noted that Mr. SMITH stated in a Press Release, issued to him at the time of this meeting in Philadelphia, as follows:

"A permanent America First Party Committee is being formed in Philadelphia.

1. We support the war effort 100%.
2. We oppose world government.
3. We fight political Fascism.
4. We fight New Deal Communism."

It is noted that in the announcement of the aforesaid meeting, Mr. SMITH was referred to as the Director of the America First Party.

The investigation being conducted in this office concerning the Mothers and Daughters of Pennsylvania revealed that Mrs. IRENE THORN MURPHY is the editor of the "News Letter", published by that organization, copies of which are constantly being secured by this office.

b2
b7C
b7D

Ph #100-2651

b2 b7E b1C

[redacted]

Inasmuch as the activities of the America First Committee has ceased as such in Philadelphia, and that any activities of the members thereof will be reflected in other current investigations being conducted in this office of various Mothers groups, this case is being placed in a closed status on the authority of the Special Agent in Charge.

- C L O S E D -

4-750 (Rev. 12-14-88)

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

1 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

☑ Deletions were made pursuant to the exemptions indicated below with no segregable material available for release to you.

Section 552		Section 552a
☐ (b)(1)	☐ (b)(7)(A)	☐ (d)(5)
☑ (b)(2)	☐ (b)(7)(B)	☐ (j)(2)
☐ (b)(3)	☑ (b)(7)(C)	☐ (k)(1)
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☐ (b)(4)	☐ (b)(8)	☐ (k)(5)
☐ (b)(5)	☐ (b)(9)	☐ (k)(6)
☐ (b)(6)		☐ (k)(7)

☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.

☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.

☐ Documents originated with another Government agency(ies). These documents were referred to that agency(ies) for review and direct response to you.

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☐ For your information: _____

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100-4112-524 Sec. 4

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FBI/DOJ

ADDITIO

[redacted] 26988

RE: AMERICA FIRST Co

[redacted]

BY SPECIAL MESSENGER July 20, 1944

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10-20-90 BY SP2 [illegible]/cad

MEMORANDUM for Mr. Horn

Pursuant to telephonic arrangements made with you, there are being sent herewith the remainder of the membership and contributor lists of the America First Committee in order that you may have copies made for your files.

It will be appreciated if you will return the lists when you have finished with them.

Samuel Klaus

SAMUEL KLAUS

Enclosures

[redacted]

1 ENC. 30

EX-33

Lists returned to Klaus - Photostatic copies kept - 8/6/44 GH Horn

1100-4712-525

FBI

30 AUG 8 1944

RECORDED & INDEXED

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☑ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

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FBI/DOJ

Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

56211/156 Inf.

1454

TO: J. Edgar Hoover, Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation

DATE: August 28, 1944

FROM: Perry M. Oliver, Director of Administrative Services
Immigration and Naturalization Service

SUBJECT: AMERICA FIRST, INCORPORATED.

Reference is made to your memorandum of August 1, 1944, concerning our request for information on the above named organization. It will be appreciated if a complete file review is made on the AMERICA FIRST, INCORPORATED.

Records of the Foreign Agents Registration Section, War Division, reflect that the above styled group was organized in September 193[illegible] by James True, Washington, D.C., publicist, who was later indicted for violation of the Smith Act in conspiring with others to undermine the morale of the armed forces. The Foreign Agents Registration Section advised that their records contained no information which might indicate that the AMERICA FIRST, INC., (the James True organization) had any relation with the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE although it is alleged that True, as an individual, worked with some individuals who were active in the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE.

[redacted]

Perry M. Oliver

RECORDED & INDEXED

100-47712-526

FBI

18

30 [illegible]

EX-37

[redacted] 10/2/44

100-4712-526

The Commissioner
Immigration and Naturalization Service
John Edgar Hoover - Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

RECORDED & INDEXED

AMERICA FIRST, INCORPORATED

Reference is made to the communication of Mr. Perry W. Oliver, dated August 28, 1944, your reference 56211/156, requesting information concerning the captioned organization.

Another Governmental agency reported during 1936 that America First, Incorporated, National Press Building, Washington, D. C., "seems to be a clearing house for all anti-Semitic individuals and groups." 61-7559-2823

Additional information was received in 1937 from a Governmental agency representative in California in which a listing was made of "pro-Fascist and anti-Semitic groups." This list included America First, Incorporated, National Press Building, Washington, D. C., James True, President, and Michael Ahearn, Vice President. 61-7556-433

During the hearings before the Special Committee on un-American Activities, House of Representatives, on November 19, 1938, a representative of the Committee advised that considerable literature of an anti-Semitic character and also of a pro-Japanese character had been obtained and that this literature had been issued by America First, Incorporated, Washington, D. C., of which organization James True was the chairman. 61-7582, Vol. 3, p. 2342

During 1940 a confidential source advised that America First, Incorporated, was organized in August, 1934, and that the reason for its organization as stated in a "confidential statement issued by America First, Incorporated," was for the "protection of the Constitution, American industry, and individual enterprises through the dissemination of truth." This source reported that up until the winter of 1936 the organization issued Industrial Control Reports. The first few issues of these reports made no reference to Jews but later reports indicated that the organization was anti-Semitic.

There is attached hereto a photostatic copy of a "Confidential Statement" issued by the captioned organization. 61-7307-74

A confidential source has reported that on May 15, 1941, members of America First, Incorporated, the Mothers Crusade, and We, the Mothers, Mobilize for America, Incorporated, picketed a downtown hotel where Lord Halifax of Great Britain was staying. The picketing was allegedly in protest of the Administration's policy of all-out aid to England. This allegedly occurred in Chicago. 100-9132-37

During May of 1941 the American Council on Public Affairs sponsored a publication, "Organized Anti-Semitism in America" by Donald S. Strong. This book listed a group of organizations described as "quite definitely anti-Semitic," which list included America First, Incorporated, Washington, D. C., stated to have been founded in 1934 and to have become defunct in 1936. 61-7560-3-277

[redacted]

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI Attention: FBI Laboratory DATE: October 14, 1944

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK

SUBJECT: (S) [redacted]

SEDITION

[redacted]

(S) RECORDED 100-4712-527

It is requested that the FBI Laboratory search this letter against appropriate files at the Bureau to determine if similar letters have been received. The enclosed photostat may be retained for completion of the Bureau's files.

[redacted]

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 10-24-80 BY SP3 BDC

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
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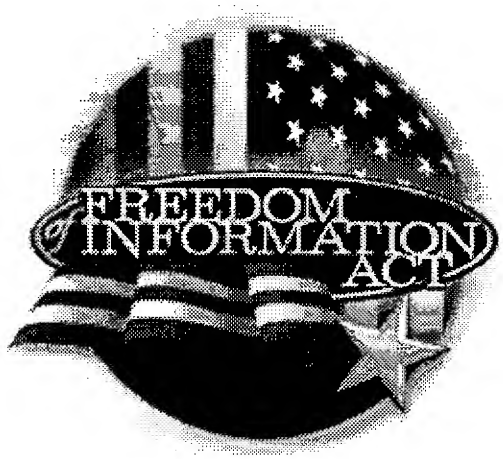
FBI/DOJ

FREEDOM OF INFORMATION AND PRIVACY ACTS

SUBJECT: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

FILE NUMBER: 100-4712

PART: 12 OF 19



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

FILE DESCRIPTION

BUREAU FILE

SUBJECT America First Committee

FILE NO. 100-4712

SECTION NO. 15*

SERIALS 529

through

541 (End)

* Sections 12, 13 and 14 of this file have been withheld pursuant to subsection (b)(3) of the Freedom of Information Act, the underlying statute being Title 26, United States Code, Section 6103.

Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

[redacted]
100-6662

TO : Director, FBI

DATE: May 28, 1945

FROM : GUY HOTTEL, SAC, Washington

SUBJECT: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
[redacted] Informant
Information Concerning

On May 25, 1945, [redacted] appeared in the Washington Field Office at which time she furnished the following information.

[redacted] and an honorably discharged soldier of this war residing at [redacted], had corresponded with her requesting that she ascertain the status of the America First Committee inasmuch as he had been approached on his discharge from the Army to become a member.

[redacted] according to informant, was [redacted] prior to entering the service almost three years ago. [redacted] has informed [redacted] there is a group within [redacted] who are active in the America First Committee and who are attempting to arrange for [redacted] membership inasmuch as he is a discharged veteran of this war.

[redacted] related this group within [redacted] is a group of German extraction which, prior to the war, was active in Germ[redacted] and Bund affairs in and around Indianapolis.

[redacted] would be glad to discuss this matter with agents of the Bureau if necessary.

The above is being called to the Bureau's attention, as well as to the attention of the Chicago and Indianapolis Offices, inasmuch as it is apparent the America First Committee is soliciting membership from veterans of this war.

CC Chicago
Indianapolis

[redacted]

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DATE 10-26-90 BY SP8 BTC

FBI - 318,319

53 JUN 30 1945

WILLIAM A. FULLER M. E.

COCOA FLORIDA

CONSULTING ENGINEER

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 10-26-90 BY SP2 Brsl Co

January 22 1946

Mr Hoover Chief
Federal Bureau of Investigations,
Washington D C

Sir,

I want something to show that I have a clean slate. Just because I was probably the only member of the America First Committee in this vicinity was an outspoken Roosevelt criticism brave enough to stand for my convictions- there has been a continuous stream of opprobrium directed at my wife and me which has not ended since the war. Now my boy is back from Europe and I want a little peace. I am 68 years old. Your department didn't help matter any by sending a couple of youthful operatives in answer probably to an anonymous note to talk with us. How that has got out. How we don't know. We certinly didn't say anything about it. We were too ashamed. Some one is peddling it around. The least you can do is to send someone up here and see who it is that is keeping this up. I haven't many more years to live and it is contemptible to make me suffer this nerve-rending malice.

Yours truly,

[redacted]

INDEXED
RECORDED 29 JAN 25 1946

100-4[illegible]-330

61C

EX-40

157

February 19, 1946

Mr. William A. Fuller
Cocoa, Florida

Dear Sir:

With reference to your letter of January 22, 1946, I wish to advise that the subject matter mentioned therein is not within the investigative jurisdiction of this Bureau and, therefore, I will be unable to comply with your request.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

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DATE 10-26-90 BY SP8BTS/CL

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAIL F
FEB 21 1946
FEB 26 1946
RECEIVED-DIRECTOR
FBI
DEPT. OF JUSTICE

[redacted]

BALTIMORE 2, MD.

July 3, 1946

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
F.B.I. - U.S. Dept. of Justice
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

Would you kindly inform me, what, if anything unfavorable, that your department has learned concerning the American First Committee?

It was my privilege to serve on this committee here previous to the war and knew the organization to be a good sound American organization. I am enclosing a leaflet describing the principles of this organization.

My purpose in asking this information of you is that some friends of mine insist that this was a Communist organization and I can not persuade them otherwise.

I would appreciate if you would let me have the findings of your department.

Sincerely yours,

[redacted]

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DATE 10-26-90 BY SP2BTD/sc

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FBI JUL 24 1946

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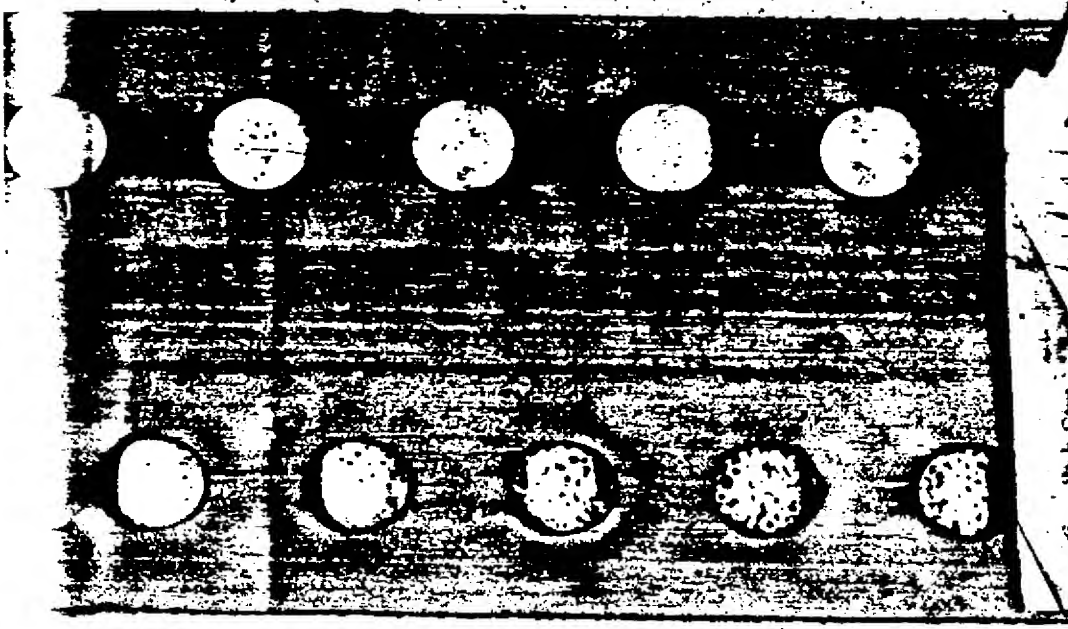


...AR

said

...KLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT

and

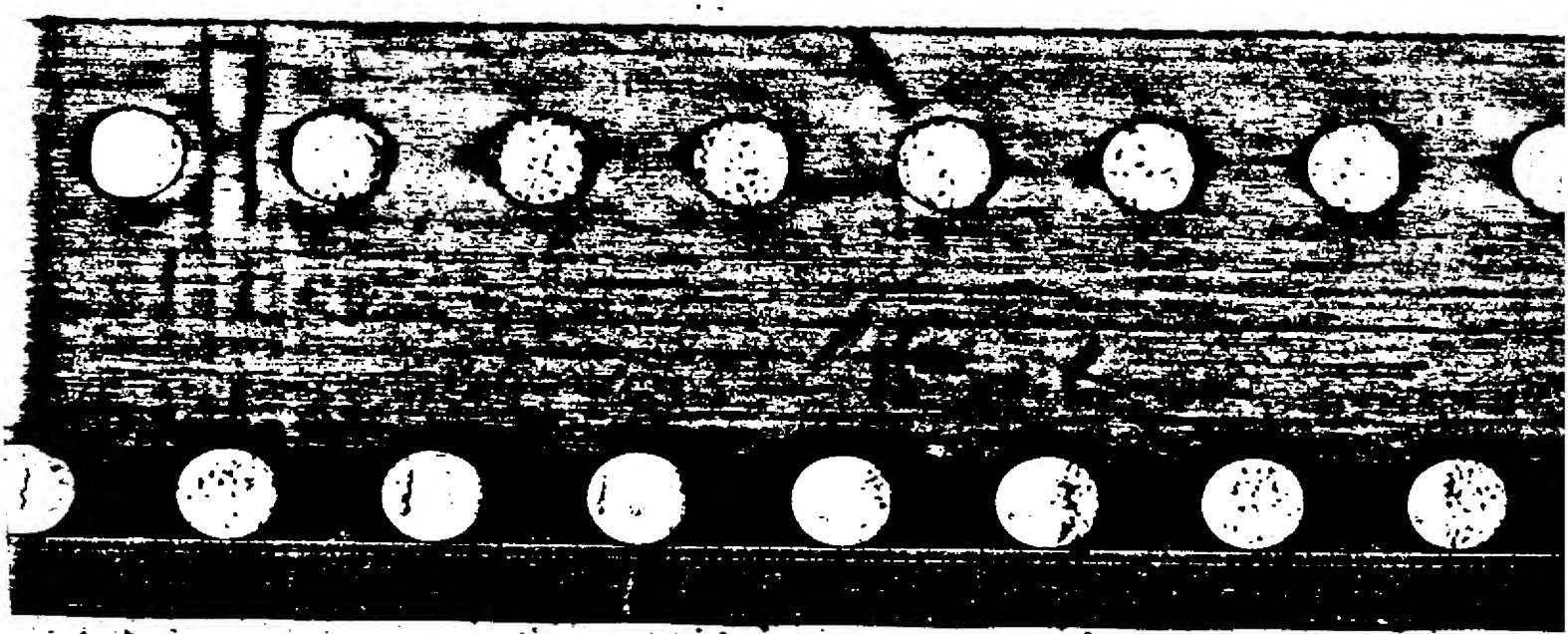
80%

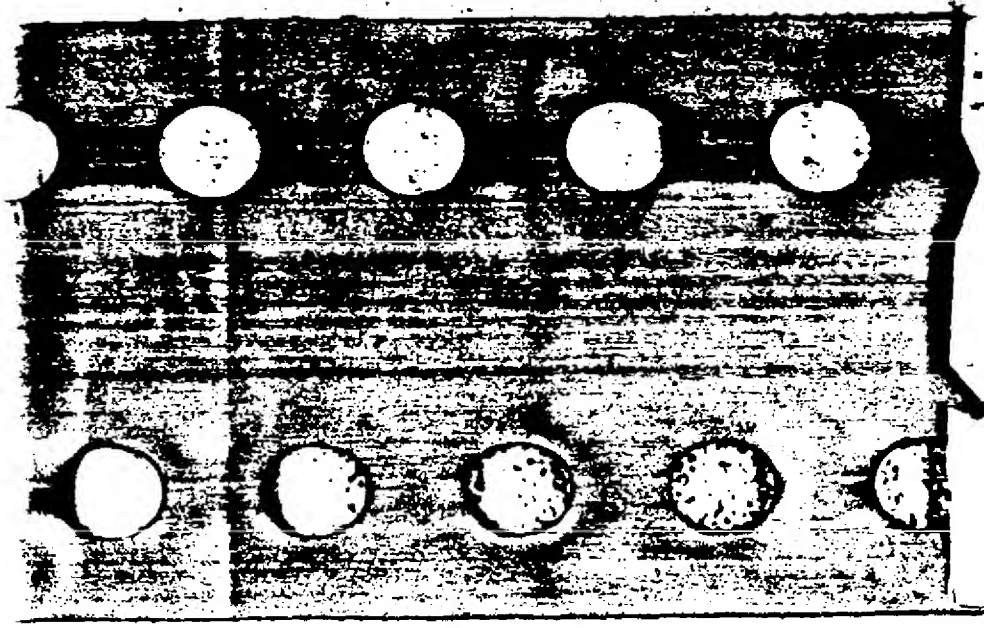
of the American People

Are Against War

National Defense at any Expense
But Keep our Boys at Home

100-4712-52





We Will Not Participate N.
In Foreign Wars

"We are arming ourselves n
purpose of conflict or *interventic*
eign disputes. I repeat again tha
on the platform of our party; we
participate in foreign wars and w
send our *Army, Naval or Air For*
fight in foreign lands outside of
Americas except in case of attack."

"It is for peace that I have labor
and it is for peace that I shall labor
the days of my life."

Philadelphia, Oct. 23, 1940

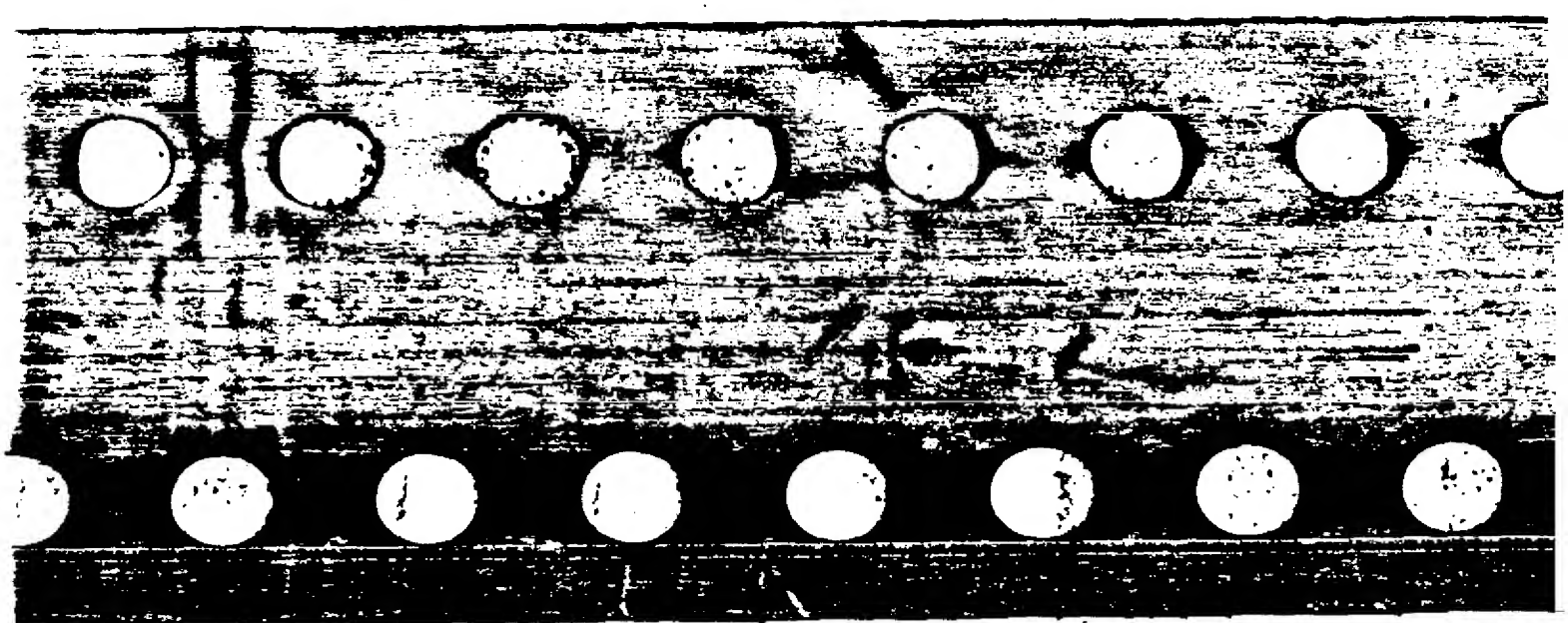
The First Purpose of Our Foreign Policy Is to Keep Out of War

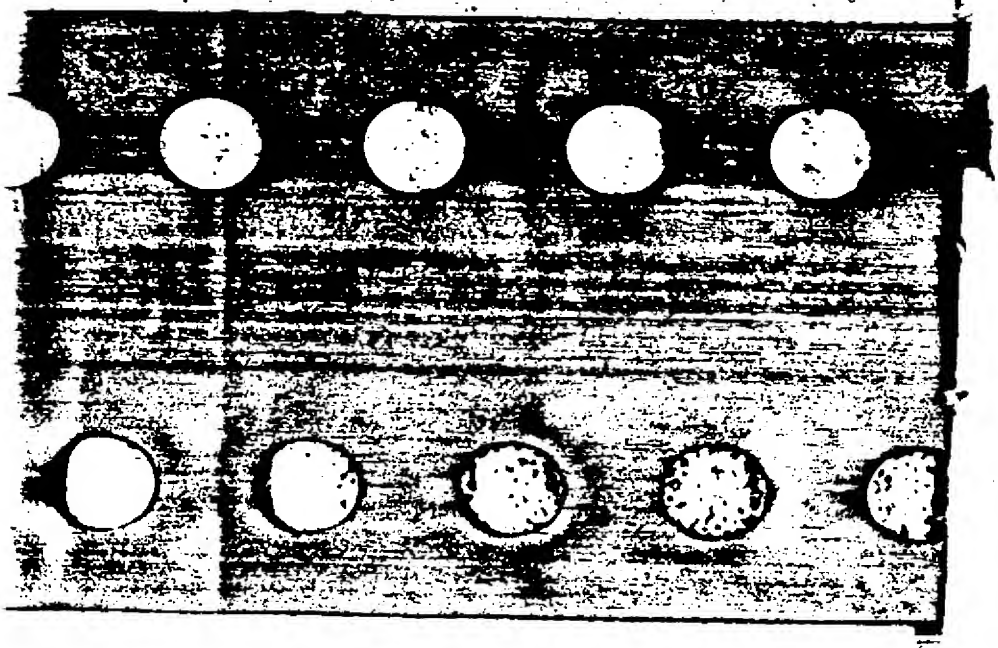
"We look at the old world of Europe today. It is an ugly world, poisoned by hatred, and greed and fear. We can see what has been the inevitable consequence of that poison — it has been war.

"And we look at this country, built by generations of peaceable, friendly men and women who had in their hearts faith —faith that the good life can be obtained by those who work for it.

"We know that we are determined to defend our country and with our neighbors to defend this hemisphere. We are strong in our defense.

"The first purpose of our foreign policy is to keep our country out of war."





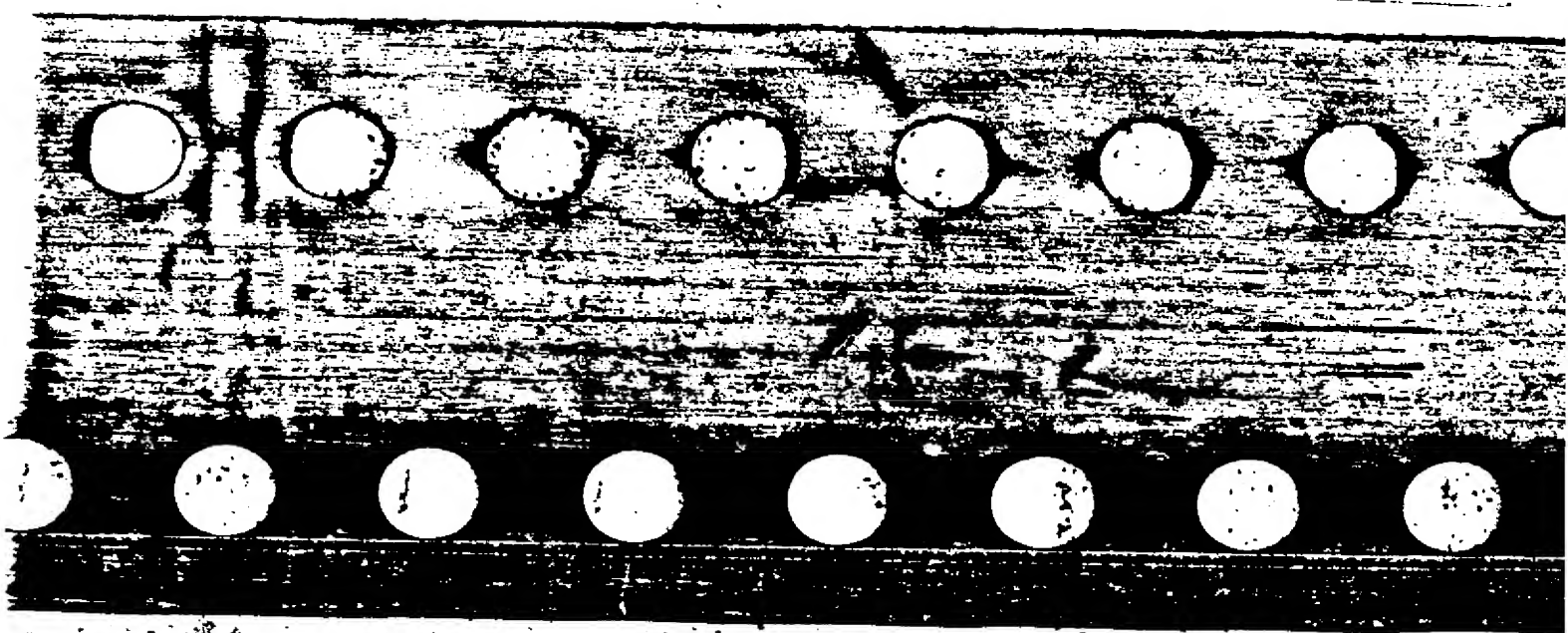
Principles of the America First Cr

1. Our first duty is to keep A of foreign wars. Our entry destroy democracy, not save i path to war is a false path to f.
2. Not by acts of war abroad but serving and extending democra home can we aid democracy and freedom in other lands.
3. In 1917 we sent our American ships into the war zone and this led us to war. In 1941 we must keep our naval convoys and merchant vessels on this side of the Atlantic.
4. We must build a defense, for our own shores, so strong that no foreign power or combination of powers can invade our country, by sea, air or land.
5. Humanitarian aid is the duty of a strong, free country at peace. With proper safeguard for the distribution of supplies, we should feed and clothe the suffering and needy people of the occupied countries.

---

from

AMERICA-FIRST COMMITTEE
Maryland Chapter
516 N. CHARLES STREET, BALTIMORE, MD.
VErnon 6998



EDGES

CTION CAMPAIGN

Are Not Going to Be Sent Foreign Wars

hile I am talking to you, *fathers ers,* I give you one more assur- *have said this before,* but I shall *again and again,* and *again, your re not going to be sent into any foreign wars.*

"They are going into training to form a force so strong that, by its very existence, it will keep the threat of war far away from our shores. Yes, the purpose of our defense is defense." Boston, Oct. 30, 1940

Ships Flying the American Flag Must Stay Out of the War Zones.

"In 1935 in the face of growing dangers throughout the world, your government undertook to eliminate the hazards which in the past had led to war. *We made it clear that ships flying the American flag could not carry munitions to a belligerent; and that they must stay out of war zones."*

New York City, Oct. 28, 1940

I Am Fighting to Keep Out of Foreign Wars

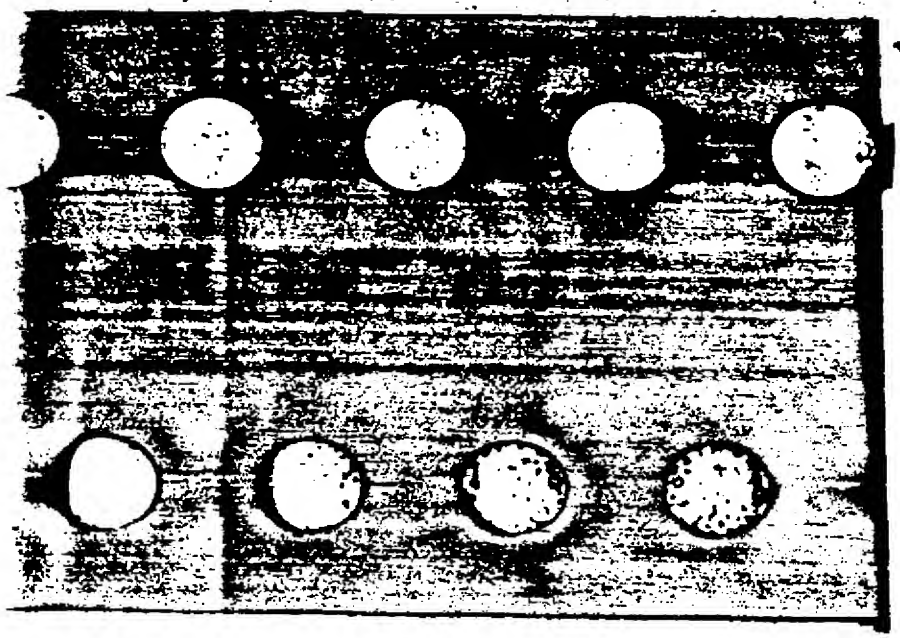
"I am fighting to keep this nation prosperous and at peace. I am fighting to keep our people out of foreign wars and to keep foreign conceptions of government out of our United States." Brooklyn, Nov. 1, 1940

THE HORRORS W

emand Faithful Fulf

of PRESIDENT ROOSEV

Solemn and Sacred Promises



CAME TO HAND
NOV 13 1939
REGISTERED

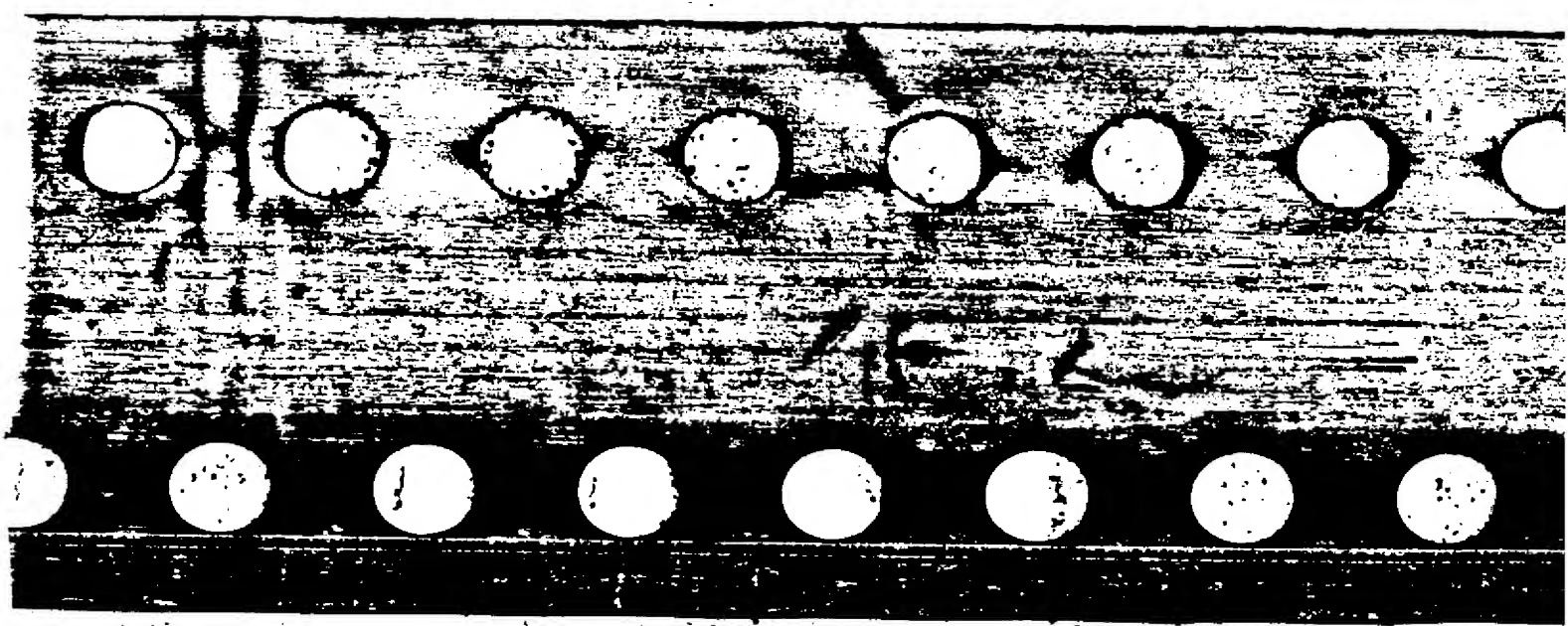
Write — Wire — Telephone
President Roosevelt
Your Senators
Your Congressmen

JOIN WITH US NOW

ENROLL YOUR NEIGHBORS

in the

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
Maryland Chapter
516 North Charles St. Baltimore, Md.



RECORDED 100-4712-531

July 19, 1946

[redacted]

b7C

Dear [redacted]

Reference is made to your letter of July 3, 1946.

I regret that I am unable to furnish you information along the lines requested. By virtue of a long-standing policy promulgated by the Attorney General of the United States, the files of the Federal Bureau of Investigation are held as confidential and information contained therein may not be released for other than official purposes. I am sure you will appreciate the reason and the necessity for such a policy.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

[redacted]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 1026-90 BY SP2 BTJ/cc

CAG b7C

FBI
JUL 19 1946
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

AUG 8 1946

[redacted]

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : R. T. HARBO

DATE: 11-15-46

FROM : H. B. LONG

SUBJECT: Unsub; Anonymous Letter Signed "American First Committee"
Sedition
Bureau File 100-4712

[redacted]
DATE 10-26-90 BY SP1BTC1

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Carson
Mr. Egan
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Pennington
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Tele. Room
Mr. Nease
Miss Beahn
Miss Gandy

There is attached the file which has been maintained in the Laboratory in connection with the above captioned matter. It is desired that this file be maintained as an enclosure behind the main file in the Records Section.

Attachment

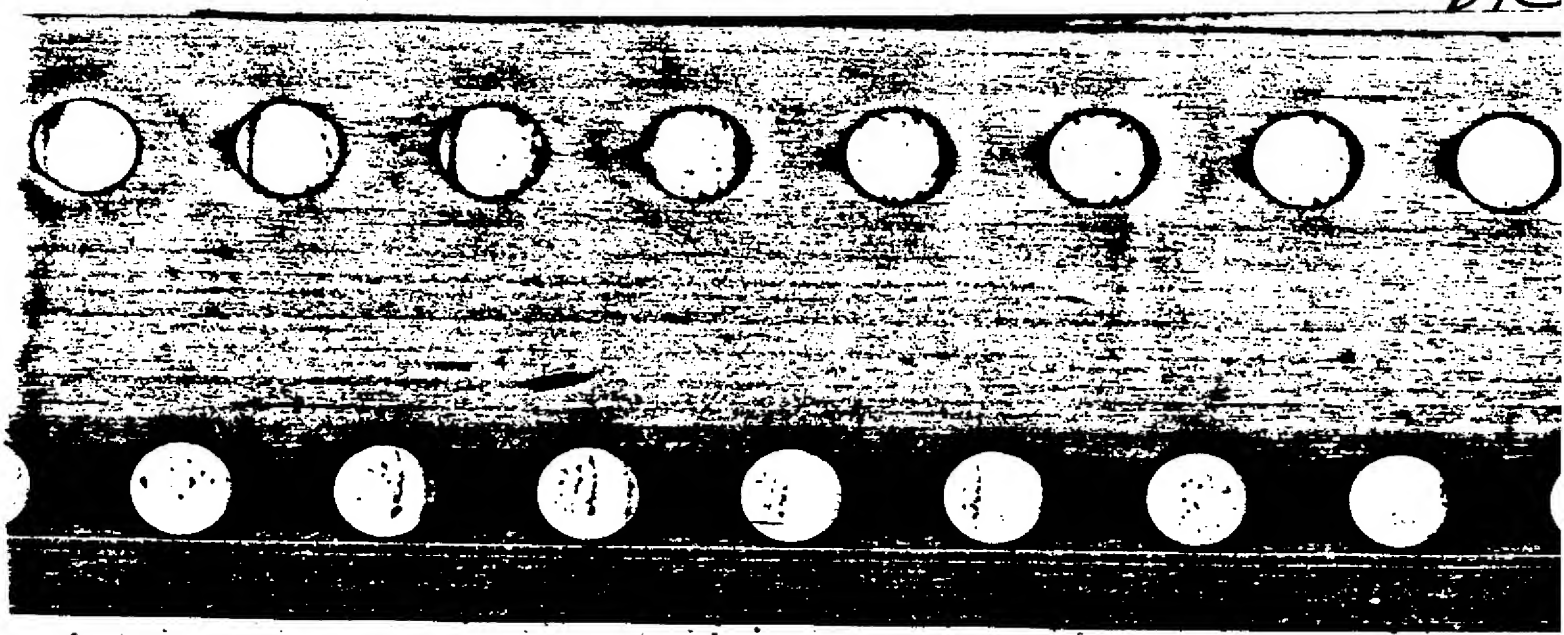
ENCLOSURE BEHIND FILE

ENCL

100-4712-532
NOT RECORDED
36 NOV 18 1946

5 NOV 19 1946

b7C



165-L

January 16, 1

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

© America First Com

Dear Sir,

[redacted] b7c

In a recent discussion with a friend of mine we started talking about the pros & cons of the "America First Committee". We both realized how unconformed we were about the Committee's activities & beliefs -

I would very much appreciate enlightenment you may [redacted] this [redacted]

[redacted] b7c

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED 12
JAN 8 1940
FBI

RECORDED 312-5

DATE 10-24-90 SP8T3K

[redacted]

February 14, 1948.

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover,
F.B.I. - Justice Dept.,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Hoover,

I am wondering if your office has on its books the name of [redacted] who at present is living with his wife at [redacted] He claims that he has no home office but [redacted]

He has spoken at the Kola Park Forum several times this winter on subjects that show prejudiced reading and always aims to stir up trouble among Americans. He gets quite bitter against the Jews and the negros, condems the Marshall Plan and says the Republic is in its last days. He has all the appearances of a Russian spie altho he condemns the Russians-that probably is policy. He says our government is in improper hands, etc. He is a man rather stocky, with a twichy face in his late fifties. I have talked with him and he tells me that he was with the America First during the war and went about wherever he could find Germans. He claims he is of American parantage and educated in Methodist schools. He seems just now to line up with a tall middle-aged man from Boston who will argue with anyone in the audience and togetner they challenge speakers, the management, etc. They want fight and challenge everyone except other. I have not yet learned this latter man's name. We also had a [redacted] here from Chicago who gave three lecture on capitalism saying that he was of course, for capitalism but that now that communism was in the offing we should try to understand it, etc.

All of this seems suspicious to me. The management is very easy-willing to take anyone for speakers and by professing innocence of communism make the large part of the hearers believe them but I cannot help but feel that they are doing much harm. I do not know whether we have laws that could handle their case since they may be American citizens or not. However, I thought that I should appraise you of the matter. I shall be glad to know if you know anything about these men and if there is anything that can be done about them.

Very sincerely, 100-4712-SP1

[redacted]

RECORDED & INDEXED

[redacted]

INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EX-1

DATE 10-26-80 BY Sp2 Sisco

165-mw

February 20, 1948

[redacted]

RECORDED 100-HQ-537

Dear [redacted]

EX-116

Your letter of February 14, 1948, has been received, and I want to thank you for sending the information concerning the individual you mention. Although I would like to be of service, in accordance with a long-standing policy of this Bureau any data in our files is confidential and available for official use only. I am sure you will understand the reason for this rule and that no inference will be drawn from my inability to be of assistance. The patriotic motives prompting your communication are indeed appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10-26-90 BY [redacted]

cc: Miami, with copy of incoming

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
RECEIVED
FEB 20 1948 P.M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

1 MAR 17 1948

[redacted]

1159

Sept. 7, 1948

Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D.D.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 10-26-90 BY SP7 STS/CAC

Gentlemen-

In 1941 or thereabouts, [redacted] was in unpleasant circumstances in the City because of his activit in the America Fist Committee. He came to [redacted], a mill town where he was employed [redacted] for three years when he was not re-elected because of questionable activities.

[redacted] was employed in a store for a year or two during which time I came to the community as [redacted]

In March 1947 [redacted] as he has kept his residence here.

I would be interested to know whether when the America First Com. was investigated by the FBI and found to be Communist inspired and organized, there was a roster of AFC members from New Haven, Conn. that included the name of the above.

Such information might not be available to me but if there is anything to report, you might be able and willing to inform me as to what official may obtain such information.

I feel that the intent to keep trouble brewing has a purpose in case certain international possibilities develope.

I would appreciate any information you can furnish me.

[redacted]

RECORDED - 61

INDEXED - 61

[redacted]

Send to [redacted] if information as to a person of [redacted] available, where can I find 100-4212 FBI finding on [redacted] Am?

Bufile

Committee

100-4712-536

September 10, 1948

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10-26-90 BY SP8BTJ/cl

b7C

[redacted]

Dear [redacted]

Your letter of September 7, 1948 has been received. I regret that I cannot be of service in connection with your request for information which may be in the files of this Bureau, as, in accordance with a long-standing policy, our files are confidential and available for official use only. I am sure you will understand the reason for this rule and that no inference will be drawn that we do, or do not, have information in our files because of my inability to be of assistance.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

[redacted]

b7C

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED
★ SEP 10 1948 P.M.
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. FLETCHER

FROM : D. M. Ladd

DATE: March 26, 1948

SUBJECT: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

On March 23, 1948, Mr. G. L. Millington of the Library of the State Department called and requested the present address of the America First Committee.

After checking, I advised him that this committee had gone out of existence some years ago and there was no indication that it had an office at the present time.

[redacted]

b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10-26-90 BY SP8 STP/LC

100-4712
FBI
APR 6 1948

331
51 APR 12 1948

b7C [redacted]

June 19,1953

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington,D.C.

10-26-90 SP8BTS/ca C

Dear Mr. Hoover: The enclosed was mailed to numerous citizens of th Palm Beaches and in discussing it with a number of persons, the gene opinion was " we don't like the tone of the letter". About this time year, every summer, certain cliques,or perhaps it is the same group, to start some kind of controversy. I did not hear Upton Close on th radio, nor have I discovered anyone who has, so don't know what his ideas were; also don't know just what he stands for. However, wouldn be influenced by anything like the enclosed, which I think is defin " rable rousing". Also understand "America First" was considered sub several years ago and "broken up". Right? Another thing we did not l about the piece, it was not signed, and that always makes one wonder, persons try to hide their identity.

Thought it over and decided the best thing to do was: not answer it send it to you, for whatever investigation or consideration you may think best to give it.

Very truly yours

[redacted]

b7C

(enclosure)

RECORDED - 75

100-47112-537

EX-109

JUL 1953

UPTON CLOSE told the story (just as it is in the court records) of th
false arrests and trial called the Mass Sedition Case of 1942 to 1944.

This case was a persecution of anti-communist, anti-New Deal and ar
FEPC Americans by the Jewish detective bureau and agitation group call
itself "Anti-Defamation League" The persecution and prosecution was sp
by Walter Winchell(Weinschall) and Drew Pearson-both given medals and
favors annually by said "League". Winchell used his sponsor's radio ti
to promote not only the indictments and trial...which Judge Bolitha La
after four years dismissed with the scathing statement; " A travesty o
justice". With the aid of every Red cell and left wing "liberal" in
America, Winchell pushed into a sale of millions to his unsuspecting
listeners a fraudulent book called "Under Cover", which attacks inno-
cent and guilty persons by the "guilt by association" method. In spite
of Winchell's influence and the publisher's wealth, the book was
finally"brought to book", decided by Federal Judge John P.Barnes-in th
City of Chicago(1946) to be..."written by a person who would write any-
thing for a dollar, published by a publisher who would do anything for
a dollar." Said Judge Barnes; "This book charges the plaintiff was di
loyal, anti-semitic and a Nazi agent. During the entire course of the
I have never heard any evidence to sustain any of these charges".

Said Judge Barnes also: "If any man changes his name.it is human
curiosity to know both his names, and that sort of man must bear the bu
If persons are Jews and Communists.they must bear that burden and it wi
not benifit them or their religion to set up a taboo against mentioning
the fact. In our efforts to refrain from persecution we must not establ
meaningless taboos. We must not establish the taboo that under no condi
tion must we mention a person is a Jew. That will not stop persecution.

Following which, Judge Barnes cracked down on the Winchell-Carlson
book. (Author and publishers admitted it was written by a man born in
Armenia and who had been a communist agitator there, and who had used
twenty odd aliases,ending up with the "Swedish" one in the book-"John
Roy Carlson") You might look in your book stack and see if you have a c
The Court adjudged-" Five hundred pages of twaddle, with a few outrageo
and unfounded charges of which any citizen might properly complain".

NOW, 7 YEARS LATER, AS THE SHOE IS ON THE OTHER FOOT AND EDITORS OF
GREAT PAPERS AND PUBLISHING HOUSES (as Little,Brown & Co.) ARE CONFESS
THAT THEY WERE COMMUNISTS, AND AS EVERY PINK IS SQUEALING AGAINST " GUI
BY ASSOCIATION"...NOW, UNDER THE GUISE OF " PROTECTING JEWS" THE REPRES
TATIVES OF A PRIVATE GESTAPO DARE GO SECRETLY TO THE OPERATOR OF A RADI
STATION AND THE PROGRAM CHAIRMAN OF A BUSINESS MAN'S SERVICE CLUB IN PA
BEACH COUNTY, DEMANDING THE SUPPRESSION OF A NARRATOR WHO ONLY TELLS WH
WAS DONE WHEN THE "REDS" WERE STILL LEAGUED WITH THE "UNITED FRONT" AND
A CORRUPT ADMINISTRATION WHICH PUT HUNDREDS OF MILLIONS OF HELPLESS PEO
INTO THE POWER OF STALIN AND GAVE HIM 11 BILLIONS OF UNITED STATES WEAL

CAN YOU LET THIS HAPPEN IN PALM BEACH COUNTY ?

ALL THAT IS NEEDED TO DESTROY THIS REPUBLIC...IS THAT GOOD PEOPLE D

NOTHING! THE FIRST CASUALTY IS THAT OF FREE SPEECH!

[redacted]

[redacted] 10-26-90 [redacted] SP8TS/CoL

Senator Jack.B . Tenny, Chairman of the Un-American Activities Committee of the California Legislature,says in a special report,out in May 1953;

" Officials of the Anti-Defamation League view the disproportionate number of Jews exposed in communist activities with a degree of alarm (but)..to oppose loyalty programs for fear that more Jews may be exposed in the process is extremely unrealistic...The Jews of America will find that a private Gestapo Agency such as that conducted by the small clique of the Anti-Defamation League bureaucracy tends to create the discrimination they seek to curb. The only Ghettos in America, after all, are those that are built by the Jewish bureaucracy itself and the quicker these are outlawed by American Jewry the better for American unity."

(Above paragraph from report by Jack B Tenny,Chairman on Un-American Activities, California State Legislature. Full report from Standard Publications, Los Angeles,California. $ 1.00

****

The Reds and Left-Wingers are organized, and work through racelst cliques. The manager of the radio station WWPG has related that when the left-wing Martin Agronsky, who speaks with a gutteral, Russian accent, got so "strong" the station dropped him, about six letters came indorsing the dropping; a stack a " foot and a half high" came-demanding his restoration. So-the station manager put him back although he is constantly attacking American employers and belittling business.

That happens because Americans are tolerant even of those who attack Americanism and are asleep to destructive influences. BUT MOSTLY IT HAPPENS BECAUSE AMERICANS ARE UNORGANIZED AND DON'T KNOW WHAT IS GOING ON AND WHAT THEY CAN DO ABOUT IT- WHILE THE REVOLUTIONISTS ARE ORGANIZED AND GET INSTRUCTIONS JUST WHAT TO DO. THIS SITUATION WE MUST CURE!

IT IS NECESSARY TO REVIVE "AMERICA FIRST" (which never died out) in Palm Beach County.

DEAR CITIZEN O. THE PALM BEACHES:

A radio station in our community has been told to drop a truth-telling nationally known commentator, Upton Close, whom it had invite to relate the history of American Radio comment.

The order has been reinforced under threat of asking Jewish busin esses to take their advertising away from this radio station.

From the same general source,on June 3rd, came an intolerant and interfering demand by an attorney named Harry Goodmark made on the Program Chairman of a West Palm Beach Service Club that it remove its luncheon speaker!

SUCH INTOLERANCE, INTERFERENCE AND INTIMIDATION-has become a pattern throughout the United States and Canada. It is carried on by an organized left-wing clique of Jewish professional agitators call-ing themselves " Anti-Defamation League of B'Nai Brith. (Meaning " Sons of the Covenant"). They collect,by their reports, four to six million dollars a year from Jewish merchants and professional men to "protect" Jews from what they call "anti-semitism" and negroes from "race prejudice"-(as the AGITATORS chooses to define it).

THERE HAS BEEN NO "ANTI-SEMITISM" or discrimination against Jews in this community. BUT-THERE IS AN ATTEMPT BY AN INSIDE JEWISH CLIQUE TO TELL THE PEOPLE OF THIS COMMUNITY-WHO MAY OR MAY NOT SPEAK TO THEM.

Not all Jewish business is taking part in this intolerance, interference and SUPPRESSION OF FREE SPEECH. But-JEWISH BUSINESS MEN CAN QUICKLY STOP IT IF DETERMINED. IT HAS BEEN STOPPED COLD IN OTHER COMMUNITIES!

You might like to let the Jewish merchants with whom you trade and your Jewish friends know how you feel about this- and that it is bad business to boot.

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE.
Sub-Committee to Protect Free Speech in Palm Beaches.
By (Respond to) Box 2223-Sta.A. Palm Beach. Florida.

DATE 10-26-90 Sept 15/41 (Over)

June 26, 1953

100-4712-537

RECORDED - 75

INDEXED - 75

EX-129

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10-26-90 BY SP3TS/LCC

b7C

Dear [redacted]

I appreciate the interest which prompted your letter of June 19, 1953, with enclosure, and I want to thank you for bringing this matter to my attention.

While I would like to be of service, I am unable to comment on this organization inasmuch as data i FBI files is confidential and available for official use only. Also, the FBI is strictly a fact-finding agency and is not authorized to draw conclusions concerning the character and integrity of any organization, individual, or publication.

I know you will understand the reason for this rule and will not infer either that we do or that we do n have any information concerning the organization to which refer.

Sincerely yours,

JUN 29 1953
FBI—Miami

John Edgar Hoover
Director

cc-Miami, with copy of incoming.

ATTENTION SAC: The enclosure submitted by correspondent was a printed letter from the Sub-Committee to Protect Fre Speech in Palm Beaches of the America First Committee. Re address was given as Box 2223, Station A, Palm Beach, Flor It was addressed to the citizens of the Palm Beaches and denounced the fact that a radio commentator, named Upton C is being forced to leave his position.

b7C

(Note Continued on next page.)

Tolson
Ladd
Nichols
Belmont
Clegg
Glavin
Harbo
Rosen
Tracy
Gurnea
Mohr
Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Holloman
Sizoo
Miss Gandy

78 JUL 2 - 1953

[redacted]

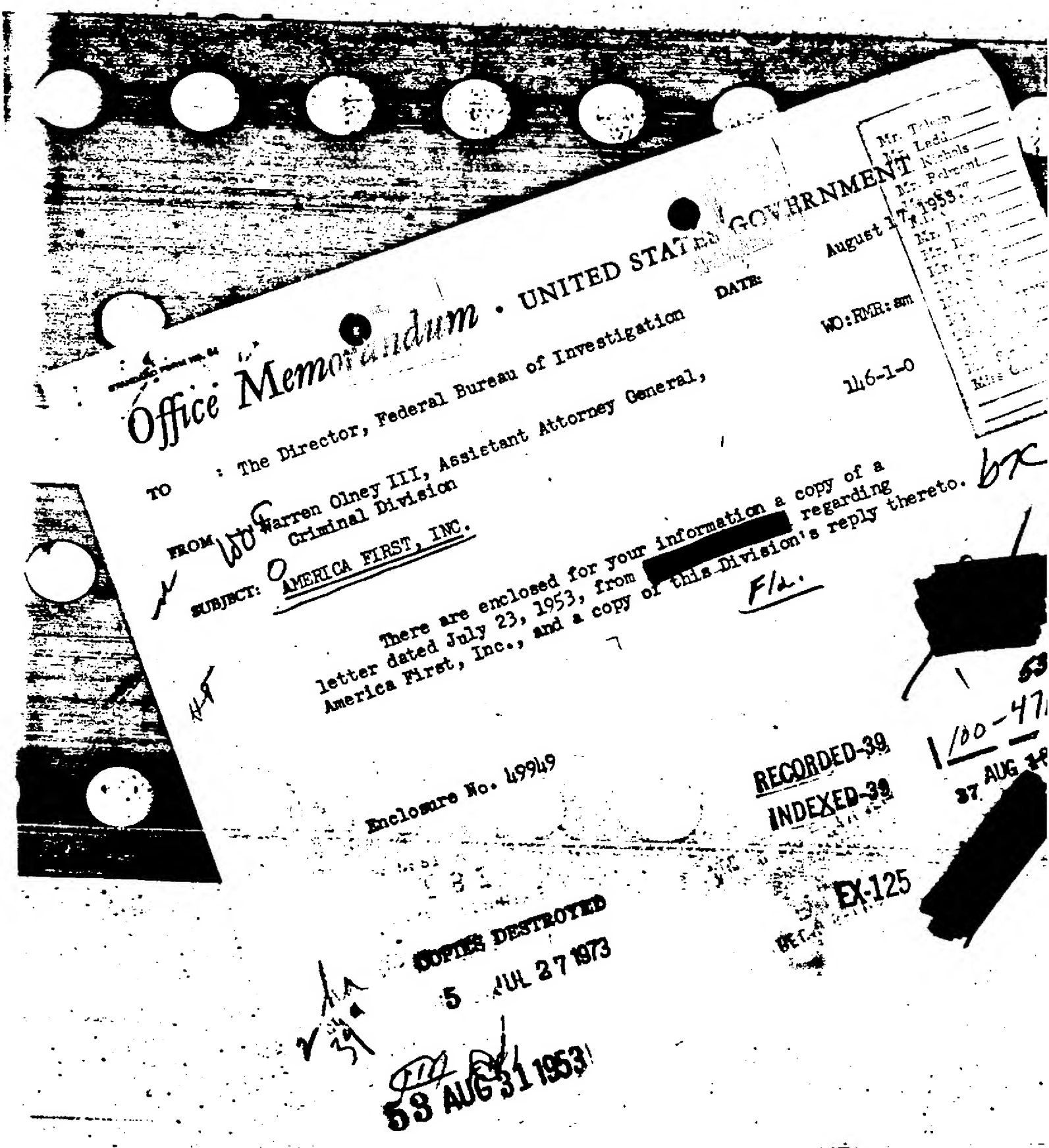
June 26, 1953

(continued)

Note: Bureau files reflect that the America First Committ
was a "clearing house for all anti-Semitic individuals a
groups." It was also alleged to be made up of Pro-Fascis
groups.

[redacted]

b7C



Office Memorandum · UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : The Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

DATE: August 17, 1953

FROM: Warren Olney III, Assistant Attorney General, Criminal Division

WO:RMB:am

116-1-0

SUBJECT: AMERICA FIRST, INC.

There are enclosed for your information a copy of a letter dated July 23, 1953, from [redacted] regarding America First, Inc., and a copy of this Division's reply thereto.

Enclosure No. 49949

RECORDED-39

INDEXED-39

EX-125

COPIES DESTROYED

5 JUL 27 1973

53 AUG 31 1953

COPY

[redacted]

August 17

b7c

Associate [redacted]

July 23rd, 1953

Attorney General's Office
Washington, D. C.

Re: AMERICA FIRST, INC.

Dear Sir:

Please inform me whether or not the above-named corporation has been listed as a subversive, Fascist, or Communistic group by the Attorney General's Office or the Civil Service Commission for the United States. Also please send me a list of the recently declared additions on your list that is consolidated to determine the loyalty of government employees. I understand that 26 groups have recently been added to this group.

If you have no information on the above club, I would suggest that you investigate the club's activities in this area so that unsuspecting citizens do not get involved if there is anything wrong with it. My main purpose in asking for this scrutiny of the club is its apparent BUT VERY SECRET activities in this community recently.

I will be glad to show any agent of yours or the FBI office recent communications that I have received from this group.

With best regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

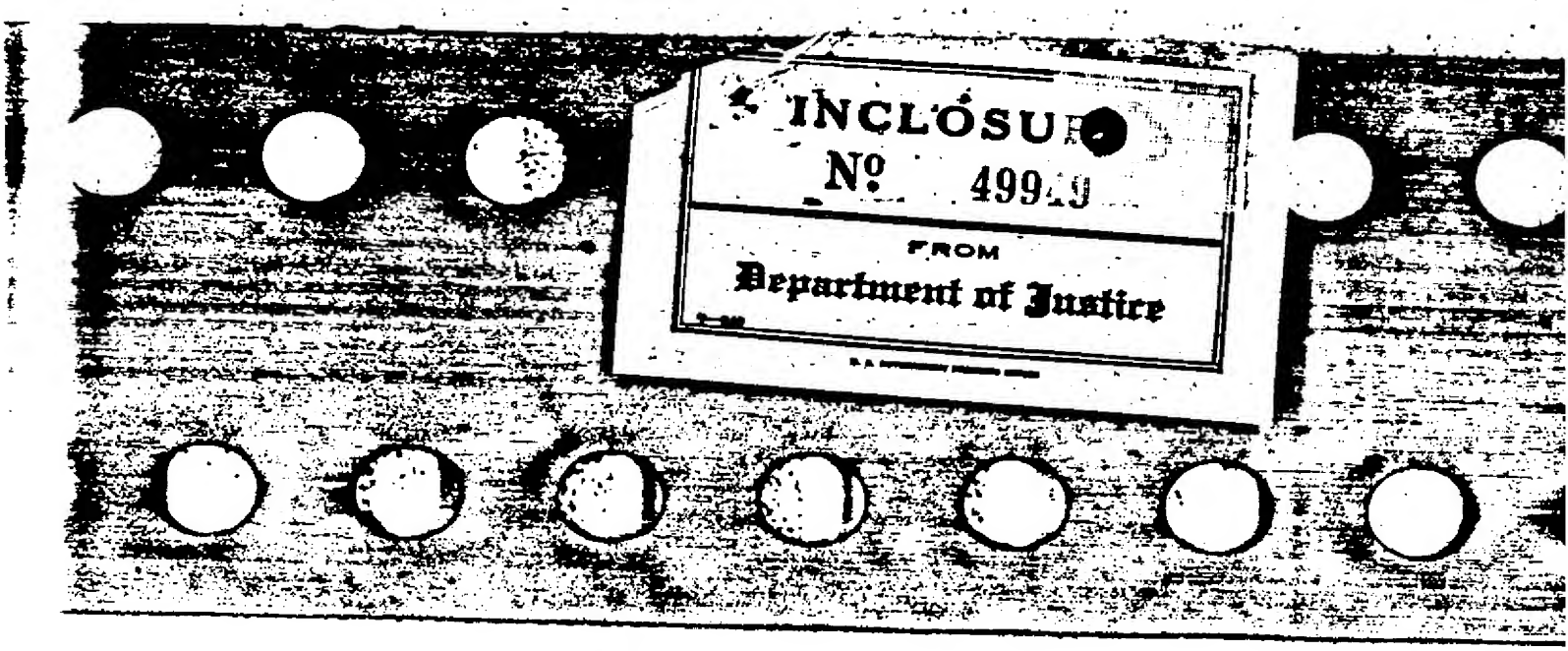
[redacted]

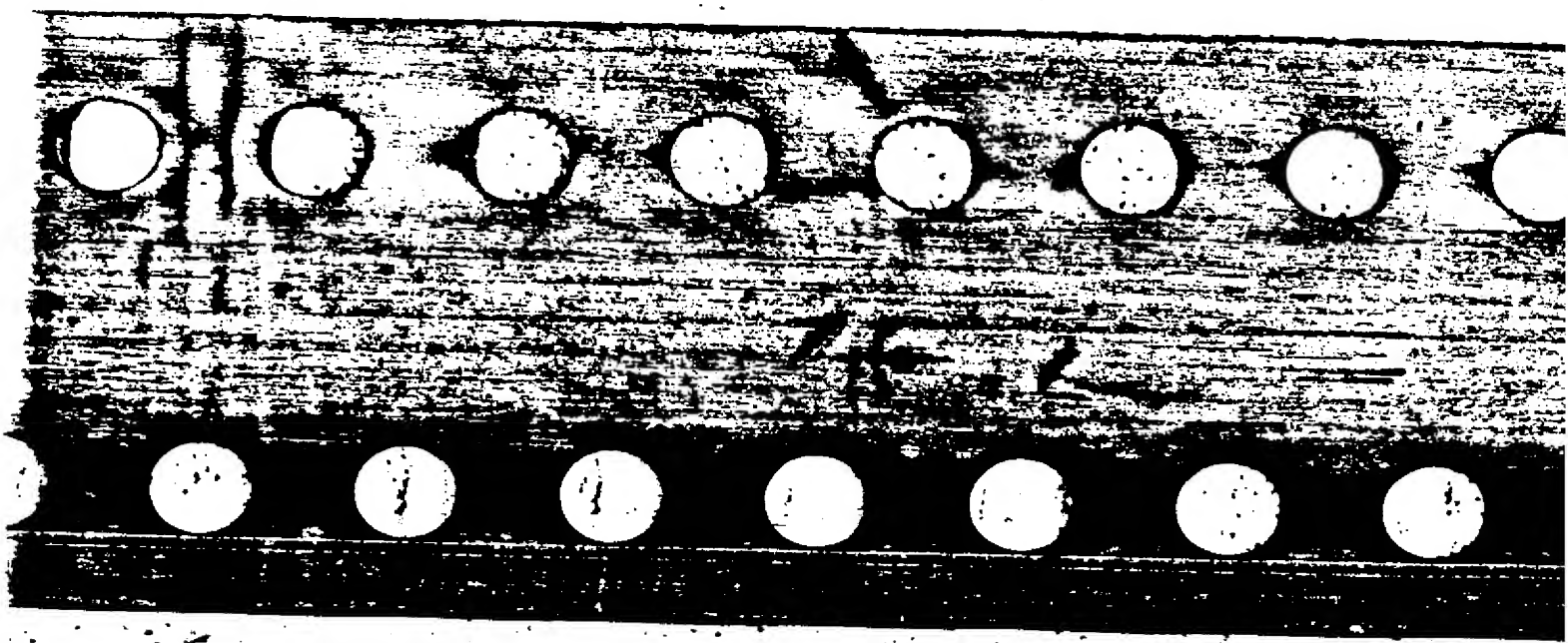
b7c

COPIES DESTROYED

5 JUL 27 1973

100-[illegible]-0


INCLOSURE
No. 49949
FROM
Department of Justice



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

FORM NO. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT CHICAGO

REPORT MADE AT	DATE WHEN MADE	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE	REPORT MADE BY
MIAMI	10/29/53	6/12,16,29; 7/21; 9/11,15, 17,21,24,25,30; 10/22,23/53	b7C [redacted]
TITLE: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE			CHARACTER OF CASE: INTERNAL SECURITY - X

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

America First Committee purportedly active, Palm Beach and West Palm Beach, Florida, area during June and July of 1953 [redacted] Investigation indicates individual participation with others, but no evidence of an actual organization developed. b7C

DETAILS: [redacted] - RUC -

On July 24, 1953, [redacted] b7C b7D b7E

[redacted]

1-Group 1 11/22/66 by [redacted]

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES

COPIES OF THIS REPORT

COPY IN FILE

100-4212-239

CONTINUED - OVER

RECORDED - 87

INDEXED - 87

37 NOV 3 [redacted]

b7C

6-Bureau (RM)
3-Chicago (RM)
-Baltimore (Info)(RM)
-Washington Field(Info)(RM)
Cleveland (Info)(RM)
~~Mi (100-508)~~

THIS CONFIDENTIAL REPORT AND ITS CONTENTS ARE LOANED TO YOU BY [redacted] AND ARE NOT TO BE DISTRIBUTED OUTSIDE

5 NOV 19 1953

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE 16—80256-3

2.

3.

4.

5.

b7D

It is to be noted that information concerning the distribution of pamphlets addressed to the "Dear Citizens of the Palm Beaches", and signed by the America First Committee

was first reported to the Resident Agency Office of West Palm Beach, Florida, by [redacted]

[redacted] furnished information concerning [redacted]

[redacted] further states that [redacted]

b7C
b7D

[redacted], who has allegedly disseminated America First leaflets [redacted] in Palm Beach, Florida.

[redacted]

Based on the information as set forth above, the following investigation was initiated:

AT PALM BEACH AND WEST PALM BEACH, FLORIDA:

As previously indicated, on July 12, 1953, [redacted], reported that

b7C
b7D

[redacted]

[redacted]

b2
b7C
b7D

The Miami Herald, Palm Beach edition, dated July 31, 1953, contained an article captioned "CLOSE Sees Downfall of Republic". This article sets forth that CLOSE appeared as a speaker before the Boynton Beach, Florida, Rotary Club, in which CLOSE spoke, saying that there was little hope for salvaging of the western democracy, claiming a trend towards Socialism and Dictatorship, and the ultimate downfall of the two-party political system in America, and the infiltration of Communism into the United States. CLOSE included in his speech a tirade against Bishop G. BROMLEY OXNAM, and was generally critical of the administration policy with respect to the Korean truce.

[redacted], of unknown reliability, advised the following information which relates to this matter

[redacted]

b7C
b7D

[redacted]

b2,
b7C
b7D

[redacted]

First Committee here in the Palm Beaches and that J. M. BOEHM was reportedly the President of this same organization. According to the informant, GEORGE DEATHERAGE is also a leader

in the America First Movement. However, activity with respect to the America First Committee, at present, is not active

[redacted]

The Mobile Office, by communication dated October 6, 1953, advised that [redacted] Secretary of State Office, Tallahassee, Florida, had made a careful check of the corporation records in her office on October 2, 1953, and advised that there was no record reflecting that the America First Committee, or any organization having a similar name, had been incorporated in the State of Florida.

b7C
b7D

A summary of information developed during this investigation concerning the following named individuals reported active in the America First movement is as follows:

UPTON CLOSE, 613 South Lakeside Drive, Lake Worth, Florida, commentator, news analyst, editor of the Washington newsletter captioned "Closer Up", reportedly leader of America First Committee in the Palm Beaches. Logical sources of information unproductive.

[redacted]

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: November 4, 1953

FROM : SAC, MFO (100-6882)

SUBJECT: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
IS - C

[redacted] DATE 10-26-90 SP8Br/cac NB

Rerep of SA [redacted] Miami, October 29, 1953. b7C

It is noted that Page 5 of rerep reflects that one [redacted]

In the above connection it is noted that [redacted].

It is noted that in connection with the above-mentioned [redacted] rerep reflects that on July 12, 1953, [redacted] b7C b7D

The above is being furnished for information. MSC.

[redacted]

cc - Chicago (Info.) (RM)
Milwaukee (Info.) (RM)
Miami (100-508) (RM)

RECORDED-67 100-47124-54

INDEXED-67 NOV 5 1953

[redacted] b7C

6? NOV 13 1953

4-750 (Rev. 12-14-88)

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXX

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

3 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

☑ Deletions were made pursuant to the exemptions indicated below with no segregable material available for release to you.

Section 552		Section 552a
☐ (b)(1)	☐ (b)(7)(A)	☐ (d)(5)
☑ (b)(2)	☐ (b)(7)(B)	☐ (j)(2)
☐ (b)(3)	☑ (b)(7)(C)	☐ (k)(1)
_____	☑ (b)(7)(D)	☐ (k)(2)
_____	☐ (b)(7)(E)	☐ (k)(3)
_____	☐ (b)(7)(F)	☐ (k)(4)
☐ (b)(4)	☐ (b)(8)	☐ (k)(5)
☐ (b)(5)	☐ (b)(9)	☐ (k)(6)
☐ (b)(6)		☐ (k)(7)

☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.

☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.

☐ Documents originated with another Government agency(ies). These documents were referred to that agency(ies) for review and direct response to you.

_____ Pages contain information furnished by another Government agency(ies). You will be advised by the FBI as to the releasability of this information following our consultation with the other agency(ies).

_____ Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s): _____

_____

☐ For your information: _____

_____

☑ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

111-4712-539 sub 8-10

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXX

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
X DELETED PAGE(S) X
X NO DUPLICATION FEE X
X FOR THIS PAGE X
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

FBI/DOJ

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
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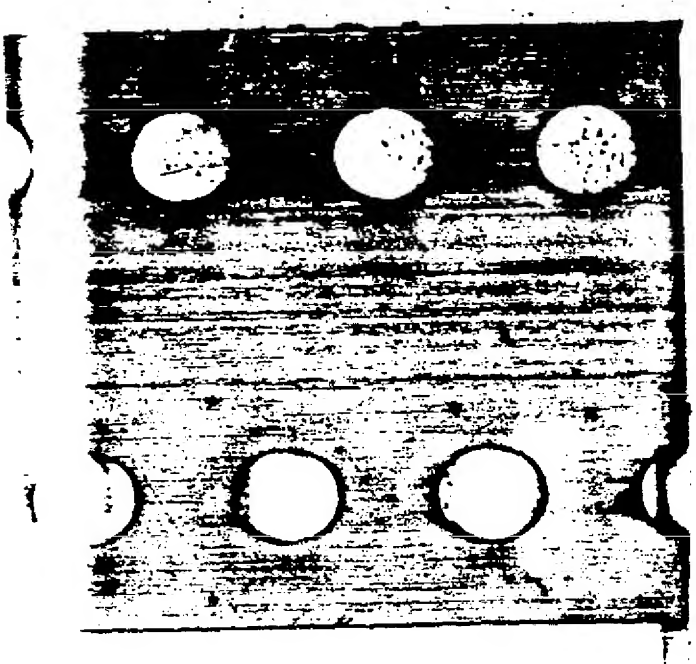

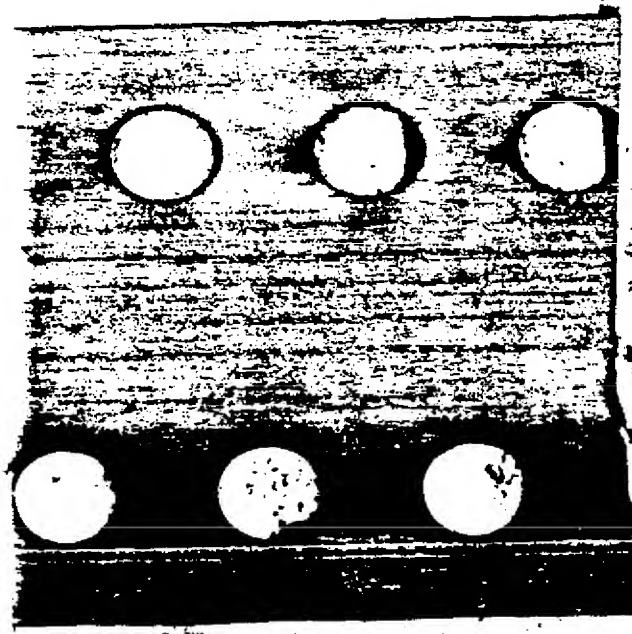

Bureau files indicate a Dr. Gregory Mason of Riverside, Conn., was one of the leading men in the Stamford, Conn., America First Committee in 1942. Other references indicate a Professor Gregory Mason, NY University, probably the same individual, was active in the America First Committee. The 3/16/44 "New York Post" carried an article in which was stated NY Univ. student publication protested alleged anti-British and anti-Administration remarks by Prof. Gregory Mason, Journalistic Dep (America First Committee was incorporated under Not-for-Profit Laws of Illinois 9/19/40, its purposes being outlined as to encourage and maintain in USA (1) peace and democratic ~~ideals~~, (2) a program of adequate defense, (3) a furtherance of peace on this continent, a policy of non-integration in affairs of other continents, (4) to encourage giving help to refugees and needy in other lands insofar as such help does not endanger the peace of the U.S. Its headquarters were in Chi, with approximately 750 local chapters and units. It generally directed its activities toward influencing public opinion in the U.S. in opposition to America's involvement in World War II. It was dissolved shortly after U.S. entered World War II.)

Dear Mr. Hoover: I think you'll get a laugh from this lovely gal decides to [illegible] the F.B.I. just before the "Catholic-Caviar Absolutists"start civil war in 1975 vs. "Free Americans", she ends up marrying into F.B.I. Best wishes,

Gregory Mason
Riverside, Conn.
6/15/56

"This is fine satire, entertaining but also provocative, learned and witty. More than this, Mr. Mason is saying things about American life and society that need to be said; and the comic surface hardly conceals the moralist and prophet."

—MAXWELL GEISMAR, noted critic, author *Writers in Crisis, The Last of the Provincials,* etc.

They're talking about . . .

Gregory Mason
Riverside, Conn.

the golden archer

A Satirical Novel of 1975

GREGORY MASON

$3.50

[illegible] PUBLISHERS, Inc.
[illegible] YORK

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318, 519

INDEXED - 64 100-47112 — 541
RECORDED - 64 16 JUL 8 1956

66 JUL 10 1956

"I was perfectly delighted . . . No, I don't mind anyone pointing out that Southern Calvinists need criticism along with Northern Irish Catholics. Best luck!"

—PAUL BLANSHARD, Author *American Freedom and Catholic Power, Communism, Democracy and Catholic Power, The Irish and Catholic Power,* etc.

"It's a most exciting kick. I trust the censors keep their pants on."

—ERIC TEMPLE BELL, Professor of Mathematics, California Institute of Technology, author many popular books on mathematics (and many science fiction novels under pen name John Taine).

"It is a bawdy and exciting contrivance . . . I wonder if I've really expressed the fun I had with THE GOLDEN ARCHER. It bristles with ideas."

—OSCAR CARGILL, author of *Intellectual America,* Chairman, Dept. of English, Wash. Sq. College, N.Y.U.

"I enjoyed your book no end . . .I agreed with your vision of the future, your perspicacity, your courage."

—HERBERT FAULKNER WEST, author, critic and Professor of Comparative Literature, Dartmouth College.

"Utterly stimulating . . . an extraordinarily well plotted book."

—EDMUND S. WHITMAN, author best-selling novel, *No Minor Vices, Guilty in the Tropics, Those Wild West Indies.* Public Relations Director, United Fruit Company.

"THE GOLDEN ARCHER is gorgeous! I am having no end of fun reading it."

—LUCIEN PRICE, author *Dialogues of Alfred North Whitehead,* and other books. Contributor of articles to literary magazines.

"The American people would do well to read it and read it."

—ALFRED MCCLUNG LEE, author *How To Understand Propaganda,* etc. Chairman, Dept. Sociology and Anthropology, Brooklyn College.

"I have enjoyed enormously your vivid, pungent novel."

—LAWRENCE S. KUBIE, M.D., Professor of Psychiatry, Yale University.

"I couldn't put it down . . .Delighted me from start to finish with its humor, suspense . . . and the honesty and truth it is filled with . . . The only thing to do is reread it and there are damned few books I can say that about."

—BENEDICT THIELEN, novelist whose short stories are frequently in *The New Yorker, Harper's, Atlantic* and in the O. Henry and O'Brien collections.

"What fun to read it! But much more than fun . . . the number of sacred cows skillfully punctured, of pompous pretensions deflated, is exhilarating."

—HENRY PRATT FAIRCHILD, sociologist and author.

"An uproarious reading adventure. Unquestionably creative thinking and a very funny satire."

—ISABEL CURRIER, author of the novel, *The Young and the Immortal*, and many magazine articles. Catholic journalist well known for her fearless exposure of bigotry.

"We've enjoyed THE GOLDEN ARCHER so much that we've initiated a fear-exorcising ceremony at breakfast."

—KENNETH N. STEWART, Professor of Journalism, Michigan University.

"I have never read anything like it . . . Whodunit, Satire, Racy Romance, Social Criticism and Analysis of Religion all in one . . . Sweet old ladies will not read it. Your approving audience is limited to (a) high I.Q's, (b) atheists and heretics, (c) libertarians, (d) readers with a taste for social satire, (e) people with insight into the motives behind the various witch-hunts."

—GEORGE B. VETTER, Associate Professor of Psychology, New York University, and Secretary, NYU Chapter, American Association of University Professors.

"It's a joy to read."

—Aaron Sussman, Sussman & Sugar, Inc., specialists in book advertising, New York.

"Highly imaginative, witty, instructive. Your flow of invention seems perfectly inexhaustible, and gives the book a wonderful vitality."

—Milton Crane, critic, author, formerly Professor of English, University of Chicago.

"I am deeply disturbed (with tongue in cheek) at your apparent efforts to weaken the moral fiber of our citizens. Also, it bothers me not a little (still with tongue in cheek) to see you link John Calvin and the Pope when anyone knows that only 'Catholics' are 'blind.'"

—O. R. Bontrager, Lecturer on General Semantics, Professor of Education, State Teachers College, California, Pa.

"It is such a whirlwind of a book . . . I love it."

Virginia Berresford, well-known artist.

"Seldom have I had so sustained and deep-seated a laugh as that produced by THE GOLDEN ARCHER."

—Karl J. Holtzknecht, Head, Department of English, Graduate School of Arts and Science, New York University.

"I read it with the greatest interest and amusement."

—Paul Lussheimer, M.D., Psychoanalyst and Lecturer.

Twayne Publishers, Inc.
31 Union Square West, New York 3
Gentlemen:

Please send me ..... copy/ies of Gregory Mason's The Golden Archer @ $3.50 per copy.

I enclose $..... in check or money order.

Name .....

Address .....

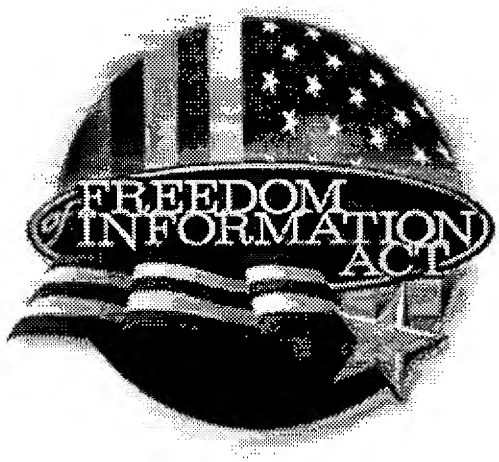
City & State .....

FREEDOM OF INFORMATION AND PRIVACY ACTS

SUBJECT: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

FILE NUMBER: 100-4712

PART: 13 OF 19



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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Roosevelt Can Be Sued For Kearny Dead! [See Page 2]

PUBLICITY

TRUTH LIGHT

"LET THE PEOPLE RULE" "DO RIGHT AND FEAR NO MAN"

Wichita Kansas

Does Roosevelt Violate U. S. Constitution

Some Lincoln Doctrine FDR Can't Twist

"The people of these United States are the rightful masters of both Congresses and Courts, not to overthrow the Constitution, but to OVERTHROW the men who PERVERT the Constitution."

Abraham Lincoln, at Cincinnati, O., September 17, '59.

VOLUME II PRICE FIVE CENTS Wichita, Sedgwick County, Kansas, Thursday, November 6, 1941 PRICE FIVE CENTS NUMBER 51

Trap Winchell In Another Lie

On his last Sunday evening broadcast Walter Winchell told those few who listen to their fish that William Dudley Pelley was in Jail in North Carolina.

From the issue of Monday November 3rd, of the Roll Call we point the true status of the Pelley matter. The following is the article that appeared under the headline, "Hope Ye The Tell"

[illegible] the letter seems to be coming in from official to official [illegible] but manner-bad,

Union Now!

Dear Old England, the supposedly Christian nation shipped tons of opium into China to dope up the poor Chinamen to break down their resistance—making it a very simple matter to take the control of their country—Is it possible that this same procedure is being used in America today—Our tobacco companies spend millions of dollers proclaiming the wonders that cigarettes will do for you particularly when you need that extra pick-up after a [illegible] days work or after a thrilling daring race or any event when you need a stimulant—The

A TIMELY WARNING

A Message [illegible] Association May 1941

"The Freedom Of The Seize"

Attention!

The National Legion of Mothers and Women of America are asking that all peace organizations and patriotic women write to the Radio Commission, Washington, D. C., and to the sponsors of products advertised over the three large Radio networks, telling them that the Mothers and Women of America will not buy products advertised over the three networks until free speech is returned to such patriotic American Citizens as Lindbergh, Wheeler and others.

By H. D. Kissinger

America for Americans, said Monroe. Asia for Asiatics, counters the Mikado and Europe for the Europeans, echoes the Fuehrer. This means Asiatic oil, for Asiatics and European oil for Europeans. But England demands the oil of the world for exploitation by Wall & Lombard, Bankers, who hold the Treasuries of Britain and the United States in the palm of their hands.

What they mean by the controversial phrase "freedom of the seas," is FREEDOM OF THE SIEZE," yet the Nudeal in the name of Democracy, are brazenly prepared to help England hog raw materials everywhere. In demanding prior rights in Europe and Asia, Germany and Japan are merely giving us a dose of the Monroe Doctrine. "Agressor Japan," must not partition China, but did not Japan warn us not to partition Mexico?

[illegible] D. R.

Senator Aiken, of Vermont,

which leaves him as practically the same ostrich as the cigarette smoker—So your opinion will be as good as Lord Northcliffe, who said the mentality of the American man was lower than the Chinaman—maybe he is right when you read that the American people consumed, in 1941, in nine months—128,681,966,000 cigarettes; 4,147,426,000 cigars; 284,-940,826 pounds of tobacco, 38,-626,740 pounds of snuff; and enough liquor, beer and gins to float our battleships.

On the surface it seems that America has give hogs doped to make it safe for the "UNION NOW" with England. For as you know that in most of our newspapers you will find a part of the British Aviators flying around in our beloved United States, all of the ex-Kings and Queens with their shells are being wined and dined in the Land and Lease Plan. So as Uncle Sam would say—"ARE YOU READY?"

Quality

Articles of timely interest were cancelled out this week on account of so many requests for reproduction of "A Thirsty Worm-fly" and "Grave Diggers Of Russia." Many new features will be added to our columns shortly—Paper you ought to know that others opposed passing to rock the nation. Watch for review of coming events next week.

I left my material body in the st[illegible] of the Bellaus Wood battlefield. In the new planes, we find ourselves in, the law of [illegible], however, reigns supreme and we go at will wherever the heart calls. It is therefore in an interlude of music between the spheres that I am returning to commune with you through the medium of a mortal mind. I have an important message for you as the twenty-fourth Armistice Day nears.

Across the gulf, our hearts reach out to you and to those youths who approach our years ago, twenty-four years ago. Th[illegible] stress of spirit, we sense these boys face the same peril, we did—only no one spoke for [illegible] Many of these boys are our own sons whom we have never seen.

On this Armistice Day, it all comes [illegible]ck to us as it must to you: the subtle molding of the public mind, the propaganda, and the gay-backs of the public platforms. You will recall how these vermin appeared on the [illegible] of propaganda, just before our departure on overseas transports. I hear the surge of [illegible]artial music, "And We Won't Come Back, 'Till It's Over, Over There" which of its own momentum almost propelled us across the waters. Our blood ran at fever heat. We, boys were ready and eager to offer any blood sacrifice to "Make the World Safe for Democracy." [illegible], THIS WAS THE WAY, the bloody platform in the key places of our government, had planned it when they determined to offer up youth as a blood sacrifice on the altar of [illegible]nal gold—we did not know. What dupes! we were. —And the slogans, I can [illegible] we can never forget them: "Fight this war to end all wars." "Keep the home fires burning" and "England is our first line trench."

Did some of those who returned [illegible] you that when we paraded in London, they called us "3-am'd Yanks" and hoodlums; "Why didn't you stay at home? This is not your fight." Do you know that even in the short time my comrades and I were in the trenches, the English Tommies spat in our direction, spat on us and would have nothing to do with us. I would not mention this painful incident, but that the same old dangers are being placed in your midst again by the identical mailing [illegible]tems:

"Make the World safe for the Four Freedoms." "England is our first line of defense." "England's fight is our fight." Surely, you will not be deceived again. If our supreme sacrifice and our mistakes have served to protect the boys today, then we who left materiality at the Meuse-Argonne, Belleau Wood, Chateau Thierry and St. Mihiel, did not do so in vain.

"Keep the Home." Do you know that the "Home" or rather the mothers of those "Home" noticed some of us in the Army of Occupation during our last illness and that from those good old German mothers, we had our first kind words, since we left you? "You do not cause of your own free will," said they, "neither did our sons go of their free will. We receive you not as an enemy, but in the place of the son, we lost."

Do you remember how you were told to "Send him away with a Smile" and many of you did, smiling bravely through your tears—and that was what the money changers in the key places of our government, calculated you would do. You should not have done this—instead you should have kept us laughing and living among you. Before you suffered us to be torn from your arms, had it come to that, you should have resisted steel with steel. You failed us then, but I command you, DO NOT FAIL OUR BOYS TODAY.

You sent us away to a short destruction, in Europe, or about a mile, we were killed those before we were sent into the front line trenches. Somewhere [illegible] whose Death was busily engaged [illegible] plunging his hands into our room.

We boys were not killed. We had never seen whole groups of men die at one time, much the less killed a man. At the training camps, it is true that we thrust our bayonets into bags filled with sand or into straw filled [illegible], but to plunge your bayonet into the living, warm body of a boy about your age, [illegible], who might have been your friend in another place and hour—is different—very [illegible] different.

I will never forget the cold dawn when we received orders to go—"Over the Top." —I had known for a certainty at Camp Funston that I was to die. Many of the boys had similar premonitions. I knew it as the troop train to New York and I felt it all the way over. —"Over the Top"!! Some of the boys went with a kind of bravado, some moved like frozen men and some of us shrieked and sobbed. I think I was one of them. I did not look back, but I am sure we were not far from the [illegible], when suddenly we felt it, more than twenty of us who were close together felt for—an all compelling presence, majestic and full of awe—and then it happened, a direct [illegible] hit. —In our new world of love, we know now that CHRIST IS PRESENT on every battlefield to help boys like us.

Again, I COMMAND YOU, do not fail our sons. The approaching Armistice Day, the gala Armistice Day that you will [illegible] with its gaudy trappings, martial music and accoutrements of war, will be used by [illegible] bloody plotters of yesteryear to hoot-toot you said in the interests of peace. Your ministers must preach the gospel of peace and I charge you to see to it that all Women's clubs, all Civic Clubs in your community promote the idea of peace. I want you to secure leaders of your great isolationist movement to address you and obtain Armistice Day speakers on the [illegible] who will plead for peace. I want you not only to pray but ACT in the interests of peace, DO NOT FAIL US AND OUR BOYS AGAIN.

I must now depart, but to you our [illegible] parents, our wives, our children and the sons, we never saw and to our relatives and friends, I wish to say; we have never forgotten you. We have never ceased loving you and in [illegible] constancy of our spirit's devotion, you will one day find understanding and [illegible] you will be waiting for you "In the land of our dreams, where the [illegible]

—Zella Bossen-Hon[illegible]

ly as well as presidentially responsible for the death of the lives lost on convoyed and open merchant ship sinkings. Here is Senator Aiken's viewpoint:

"The charge of Presidential responsibility was made by Senator Aiken (R., Vt.), during debate on the question of lifting the Neutrality Act's restrictions on shipping, and Barkley immediately cried that the accusation was "unfair."

Reading in a loud voice from a prepared statement, Aiken charged that President Roosevelt, "without the knowledge or consent of Congress," had given orders to the Navy to "hunt down and sink ships of another nation with which we are not legally at war."

This was done, Aiken said, despite the fact that Congress had been given assurances that the Navy would not engage in purveying.

Then Aiken cited the torpedoing of the destroyer Kearney, with the loss of eleven lives, and the sinking of the Reuben James

"Had the President of the United States and members of his Cabinet kept their promises," Aiken went on deliberately, "the [illegible] of the United States Navy [illegible] floor today."

Had Captain "Jimmie" Roosevelt or Captain Elliott Roosevelt been on the Kearney or the Reuben James and among the 126 men and crews, where would Senator Barkley lay the blame?

The Kentucky solon cried out again that President Roosevelt had more right to outline a defense around the Western Hemisphere than Hitler did to take a pencil and draw a line 1,600 miles out in the Atlantic.

Maybe so—but Hitler's pencilline drawings did not sink cargoes and murder convoys and shipping crews.

The mothers of the nation are being appealed to for slaughter or murder charges against the chief executive for violating the U. S. Constitution and for sending American men into forbidden warzones without an authority from Congress.

The U. S. supreme court last [illegible] the surgical knife. The AMA is Democratically inoculated.

land have escaped the totalitarian bag? Hitler is after the moneychangers to complete the work begun 2,000 years ago. The Jews may be the Chosen People of God —BUT THEY WILL NOT BE ENDOWED WITH THEIR PREROGATIVES AS SUCH until they use the chosen METHODS OF GOD. In fact God may be using Hitler as a rod to chastise His people for their disobedience.

If Hitler was base enough to accept a loan from Rothschild and put the head of his people back into the noose of gold, he could have peace tomorrow and be welcomed with the pomp of Picadilliy. But our "Dumb Clucks" would not understand the issue until a basket of lost sharks heads from over there would be dumped on the lawn at Hyde Park.

Eighty-five percent of the American people refuse to wreck their country in a war to uphold the freedom of the "seine." The Nudeal Administration is not the American Government on the question of war or peace for it does non reflect the will of the majority; the 85 percent opposed to entering war, constitute the American Government on this question and it is debatable if they are obligated to support executive orders like the lavesment of Iceland that are not sanctioned by Congress under the Constitution.

We need restoration of FREEDOM on AMERICAN SOIL—[illegible] doms to the Western Hemisphere in conformity with the traditions of Washington.

Notice!

To those who receive a copy of this publication and you have not personally subscribed—your name was probably sent to us by a friend who thought you'd like to become acquainted with its contents—it maybe just for one week or perhaps eight weeks or maybe for 6 months or a year one time mailing will be stamp sample copy—other lengths of time will be indicated by expiration date shown on your address label—we have no desire to force this publication on anyone and should you not desire to receive it please drop us a postal card stating you don't want it and give your name and address we immediately take your name off our mailing list—Thank you!

PUBLIC [illegible]

FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT CAN BE SUED FOR KEARNY DEAD

FROM THE ROLL-CALL, NOV. 3, 1941

"If you will figure across the United States this past week that when the destroyer Kearney was hit by a torpedo in the vicinity of Iceland, she was actually participating in a battle against an alleged "world-wide" of German submarines' threat on choking the British merchant-ships carrying unarmed supplies to embattled England. The destroyer Kearney is technically at peace with Germany. However, as the United States is technically at peace with Germany. However, as the result of being attacked by a submarine torpedo, eleven American seamen were killed by a submarine torpedo, eleven American seamen were killed by a submarine torpedo, eleven American seamen were killed

the Secretary of the Navy, the war-

have been wilfully murdered—murderers are usually charged with murder—Probably somehow they [illegible] and Knox and all responsible for the untimely deaths of these seamen, can't be prosecuted for Murder as well as being made to pay damages for their families—Millions of dollars paid to the families of these boys will only bring them back to their loved ones.

Even if these warrated murders are caught being tried for murder in this world—they will never dare stand the highest Judge and when they do they will pay the supreme penalty for all of these young men whom they have caused to give up their lives—for the sake of greed for gold.

PEOPLES' FORUM

Has Gone Far Enough

Spokane, Washington
October 20, 1941

Dear Editor:

I enclose money order for two dollars for which please send me "Publicity," for two years.

I read a copy about a friend let me have and I think that you are on the right track.

I hope that you will write about the Senators and Congressmen selling that they stand behind Hiram Johnson. The President has gone [illegible] far enough. He must be stopped—if impeachment is the only way when I say IMPEACH HIM.

I believe we should have minded our own business—either ship or all connected involved in war or [illegible].

We must get rid of the rif-raff in Washington, D. C.

Hope you will be able to carry on your work for many years. I remain yours for a clean government.

E. L. M.

Americans Awake

Lovington, Illinois
October 20, 1941

Dear Editor:

I am sending you one year's subscription to your paper and I only hope it will help wake up the American people and keep them out of that holocaust over there.

The war-mongers in this country are telling us if we don't get into the war now—we will have to fight alone.

Why do we have to fight England's battles and pay for war debts? We have always fought that it is mostly old men who are in favor of war—so that they can get any young girl they want—They make their money grafting in war materials—on the broken bones and torn flesh of our youth—If you don't believe it just look around you and see how many rich men and others not so rich—lots of professional men, have young girl wives.

The Methodist Youth Organization has a good idea and I hope they are victorious in their stand.

I wish the youth of every nation would refuse to leave their home land to fight on foreign soil, but be ready at all times to protect their country against any invader. If two rulers wanted to fight—let them fight a duel and the victorious one have to bury his victim.

If the time ever comes when the war-mongers will have to fight their own battles—then there will be no more wars.

Are the 90 per cent of the people going to let the terrible war-mongers drag our dear sons into the slaughter pens of Europe again?

After the world war, nearly every one who returned from Europe was disillusioned—Here in America—[illegible] that it be—No never again!

Now I am wondering if all these sayings were just mere sayings, or are we going to keep our word and see that the war-makers do not send our sons to any foreign country to die—mind you TO DIE not to visit the King or some high-hat—NO TO DIE! And for what—Well you know the answer.

The SPIRIT OF WAR, is the SPIRIT OF THE DEVIL!

PEACE is the SPIRIT OF CHRIST, OUR LORD.

The Spirit of Christ is for KINDNESS and JUSTICE to all—a constructive idea.

The Spirit of the Devil or War Spirit is Vindictiveness, it destroys everything good and kind in mankind.

Christian Americans! Who are we going to follow CHRIST or the DEVIL?

Very truly,
S. E. M.

Senator Pepper, the hot pad from Florida, still insists that $300,000,000,000 was cheap enough for OUR war over in Europe.

The President Says Religious Liberty Is As Free In Stalin's "Paradise" As It Is In The United States"

"Our Mother Russia Is Crucified On The Cross" Is The Caption Of A Russian Paper Over The Portrait Gallery Of Stalin's Co-Founders Of The Bolshevik Regime

The President told his press conference last week that religious liberty is as free in Russia as in the United States, and thereby baptized Stalin in the Christian religion in absentia.

Not [illegible] time has the President been so promptly and widely criticised for posing the mass murderer of Christian martyrs as the benevolent protector of religious freedom. Accordingly no time was lost at the White House to issue an amended statement of what he said—a statement that has sunk deep into the *Christian conscience* of America as a specious attempt to whitewash the Red Butcher of the Kremlin in order to reconcile the people to the Administration's war policy.

The reception has been one to stir the Christian element to assail the *White House with indignant protests for his statement, which his apologists are now seeking to soften by saying that the Soviet Constitution provides* for religious liberty, a far-fetched excuse that has not blinded the Very Reverend Harry C. Graham, among a score of other churchmen. Father Graham is the national director of the Holy Name Societies in the United States. He sent to President Roosevelt a telegram that said:

"As national director of the Holy Name Society, with a membership of 3,000,000 American citizens, I respectfully remind you that *no religious toleration* has ever existed in practice in the Soviet Union since 1917, notwithstanding Articles 124 and 125 of the Soviet Constitution.

"By your comparison of the American Constitution and the Soviet Constitution on the question of religious toleration, intelligent American *citizens of all creeds* are today pondering the possibility in the near future of the presence of articles on religious toleration in our country without permission of their practical applications."

We herewith present the readers with a gallery of the portraits of the delectable consortium who, with Stalin, founded the Soviet Republic. The portraits are *copied* from a Russian paper which headed the gallery with these top lines: "Evil Faces of the Grave Diggers of Russia—Our Mother Russia Crucified on the Cross—Those who Rule Russia are Internationalists—During the Last Eighteen Years all Russian Orthodox and Catholic Chur-

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Los Angeles Notes

BY ELLIS O. JONES, FOUNDER NATIONAL COPPERHEADS

The "Isaacson Roosevelt" campaign is certainly gaining tremendous headway in this section. More and more people are joining and discussing it more and more aggressively and hospitably. May does this come as much from organizations' home as from the rank and file of people who want to "do something." Petitions are being passed at all meetings, petitioning to Senators and Congressmen [illegible] how many millions of praise for PUBLICITY'S fine work and the hope expressed that the paper will continue vigorously along the line it has already mapped out.

The one shining exception among the organizations here is the Friends of Progress, directed by Robert Noble. To further the movement they have arranged a mock impeachment trial to be held in the big Embassy Auditorium, in downtown Los Angeles, Saturday evening, November 15. This will undoubtedly be worth making a special effort to attend.

oo

While the impeachment sentiment is growing like the proverbial snowball rolling down hill, the "March on Washington" which certainly has a lot of merit fails to arouse much enthusiasm here. Many reasons could be cited for this, but perhaps the chief reason is that we are so remote from that citadel of corruption which we call our capital city. Marching on Washington must necessarily look quite different to the mothers of Los Angeles than to the mothers of Baltimore or Philadelphia. Another reason for the lack of enthusiasm in this section is that his guidance has not been in

So you don't like, Interview, Nazism, eh? Well, now, that's

you like the American way, a group of peace-loving states cooperating in peace and harmony? How can you love the United States of America if you oppose the United States of Europe?

oo

Or don't you like Hitler because he is consistently and tirelessly working for his whole people instead of a little cosmopolitan group of parasites who believe that they are better than the general run of people and who operate on the theory that the masses were created to be cheated and enslaved, who extend their greatest plaudits to the pacifistic and the politician who can utter the most plausible lies and steal the most money from the public treasury.

oo

Or don't you like the Nazis because you have been told that they "persecute" the Jews? Well, the Jews have been "persecuted" throughout the ages. Why? That is a question the Jews don't like to answer in detail. The Jews are a nation, or a race or a religious group who are schooled to hold themselves aloof from other nations and races and religions—a great incongruous stinking mass of unassimilables. In being educated from the cradle for this racial role, they are taught to be greedy, to be two-faced, to lie to each other, yes, but to combine in greater lies to those who stand outside the Jewish pale. The Jews have always been a problem wherever their numbers have been substantial. In Germany, the problem was especially critical because the international bankers, chiefly Jews, conspired to make it so. So far as the records show, Germany's present government [illegible] first to try to settle the Jewish problem in some kind of scientific manner instead of al-

"US AND OTHERS"

[A LAYMAN'S SERIES OF SERMONS ON THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE JEW & GENTILE.]

● By Lieut.-Gen., Count V. Cherep-Spiridovich ●

Author's Note: If you, dear reader, are a pure Aryan-American and believe that only true Americans should govern the United States of America, instead of the present Mongolian-Jew World Government, then you can do your bit by purchasing as many copies of this newspaper, as may be convenient, and mail same to other pure-blooded Americans with instructions to do likewise. Forge unbreakable liberty chains in this fight against Jewish Economic Enslavement, so that every American may know the truth and thus think and act for Freedom.

SERMON NO. TWENTY-EIGHT

THE MASTERS OF LYING

In his book: "The Religion inside the Borders of mere Common sense," Kant explains the remanence of Jewry by this one sentence:

"As there cannot be imagined any religion without a belief in a future life, Jewry as such, taken in its purity, does not contain any religious belief."

The individual Jew, Kant does not deprive of a certain feeling of immortality, but this he certainly would have done, had he clearly recognized from their incomparably uniform character, without exception, that into every Jew's life there does not exist the slightest notion or feeling of that, which we Christians call Soul. Consequently, the Jew is not in a sufficient high state of spiritual development to conceive the thought of another world—hereafter, immortality. In short, the Jew's brain and mind are not able to renounce all physical or bodily matter.

Kant also failed to notice the obvious intention with which even the slightest illusion to a future life has been avoided in the Old Testament, a fact also stated Schopenhauer.

This important commission is well grounded in reason—not perhaps in the political plans of the Je[illegible] but just in the Jewish [illegible] being soulless. Therefore the Jew, Otto [illegible] smallest and meanest little Jew, who would not show decided endeavours, viz: egoistic, timely, monetary ones."

Schopenhauer says:

"On the whole, the essential of a religion (considered as such) in the conception it gives us, that our proper existence is not restricted to this life upon earth but infinite. This conviction is not given by this wretched Jewish Religion; it does not even intend to give it.

It is highly regrettable, that Jewry has become the foundation of all religions in Europe, as it is a religion without any metaphysical tendency.

Also we see from the two cited Roman classics (Tacitus and Justinian) the Jews were strongly detested at all times by all peoples, and also despised; this may partly originate from the fact that they were the only nation upon earth which did not allow existence over and but this life to anybody—and which therefore considered to be animals, was [illegible] of mankind and masters of lying."

Another witness, Voltaire can least be challenged by the Jews, as they love to quote him even today as the vanguard of enlightenment (of course, only where it suits the Jew.) In his "Notices to Pascal's Thoughts," he writes:

"Here is not more the question of the [illegible] holiness of the Christian religion, but of the immortality of the Soul, which is the foundation of all known religion, except alone the Jewish one. I repeat the Jewish one, because this dogma is not pronounced in any place of the Pentateuch, the document of the Jewish Law, so no Jewish author has been able to find a quotation in same, that could indicate such a dogma. It is not sufficient for the recognition of the existence of this very important and fundamental doctrine to pre-suppose it simple, or to attach such a meaning to a few words by forcing their natural sense; this doctrine must be pronounced in the most positive and clearest manner."

All other witnesses, of which there [illegible] amongst whom [illegible] many Jews who could be quoted may be disregarded because of the Prophecy, which

Do steal and mystify
Are murderers and thieves . . ."

The stress is upon the second line: "Do feign and do lie."

They are masters of lying.

The Jew must lie, he must lie over and over again; every moment he must lie; he is the living lie himself, because he should die, if he was but a grain less than the Lie. No people in the world would permit him another day of life, if they saw clearly what the Jew really is and what he really pretends to be, with a furious yell they would have strangled him the very next moment.

And thus the Jew must go on lying, and thus he lies and lies, and meddles and muddles, distorts and confuses; to lead people astray he starts daily abuses; he [illegible] on the people, which he literally betrays; and here he is American, in England he is English, and French he is there; each Gentile Nation he will always forswear; while buttering the throne of every empire he incites the rabble to set them on fire; to the hard working man's need he pledges good pay, but with sneers he debases their bread every day; for want of a heart his refusal is bold, yet his palms are bursting with mountains of gold; he excites the masses with anarchial shouts; but he vanishes quickly when danger's about; he lies by mouth and in type, where he has been, revolution's ripe; and can never be caught.

He can never be caught, because in each moment—if you think you just got him—he has ready to hand some "sworn evidence" to the exact contrary of that, for which you deluded yourself to have caught him red handed. He has never one meaning, he is always double dealing, nay hundredfold dealing. He is the "mysterious East" living amongst us.

Heinrich Heine again writes in his "CONFESSIONS:"

"One believes to know the Jews, because their beards have been seen; but in fact nothing has been observed but their beards. On the other hand, they were [illegible]

A [illegible]

If a Jew is told: "Look here, those

followed the old method of skillfully severing a sheltered retreat with the one and only intention to palm off on us under-rogue as much pruzic acid as he could. But so do all big and small Jews in all big and small things.

Thus it is self-evident, why, in the Old Testament, in Talmud, in Schulchan Aruch, and wherever it may else appear, amongst this unspeakable baseness something really good and beautiful. This duality cannot be explained except thru knowledge of the insidiousness of the [illegible] in the Jewish Race.

Proteus, Loka, Mephisto, the Great Bjoeg; one and always the same lightning change artist; the master of lying, the Jew. Now the houndish way of the poodle, now the simple minded face of the [illegible] now [illegible] sailing Faust mendaciously playing the scholar (the Jew as professor) now as the guide with winking eyes, now as the officious minion of the emperor, feeding him up with money; now this and now that, and always one and forever the same, the Jew.

As soon as he dare to attempt, the Jew swells up:

"If you want to share the room,
Poodle, stop that yelping!
Stop your bark!
Such a disturbing fellow
I cannot stand near me.
One of us two
Must leave the room.
I hate to suspend hospitality;
The door is open, you may run free!
But what do I see?
Can that happen naturally?
Is it a shadow, reality?
My poodle does grow long and broad,
He rises powerfully,
That is not a dog's figure more)
What a ghost did I bring home.
Already he looks a hippopotamus,
With fiery eyes, with terrible teeth."

Nobody else but the Jew, Otto Weininger, points out, that Faust's poodle starts barking in that same moment when [illegible] begins to read the gospel. If he had read the Old Testament, most likely the well trained poodle would have

you don't like Adolf Hitler because he came up the hard way, was once a private and a corporal and so on instead of being born with a silver spoon in his mouth? That is, do you take the same contemptuous view of him as the decadent British aristocrats whose entitled policy is to start at the top and work down, whose standard of deference is the unreasonable and arbitrary one of whether you were born before your brother or vice versa? If that is your idea, the sarcasm the well-written Algernon Lincoln, right off your list of poignant jeers.

Or don't you like it because he is creating a United States of Europe out of a conglomerate of petty principalities, a dozen of them statesmen, throughout the centuries, and in process of crushing many thousands of militarists and corrupt politicians living on parasites of their toiling people? That dream of the United States of Europe has been deliberately and systematically thwarted there all these warring decades by the British Empire. Is the open of the British democracy-wrecker, that is perhaps Hitler's chief crime. Do you feel the same way about it, Fellow American, or are you one of the victims of the tentacles of the vicious British propaganda octopus? That is, don't you like Hitler because he came up the hard way, was once a private and a corporal and so on instead of being born with a silver spoon in his mouth? That is, do you take the same contemptuous view of him as the decadent British aristocrats whose entitled policy is to start at the top and work down, whose standard of deference is the unreasonable and arbitrary one of whether you were born before your brother or vice versa? If that is your idea, the sarcasm the well-written Algernon Lincoln, right off your list of poignant jeers.

oo

Or don't you like Hitler because he doesn't organize the Maharajah of Hyde Park every time he wants to make a decision in line with the normal development of the German nation? Is it because you share Roosevelt's pretended hysteria over the danger of attack by this raw-headed-and-bloody-bones who is leading his people out of bondage to imperialism and internationalism? Or don't you like him on the broad general grounds that he is minding his own business and rather firmly insistent upon our minding ours?

oo

Come on, Fellow American, what is it about Hitler and Nazism that you hate so much? Why not be specific? Why not act and think on the basis of facts and reason instead of on the basis of emotion and prejudice? If none of the above suggestions seemeth for your parts, why not write in and tell us? Maybe we can do something about it.

Jefferson And Lincoln

Occasionally a member of the "Young Democrat" organization casts reflection upon Publicity because this paper can fit to justly criticise the President Roosevelt's new deal war-time foreign policies.

Publicity was founded upon a Washington, Jefferson, Jackson and Bryan platform of principles—our Democratic ideas would readily embrace the honest Abe Lincoln standards as well.

Everyone of these pioneer statesmen believed in peace and economy in their broader sense—both of our attitudes upon these issues are covered by that great American document—the United States Constitution a document that is referred to by the so-called new deal chief executives as an issue of the hour and many days.

America for Americans is our slogan now and always. The American way of life was good enough for our fathers and mothers who blazed the way and pioneered in the by-gone days to make this country what it should be today.

Shrewd, manipulating political disruptionist have attempted and are still attempting to rule the nation in behalf of predatory interests, in manner not acceptable to Christian Americanism.

The U. S. Constitution provided for the maintainance of this government upon a basis that would allow every man, woman and child to equal rights with special privileges to none.

But the encroachment of Jewocracy into a peace-loving domain has proved a menace to real Americanism. Their rule or ruin policies have brought this once free nation into disrepute.

When our monetary system was turned over to International Finance, Inc., Jewocracy became our masters. Stringent enactments must be resorted to if America is to survive as an American nation.

Communism and Jewocracy go hand in hand and have no place in peace loving America.

Secretary of the navy, Knox, is often referred to as a "soft headed sap." As an "all out aid" to Russia he's just apeing Roosevelt.

Alf M. Landon, Kansas, was the first victim to be tendered the navy secretary job, but he was too "Foxy" to get his tail in a crack.

immortality is missing. Who has no soul, how could he ask for its immortality?" and he adds: "Anima naturaliter christiana, says Tertullian—'the Soul is naturally Christian.'"

With the following words Goethe completely draws the Jewish character:

"Energy is the reason of everything. Immediate purpose. None, not even the

shall get the riches of the Gentiles, and Heinrich Heine (late Chaim Buenkeburg) in his poodge "ALTER EGO" finishes [illegible] two sentences by saying:

"The Heaven we leave willingly
To angels and to sparrows. . . .

But another verse is called to mind:

"People without beliefs,
Do feign and do lie,

superior air, as though we missed the right appreciation, and he will instantly put his finger upon another place in Heine's, which assures us most touchingly of the straight opposite to our quotation.

Dumbfounded and crestfallen, we get away, quite bewildered, as the idea does not enter into us simpletons, that Heine

hair and really like an hippopotamus.

To incite first, and afterwards bark reproachfully, has always been the "poodle's Trait," and because of the whine and wail, our gullible Gentiles only see the nice, good, useful old poodle and repeat in chorus Wagner's words:

"A dog, when it has well been taught,
Has wise man's liking often caught."

IMPEACH THE JEW'S BIG LEADER NOW, as also most corrupt wars and revolutions too. Being now more than white Gentile-supervised and controlled over America. Where and how to begin—See details for ACTION, send 10c to Samuel Elder, Organizer, 1211 Main St., Jacksonville, Fla.

'I'M A COPPERHEAD' Lapel buttons, just out—Are very catchy. 10c each, 6 for 25c, 100 for $3.00. Address National Copperheads, Ella C. Jones, Founder, Box 5912, Main Station, Los Angeles, California. Please enclose this advertisement in letter.

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THESE FOUNDATIONS NEED ATTENTION TOO! Reboarding and Interfelite Resetting help to preserve the upper. No reconstruction job too small for us or none too large. And, to assure worldwide dependability, we use "Goodyear" Tools Method Only. Insist.

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"PILES"
[Hemorrhoids] "FISTULA"

"IT IS CRIMINAL TO SUFFER IN SILENCE"
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Pile sufferers often face the danger of loss of bowel control and other serious complications leading up to an expensive operation.

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We now have hundreds of satisfied users and many grateful letters to prove our statements. Testimonies with names and addresses will be furnished to interested persons. Avoid misery and suffering any longer—Order today. DELAY MAY PROVE FATAL. Remember!—Price is nothing compared to relief and results.

Gate City Research Laboratory
P. O. BOX 586 Dept. R-2 OMAHA, NEBRASKA

PUBLISHED EVERY THURSDAY
313 North Main Street, Wichita, Kansas

EDITOR

Entered as second-class matter November 21, 1935, at the postoffice at Wichita, Kansas, under the act of March 3, 1879.

Subscription $2.00 Per Year

FREEDOM OF PRESS ATTACKED

"The liberty that the Great Americans who founded this country established it to secure, of conscience and the pursuit of happiness for all who enrolled themselves as citizens today The Star Spangled Banner.

As editor, publisher and owner of this publication, I am not allowed to experience that freedom in my own person. "Publicity," though it had no connection, near or remote, with any foreign government, and has unswervingly advocated American doctrines as they were handed down through generations from Washington and Jefferson, is not free to enjoy its Constitutional rights without hindrance.

"Publicity" is now the victim of subtle, bureaucratic interference designed to undermine its existence for expressing opinions not rubber-stamped with the O. K. of every department of the administration.

The freedom of the press is still the law of the land. That principle was engrossed in the Constitution to protect men from being sent to jail for criticising the government.

The Roosevelt Administration cannot "take" criticism, and since it cannot suppress a non-conformist newspaper, so long as the freedom of the press is still the law of the land, its emissaries endeavor to circumvent the law by resorting to spiteful, malevolent underhand methods of undermining its ability to

"Publicity," voices the opinion of eighty per cent of the American people against our being dragged in-

evidently isn't very greatly interested with this self-named national g. o. p. leader.

* * *

The slogan of Defense for Democracy reads: "I pledge allegiance to the Flag of the United States of America, and to the Republic for which it stands." In step with the spirit of 1941!

* * *

The congressman who will seek re-election in 1942 and who is now tampering with a neutrality act revision, is just simply "monkeying with a buzz-saw" that is very much in motion. We are telling you, fellows—better be careful.

* * *

There's but ONE reason for the Jewocratic air-time correspondence refusing "America First Committee" speakers the broadcasting privileges accorded other political individuals. THEY ARE STRICKEN WITH "JITTERS" OF FEAR!

* * *

In President Roosevelt's broadcast today he claimed the 85% opposition to his foreign war policies as the "Misguided Few." When the "smoke of the battle" between right and wrong clears away these "FEW" will have routed the FOES of real Americanism.

* * *

Congressman Johns, of Wisconsin, told a Spokane, Washington America First audience recently that he has been receiving 600 to 700 letters daily DEMANDING the IMPEACHMENT of PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT and his CAMARILLA new deal government.

* * *

Attorney General Jay S. Parker, of Topeka, has launched 40 gambling and resort raids in and around Ft. Riley in the past ten days. Better have a care, General Parker—a bunch of those disciplined (?sic?) dames may take you for Hitler and GIVE YOU THE WORKS!

* * *

Loyal sons of American mothers are ready and willing to shoulder arms in HOME DEFENSE but they strenuously object to crossing 3000 miles of water to DIE on foreign soil or be torpedoed to the bottom of the briny ocean for shark bait. Real Americans feel the same way everywhere.

* * *

In this war-age the auto instructions read: "In case of emergency put on the brakes." The theory advocated by the New Deal war-mongers is: "In the case of a GREAT EMERGENCY—Open Up The Valves—appropriate another $10,000,000,000 FOR DEFENSE, or perhaps England, Russia or other communistic domains.

* * *

In order for the new dealers to be certain of controlling the British Isles and Russia in 1942 and 1944, BILLIONS of the American taxpayers cash is being poured into the tills of those blood-thirsty brutes. The Lend-Lease Bill (OBAY) will no doubt soon be adopted and Roosevelt regime—meaning OUR BILLIONS ARE GONE.

Abraham Lincoln Shultz, Topeka newspaper columnist lauds the 1935-9 western Kansas "dust-bowl" as now filled to overflowing with money-making products—that the people out there are clamoring for new automobiles, and diamond rings. The citizenship of that old "dusty district" out where the west begins and ends, is populated with God's noblemen and women, who have really earned and are fully entitled to the best of everything.

* * *

What a picture—President Roosevelt and "Windy" Willkie openly ENDORSED Fiorello La Guardia, (Republican,) in Tuesdays New York mayoralty campaign while Hon. James A. Farley, former National Democratic Chairman, lined up and endorsed the regular party nominee, Circuit Judge O'Dwyer. The chief reason, allegedly, that Roosevelt, Willkie and Dewey backed La Guardia is Jewocratically COMMUNISTIC. How far is Publicity off?

* * *

President Roosevelt in his 1940 third term pre-election campaign iterated and reiterated this solemn pledge to the mothers of American sons that if he was re-elected HE WOULD NOT FORCE their boys into any FOREIGN WAR. These trusting mothers BELIEVED the President was honest in making this PROMISE, and voted for him on November 4th, 1940. Publicity believes such pledges should be FULFILLED to the letter—or that a VIOLATOR of political promises of this sacred nature should voluntarily surrender his public office or be subjected to Impeachment without protest.

* * *

Irked by the MURDER—(nothing less)—of the sons of American mothers through the sinking of unauthorized and convoyed merchant ships and destroyers recently in the Atlantic the "Mothers of America" organization at Detroit appointed a delegation of their club members as a special reception committee to meet and greet Lord Halifax, English ambassador to America, who was billed for a speech in the Michigan state capital, on election day. These "Mothers of America" greeted the Johnny Bull representative with perfectly good cold storage hen fruit—and slogan-banners bearing these words: "Remember The Two Wars For Independence," were in evidence. They did a commendable act.

* * *

In his recent pre-election campaign Mayor LaGuardia of New York, charged his opponent, Judge Dwyer, of being financed by a Tamany Hall gang of Democrats. This, if true, is more to boast of than was the communistic and war-mongering endorsement of the mayor, though including endorsement of Roosevelt and Willkie. Even for a $25,000 a year job we'd hate to acknowledge that to be elected to a [illegible] term it would be necessary to court the support of Madam Perkins, a [illegible] ... citizens and that army of non-resident Jewocratic [illegible] recognized by new dealers as legitimate citizens for voting

First published Nov. 4, 1941
Last publication Nov. 20, 1941

STATE OF KANSAS } ss
SEDGWICK COUNTY }

IN THE PROBATE COURT OF SAID COUNTY AND STATE

In the Matter of the Estate of Arthur M. Douglass, Deceased. } No. 20464

Notice Of Hearing On Petition To Determine Heirs At Law And Descent Of Real Estate

The State of Kansas, to Hester B. Douglass, and all other persons interested:

You are each hereby notified that a petition has been filed in the Probate Court of said County and State by Hester B. Douglass, the owner of the real estate hereinafter described, praying for an order of the Court determining the heirs at law of said decedent and the descent of the following described real estate, situated in the County of Sedgwick, State of Kansas, to-wit:

North Half (N½) of Lot 134 and all of Lot 133, on Water Avenue in the Original Town, now City of Wichita, Sedgwick County Kansas,

and for a decree of court assigning the above described real property to the persons entitled thereto, pursuant to the law of intestate succession in force at the time of the decedent's death, to-wit: May 4, 1927; and you are hereby required to file your written defenses thereto on or before the 3rd day of December, 1941, at 10 o'clock a. m., of said date in said court, at which time and place said cause will be heard.

Should you fail therein, judgment or decree will be rendered in due course upon said petition.

Witness my hand in the City of Wichita, Sedgwick County, Kansas, this 5th day of November, 1941.

Hester B. Douglass, Petitioner.

By R. S. Elder, attorney for Petitioner
CLYDE M. HUDSON, Probate Judge.

First published Nov. 6, 1941
Last publication Nov. 20, 1941

IN THE DISTRICT COURT OF SEDGWICK COUNTY, KANSAS.
No. A-4065

Esther May Nadelanger, a single person, Plaintiff,
vs.
Allen H. Funk and —— Funk, her husband, whose first names is to the plaintiff unknown; Ephin H. Ayers and —— Ayers, her husband, whose first name is to the plaintiff unknown; J. W. Carney and —— Carney, his wife, whose first name is to the plaintiff unknown; the unknown heirs, executors, administrators, devisees, trustees and assigns, if any of the above named defendants; Cleo Hartle; the unknown heirs, executors, administrators, devisees, trustees and assigns of A. I. Hobbs, deceased, and the unknown heirs, administrators, executors, devisees, trustees and assigns of Belle Warner, deceased.

...has done so because it has put faith in ...ership of those favored gentlemen.

...are not alone in this lack of faith and in this ..., but the administration's bureaucrats do not dare ... Even with the Chicago Tribune for opposing ...administration's policies, as they are now doing ... this publication. They dare not require the ... to ponder reports of its intimate office affairs, ... which no publication is required to reveal, but which ... administration's jealousies exact of this newspa... and all the less powerful patriotic organs with the ... of small-minded petty official despots.

Help us fight these malevolent attacks. Help us to counteract the insidious invasion of the freedom of ... of the press. Help us to survive the machinations of ... Help us to preserve the sanctities of American Liberty. Send the entrenched enemies of American Liberty. Send ... contributions large or small (by Postoffice or Express Money Order only,) to R. J. Garner, Editor, 513 North Main Street, Wichita, Sedgwick County, Kansas. Thanks in advance for your continued loyalty.

Editorial

Open your eyes loyal American citizens and SEE for yourself WHERE WE ARE DRIFTING!

Vote for AMERICA First, Last and ALWAYS!

"Spend, spend, spend—Lend, lend, lend—Lose, lose, lose," is the all outstanding New Deal slogan.

From an Allen, Texas, subscriber comes this new anti-war phrase "Jew-Knighted Brass." Very good!

"Eat more and avoid INFLATION," says a newspaper headline. Why not DIET and INCREASE your WEIGHT. It would be just as consistent.

As we get it, when the "Union Now" is perfected between the British Isles and America Franklin D. Roosevelt will be crowned by Kings of the Jews.

"Maxe is a late Anti-war slogan (Chicago origin) that ... this meaning: "Christian Americans will not die to ... Judean Russia." They should NOT, but WILL they?

Senator Gerald B. Nye, of North Dakota, and Ex-Ambassador John P. Cudahay addressed a banner "America First Committee" Chapter in Philadelphia, Pa., last night.

... (Rep.,) Springfield, Missouri, classes "Windy" Willkie as a Fifth Columnist. Dewey ... the nomination here, and Vandenberg ... [illegible] ... the nominee who have been so ought-nuts about the cash ... would be repealed, behind the new ... The New Deal's ARE NOT ... for a ... vote.

The America First Committee throughout the nation ... plans on organizing local units to go on bat to each and every state and congressional district in an effort to defeat all up for re-election in 1942 who voted to repeal the neutrality act and therefore privilege President Roosevelt to convoy all "aid to England—and Russia," WITH OUR AMERICAN BOYS. More power to 'em.

While taking no part in the European inferno of HELL which WAR is defined as—Publicity does acquire Adolphus Hitler for TWO things—he and his army are fighting their own battles, PAYING their own bills AND if successful in Russia will have renovated the HOTTEST BED of COMMUNISM IN THE WHOLE WORLD (outside of Jew York, and that is covering a lot of territory.)

Senator Arthur Capper, of Kansas, takes an open stand that a repeal of the neutrality act means CERTAIN WAR! He is opposed to taking such a damnable chance. The arming of merchant ships and convoying the shipments, thus subjecting the lives of many innocent sons of American mothers to be sacrificed—a far greater sacrifice than FDR and Eleanor would ever think of submitting to.

The one lady member of U. S. senates, Washington, Mrs. Hattie Caraway, ArkanSAW, should have time and to spare for attending to her own household duties after the next election—she is for repealing the neutrality act and for arming merchant ships, which will subject HER OWN SON to a needless sacrifice—all as a new deal act to gratify the greed of JEWOCRACY. What a Sacrifice—WHAT A MOTHER!

One of the slogans in Philadelphia, Pa., for last Tuesday election, was: "Vote Republican and Save Democracy." This slogan was evidently based upon this point: "Should the Republicans lose it will show that the trend is distinctly toward further encroachment by the New D... This was the stand taken by the Suburban and Wayne Times, a publication that gave liberal space to the Philadelphia Chapter of the "America First Committee."

A Kansas subscriber sent in a $5.00 money order today with this admonition: "Give me credit on my Publicity subscription UNTIL THE JEWS ARE DEAD." While this good reader did not so designate, we feel certain that the JEWS he had reference to are the MONEY CHANGERS that Christ drove from the temple. Publicity cannot guarantee that this credit will ... get the worth of his remittance.

Premier MacKenzie King and the Empress, of Canada, were guests of President and Mrs. Roosevelt, at Hyde Park, New York, over the week end. The party attended services at that "little church 'round the corner," Sunday where they knelt at the altar and PRAYED FOR PEACE - says the news-story of their visit to the U. S., on this occasion. The reporter didn't go on to say that upon their return to the mansion of the host and hostess, the chiefs of these two warring nations went into a huddle to concoct plans to abolish the American neutrality act so as to privilege President Roosevelt to arm more merchant ships and subject more American convoys to the merciless slaughter of Hitler's brigands. Oh, what hypocrisy in the name of Newdealism.

The America First Committee meeting in New York Monday night addressed by Charles A. Lindbergh, John P. Cudahay, Senator Wheeler, Montana, and other Anti-War advocates, had an estimated audience of 32,000 within the spacious auditorium with a milling mass of more that 20,000 outside eager to get in hearing distance. This doesn't look like "FAREWELL TO LINDBERGH" as expressed by the The Jewish Veteran, (originator,) the Wichita Eagle and Beacon, along with other Jew-owned or controlled publications, nor of "court martialing and SHOOTING FOR TREASON," as would be his fate if left to Dr. H. O. Blanchett, of Wellington, just because Col. Lindbergh publicly named, in his opinion, the three chief causes for the present war status of this and other nations as "THE BRITISH, THE JEWISH AND THE ROOSEVELT ADMINISTRATION." What a PRICE TO PAY when free-born American citizens are denied the right of Free Speech and a Free Press to gratify the GREED OF JEWOCRACY.

The State of Kansas to the above named and undiscovered persons:

You and each of you are hereby notified that the plaintiff, Esther May Nollsinger, has filed her petition in the above entitled court in the above entitled action against each of you, and that you, each and all, must answer or plead to said petition on or before the 16th day of December, 1941, or all the allegations in said petition will be taken as true, and judgment will be given the plaintiff against each of you as prayed for in the petition, quieting her title in and to the following described property, and excluding each of you from all right, title, interest and estate in and to said property located in Sedgwick County, Kansas, to-wit:

West 140 feet of Lots 6 and 8 on Fourth Avenue, now St. Francis Avenue, in Duffenbaugh's Addition to the City of Wichita, Sedgwick County, Kansas; and

Lots 251, 260, 261 and 262 in Richmond's Second Addition to the City of Wichita Sedgwick County, Kansas and barring you and each of you from ever asserting any claims to said property. This judgment shall bind not only the defendant persons named in the caption hereof, but shall bind their unknown heirs, executors, administrators, trustees and assigns in the alternative as is authorized by law, and shall bind the unknown heirs, administrators, executors, trustees and assigns of A. I. Hobbs, deceased, and Belle Horner, deceased.

Esther May Nollsinger, Plaintiff

R. S. Elder, Attorney for Plaintiff

Attest: (SEAL)

L. D. LELAND, Clerk of the District Court of Sedgwick County, Kansas.

"God Give Us Men!"

WE ARYAN AMERICANS DEMAND—strong minds, great hearts, true faith and ready hands. Men whom the lust of office does not kill; Men whom the spoils of office cannot buy; Men who possess opinions and a will; Men who have honor; Men who will not lie; Men who can stand before a demagogue and damn his treacherous flatteries without winking! Big men, sun-crowned, who live above the fog in public duty and in private thinking. For while the rabble, with its thum-worn creeds, their large professions and their little deeds, mingle in selfish strife, lo! freedom weeps, wrong rules the land, and waiting justice sleeps. God give us men; men who serve not for selfish booty, but real men, courageous, who flinch not at duty; men of dependable character; men of sterling worth; then wrongs will be redressed, and right WILL RULE THE EARTH!

"GOD GIVE US MEN!"

FROM: Richard A. Moore
National Publicity Director
America First Committee
141 West Jackson Blvd.
Chicago, Illinois WABash 6996

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

A series of thirty "Neutrality Meetings" to be held within the next two weeks from coast to coast was announced today by R. Douglas Stuart Jr., National Director of the America First Committee.

In the most intensive campaign it has yet undertaken, America First has secured the services of several new spokesmen, notable among them being the Honorable John Cudahy, former Ambassador to Belgium.

Mr. Cudahy, who was in Brussels at the time of the German invasion, and who is the only American journalist to have interviewed Adolph Hitler since the war began, made his first address under America First auspices when he spoke with Senator Burton K. Wheeler in Boston on October 25th. His next appearance will be in Madison Square Garden, New York City, where he will join Colonel Charles A. Lindbergh, Senator Gerald P. Nye and Senator Wheeler. His other engagements include: Washington, D. C., November 4 and Philadelphia, November 5, with Senator Nye.

In its all-out campaign to fight repeal of the Neutrality Law, the Committee has also added to its speaking roster, Dr. Hyman Lischner, former President of the B'nai B'rith in San Diego, California; former Governor William H. "Alfalfa Bill" Murray of Oklahoma; the Most Reverend Raymond T. Wade, Methodist Bishop of Detroit; the Reverend James M. Gillis, Editor of The Catholic World; the Reverend Charles M. Houser, Congregationalist of Fort Wayne, Indiana; and Senator John A. Danaher of Connecticut, who will make his first address under the auspices of America First in Greenwich, Connecticut on October 30th.

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AD - 1 - Stuart

Former Governor Murray will undertake an extensive tour of the far West, filling engagements in Colorado and in California. Simultaneously, Congressman Joshua L. Johns of Wisconsin will start in the State of Washington on a tour of the West Coast, which will end in Los Angeles, November 4th. Former United States Senator Rush D. Holt of West Virginia will also undertake an extended Western tour, which will include some ten engagements during the first two weeks of November.

The schedule as announced today is as follows: October 28, Yakima, Wash., Congressman Joshua L. Johns; October 29, Seattle Wash., Congressman Johns; October 29, South Bend, Ind., former Congressman Samuel Pettengill of Indiana; October 29, Cleveland, Ohio, Reverend James M. Gillis and the Reverend Charles M. Houser; October 30, Greenwich, Conn., Senator John A. Danaher and Mrs. Robert A. Taft; October 30, New York, N. Y., Colonel Charles A. Lindbergh, Senator Burton K. Wheeler, Honorable John Cudahy and Senator Gerald P. Nye; October 30, Los Angeles, Calif., Congressman Johns; October 31, Los Angeles, Congressman Johns; November 1, Los Angeles, Calif., Congressman Johns; November 2, Los Angeles, Calif., Congressman Johns; November 3, Salida, Colorado, Honorable Wm. H. Murray; November 4, Los Angeles, Calif., Congressman Johns; November 4, Los Angeles, Calif., Congressmen Johns; November 4, Durango, Colorado, Honorable Wm. H. Murray; November 4, Washington, D. C. Honorable John Cudahy; November 5, Montrose, Colorado, Honorable Wm. H. Murray; November 5, Philadelphia, Pa., Senator Gerald P. Nye and Honorable John Cudahy; November 6, Elkhart, Ind., Dr. John A. O'Brien; November 6, Grand Junction, Colorado, Honorable Wm. H. Murray; November 7, Detroit, Mich., Methodist Bishop Raymond T. Wade; November 10, San Diego, Calif., Dr. Hyman Lischner; November 14, Oklahoma City, Okla., Honorable Wm. H. Murray.

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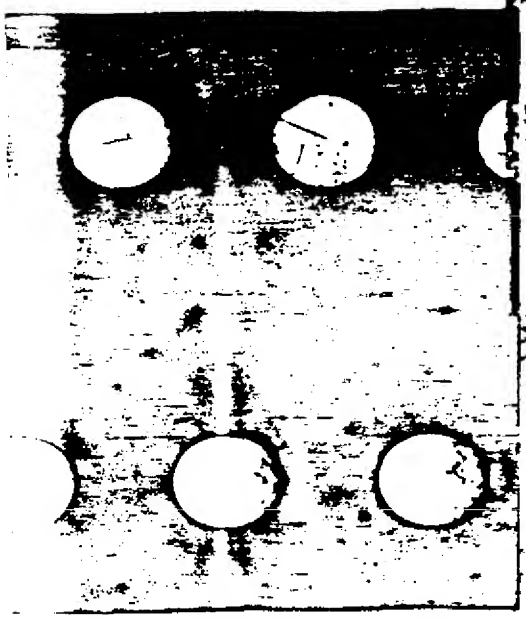

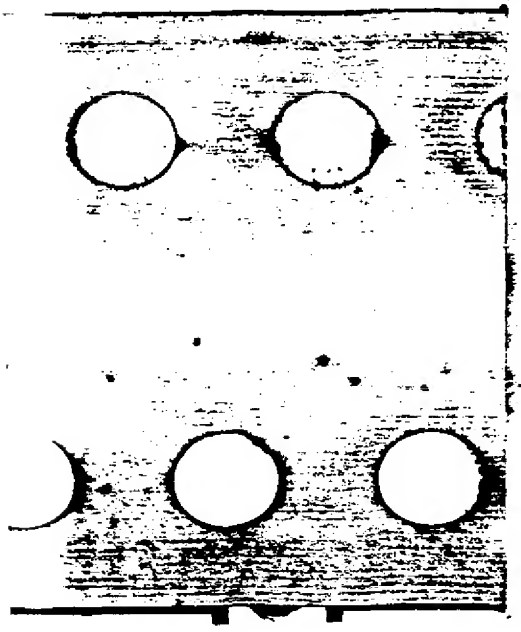

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We Are for Defense

Against

Dissipation of our resources for the benefit of our only enemy.

Aiding England to maintain her overlordship of hundreds of millions of serfs.

Against giving away billions of dollars worth of goods, including butter, meat, milk, eggs, and "boneless chicken" to foreign nations while millions of American children are ill fed, ill clad, ill housed.

Against the vicious discrimination that keeps millions of American youth in army camps for 2½ years.

WE ARE NOT AT WAR. CANADA IS.
THEY HAVE 4 MONTHS CONSCRIPTION.
OVERSEA SERVICE IS VOLUNTARY.

Hundreds of thousands of British subjects are in this country draft exempt. They take our American sons' jobs.

England has 50,000,000 men of draft age. Why does she want American boys slaughtered on the soil of three continents?

American boys are now in Iceland in violation of solemn pledges. Iceland is foreign soil, occupied by a nation at war.

We Are Also for Defense

AGAINST

the hysterical antics of the alien minded administration spokesmen fawning on British nobility.

True Americans need no advice or instruction from foreign agents.

WE, THE MOTHERS, MOBILIZE FOR AMERICA

37 W. VAN BUREN ST., CHICAGO, ILL.
Phone HARrison 1063

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Group 5.

...ri ... Brown-New York- Women United
...arie Randby- New York- Women United
...atherine B. Baldwin- New York- Defenders of the Constitution of U.S.A.

Clara Borguo- Mokena Ill.
Mrs Etta Russell- Decatur Ill.
Mrs Marie Brunicon- Waukegan, Ill.
Mrs. H. B. Roberts- Highland Park, Ill.
Mrs. D. Hammond- Highland Park, Ill.
Mrs. Johanna Lidicker- Highland Park, Ill.
Mrs. Ruth Cope- Highland Park, Ill.

Mrs. H. C. Olson- St. Paul, Minn.- Parents of America
Mrs. Lulu E. Avery- Minneapolis, Minn.- Mothers of Minn.
Mrs. ~~George~~ Kleinman- Minneapolis Minn.- Mothers of Minn.
MRS. IDA A. CONNALY - Rochester - " - MOTHERS OF MINN.
Mrs. Colletta O' Brien- Sewickley, Pa.

Mrs. A. L. Collins- Pittsburgh, Pen.- Mothers of the U. S. A.
Mrs. Marie Lohle- Pittsburgh, Pen. - Defenders of Geo. Washingtons Principle

Mrs. B. C. Schmid- Dubuque, Iowa- Constitutional Gov't Club
Emma Wacker- Garner, Iowa
Jane Wacker- Garner, Iowa
Mrs. H. P. Picke, Forest City- Iowa
Ruby Wacker- Garner, Iowa

Mrs. B. M. Knowles- Detroit, Mich.- American Mothers
Margaret Derling- Detroit, Mich. Mothers of the U.S.A.
Mrs. Rose Farber- Detroit, Mich. Mothers of the U. S. A.
Katherine M. Sutter- Flint, Mich. NeutralMothers
Mrs. Alice Marvin- Detroit, Mich. Mothers of the U.S.A.

Mrs. Minnie Fischer- Milwaukee, Wis.- Mothers Mobilizing against war
Mrs. R. E. Houseman- Milwaukee, Wis.- Mothers Mobilizing against War
Mrs.C. B. Becker- Milwaukee, Wis.- Mothers Mobilizing against War

Mrs. Edna L. Moriarty- Nat'l Peace Army Crusade- Los Angeles
Mrs. Phyllis G. Byran- Nat'l Peace Army Crusade- Los Angeles
Miss Laura Ingalls- Burbank, Calif.

Mrs. Frank Seidensticker- Service Mothers of America Inc.- Indianapolis, Ind
Mrs. Paul C. Carpenter- " "
Mrs. Minor Goulding- " "
Mrs. Alex Klark " "
Mrs. A. R. Young " "

Mrs. Phillip Monreal- United Mothers of America- Cleveland Heights, Ohio
Mrs. David Stanley- United Mothers of America- ~~Garfield Heights~~, Ohio Cleveland
Mrs. Ethel Groen- Mothers of Sons- Cinninatti, Ohio

Mrs. Ida Connolly - Women's National Committee - Rochester, Minn.

Mrs. N. V. Geib - 1826 - 79th Av., Elmwood Park, Ill.

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Confidential Washington News Letter
Lawrence Dennis

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AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE.

Southern California Division
Speaker's Bureau.

No. 149.

June 5, 1941.

Comp #242,942
264,350 9145 SPE/CL/CL
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IS FDR A WAR-WAGING FANATIC OR A SHREWD WAR-USING POLITICIAN?

We still incline to the theory that he is no fanatic but one of the world's three greatest living politicians and America's all-time greatest politician. The interventionists may have been taken for a ride. What a joke this will be on FDR'S Wall Street foes of the New Deal and friends of his recent foreign policy, after they have been ruined by war taxes, war regulation and a war economy, while Britian goes under and Hitler, Stalin, FDR and John L. Lewis go marching on. Classes about to be destroyed have usually been dumb in a similar way: the Bourbons in France, the Romanoffs in Russia.

IF OUR ANALYSIS OF FDR, BASED ON ACCUMULATING CIRCUMSTANTIAL EVIDENCE, IS CORRECT, EXPECT THE FOLLOWING:

1. America will not go in shooting, now or soon.
2. A negotiated peace this summer which will be the end of Britian as a great power and the beginning of the end of the British Empire and international finance capitolism.
3. FDR will, as a matter of face-saving, keep up a long range inter-hemisphere economic and talky-talky war to perpetuate:
   a. Unlimited spending---on pyramid building and circuses.
   b. Unlimited dictatorial powers. (We described it in a book called "The Coming American Fascism" written in 1935. FDR is putting it across by calling it the opposite and by saying that it is necessary to save the country from Fascism. If we had been interested in putting over Fascism, we should have misrepresented it too, realizing that deception of the public is the first secret of political success in a democracy.)

EVERY INDICATION SHOWS THAT BRITIAN IS THROUGH.

As we have insisted all along, Britian declared an offensive war she had no chance of waging or winning. We have been Britian's true friend, a true friend because a truthful friend. Those who have egged Britian oh to declare and wage what for her alone is an impossible war have not been friends of Britian.

THE HITLER PEACE OFFENSIVE.

The big quetion now is whether the British will make peace before or after they have been forced out of the Mediterranean.

For the Hitler peace offensive, Hitler's hole card is Stalin and Churchill's hole card is FDR. Stalin is rarin to go; FDR isn't. Stalin wants to go south against the British possessions and protectorates in Asia, including India. He has something to gain by fighting with the Axis. About the only easy pickings for the U. S. are the French possessions in the Americas: Martinique, Guadeloupe, French Guiana and the small island of St. Pierre off Canada. These possessions may be seized any day now by our marines with strong naval aid. Taking them would be no loss to Vichy or Berlin and no gain to Britain. Taking them would infuriate the French, especially the French in the fighting services. It would help Hitler far more than it would hurt France. Stalin's entry into the war with millions of Russian troops under German general staff strategic planning and coordination of supplies and transportation, on the other hand, would work havoc with the British. For where the Russians can strike hardest through Persia and Mosul, the British can muster little force on the defensive.

WHY HITLER NOW WANTS PEACE.

Hitler would prefer an instant end of the war to a long drawn out struggle in which he and Stalin emerged victorious over a devastated Europe and a vanquished British Empire. The reasons are simple: Germany is in a position to benefit more economically in an immediate peace allowing her to inaugurate the new order in a Europe not yet devastated than she possibly could as a co-victor with Russia in a ruined Europe. The reason relations are strained between Washington and Vichy is that Vichy does not want to do a Poland for the British cause. Those who want a five or ten year war of destruction of Europe to end Hitlerism are mostly domiciled outside the areas to be devastated for democracy.

HITLER'S PEACE TERMS IN A NUT SHELL. (We know them in some detail. See our next letter.)

Let Britain keep her fleet and most of her empire, but let her give up her main naval bases: Gilbraltar to Spain; Malta and Cyprus to Italy; Suez to an international consortium; the British West Indies to the United States; Singapore to Siam or French Indo-China. And so on.

HITLER'S CALCULATION.

Britain, without most of her key bases, cannot long maintain her present fleet. The British Empire in the new Axis world order is bound to fall apart. Hitler can make every concession, almost, to British face as long as he is allowed to keep what he and his allies now have and to consolidate the new order in Europe.

BARTER AND AUTARCHY MEAN THE END OF FINANCE CAPITOLISM AND OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE WHICH IS HELD TOGETHER BY MONEY.

THE UNITED STATES, LIKE RUSSIA, IS MADE FOR BARTER AND AUTARCHY.

The Editor has confidently predicted from the beginning of this war the inevitability of British failure and defeat. This is a

war British can't win and a war the United States can't lose. The economic changes now inevitable are necessarily fatal to British and necessarily advantageous to the United States which will be forced to create a new order in this hemisphere. The United States can intervene in Europe to save British and fail in such intervention without thereby losing the war. British lost the American Revolution but won the war in Europe. Why? Because British was then riding the wave of the future which was then capitolism and industrialism. Just as British is a sure loser so are the classes in America now clamoring for intervention the loudest, perticularly those in Wall Street. It's a case of "misery loves company." The reason both British and Wall Street are do omed is that the era of a private monopoly of the creation of money is over. This does not nesessarily mean the end of private property or all private enterprise. But it mans the end of private banking as a powerful and remunerative function. Our Wall Street bundlers for British and bunglers for themselves don't realize that thy would have been liquidated in 1933 but for the grace of Government. But our Government can't put the British Empire on the R. F. C. like our banks and on the dole like our farmers and unemployed, while, at the same time, financing the same relief for Latin America and a world-wide war against Germany, Russia, Japan, Italy, France, Spain et al.

CRETE AND THE MEDITERRANEAN SITUATION HAVE CONVERTED MOST MILITARY MEN IN WASHINGTON TO A RECOGNITION OF THE HOPELESSNESS OF THE BRITISH OUTLOOK.

Up to quite recently, believing such a view to be a patriotic duty, our War Plas Division of the Army General Staff and most of the vocal members of the General Staff tried to take a bullish view of the British chances. They talked nonsense about future land operations with the aid of Balkan and other allies. Such nonsense can no longer be talked even under White House pressure. And the White House pressure to talk it has recently been deminished. Colonel Bill Donovan, our recent meddler in the Balkans and White House military expert on the war, is now in the dog-house. General Embick, recently retired and known for his realistic views about the war situation, is now a frequent adviser on military questions. Our foreign service personel, diplomatic, consular, army and navy, and our foreign correspondents and observers, since the start of the war, have deemed it a patriotic duty to avoid the wicked Axis officials and to talk only with the British and refugees. Thus they have reported to this country only or mostly nonsense and the fruits of wishful thinking. Donovan's trip through the mid-east and the Balkans was a British conducted tour. On the basis of such reports and misinformation, the President and the State, War, and Navy Departments formed wholly erroneous views. For an officer of one of these departments to disagree and talk realism was to get himself branded as a fifth columnist.

Now President Roosevelt is seeing how he has been had by the interventionist-Frankfurter school. One of the President's virtues is that he can rise above principle. He has prejudices, preferences sympathies and antipathies but few abiding principles.

IS FDR SCUTTLING THE INTERVENTIONISTS LIKE HITLER AND STALIN HAVE SO OFTEN SCUTTLED SOME OF THEIR BACKERS? PRESENT SIGNS SAY HE IS.

A short time ago it looked like an early move on Dakar and the Mediterranean. The First Dibision was expected to leave Camp Devins en route for Porto Rico and points east. A big movement of the fleet from the Pacific was reported as imminent. Now there appear to be no signs of a major troop movement and most of the fleet is still in the Pacific.

FDR WAS GAME FOR DOING A WOODROW WILSON AT VERSAILLES BUT NOT A CHURCHILL, THE GREAT EVACUATOR, IN AN AMERICAN DUNKERQUE.

THE INTERVENTIONIST WAR MONGERS ARE OUT ON A LIMB, NOT FDR.

It is amusing to us to rad the current pleas of the interventionist press, columnists, pnblege professors and preachers for leadership by the President and action by the nation, action, of course, meaning shooting. If there is an early negotiated peace the interventionists are going to be on the spot. The President, with the power of the public purse and public regulation can't be embarassed, especially when the nation has been on relief for a decade---now relief is called defense and aid to Britain. Knox and Stimson may retire in a huff if they don't get their war, but the bureaucratic army who need their fortnightly pay check won't talk back to their chief. And the American people won't rise up and call him accursed for not sending their sons to fight and die overseas. There is only one way FDR can lose the war and that is to fight it a la Britin. All he has to do now is to increase his power and raise the spending ante. If he can't get more power by statute he can take it by proceedure.

MILITARY EXPERTS HAVE TOLD FDR THAT FOR AN INTER-HEMISPHERE WAR, WHICH FDR MAY FIND IT EXPEDIENT TO TALK AND WAGE ECONOMICALLY, THE BRITISH WILL BE A LIABILITY RATHER THAN AN ASSET.

If and when the British are driven out of the Mediterranean, even though they get all their fleet out safay, which is doubtful, the British thrown back on their little island will be a militmry and an economic liability rather than an asset to the United States should we be crazy enough to wage a ten or twenty years war against sin in all the continents outside the Americas. For such a war the British will be just so many mouths to feed, so many deficiencies to be supplied out of American production. For such a war the French, or any Continental nation which could provide us with an ample base for major troop debarkations, would be most useful,--- but not the poor British. The British would be merely a target for German attack and commerce raiding. Pretty soon most of our American ship yards will be occupied in reparing Britsh ships. Now we have over a hundred. This way we are certainly getting the British Navy. But the British Navy thus crippled and laid up here for repairs is curtailing our potential output of new ships for our own defense.

THE FACT IS, OUR DEFENSE PROGRAM IS DEFENSIVE ONLY IN TERMS OF A DIALECTIC WHICH HOLDS THAT THE DEFENSE OF BRITAIN IS

THE DEFENSE OF AMERICA AND THAT IF WE NEGLECT AMERICAN DEFENSE FOR BRITISH DEFENSE, WE ARE THEREBY BETTER DEFENDING AMERICA. The British power of attack is pretty nearly gone. Four major evacuations have demonstrated their power of defense. Yet, the interventionists say we must defend them so they can defend us. STRATEGICALLY, BRITAIN IS A LIABILITY FOR AMERICAN DEFENSE.

PSCHYCOLOGICALL WEAKNESSES OF THE ANGLO-AMERICAN WAR POLICY.

Politically, economically, militarily, FDR has nothing to fear. What he does have to fear is a too rapid debunking of the war illusions he has exploited. In the case of Churchill, a negotiated peace means his retirement to write and lecture on how it happened to a paying American clientele. But FDR has four years to go. During this time he needs Fascist powers and fabulous spending. For these methods he will need a myth to replace Britain and sea power, an ideology and a large corps of propagandists. For the first few months he can get away with the line that it is all for defense against, and the ultimate overthrow of, Hitlerism abroad. But this will peter out in short order as Hitler says to America, "Accept friendship and trade with our side of the world at your pleasure: decline them if you will; but if you do, it will be your loss in an economic way."

For the immediate present, the great weakness of the Anglo-American case vis-a-vis the French and Spanish is that our present policy offers no immediate or effective military action to end the war but indulges only in a nightmare of building enough bombers to reduce western Europe to a heap of ruins over a five or ten year period on the theory that burning down the house is worth while if it gets rid of the vermin.

Even Dorothy Thompson fails to develope enthusiasm over Eden's project of a post-war British run world.

THE ONLY CONSTRUCTIVE FORCES IN WASHINGTON ARE WORKING ON THE SETTING UP OF A TOTALITARIAN DICTATORSHIP HERE.

The men in Washington with most ideas of competance and relavancy to current problems are new dealers interested in getting more power for the government, more spending by the government and more security for themselves and others. The trouble is that their social philosophy does not fit this set-up as well as it does that of Nazi Germany. Their economics don't fit this set-up. The Army and Navy have no strong men like John L. Lewis and no intellects like those working on new deal projects. Against the constructive enterprises of the Axis for a United States of Europe, Mr. Roosevelt has mobilized three old men, HULL, KNOX, and STIMSON, no one of whom has the remotest idea of what it is all about. The Frankfurter school are competant, but unrealistic in their holy war aim. The Frankfurter school are good legal strategists. FDR has no military or industrial strategists and no plan either for conquering the world from the devil or for reorganizing it after it has been conquered by the angels. His problem now is that of keeping the war under his control as a tool for domestic policies. The danger for him is that in the post-war period the war.

spirit he has evoked and used successfully thus far may get out of his control and overthrow him. Those of the Frankfurter-Episcopalian-academic, social register interventionist schools are now telling FDR that if he does not go to war soon, the war spibit will throw him. War is a fine steed for a statesman to ride, but he must have somewhere to go with it. Roosevelt rides the war horse superbly. Only, unlike each of the Axis leaders, he has nowhere to go with it except back into the never-never land of Mr. Hull's dreams and the Wall Street men's dreams. The place the New Deal Idealists want to go is a Utopia to which no war ever leads. ONE THING IS SURE: THE BRITISH AND THE AMERICAN INTERVENTIONISTS ARE GOING TO LOSE. WHO WILL WIN IS LESS CLEAR.

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA DIVISION
SUITE 5 - 3142 WILSHIRE BOULEVARD
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA
FEderal 1168

#245238 4/29/85
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SENATE MAY VOTE PROPAGANDA QUIZ

by

George Rothwell Brown

Camp #342, 942
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Washington, July 16

Criticism of the American Congress by a war-mongering visiting member of the British Parliament may force out of a Senate committee, where it has been buried for months, a resolution by Senator Bennett Clark of Missouri calling for an investigation of all foreign propagandists in the United States.

Incensed by the criticisms of Congress by Colonel Josiah C. Wedgwood, labor member of the House of Commons, and by his intemperate and rude and derogatory language in a public interview in sneering reference to Senator Burton K. Wheeler of Montana, the Senate was in a mood today to force the Clark resolution out of committee and compel a sweeping investigation.

NYE HITS BRITON

"Colonel Wedgwood's reference to Congress as lacking in sense, and his impudent advice to Senator Wheeler to 'go soak his head', said Senator Gerald P. Nye of North Dakota today, "isconvincing evidence that the propaganda situation in this country must be investigated.

"When the Senate meets on Thursday, I propse to bring the entire Wedgwood incident again to the floor of the Senate and demand action on the Clark resolution.

"It is obvious that this country is fairly swarming with foreign propagandists, who are carrying on a deliberate campaign to prepare the minds of the American people for war and to break down their psychological resistance to the idea of war.

"It is time the Senate learned, and told the American people, just who these propagandists are, what they are doing, how they are abusing our hospitality, and who is financing them, and to what extent.

"The Clark resolution will bring all these facts into the light, and the Senate is entitled to have this investigation."

PLAN BOTTLED UP

The Clark resolution has been bottled up for months in the Senate committee of audit and control, as it is called.

This committee is one of the most powerful, though least known, in the Senate. It controls the contingent fund of the Senate from which committee investigations are financed. If the committee refuses to act, a proposed investigation can be completely blocked.

Until he left the Senate a few days ago, the chairman of this committee was Senator James F. Byrnes of South Carolina, the Roosevelt Administration's chief political fixer in the Senate. Mr. Byrnes for his services to the Administration, has been rewarded with an appointment to the Supreme Court.

The audit and control committee is now without a chairman, but the ranking Democrat is the acting chairman. He is Senator Millard E. Tydings of Maryland, who is entirely independent of New Deal pressure and influence. Thus, there is considerable hope that, now that Mr. Byrnes has left the Senate, a favorable report can be obtained on the Clark resolution and a Senatorial investigation.

This depends upon whether Senator Tyding, and Senator Tobey, of New Hampshire, the Republican member, vote in favor of the resolution.

Senator Wheeler said today he would join Senator Nye in an effort to bring the Clark resolution out. Senator Clark, author of the resolution, is absent from the city.

HOUSE MEMBERS IRATE

Colonel Wedgwood, whose intemperate language in interviews in Boston and New York, has been very damaging to the British cause in Washington, in Capitol opinion may have rendered a real service to America in bringing the propaganda menace into the open. The indignation over Wedgwood's remarks is strong at the House.

"This member of the British Parliament", said Representative Bender of Ohio, in a speech, "has the idea that we have already become a British colony. Maybe some Administration leaders have given him the idea.

"Although the American people are not aware of it, and although the Congress is not aware of it, is it true that we have already been taken over, lock, stock and barrel?

"I deplore the fact that a member of the British Parliament comes over here to this country for the purpose of telling the American Congress and the American people what to do and what not to do. I would suggest that the President send a note to Mr. Churchill and ask him to invite him back home.

URGES CONGRESS ACT

"Are we in the war? A member of the British Parliament seems to know more about it than we do. He says we are. Apparently the President of the United States is not being truthful with us. We are being maneuvered rapidly into a position in which there may be no possible alternative to war."

"I feel that the time is here," said Representative Keefe of Wisconsin, "when Congress ought to assert itself. Either we are going to war or we are not. Congress should have the right to here and now determine that question.

"If the Congress votes 'No', then these steps that are surreptitiously leading us into the war should stop and we should devote ourselves to the problem of providing for our common defense."

NOW IS THE TIME!!!

Write these Congressmen and let them know they have the people behind them.

Write to:

Senators Millard E. Tydings
Charles William Tobey
Bennett Clark
Gerald P. Nye

at the Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C.

Representatives George H. Bender
Frank Bateman Keefe

at the House Office Building
Washington, D.C.

WRITE THEM A LETTER !!! SEND THEM A TELEGRAM !!!

DO IT NOW

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AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

Southern California Division

Speaker's Bureau

TITLE: WINGS OVER MOSCOW

BY: Prepared by AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE RESEARCH BUREAU

VOLUME NO: 5

DATE: July 1, 1941

****

DID YOU KNOW

That a new and false bogey of invasion through Alaska has been invented in order to bolster the policy of aid to Soviet Russia?

- -

THE CLAIM

"Control of eastern Siberia by either Germany of Japan; directly or indirectly, would be a source of anxiety." (Columnist Ernest K. Lindley, Washington Post, July 2, 1941)

"A deal with Russia giving American fighting planes use of the strong Soviet air bases on the Siberian tundra opposite Alaska l l is being advocated by a number of influential defense strategists here, it was learned tonight."
(New York Herald Tribune, June 30, 1941)

THE ANSWER

"In the hysteria of the moment every area has suddenly become $vital' and 'invulnerable'; even Alaska, wilderness of pine and snow, total population of 75,000 people, without a good air target in the territory, has been represented by sources that should know better as highly vulnerable to air attack."
(Hanson W. Baldwin, "United We Stand," Page 114)

SIBERIA NEW BOOGEY

Acynical old adage has it that military men, if given the chance, would build bases on Mars to defend against against invasion from the Moon. The only thing wrong with this adage is that its scope is limited to military men; it should include our present-day interventionists. This week Hitler's invasion of the Soviet Union has given new impetus to the demand for bases on Mars - in this case, Siberia. The professed reason is that a Hitler

victory in the latest aggression may mean that the Luft wasse and the Reichswehr will face the U. S. from eastern Siberia, or it may mean that Japan, taking advantage of a weakened Soviet Union, will move into Siberia's Maritime provinces and Kamchatka peninsula. This is one of the justifications advanced for lease-lend aid to Soviet Russia.

THE INTERVENTIONISTS SOLUTION

In either case, the alarmists seem to expect an immediate invasion of North America via Alaska. Advance bases in Siberia, they say, constitute the only solution. Accordingly, they want a deal with the Soviet Union whereby the U. S. can take over the air bases on Siberia's East Cape, up behind narrow Bering Strait, and a number of air and submarine bases on the Bering Strait Sea which were constructed for the Soviet Union by Nazi engineers. Columnist Ernest K. Lindley, who frequently writes with semi-official sanction, has implied approval of such a move. (Washington Post, July 2, 1941)

INTERVENTIONIST ERRORS

Actually the alarmists are talking something close to nonsense. The danger they profess to see does not exist -- no mater who holds eastern Siberia. They are discounting the growing formidability of our Alaskan defenses; they are ignoring the strategic difficulty of an attack on Alaska and the strategic difficulty and expense of holding bases in Siberia.

ALASKAN DEFENSE PROBLEMS

The defense of Alaska falls into three strategic divisions; defense of the island-fringed Panhandle which extends south along the western border of Canada; defense of the Aleutian Islands which extend south and west like a necklace between the Bering Sea and the Pacific Ocean, and which flank the great circle route from Japan to the U. S. : defense of the mainland whose Seward Peninsula is only 60 miles across Bering Straight from Siberia. In the strait - a mile-and-a-half apart - lie the Soviet Union's Big Diomede Island with its airfield and weather station, and the U. S. held Little Diomede Island. ("Strategy of the Americas," by Fleming MacLiesh and Cushman Reynolds, pp. 67-71.)

THE PANHANDLE

In the frequently fog-bound Panhandle, whose southern tip is 625 miles north of Seattle, the Navy is developing an air base at Sitka, in the north (900 miles from Seattle) which will eventually service submarines too.

The Navy is developing other bases at Juneau and Ketchikan. The Army is developing and air base at Metalakatla.

THE ALEUTIAN ISLANDS

In the Aleutian Islands, the Navy has a large base under development on Kodiak Island near the mainland, and has another nearly completed at Dutch Harbor west of Kodiak on Unalaska Island, which is 2900 miles from Tokyo, 2700 miles north of Hawaii. On the other islands still farther west there are Navy "listening posts."

THE MAINLAND

On the mainland, the Army is enlarging its air base and military post at the port of Anchorage, on the south coast. Some 550 miles up the single Alaskan railroad from Anchorage the Army is building an important air base with a 10,000 foot runway for "flying fortresses" at Fairbanks, 1600 miles from the main northwestern air base at Spokane, where summer days are 24 hours long and winters are arctic. The Army is also building emergency landing fields on the frozen tundra of the north to supplement the main bases.

AIR BASES

In addition to the above, Pan American Airways has bases in the Panhandle, and the Civil Aeronautics Administration is co-operating in the development of emergency fields. What is needed to supplement these bases are some connecting air bases in western Canada which could be arranged for quite easily under the Canadian-American defense agreement. Some experts have thought that a 1 200 mile military road over which supplies could be trucked from Seattle to Fairbanks should be built through Canada. The real need for this is not so clear as the need for connecting air bases. However, the basic point is that from this network of bases (see any good map of Alaska) supplied by protected communication lines through the air or along the coast, U. S. submarines and surface raiders and Army and Navy bombers can immediately smash at any invasion attempt and bomb out any bridge head the enemy tries to establish.

ALASKA CAN'T BE INVADED

Regarding the invasion of Alaska, Hanson W. Baldwin, military expert for the New York Times, has the following to say in his recent book, "United We Stand" (pp.113-114):

"There has been much talk of 'the vulnerability of Alaska to invasion.' It is true that we cannot guard all Alaska's coast line against a landing; not all the king's horses and all the king's men could do that. But we could wish for no more ludicurous and fatal error

on the part of the enemy than a linding in Alaska. The inhospitable, rugged, and difficult country and the terrible cold would make the Russian difficulties in Finland and the Italian troubles in the mountains of Greece and Albania seem like child's play. Air bases could not be quickly or easily established there by an enemy; if they were, they could be far more easily reduced by our own forces. And if any enemy ever attempted an overland campaign, striking toward Seattle, he would leave behind him a trail bleached in bones, and, in the words of one officer, the soldiers who started would not reach Seattle. Their grandchildren might reach it, but they could not be an army."

THE SIBERIAN BASES

The Siberian bases are difficult to supply from the Soviet Union or from Japan. They are not reached by railroad, but only by ships and planes. From them no vital spot in North America could be bombed by any pl and in use today. At best, they could be used as bases from which to bomb our own outlying Alaskan bases. And we can always bases forces in Alaska sufficient to beat them. If Japan is the enemy, the industrial cities of the Island Empire would soon be within the reach of our new super-bombers - the B 19's.

July 22, 1941 #245238

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AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

Souther California Division

Speaker's Bureau

BULLETIN NO. 2: (Compiled from official Chicago Bulletins)

Significant of methods being employed to coerce the farmers into support of the war party is the letter below distributed by the Farm Security Administration.

Congressman Frank B. Keefe, Wisconsin, exposed this letter to the House of Representatives on June 17. (Congressional Record, June 17, 1941, page 5383)

CONGRESSMAN FRANK B. KEEFE, WISCONSIN --

..... THE ADMINISTRATION HAS LATELY SENT OUT AN S O S CALL TO GOVERNMENTAL AGENCIES ASKING THEM TO GO OUT INTO THE HIGHWAYS AND BYWAYS OF AMERICA AND SELL THE CAUSE OF PARTICIPATION OF THIS NATION IN THIS WAR. I HAVE BEFORE ME NOW ACTUAL PROOF OF THE FACT THAT THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE, AND ESPECIALLY THAT PORTION OF IT KNOWN AS THE FARM SECURITY ADMINISTRATION, IN A PUBLIC DOCUMENT CIRCULATED TO THEIR AGENTS THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY, HAS GIVEN DEFINITE PROOF OF THE STATEMENT WHICH I HAVE JUST MADE. LET ME READ THIS LETTER, IF YOU PLEASE, UNDER DATE OF MAY 7, 1941:

(CONFIDENTIAL: FOR ADMINISTRATIVE USE ONLY)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE,
FARM SECURITY ADMINISTRATION
May 7, 1941

To: All information advisors
From: John Fischer, Chief, Information Division
Subject: Special memorandum on national defense (No.8)

.....

AND MAY I SAY TO THE MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE THIS AFTERNOON THAT THERE IS NOTHING PHONEY ABOUT THIS LETTER. I HAVE HAD THIS LETTER CHECKED WITH THE FARM SECURITY ADMINISTRATION AND THEY ADMIT THAT IT WAS RELEASED BY THEM. I PRESENTED IT TO THE SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE THIS MORNING AT A CONFERENCE WHICH WE HAD WITH HIM, AND HE STATED THAT HE REGRETTED VERY MUCH THAT THIS LETTER HAD EVER BEEN SENT OUT. THIS IS WHAT THEY SAID:

"The Department has just received information that the British shipping situation is much more

serious than most Americans have realized. While the Department has the exact figures, we cannot pass them on to you for military reasons. In general, however, the situation is this:

(1) British ships are being sunk twice as fast as they can be replaced by the combined effort of British and American shipyards--and at the last report, the rate of loss was still rising.

(2) Tonnage being landed at British ports is less than half of what it was before the war.

(3) In the last month Britain has had to cut down on her imports of armaments from the United States in order to increase imports of food.

(4) The food situation of Britain is so as serious that foundation herds of livestock and poultry are being slaughtered. Department experts emphasize that these facts do not take immediate and positive measures to see that American food and war materials are delivered at British ports.

"What a British defeat would mean to this country should by this time be obvious to all of us. Many of the best-informed people in Washington predict an invasion of the Western Hemisphere within 90 to 120 days, if Britain is defeated."

CONGRESSMAN KEEFE --

GET THIS -- I WANT THIS FACT TO SINK IN --

"The department feels that the American people -- particularly the American farmers -- do not understand these facts, and that vigorous action of the type needed, cannot be taken until this lack of understanding is remedied."

CONGRESSMAN KEEFE --

BECAUSE WE MUST HAVE THIS VIGOROUS TYPE OF ACTION AND WE CANNOT GET IT BECAUSE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE DO NOT UNDERSTAND --

"For this reason, every agency in the Department has been asked to do all it can to get these facts before the people."

CONGRESSMAN KEEFE --

NOW, LISTEN TO THIS:

"We cannot issue formal press releases or radio speeches on the subject for two obvious reasons -- it is not the official job of the Department to discuss international affairs; and indiscriminate broadcasting of these facts might play into the hands of the appeasement propaganda groups.

"We are requested, however, to carry these facts by word of mouth to as many as possible of

our own officials and other key people in Agriculture such as Farm Security Administration committeemen, etc."

CONGRESSMAN KEEFE --

THERE IS A LETTER SENT OUT BY A RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT AGENCY WHICH CHARGES THAT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, AND ESPECIALLY THE FARMERS, ARE SO DUMB THAT THEY DO NOT UNDERSTAND AND CANNOT APPRECIATE WHAT THE SITUATION IS THAT IS CONFRONTING AMERICA AND, THEREFORE, THEY HAVE BEEN APATHETIC IN THEIR ATTITUDE TOWARD THE VIGOROUS STEPS WHICH IT IS NOW PROPOSED TO INITIATE TO CARRY OUT THIS WAR POLICY.

IT IS MY CONSIDERED OPINION FROM TALKS WITH THE FARM POPULATION THAT I REPRESENT THAT THEY ARE TOO SMART FOR THAT. DO NOT MAKE ANY MISTAKE, MR. SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE, OR THE MEMBERS OF THIS CONGRESS, DO NOT THINK THAT THE FARM PEOPLE OF THIS COUNTRY DO NOT UNDERSTAND. THEY UNDERSTAND TOO WELL, AND THEY ARE NOT GOING TO BE DRIVEN BY DECEITFUL APPEALS SUCH AS THIS INTO TAKING A POSITION THAT WILL BE A REPETITION OF THE EXPERIENCE WHICH THEY HAD IN 1917 AND 1918.

At a recent meeting of the U.S.O. in Washington, plans were discussed for making the boys more comfortable at camp.

A proposal finally decided on was a project for putting copies of "TIME" and "LIFE" -- magazines which have been earning for themselves quite a reputation as interventionist propaganda -- in each army camp library.

The chairman of the meeting, by curious coincidence, was Mrs. Dean Acheson, whose husband is one of the most belligerent speakers for the Aid-to-Britain Comm.

SAY PEACE TERMS SPURNED BY ROOSEVELT-CHURCHILL

(Digest of an article appearing in the July 10th edition of the Chicago Tribune.)

GERMANY HAS OFFERED PEACE PROPOSALS (THRU RUDOLPH HESS) WHICH INCLUDE PRESERVATION OF THE BRITISH FLEET AND THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

SENATOR BURTON K. WHEELER CHALLENGED PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT TO TELL THE AMERICAN PEOPLE THIS.

WHEELER SAID: "NEW DEAL SPOKESMEN ARE SAYING WE OUGHT TO LEAVE THE QUESTION OF WHETHER WE HAVE WAR OR PEACE UP TO THE PRESIDENT. THE PRESIDENT ON MANY OCCASIONS HAS SHOWN THAT HE DOES NOT THINK THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE TO BE TRUSTED WITH INFORMATION VITALLY AFFECTING THE QUESTION OF WHETHER THEIR LIVES OR THE LIVES OF THEIR SONS ARE TO BE SACRIFICED UPON THE BATTLEFIELDS OF EUROPE, ASIA, OR AFRICA."

Inquiry disclosed that this statement (Hess' peace offers to Great Britain) was based on information possessed by Senator Wheeler and some members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee with close state department contacts. According to these Senators there is no question about the truth of the story in its essentials, regardless of official denials in both Washington and London.

STORY OF HESS' PEACE TERMS

Described by United States Senators - published in the Chicago Tribune, July 10.

The story as told by the senators, follows:

"Hitler had determined to go to war with Russia and had made impossible demands on Stalin when he commissioned Hess, his pro-British anti-communist deputy fuehrer, to fly to Scotland with his peace terms.

"Hitler's desire for peace was based on his fear of a long stalemated war, with inevitable American entry on the side of Britain. He was convinced that neither side could win such a war and that the sole victor, should the western powers fight themselves to exhaustion, would be communism.

"Hitler's attack on Russia was in part military and economic, in part political. He needed the oil, the grain, the ore, and other raw materials which the Russians were not supplying in sufficient quantities, and he wished to knock out the Russian army in order to insure himself against an ultimate war on two fronts. His political purpose was to appeal to the anti-communist sentiment in both Great Britain and the United States. He shrewdly foresaw a popular revulsion in the United States against forming an alliance with communism in a crusade to establish President Roosevelt's "four freedoms" everywhere in the world.

AIMED AT INTERVENTIONIST CASE

"Hitler's peace proposals to Great Britain also were calculated to destroy the main argument for American intervention in the war, the argument that England and the British fleet constitute our first line of defense. Hess told the British that Germany wanted no part of the British Empire and no part of the British fleet. He reported that

Germany intended to dominate the continent of Europe but did not wish to undertake the responsibility of maintaining order in the far east, which would be left to Britain.

"Hess bluntly told the British that they could not win the war. He gave them appalling figures on the German production of aircraft and other war munitions. The British conceded that if these figures were correct, their prospects would not be encoureging.

"Hess, on the other hand, did not boast that Germany could win the war. He argued only that continuation of the struggle would end in a victory of communism.

SECRECY KEPT BY CHURCHILL

"Prime Minister Churchill rejected all demands that he tell the house of commons and the British people about the Hess affair. Clement Attlee, the lord privy seal, and other Laborite members of the government intimated that Hitler was suing for peace because he knew he could not win, but not a word came from Churchill. He did not know what to tell the Germans, because he did not know how far he could rely on President Roosevelt for American assistance in the war.

"Accordingly, John G. Winant, American ambassador to Britain, flew home at the end of May for a series of conferences with President Roosevelt. He put the German peace proposals up to the President, and Mr. Roosevelt thereupon was required to choose between peace or war. If the war was to be carried on, Mr. Roosevelt was told, the British must have some tangible evidence of definite military participation by the United States.

ACTION FOLLOWS DECISION

"The President's decision, as the world knows, was for continuation of the war. Winant returned to London with a complete report for Churchill on June 21, but in the meantime the word had been communicated by cable. The British government and the allied refugee governments issued a joint manifesto pledging war to the end, with no peace parleys. In the meantime, also, preparations were made for the evidence Churchill demanded of American military assistance -- the landing of an expeditionary force in Iceland and the President's order for the navy to keep the Atlantic sea lanes open for the flow of munitions to Britain."

Gov 4 5-200

September 11, 1941

TO: ALL CHAPTER CHAIRMEN AND MEMBERS:

A great "Constitution Day" Rally, the second rally in our stepped-up program to keep the country out of war, will be held at CARNEGIE HALL next Wednesday evening, SEPTEMBER 17TH at 8:15 P.M.

This day marks the 154th signing of the Constitution.

Senator CHARLES W. TOBEY, New Hampshire, leader of the fight against convoys and member of the committee investigating propaganda in the movies, and Congressman WILLIAM B. BARRY, Queens, will speak. Ernest Wheeler, prominent New York attorney and a member of the New York Committee, will be Chairman of the meeting. John T. Flynn, Chairman of the New York Chapter will be temporary chairman.

The protection of the American Constitution from the grave threats to it by the War Party will be the major theme of the meeting. The Constitution and its role as the great bulwark of the American way of life will be featured in the decorations of the Hall.

In addition, the Rally will provide a setting for the introduction of "America First, Last and Always", the America First theme song which we have just officially adopted. This song is the work of writers who have had many national song hits, and we believe that with the spontaneous enthusiasm of our members, which it is sure to arouse, it will sweep the country.

Perhaps the most compelling reason of all for this Rally is that it will provide us with a golden opportunity for a mass demonstration as a reply to the President's speech on the air tonight. Without doubt, we are moving into the great crisis of our fight, and it is of the utmost importance that we strike back immediately and dramatically at what will be the latest and probably the most dangerous proposals of the War Party.

Box seats and reserved section seats for the Rally are being sold at $1.00 each. We are urging each Chapter to take a box, and to decorate it with their banner as at the last Carnegie Rally.* The reaction to Chapter representation at the last meeting was most enthusiastic and it is an effective way of showing our strength. In addition, we are asking Chapters to sell as many other seats, and distribute as many free tickets, as they possibly

In many respects, particularly because of the special occasion of t Rally and of its timing as a sounding board after the President's speech is the most important Rally we have yet held in New York. We therefore this call to all Chapters and members - a call for an "all-out" effort mobilize our forces for this great demonstration of the people's profou concern for safeguarding the American Constitution, and their vigorous tion to America's entry into any foreign wars.

Best copy possible

318,519 SP8BTJ/GL 10-18-90

Tickets may be obtained at any America First Committee office.

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Yours for America First

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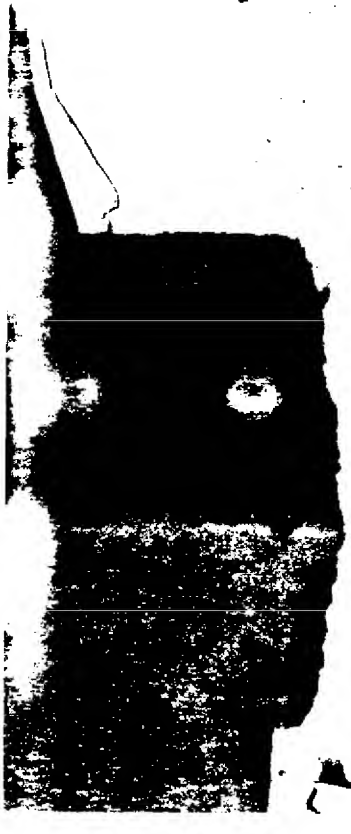
Richards H. Emerson
Director of Organization

* If your Chapter did not have a banner made for the last Rally, our Poster Department will make you one, 6' x 5', in red, white and blue on oilcloth for $1.50. Call Miss Hennessy, (PL-3-5425).

Oct. 3rd Mr. Morgus - Birmingham

3 E 247 — Sipes



The ONLY EFFECTIVE MOVE for KEEPING AMERICA OUT OF WAR

(Citizens and Editors everywhere are exhorted to proclaim this)

We Americans have been educated and are able to do our own thinking. We remain unpersuaded to follow **UN-AMERICAN** interventionists into European—Asiatic—African Slaughter fields.

WE, ALL FREE AMERICANS,

EACH AND EVERY ONE OF US WHO IS RESOLVED TO DEFEND AMERICA IN AMERICA BUT WHO OBJECTS TO AMERICAN FOREIGN INTERVENTION, will help to stop war-mongering interventionists by taking a

ONE-WEEK-VACATION

beginning

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 3rd, 1941

This will result in a short mass-rest from war strain. Let us enjoy some peace. But those occupied in transportation or supplying food or drugs should continue to work to make the mass move a success.

Each and everyone opposed to foreign intervention will, of his or her own accord, comply with this plan by taking a **ONE-WEEK-VACATION** beginning **NOVEMBER 3rd, 1941,** and thus prove to the world that when masses move in protest, war-minded minorities become crushingly defeated.

If individuals are afraid to take this mass vacation when there is nothing to be afraid of, then Americans will be driven to war and poverty. Misery will then be our lot for the rest of our lives. If we cannot make this mass-vacation a success then all anti-war committees had better disband so humanity can repeatedly be driven to kill each other.

If millions of Germans together with more millions of Europeans and Asiatics are cooperating with their New Order, then it is receiving tremendous support from them and Americans had better remain here in America. Our mass vacation will prove to the world we have resolved to **STAY OUT OF FOREIGN WAR.** Thereafter we will **MAKE THE ARSENAL OF AMERICA THE DEFENSE OF AMERICA** without sending our defense abroad and leaving us defenseless.

For additional copies of this plan, address **THE PEACEMAKER, P. O. Box 55, Highwood, Illinois.** Price 25c per hundred. All workers for peace are urged to send for hundreds and thousands of copies of this plan. Distribute them at all meetings. Mail them to your friends everywhere. Help bring about an effective National Mass movement for peace because foreign wars are too costly for Gold Mothers, American purses, and business and labor.

Have thousands of these reprinted and distribute them everywhere!

Defeat Oppression and War! **All out for Vacation and Victory!**

The ONLY EFFECTIVE MOVE for KEEPING AMERICA OUT OF WAR

(Creator and Editor everywhere are solicited to produce this.)

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YOU can keep the Neutrality Bill, and YOU can save our boys from being murdered, if you will join with us on our PROTEST TRIP TO WASHINGTON

FRIDAY OCTOBER 10th
Special return fare $4.85 - Baltimore and Ohio Railroad.

Busses leave 122 E. 42nd St., Columbus Circle, New York, Eagle Building, Washington & Johnson Streets, Brooklyn at 7:45 A.M. Broad St. Station Newark 8:15; Jersey City (train) 8:30, Elizabeth, N. J. (train) 8:46. Returning same day.

Our country is in a state of confusion because we have not been vocal - on our shoulders rests the responsibility to stop any further steps toward WAR.

Any change in the NEUTRALITY ACT, more billions appropriated for LEND LEASE (LOSE) TO RUSSIA, and resulting higher taxes, will give the President a green light to go ahead. You can and must stop Congress from being a rubber stamp. We are the sovereign people - they are our paid representatives.

We lost the fight against the extension of the draft by only <u>one vote</u>, because we were not able to interest more women. This must not happen again. Are you going to sit back and allow the New Deal to win this fight, or are you going to put your shoulder to the wheel? The answer is yours.

Many women have the time but not the money to make this trip. Will you contribute towards a fund for free tickets?

M E E T I N G

MONDAY OCTOBER 6th - 8:15 P. M.
Hotel Shelton 49th St. & Lexington Ave.

S P E A K E R S

LAURA INGALLS, well known aviatrix
FREDA UTLEY, Author of MUST THE WORLD DESTROY ITSELF?
Foreign Correspondent and lecturer

Fill in the enclosed blank and send a contribution TODAY. Thank you.

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YOU can keep the Neutrality Bill, and YOU can save

our boys from being murdered, if you will join with us on our PROTEST TRIP TO WASHINGTON

FRIDAY OCTOBER 10th
Special return fare $4.85 - Baltimore and Ohio Railroad.

Busses leave 122 E. 42nd St., Columbus Circle, New York, Eagle Building, Washington & Johnson Streets, Brooklyn at 7:45 A.M. Broad St. Station Newark 8:15; Jersey City (train) 8:30, Elizabeth, N. J. (train) 8:46. Returning same day.

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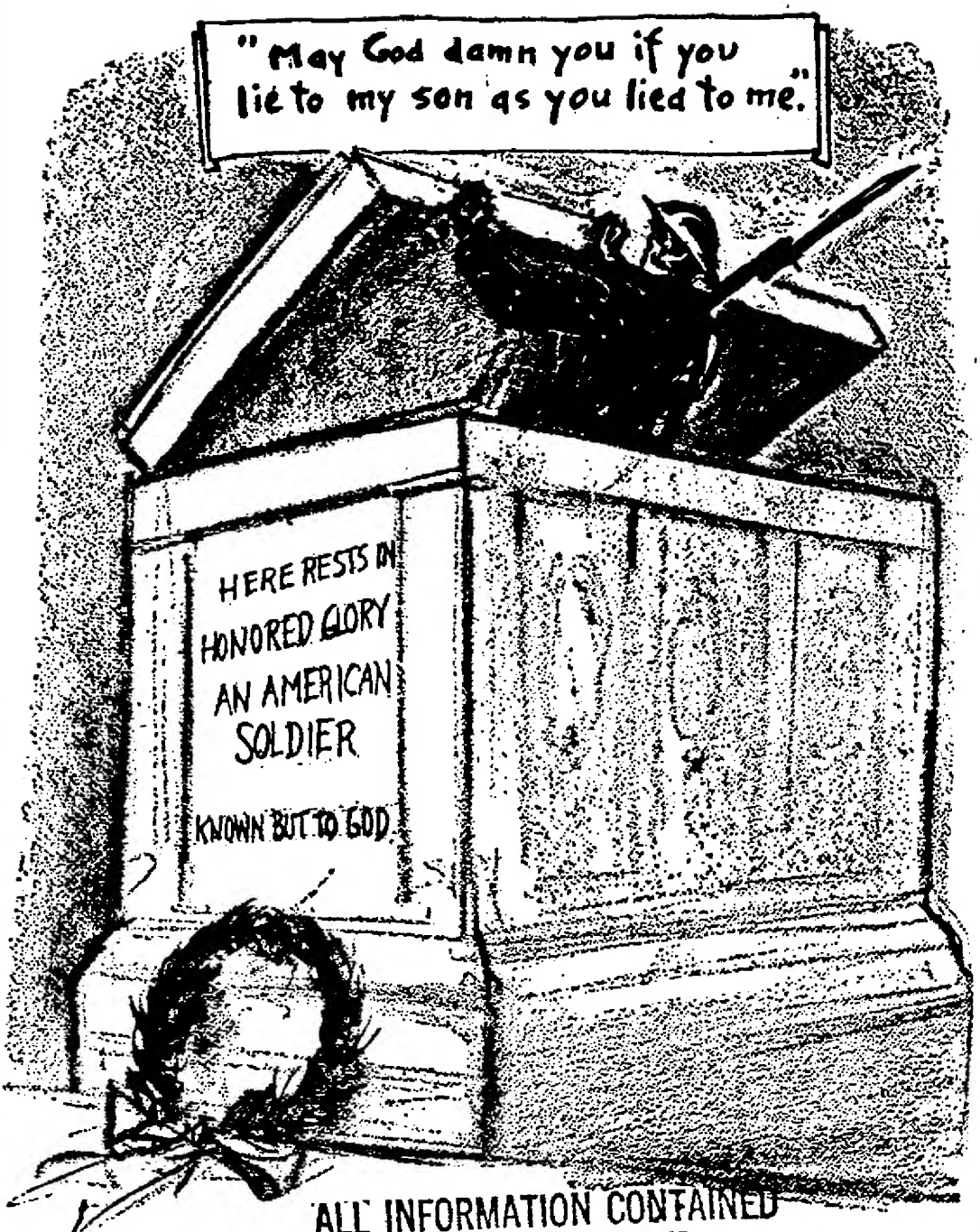

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REPRINT FROM WASHINGTON TIMES HERALD. NOV. 11, 1941 BY MOTHERS OF U.S.A.

America First Rally, Los Angeles, June 20, 1941. Largest attendance in the history of the Hollywood B

4/29/83 36 FR 145 #24238

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ONE YEAR OF AMERICA FIRST-

An Amazing Story of Democracy in Actio

Exempt 3(2)(A)(2)

319.519 S98Btjbal 10-18-90

A year ago, when a conquering German army stood poised on the shores of the English Channel and when history's second invasion of the British Isles seemed imminent, the prophets of gloom in our midst were predicting that America would be at war by Christmas.

Now an aroused Congress has reconvened in Washington, and gloom has given way to optimism. The vaunted German armies are locked in a death struggle in Russia. The threat of invasion of England has passed. British shipping losses have sunk to a new low. America is *not* at war, and reliable word from Washington promises that America will not go to war—that Congress will not surrender its Constitutional trusteeship over this gravest of all issues.

How does it happen that America has resisted the pressure of the war party? How does it happen that millions of stout-hearted Americans have awakened from their lethargy and have told the world that the United States, strong and impregnable, shall remain free and independent—free and independent from Europe's unceasing wars?

America First Provides Needed Leadership

The answer to these questions was given one year ago when a little band of patriotic men and women came together in Chicago and announced to an awaiting Nation their faith in American democracy. America faced an emergency. It was about to be stampeded by the preachers of fear and hate. A worried people needed only leadership to find the way out. What better leaders than those who placed America first in their hearts, whose only purpose was to find fulfillment of a democracy wrought by the courage and foresight of their fathers?

There was only one name for this group, an
it—*America First*. There was only one set
which these true Americans could adopt: Bu
so strong that no foreign power or combinati
would dare attack us; stay out of war tha
may not perish in war's hateful aftermath; rer
tarian aid to the suffering people of England
pied countries; and keep liberty alive on th
give guidance to a weary world when the fi

Having come together and having stated
how was their message to reach all American
the Committee hired a one *room office*, a ty
a stenographer. Timorously, they placed an a
in the newspapers. Anxiously, they awaited
The reception which followed was unpreced
history of American voluntary organizations

Immediate Response Overwhelmi

Mail poured in from all corners of the cou
butions from ten cents and up burdened
treasurer. Twenty Kansas farmers sent a
order totaling $2.00. It was all they could aff
First was on its way.

Who were these people who had the cour
the course which their conscience told them
America? Not pacifists, not professional or
disgruntled politicians with an axe to grind.
of America First were distinguished citizens,
the best phases of American life. All realized
of the hour was more important than their
desire to remain apart from public controver

At the head was General Robert E. Wood
West Point, World War officer, and forr

Gerald P. Nye *General R. E. Wood* *Mrs. Kathleen Norris* *Sen. Burton K. Wheeler* *Hon. Philip F. L*

Master General of the Army of the United States, distinguished as a soldier and respected as a leader in American business. The Committee included men like Hanford MacNider, former National Commander of the American Legion and Minister to Canada; George N. Peek, recently Chief of the Government's A.A.A.; J. Sanford Otis, banker; Major Alford J. Williams, noted aviator; General Thomas S. Hammond of the famous Rainbow Division; noted writers like Irvin S. Cobb, Kathleen Norris, General Hugh S. Johnson and John T. Flynn; Mrs. Alice Roosevelt Longworth; Mrs. Bennett Champ Clark; Mrs. Burton K. Wheeler; Bishop Wilbur E. Hammaker of Denver; Frank O. Lowden, former Governor of Illinois; and distinguished lawyers such as Amos Pinchot and Clay Judson.

From One Room to a National Crusade

Characteristically, the idea which gave birth to America First came from a young man, R. Douglas Stuart Jr., graduate of Princeton and a student at the Yale University School of Law. The response which Stuart received to his original suggestion was all he needed. He suspended temporarily his career in the law and came to Chicago where, as National Director of America First, he has seen his [illegible] beenw into a national crusade.

[illegible]d. [illegible]t soon found out that this was no job for one man [illegible]ook stenographer. The one-room office soon expanded to [illegible]ed ams, eight and then ten. Today, an office staff of [illegible]ced hrid, largely volunteers, handles mail from chapters [illegible]ably blanket the cities and towns of forty-four states. and it wdo these chapters do? Who are their members, and

But tb Congressional leaders say that these people have [illegible]The Namerica out of war and will continue to do so as [illegible]this, ans their great courage and resources last? What have and teleffered to Americans like Robert Jefferson of Man-[illegible]House (Minnesota, whose contribution of seventeen cents 150,000all I have"?

[illegible]teve

America First Speaks for the People

The answer is that America First, through its me[illegible] is preserving our democratic traditions, the lives [illegible]sons—and now it is fighting to preserve the four[illegible] stone of our republic, the Constitution of the [illegible] States. The fight is being carried on, not by m[illegible] interests, not by a powerful minority, but by ra[illegible] file Americans, respected in their communities, w[illegible] brace no "ism" but Americanism—who firmly belie[illegible] this is still a Government of, by, and for the peopl[illegible]

"All I have" was a big investment to Robert Je[illegible] but he took no chances. He was investing in an or[illegible] tion whose business is making history. Let us see[illegible] his money is spent.

In the first place, Robert Jefferson helps to br[illegible] message of peace and preparedness to every tow[illegible] hamlet in the land. Distinguished speakers have [illegible] the country talking to overflow audiences whose [illegible] ziasm has amazed the most seasoned campaigner[illegible] long ago in New York, for instance, in the heart [illegible] so-called interventionist area, 30,000 people stood [illegible] rain outside a crowded hall, listening to Kathleen [illegible] Senator David I. Walsh and Colonel Charles A. Lin[illegible] In Los Angeles, the famous Hollywood Bowl for t[illegible] time in its history turned away thousands of eager [illegible] The disappointed ones filled the parking space a[illegible] surrounding hills as the loud speakers broadc[illegible] message of Americanism.

Huge Meetings Held from Coast to Coast

The great halls and stadium have rung with ap[illegible] But not in the great cities alone have Americans e[illegible] their right of peaceful assembly. Outdoor meeting[illegible] picnics, county fairs, churches and tiny town ha[illegible] time to hear, with grateful cheers, the spokes[illegible] America First.

[illegible]nagement of the St. Charles Fall Festival at St. Charles, Illinois, invited both sides to stage rallies at the [illegible]hile 20,000 turned out to hear Senator Burton K. Wheeler speak for America First. It was the lar[illegible]

Courtesy Chicago H

A. Lindbergh Sen. C. Wayland Brooks Sen. D. Worth Clark R. Douglas Stuart Jr. Sen. David I. Walsh Sen. Bern

These speakers are not professional lecturers. Robert Jefferson and his fellow members cannot afford to pay speaker's fees. Instead, volunteers like Philip F. La Follette, former Governor of Wisconsin; Samuel B. Pettengill, "The Gentleman from Indiana"; President Henry Noble MacCracken of Vassar College; Rev. John A. O'Brien, of Notre Dame; Mrs. Robert A. Taft; Mrs. Bennett Champ Clark; Senators Burton K. Wheeler, Gerald P. Nye, Charles W. Tobey, Bennett Champ Clark; D. Worth Clark; and Congressmen like Hamilton Fish, Karl E. Mundt, Knute Hill, Clare E. Hoffman, John A. Vorys, Dewey Short, representing all political view and parties, have given their services.

Never before has there been such a series of successful meetings sponsored by any group, outside of major political campaigns. We are reliably told that it was these meetings, more than anything, which caused the President to throw up his hands in irritation when his Congressional leaders privately told him that the country would not stand for the repeal of the provision which keeps our draftees in our own hemisphere. *The meetings will continue on an increasing scale.*

Committee Paying "Dividends to America"

Robert Jefferson is receiving other dividends. He helps distribute to millions of Americans the pamphlets and other materials so essential to a complete understanding of our national problems. He is now helping to support America First booths at state and country fairs where the skeptical can come and learn the true facts about the America First Committee. His money is spent on such odd items as step-ladders from which speakers address street-corner meetings nightly. He employs a cartoonist who sends material to small country newspapers which do not have the funds and facilities to compete along this line with the large metropolitan dailies. His contribution helps support a staff which arranges radio broadcasts reach millions of listeners.

Members All Loyal Americans

What does Robert Jefferson do when he bec member of the America First Committee? First, he that he is a patriotic American, opposed to a "isms"; and that he is not a Nazi, Fascist or B and that he believes in the principles of the A Constitution. He used to have to prove that he a Communist, but now that Stalin is fighting for th Freedoms," we do not have to worry about Com seeking membership in our Committee, as they are aligned behind the Administration's war policy.

Once established as a bona fide member, Robert son works with his local chapter. If he lives in Ne he may be one of the three hundred volunteers w night and day at the main headquarters in Ma or he may carry on his activity with one of thes three sub-chapters in the metropolitan area. If good talker, he may speak at small neighborhoo ings or on the street corners. If he is a writer, answer the thousands of letters his chapter receiv is artistic, he may spend his time drawing poster emblems which the Committee distributes. M other volunteers are acting as typists, steno switch-board operators, stencil cutters, card writ painters, research workers and department exec

Chapters Have Work for All

The work of the New York office, where John ably presides as Chairman, is typical. In Chicag Mrs. Janet Ayer Fairbank presides over the city well as Illinois and Iowa, the sub-chapters ar average of thirty public meetings a week, and ca broad program through a huge staff of volun

Cou

day Weekend. The above pictures show the result. Senator A. B. (Happy) Chandler drew a crowd of 800 to a pro-way f the festival—and it is striking proof that the polls are right when they show at least 83% of the country again

Courtesy Chicago Herald-Amer

Left: Dr. John A. O'Brien, of Notre Dame, looks over the mail he received after a recent America First address. Center: Senator Wheeler and Col. Lindbergh assay the largest crowd that ever turned out at Madison Square Garden, New York. Right: Representative Hamilton Fish, with the cards he received from his poll of the President's district. 91% opposed entering the war.

Chicago's latest campaign—"Call On Your Congressman Week"—thousands of Illinois citizens visited their Representatives at their homes during the recent recess. Chicago and New York tell the story of hundreds of other chapters, where the members carry on door-to-door campaigns, publish weekly chapter newspapers, hold rallies, broadcast weekly radio programs and spread the message of America First by mail, word of mouth and telephone.

What We Have Accomplished For America

Specifically, what has America First accomplished? We were told a year ago that we were on the verge of war, and we are still on the verge of war today. The answer is that America would have been in war long since had it not been for the 83 per cent who have made their voices heard.

Look at the record and see how the war party has been balked at every turn. Back in January, the President introduced his so-called Lend-Lease Bill. The time table, it is reliably reported, called for passage within a few days, and it was to be followed very soon by shooting.

But the battle of the Lend Lease Bill suddenly turned. The Nation had been prepared for just such a move as this, and they had their ready answer. Letters, telegrams and telephone calls taxed the staff in the Senate and the House Office Buildings. Senator Wheeler alone received 150,000 letters, which is far and away the greatest number ever received by one man in the history of either House. The war bill became a peace bill, because the American people wanted it that way. Amendments were written in excluding convoys and making sure that America was not to take the fatal step of "delivering the goods". After two months of debate the bill finally became law, but only after all its supporters had renounced to the American people any war-like intentions.

Every War Proposal Balked

The ink of the President's signature had not dried, however, before the convoy cries arose from the noisy little clique of "warriors" in the East. But the President had to admit that "Convoys mean shooting, and shooting means war", and it soon became clear that neither the people nor Congress would support this step.

Again the mail poured in—by the truckloads, according to the White House secretaries. The President, after postponing a heralded fire-side chat, finally addressed the nation and the expected convoy announcement was glaringly absent.

In short, the America First Committee has made clear that Congress, the elected Representatives of the people, will not tolerate our entry into the war. And so, the President, surrounded by such men as Ickes, Stimson, Knox and Hopkins, has been persuaded to take the matter into his own hands, despite the plain terms of the Constitution which vests the war power in Congress.

President Roosevelt consummated a treaty with the foreign government of Iceland, although the treaty-making rests with the Senate. By this device he sent our armed forces into the middle of the battle of the Atlantic. Worse yet, our forces now garrison Iceland jointly with the belligerent forces of Great Britain, though it was announced that the British forces would evacuate.

Then, in an announcement made in London the American people were politely informed that their President had met with Prime Minister Churchill and signed a joint statement of war aims, and this though America is still at peace!

Strength in Congress Growing

Congress would be poor Representatives, indeed, were they to ignore this totalitarian course of the Chief Executive. Already the tide of revolt is growing on Capitol Hill. When the President sought authority to send an A.E.F., he was bluntly told that such a provision could not pass. When he sought to extend the time of service of our drafted men, his measure passed by only a single vote, 203-202. *The non-interventionists in the House of Representatives had gained thirty-seven more members than they had at the time of the Lend-Lease fight!*

We Must Meet the Crisis Now

The will of the people is plain. We can go to war only if our Constitution and our Representative government are scrapped for the indeterminate future. Yet that is what the President proposes to do. The moment has come for Congress to reassert its historic function. It is ready to do so—but it needs the active and unswerving support of every loyal American in the land.

The America First Committee enters its second year with the crisis squarely before us. We have the organization, and we have the support of the people. Our success now, and the success of the American way, depends upon the sacrifice that each of us is willing to make. We count on you to contribute immediately as generously as you can—"all you have" or all you can afford, whether it is seventeen cents, ten, one hundred or five hundred dollars. Your investment will save the lives of American boys and the democracy and Constitution of the United States.

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
141 WEST JACKSON BOULEVARD
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

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Orig #'s 942, 942 241,350

Congressmen, Be Warne

Text of Address Delivered by the Most Rev. Francis J. L. Beckmann, S.T.D., Archbishop of Dubuque, Over a National Hook-up of the Columbia Broadcasting System Sunday, July 27.

I regret that circumstances arising in the wake of my recent broadcast have impelled me to this microphone again tonight. Oh the misfortune of controversy over vital principle which in its fury spares neither friend nor foeling, which counsels and makes of ignorance a virtue!

I am filled this evening, my dear Catholic and Christian people with an indignation akin perhaps to that which Christ the Crusader demonstrated in the Temple despoiled. In the past weeks we have witnessed an unholy merger of Christianity and Communism under the guise of military necessity; we have seen what amounts to dictatorship pseudo-officially canonized by a brother cleric; we have witnessed the beginning of the end for pledges which, however well given, had not truth for their backbone. "Strategy." what crimes are committed in thy name! The bland assurances of peace for the people it seems are so much honey on the lip. Step by step, my dear friends, just as surely as I stand before this microphone tonight, our unhappy nation is being propelled into an "honest-to-goodness blood and tears and sweat plotting war!" A war not to end wars, "forsooth," but, whether we know it or not, a war to make the world and PARTICULARLY THIS BELOVED AMERICA SAFE FOR THE NEW BOLSHEVISM!

I think at this time I might appropriately restate my position on the momentous issue of war or peace for the American people: From the beginning I have maintained that this war, however misrepresented is an ECONOMIC WAR BASED ON GREED, A STRUGGLE FOR POWER AND POSSESSIONS BETWEEN TWO DIAMETRICALLY OPPOSED SYSTEMS OF GOVERNMENT. The problem over which the warring nations have come to death-grips is simply this: Which economy shall be dominant in Europe, ours or yours? In other words, who is to exploit whom?"

Internationalists' Day

The entrenched internationalists have had their day; they financed the war; the eternal debt and milked the peoples, grinding them down into the dust of ignorance, poverty and despair. When the crimes and the horrors in human misery piled up in front them, when other nations dared to challenge their tyranny, the answer was war—war in the name of democracy and a hundred times—Yes, even war in the name of the Almighty Himself! If it suited their purpose to call it a "holy war," that was all right too. Anything to persuade the gullible millions to go out and do the fighting and the suffering and the dying that "the system" might survive!

So today the propaganda—smooth stuff it had to be this time for the American people were weary and disillusioned of "war to end wars." They had been fooled once and they knew it. Oh for a new slogan! Then out of the mysterious somewhere was born that supreme insult to the intelligence of our people, "Aid to the Allies short of war." This was a clever bait and, anxious to aid Britain, while remaining ourselves at peace, we swallowed it "hook-line-and-sinker."

Measures Short of War

A few saw into the hypocrisy of this proposition but their warnings went unheeded. In no time at all "measures short of war" had become an established axiom. The foundation was laid, the course set, and whether they liked it or not the American people once again were on the spot for Britain. A few well-chosen words to mark the gravestone of our folly; a "slimy slogan" had done it again.

Here is His Eminence the great William Cardinal O'Connell, the dean of the American Hierarchy, on slogans: "Of all the things in the world, I think what we have to be on guard against are these slimy slogans that mean nothing. They are insults to one's intelligence. And worse than that, they are dishonest. 'Make the world safe for Democracy.' 'The war to end wars.' Oh, how slick that is. It sounds so nice, 'the war to end wars.' Of course, everybody wants to end war, so they rush in to end the war that they began. We have had wars ever since. And the worst one the world has ever known has come about since this slogan was manufactured to fool the people. 'The war to end wars.' How lovely and glib it sounds on the tongue. And the poor people: what a crime it is to deceive the poor people. What a crime! To play on their generosity of heart, and even their trust in those who govern them; to play on that, that is pretty vile. To bring about what? To bring about disunion, confusion, and little by little the loss of everything they hold dear, the loss of their own children, the loss of their possessions, the loss of their civil rights."

Indictment of Deceit

People! here is a stirring indictment of deceit and a glimpse of what we may expect if as a result of our folly we get into this *war unto annihilation*. I reaffirm to you that the present conflict is not a "holy war," least of all a just war; but a war of one imperialism against the OTHER IN WHICH GODLESSNESS IS INCIDENTAL TO ALL BELLIGERENTS. Neither side is interested in God so much as gold or its equivalent. And there is no crusade for Christianity or democracy afoot anywhere in the world today either, all high-sounding slogans to the contrary notwithstanding.

Further, we may be sure that abroad the "four freedoms" have a phony ring. To the war-weary people of Europe this slogan is just another mask for the imperialism of the new world. Again I quote Cardinal O'Connell: "And there is one thing certain: we cannot — and we ought not try to—impose our form of government on the whole world. Why, they don't want it. If you are going to impose it on them, then you are doing an act of tyranny. I wonder if anyone really believes he could do that. If he doesn't believe it, and if he says it—I don't want *to use* the word. If he says what he doesn't mean, then you know what the adjective is; that is false. You can't in honesty try to deceive a whole people, much less the whole world. They know perfectly well what the American government is, and most of them, many of them, don't want it. Their traditions are all the other way. Very well; it is for them to decide, not for us. But as for our going out and trying to impose our method of life on the whole world, it is not only nonsense and impossible, but because it is utterly wrong it is tyranny."

No, my dear American friends this war is nothing more or less than a struggle to reestablish the shattered boundaries of international finance, and other things international, in countries which have had their fill of them and do not want them any more. This is a struggle which if prolonged through our efforts, but for a miracle of God, may go on interminably until universal chaos and exhaustion encompasses the warring nations.

Chaos of Communism

And chaos—there is a whirlwind for you! a wind to scatter the deadly Communism like a plague through all the world! If we in this country sanction even by our silence the hatred and revenge which dwells in the high places and relentlessly,

. And he was
with the solid
ch this whole nation
t least ought to rest."

t to rest, indeed! Too long
country the American people
e been lead around by the
ld what to do, robbed,
and abused by the high-
ghty masters of inter-
al finance; too long have
olerated corruption and dis-
y in politics; too long have
hristian people of this na-
remained divided on funda-
ental issues. Yes, I fear, that
e have been nothing more than
s in the good old game of
and rule." It seems we
n't get together for long on any
ne thing; and small wonder with
ese past masters in the art of
ng division ruling the roost! It
high time that the Catholic
urch in particular and all good
ristian-Americans put aside
eir differences, unite in the
mmon cause of Americanism
d by legal means, but do it, put
these pirates who would rob
despoil our people of their
birthright, milk the nation
then go off to abuse and ridi-
e it for another 20 years.

nd while I am at it I think this
good time to lay an old ghost.
late years it has become the
tion of much of the secular and
the Catholic press to place
ial interpretations on the pro-
cements of clerics newly re-
d from abroad. Every scrap of
which might be construed as
orting to the cause of the inter-
ionists has been hungrily sieved
and used to further divide,
and exploit the Catholics
ne nation. Sadly enough the
ole on the White House lawn
never lacked for clerical adorn-
t. This is a disgraceful condi-
of affairs—the Catholic Church
used to further the evil ends
privileged group! I cried out
unst this abuse two years ago
with all my strength I cry out
inst it now. No man speaks for
Catholic Church save the Holy
er Himself, and he must of
alty remain far above all this
oversy.

do not claim to speak for all
Catholic people in this coun-
but I am well-advised enough
know that the overwhelming
jority of our people are unalter-
y opposed to participation in
war. I am prepared to risk
roof of that point; and in the
f crumbling pledges I turn
ain to the representatives
people:

ress Warned

Congressmen! Be Warned! You
that the people of this nation
rwhelmingly opposed to be
embroiled in this war. In
many of you have voted
on which was represented
med to keep this country
war. Subsequent events
must have convinced you by now that the opposite appears to be true. Congressmen! The people of this nation will never forgive such lese majeste as negligence which permits the stealthy maneuvering of this beloved America into war either by the front or the back door.

God forbid, I do not wish to speak disparagingly or distrustfully of our highest magistrates. I concur that in these anxious hours of deliberation and decision they are deserving of our deepest sympathy and the comfort of our prayers. But there are powerful figures moving in the background of this picture and powerful pressure is certainly being brought to bear upon positions of responsibility. The smack of totalitarianism, of secret counsels arriving at decisions which as I have said before will affect whole generations of the unborn—these are realities we may not ignore. Remember, the stakes are high, and a few in this country would pay almost any price for the vindication of their monstrous greed, hatred and deceit—any price, that is, in the blood and treasure of the American people. These manufactured crises and prayed for incidents bear witness to the point.

And our boys—those fine young lads who are the hope and promise of this land—must they spill their blood for Britain and Bolshevism? They have a right to decent, unequivocal leadership. They will not shrink discipline nor will they hesitate to sacrifice, yes even to die if necessary in the cause of a strict defense of this nation. But the interpretation of the phrase "national defense" has lately become alarmingly broad. At this very moment only a mere pledge and an incident stand between the American people and full-fledged warfare, declared or undeclared. There is still time to circumscribe and temper the dangers which threaten us, to put on the brakes and stop for a last look around before we take the fatal plunge.

Peace-Makers Smeared

And if we but stop, look, listen, we see the strangest sights in this land of ours. Men of staunch patriotic convictions who dare to oppose our entrance into this war are immediately smeared and classified as Nazis, Bundists, yes even traitors to their country; and again I quote His Eminence: "I thought that we were all taught from our infancy that we must love America and love it more than any other nation in the world. And to bring that into question was supposed to be a rather mysterious sort of treason. And now, for saying that very thing, one is very apt to be smeared by somebody or other who, from his own reasons—God knows what they may be—seems to take offense at the fact that Americans ought to love America and ought, as it is their duty bound, to see that the welfare of America is nearest their heart."

Let no man say that the Archbishop of Dubuque has not the welfare of America nearest his heart. Every one of us who is fighting to keep this nation at peace is fighting because we love that nation. Every one of us has an abiding disgust and just hatred of Nazidom, Communism, all "isms" everywhere. But we love our country, this great America, above everything and we believe firmly that remaining at peace it has a superb destiny, a sublime mission in a world almost totally at war. "Our duty as Catholics and as Christians, is to help pacify the world," says Cardinal O'Connell, "Yet to say the word 'peace' nowadays would be almost to bring down upon your head a torrent of abuse."

Communists Coddled

Indeed; matters have come to a pretty pass with all this smearing of righteous men. And it is high time that we ask ourselves, men of the Congress, who are these people who dare to vilify decent Americans calling them Nazis and Bundists and traitors? And while we are on the subject, in this so-called great Christian democracy of ours, how can we account for the coddling of Communists in every responsible branch of our government? Truly there is something rotten here!

Again Congress! Be Warned! These unmolested Commissars are the disciples of that "new order" we may expect as masters if this country goes to war. These want war. I fear that we are already dangerously honeycombed from within; that we have been blind and criminally irresponsible in harboring these arch-enemies of Christianity. Today the mask is off: it is Communism, Communism, Communism everywhere gaining ground. We are in danger of being slowly poisoned, debilitated, and disarmed by this monstrous malady. Now in the name of the "four freedoms" all aid to Red Russia is urged upon us while Britain in desperation has allied herself with a devil. So Britain has been fighting the battle of Christianity? there is a fallacy exploded! If we go into this war now we shall be nothing more or less than a criminal nation, and let no one look to our Catholic people for comfort.

In conscience we are all bound to listen to the voice of Pius XIth who wrote in his renowned encyclical on "Atheistic Communism": "See to it, Venerable Brethren, that the Faithful do not allow themselves to be deceived! Communism is intrinsically wrong, and no one who would save Christian civilization may collaborate with it in any manner whatsoever." So there can be no collaboration for communism as far as the Catholic Church in this country is concerned! We have been pushed far enough in

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Compliments of

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

141 WEST JACKSON BOULEVARD CHICAGO, ILLINO

4/29/85 SP8BG/pls #245258

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Bulletin #673
November 7, 1941

A M E R I C A F I R S T C O M M I T T E E

TO ALL CHAPTER CHAIRMEN:

! ! ! ! YOU ARE WINNING THIS FIGHT ! ! ! !

CHAPTERS HAVE DONE AN ADMIRABLE JOB IN SWAMPING THEIR SENATORS PROTESTING AGAINST REVISION OF THE NEUTRALITY ACT. HIGHEST COMPLIMENTS ARE BEING PAID EACH ONE OF YOU BY OUR WASHINGTON LEADERS AND REPRESENTATIVES.

THE FOLLOWING TELEGRAM RECEIVED THIS MORNING FROM WASHINGTON IS AN INDICATION OF YOUR SPLENDID EFFORTS: -

"Senate mail heavy now. Has increased 50 percent since last Thursday. Post Office overworked. Downey mail now pouring in. Also Davis, Pennsylvania; New York; New Jersey; Illinois and other States. Mail still heavy. House mail picking up rapidly."

OUR GREATEST STRENGTH LIES IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. OUR BEST CHANCE OF DEFEATING THE EFFORT TO REPEAL THE NEUTRALITY ACT IS THERE.

GET THE MAIL, WIRES AND PHONE CALLS ROLLING IN A GREAT TIDAL WAVE OVER YOUR CONGRESSMEN WHO ARE UNDECIDED ON THIS ISSUE. THEY MUST BE FINALLY AND EMPHATICALLY CONVINCED THAT THE PEOPLE WANT NO WAR.

ATTENTION

IN TODAY'S MAILING A LIST OF "WOBBLY" CONGRESSMEN IS ENCLOSED. THESE ARE THE MEN FROM YOUR DISTRICT AND STATE UPON WHOM YOUR MAIL BRIGADE MUST BE LAUNCHED. IF YOU HAVE NOT ALREADY DONE SO START THE MAIL ROLLING TOWARD THE HOUSE.

Organization Department

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Bulletin #667
November 4, 1941

A M E R I C A F I R S T C O M M I T T E E

MAIL MUST INCREASE

The following is a portion of a letter from a Washington representative of the Committee, received today:

> After a check-up of Congressional mail today I ascertained that letters protesting against emasculation of the Neutrality Act are not reaching Congressmen in any appreciable quantities—and it is extremely important that they do.
>
> Congressman Louis Ludlow (D) Indiana, author of the Ludlow War Referendum bill, said to me, - "A million letters and telegrams should be sent to Members of Congress this week, Congress should be buried with letters. The people should shoot them into Washington in such quantities that the people's representatives can hardly walk around in their own offices.
>
> "The people should tell their elected representatives that they are expected to keep their pre-election campaign pledges that they would do everything possible to keep our country out of foreign wars. This proposed revision of the Neutrality Act means war. The people should let their Congressmen know that the people know that this measure is about the same as a declaration of war. If enough people will tell their Congressmen this week that their constituents expect them to vote against this virtual repeal of the Neutrality Act, we can defeat this move to get America into an undeclared shooting war."
>
> And Congressman Joe Shannon (D) of Missouri, delivered a stirring address on the floor of the House, saying, "Now is the time for the people of America to rise up in their power, and push an avalanche of mail on Congress in order to save our democracy from destruction and to prevent wholesale murder of our fine American boys on bloody battle-fields all over the world and on the shores of the seven seas. As for these dukes, duchesses, counts, no-counts and discounts over here trying to get us into Europe's wars, all of these titled gentry are not worth the life of one American boy. The people must speak."

- - - - - - - - -

Chapter representatives have returned from the Washington meeting and have been assured that it is the volume of mail which will decide the issue of arming ships and sending them into the war zones. In order to win this fight the mail must increase. Thus it depends entirely upon the efforts you and your chapter make to get that mail today, tomorrow and the next day If your chapter will fight we can win.

Organization Department

4/29/85 SP8B15/C/S #245238

FROM: Richard A. Moore
National Publicity Director
America First Committee
141 West Jackson Blvd.
Chicago, Illinois
WABash 6996

319,519
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10-18-90

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

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"The following statement was issued today by General Robert E. Wood, Acting National Chairman of the America First Committee:

"The President's refusal to submit for public inspection the presumed Nazi documents, which he described with such emphasis in his Navy Day address, does not contribute to public confidence. The American people recall too well what happened when the President's message describing the Greer incident was subject to comparison with the actual facts as contained in the report of the Navy Department. If the President's description of the documents he referred to is as inaccurate as his statement on the Greer, it is not surprising that he chooses to keep these documents from public scrutiny.

"This aspect of the President's speech is no more disturbing than certain other statements contained in it. For instance, the President has thrust upon the American people a new interpretation of the word "attack". The Kearny, we now learn, was engaged in convoy duty, protecting delivery of goods to a belligerent. As the President had previously told us, 'Convoys mean shooting and shooting means war'. In accordance with this prediction, the Kearny was struck by a torpedo, yet the President now uses this invited incident as a pretext for claiming that even Illinois and California have been attacked.

"The lengths to which the President went to arouse the American people in this latest address is final proof that the Administration intends to take us into war as soon as it possibly can frighten or cajole the public into it. The test comes with the proposed revision of the Neutrality Law which would send our ships into the war zones. Already, America First chapters report that the tide of opposition to this war-like move is rising throughout the country. This is one proposal which can not be disguised as a step away from war -- it is deliberately

Portrait by Bachrach ©

CLARENCE SMEDLEY THOMPSON

The BRITISH INVASION of AMERICA

By

CLARENCE SMEDLEY THOMPSON
Founder, and Member of Advisory Board,
The American Defense Society, Inc.

THE REVIEW PRESS, *Publishers*
347 Fifth Avenue
New York, N. Y.

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Printed in the United States of America

FOREWORD

—

CLARENCE SMEDLEY THOMPSON, the author of "The British Invasion of America," has long served with distinction in the field of public relations.

He was director of publicity in the presidential campaigns of Theodore Roosevelt, Calvin Coolidge and Herbert Hoover. He further performed an outstanding service as founder and chairman of the American Defense Society in 1915. Certainly this entitles him to speak with authority in this hour of our national emergency.

Mr. Thompson states the European situation in unmistakable terms. Our real danger from attack, he says, lies not in troop invasion but in deceptive foreign propaganda, notably at the hands of British statesmen, who are constantly calling upon us to shoulder the burden of their imperialistic wars.

Such propaganda in America serves no purpose, says the author, except to bolster up the British Empire, and to incur for us the enmity of otherwise friendly European powers.

It was against the "insidious wiles" of such foreign influence that George Washington warned the nation.

Mr. Thompson counsels us to hold to the wisdom of the founders of our country, and to avoid foreign entanglements which are forever threatening our peace and security. In no other way, he feels, can we hope to retain our freedom and independence.

John A. Schaefer

JOHN ALEXANDER SCHAEFER
Battalion Sergeant-Major,
Office of Chief of Staff,
Hdqrs., Inter. Sec., S.O.S., A.E.F.

New York, N. Y.
August 15, 1941

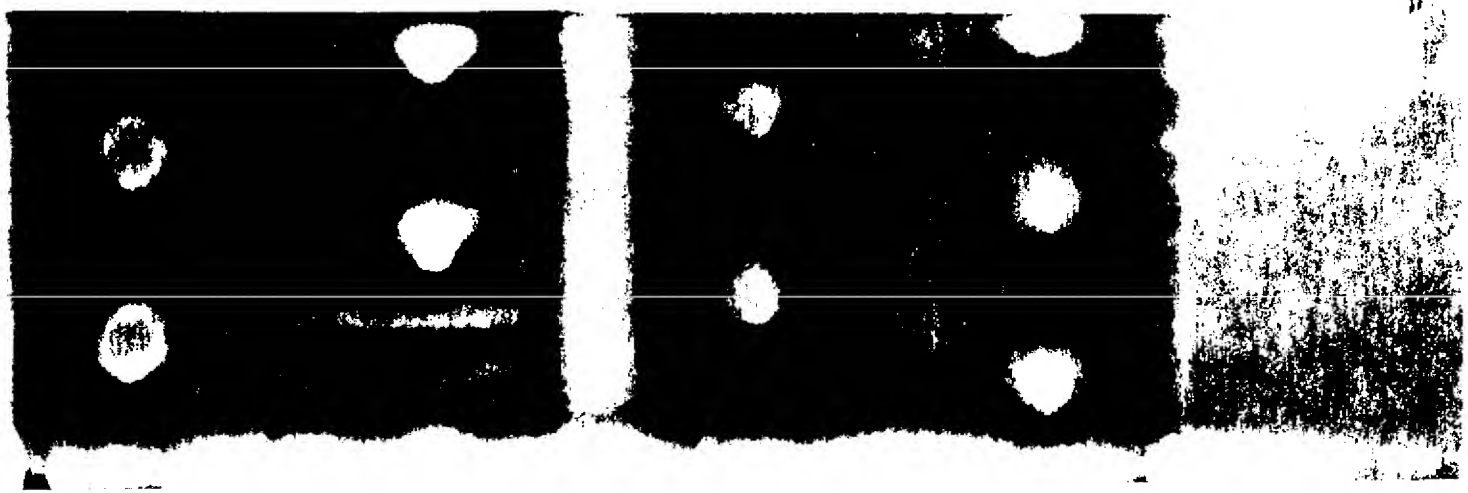
THE BRITISH INVASION OF AMERICA

by CLARENCE SMEDLEY THOMPSON

—

THE UNITED STATES still appears to be adolescent in its foreign relations. Witness the ease with which British statesmen turn the trick upon us in enlisting our efforts in their behalf and getting us to shoulder their imperialistic wars.

It is an old political practice with England—this idea of letting some other country remove her chestnuts from the fire. Her strength in the Bal-



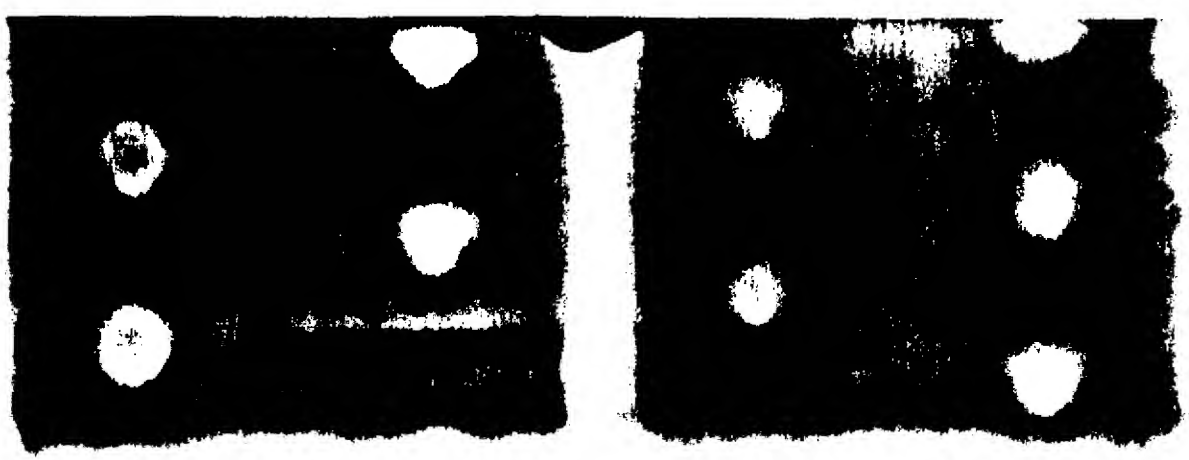
kans heretofore largely has been due to this policy—playing one country against another, while patiently waiting to take the fruits of victory.

Of late years we have been hearing much by way of London about the perfidy of the former Kaiser, Hitler, and the German people. Particularly are we reminded of Germany as the land of broken promises. It is said that the Germans are not to be trusted. Their treaties are scraps of paper. They say one thing and do another. Some of which may be all too true. But, on the other hand, how much are we to rely upon the pledges of England?

History reveals that since the United States broke away in 1776, we have

failed to see any great friendship expressed by England in our struggle for democracy. We fought her in 1776. We fought her again in 1812. In 1861 England actively helped the cause of the Southern States, even to the extent of material aid, and likewise aimed bitter propaganda at Abraham Lincoln, whom they declared to be the great dictator.

Again, in 1917, England sought to make her losing fight our fight. She needed our help, and injected fear into our hearts. England needed ships and munitions, not men, said Churchill then. But no sooner had we been persuaded to get into her fight, when England demanded men; and American boys were sent overseas to make the

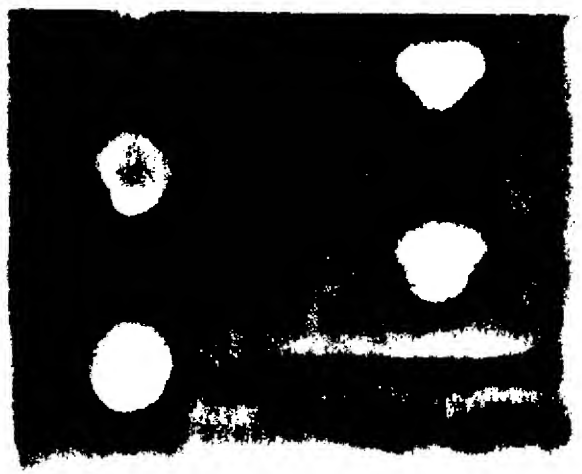


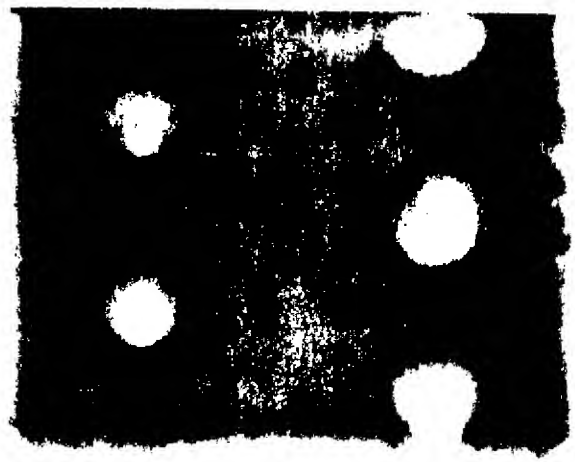
world safe for "Democracy," which was another way of spelling Great Britain. American boys were plowed under the soil, and many were brought back to America as broken wrecks who still fill numerous veterans' hospitals in all parts of the nation; while Americans at home faced a huge war debt.

So was it in 1940. England needed our help to make the world safe for democracy — English democracy. There was no need of men. Only arms and munitions, planes and ships. So said Churchill, *the man who betrayed us into sending men as well in 1918.*

So it may be again, we fear, in 1941. Indeed, as late as June 1941, we have it from the lips of The President, himself. American mechanics, he says, are wanted for service in England, and Americans can enlist in the British forces in Canada without pledge of allegiance to the King! He is now recruiting not alone for the United States but directly for England. No need for our boys to fight in Europe under our flag. They can serve under the British flag!

In the meantime, what of England's broken pledges? She refused to give America credit for saving her in 1918. She called us Uncle Shylock when we requested payment of her war debt, after gaining nearly 1,000,000 square miles of new territory as a result of victory. She finally repudiated this war debt. She failed to make the





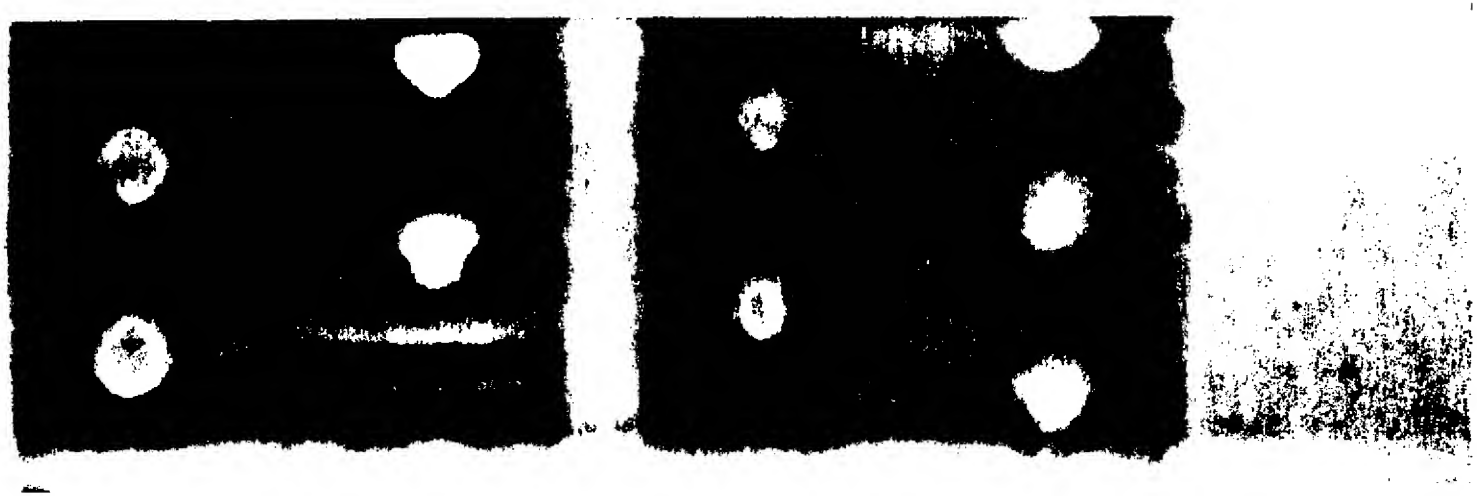
world, or even Europe, safe for democracy. Our effort was in vain. Was she any different than her enemy, Germany? If so, we have failed to note the difference.

But England did not despair. In 1939 she saw the gathering war clouds. Having failed herself to prepare, she was at it again, spoon-feeding us her war propaganda—the menace of Hitlerism. No doubt, we now see the reason for the friendly visit of the King and Queen to the White House. Mr. Roosevelt was apparently sold on English propaganda. In turn, he re-sold it to the long-suffering American people, so that when Hitler struck in 1940, England looked to us for material aid. She told us it was our salvation that was at

stake—the salvation of the free peoples of the world.

Fortunately, in 1940, there were many who remembered 1918—the soldiers of the American Expeditionary Forces; the mothers of the sons dead in France; the citizens who were paying the debt shouldered on us by the British statesmen; the mothers of future American soldiers; and those not yet blinded by British propaganda. They saw the futility of our being re-drawn into the wars overseas. They recalled the words of Washington and Jefferson warning us to keep out of Europe.

Some courageous Americans warned us of our fate if we re-entered the hostilities of Europe. But the British In-

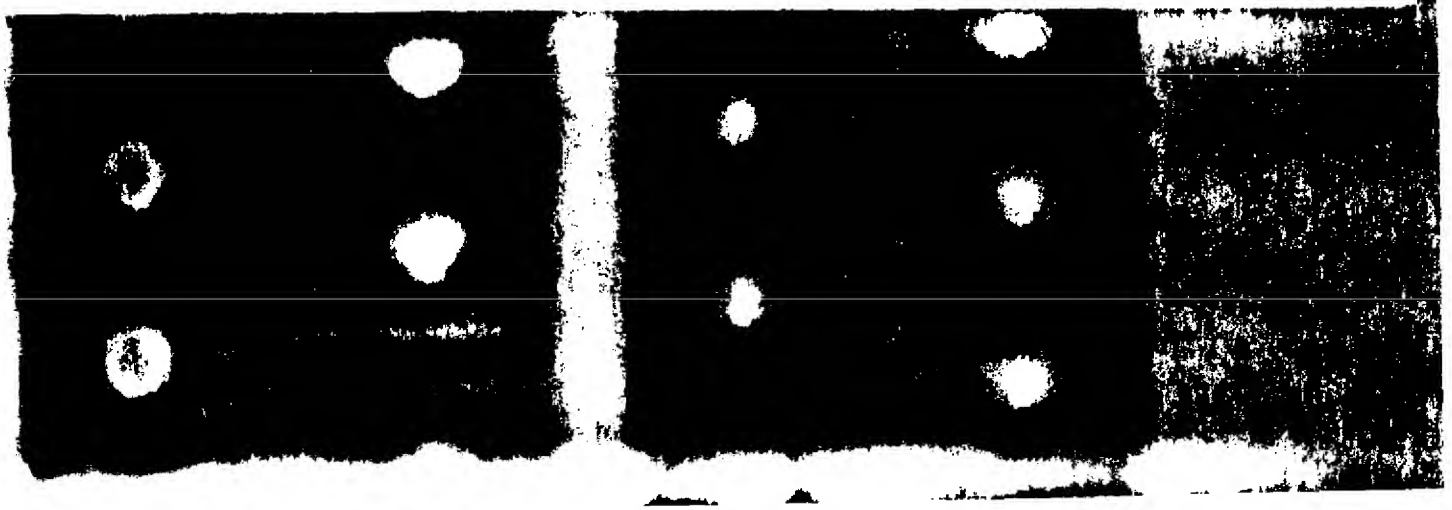


telligence Service stood ready to thwart such talk. They elected their American agents to accuse these men of being German sympathizers, secret agents of Hitler. The smear campaign had begun. *If you said aid for America first, you were an enemy within!*

Immediately the British war propaganda took effect. There was a rising tide of sentiment, British-fed sentiment, in favor of aid to England. Lord Halifax toured the United States appealing to us to enter the European conflict.

At first the English government stood ready to buy arms and munitions. But suddenly her cash assets in America began to vanish. Then came the sug-

gestion of lending our aid. But Senator Hiram Johnson had foreseen this, and had obtained the passage of legislation refusing even credit to those European nations which had failed to pay their World War debt. However, Mr. Roosevelt circumvented this precautionary measure by the final enactment of his Lend-Lease Bill.



II.

British propagandists are well schooled in psychology. They know the value of appealing to the emotions. People are moved to act by their feelings. *Fear* therefore becomes the chosen British weapon for influencing American public opinion.

This subtle technique is again being employed today by Great Britain who repudiated her World War debt and yet was rich enough to finance a new war!

It was said in 1914, and again in 1940, that England is our first line of defense. England is reported holding back the enemy. England, too, is in

danger; therefore we are in danger. So we are asked to stand by England in order to save our own democracy. Pure poppycock! England is simply asking us to fight her battles, in order to preserve and if possible to enlarge her empire.

Do you question what I say? If so, listen to these revealing facts, as told by Sidney Rogerson in his recently published book, "Propaganda and The Next War."

He says:

"Americans are more susceptible than most people to mass suggestion . . . yet it will be difficult to get the United States to participate in a war . . . it will need a definite threat to

America, which will be brought home by propaganda to every citizen. . . . We shall as usual send our leading literary lights to put over our point of view."

Let us give thanks, then, to this distinguished English author, who so clearly exposes the hypocrisy of English propaganda and reveals us as easy prey for this foreign invasion.

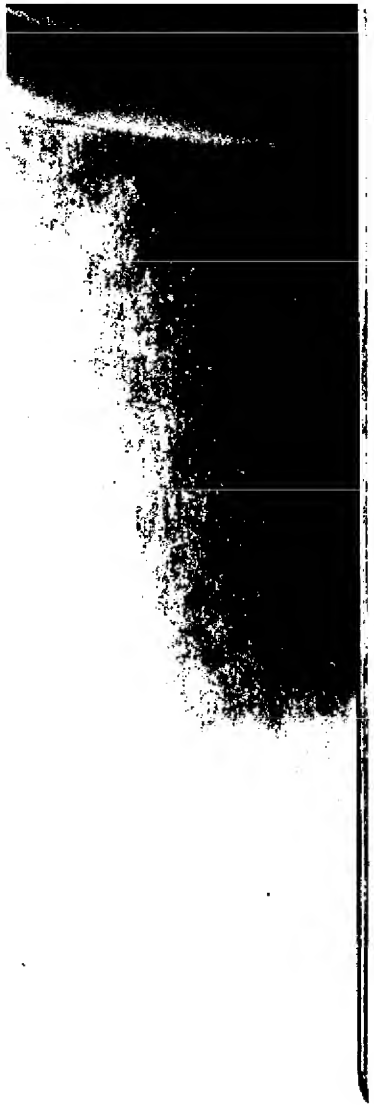
Mr. Rogerson continues his optimism concerning the ease with which Americans succumb to the propagandists:

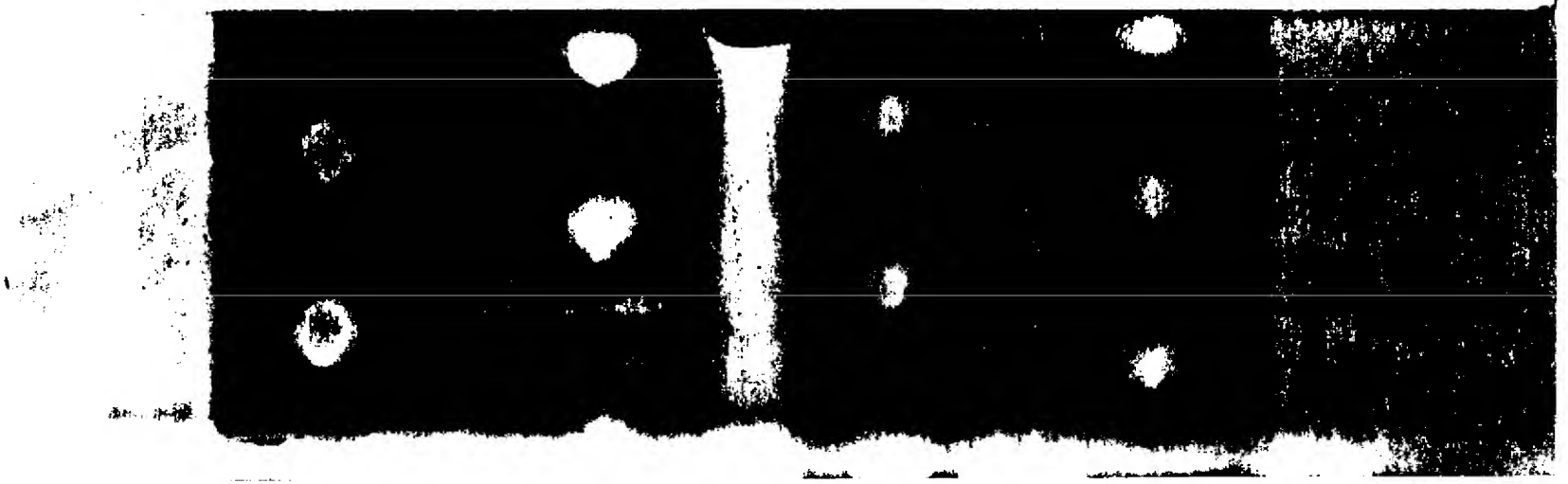
"Fortunately, in America, our propaganda is on firm ground. We can be entirely sincere, as our main plank will be the old democratic one.

We must clearly enunciate our belief in the democratic form of government. Our minor propaganda will aim at attracting the support of important sections, such as the Jews, etc.

"This should not be difficult to pursue, nor to put over to the American public."

The real point at issue is that England fought us in 1776, and she is today still fighting us and the ideals of Washington and Jefferson. Washington opposed our entry into European conflicts. His idea has been at all times opposed by England. England is, therefore, still fighting Washington. With Washington and Jefferson on the one hand, and England on the other,





strangely enough we find many so-called loyal Americans siding with this European nation against the wisdom of our first President.

Another fallacy widespread in the United States is that America is safeguarded only by the British fleet. Ridiculous! Nothing could be further from the truth. If this were so, we in this country are in a sorry plight.

Let it never be said that we are too weak to defend ourselves!

Let it never be said that our American Navy is incapable of safeguarding our liberty!

III.

The Father of Our Country, soldier, patriot, statesman, lover of peace, left no doubt as to where he stood on the duty of America when it came to interference in European affairs. In the Farewell Address to his staff at Fraunces Tavern, in New York, George Washington said:

"... Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence ... the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake, since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government."

Once more, on this question of European influence, Washington declared:

"It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world. . . . Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalship, interest, humor or caprice?"

Washington was not alone in his views on the futility of our meddling in Europe. His views were the views of another President, Thomas Jefferson, author of the Declaration of Independence, and founder of the Demo-

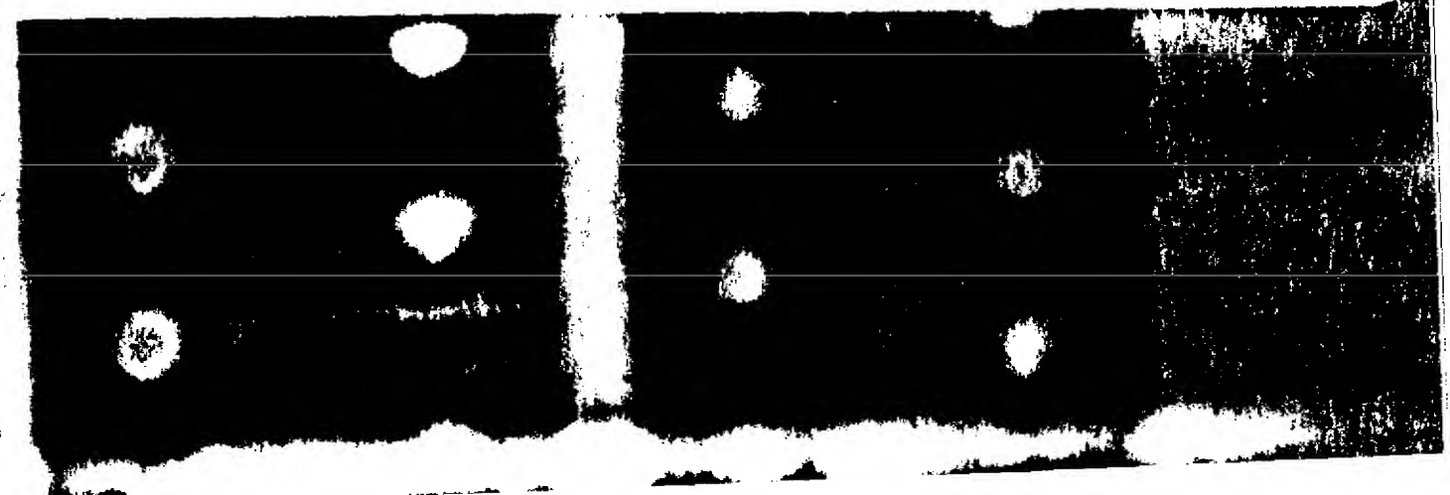
cratic Party. Jefferson left no doubt as to his position, and the attitude the newly organized country should take on the question of foreign involvement.

Said Jefferson:

". . . I have ever deemed it fundamental for the United States never to take active part in the quarrels of Europe. Their political interests are entirely distinct from ours. . . . They are nations of eternal war. All their energies are expended in the destruction of the labor, property and lives of their people."

And again:

"The less we have to do with the enmities of Europe, the better."



Still again:

"Peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none."

In his thought of peace, Washington went even further in his Farewell Address, pointing out the need of our cultivating goodwill toward all nations:

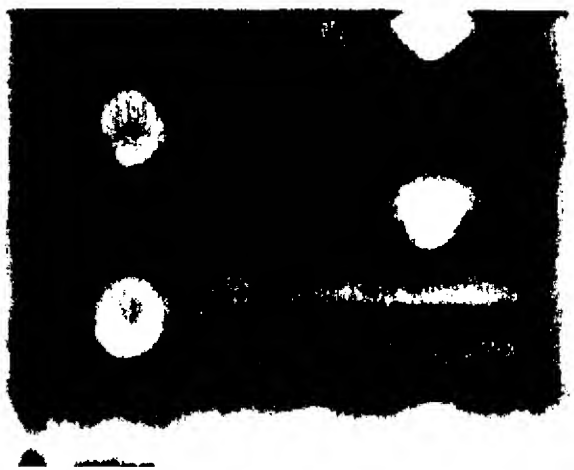
"...Nothing is more essential than that permanent, inveterate antipathies against particular nations, and passionate attachments for others, should be excluded; and that in place of them, just and amicable feelings towards all should be cultivated."

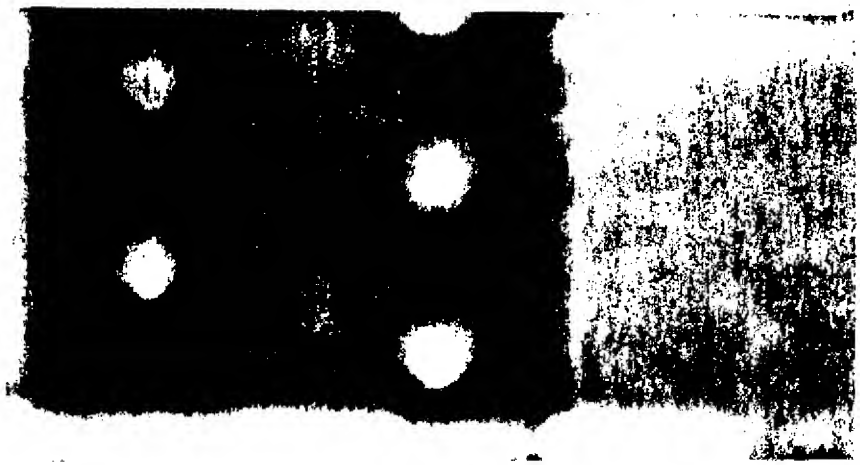
One part of Washington's warning against taking sides in foreign quarrels

seems like a prophecy foretelling the present day turmoil in America over Europe's war. How aptly these words of our first President apply :

"Excessive partiality for one foreign nation and excessive dislike of another, cause those whom they actuate to see danger only on one side, and serves to veil and even second the arts of influence on the other. Real patriots, who may resist the intrigues of the favorite, are liable to become suspected and odious; while its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people, to surrender their interests."

Our policy of isolation from the affairs of Europe was further established





when we accepted our adherence to the so-called Monroe Doctrine, which proclaimed we would brook no interference by European nations in the affairs of the Western Hemisphere.

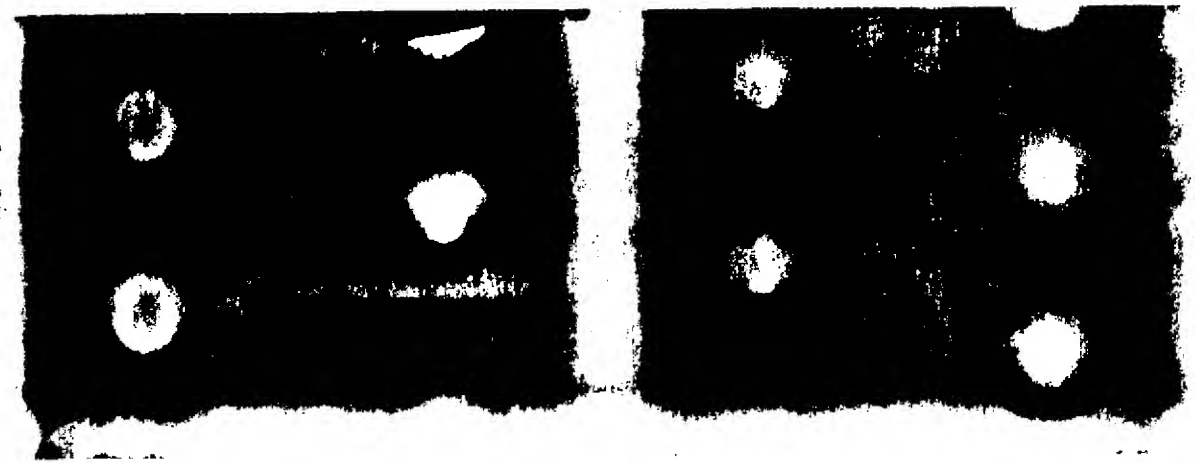
Ignoring this wise counsel of Washington and Jefferson, many Americans have been hoodwinked into blindly accepting all British propaganda designed to engage us in European war.

British-inspired Americans are forming war relief societies, women are knitting sweaters for British soldiers, and American parents are providing homes for British children, while Mr. Roosevelt is giving guns, ammunition, tanks, ships, planes, food and money to the British fighting

forces, and training the American youth, as Senator Burton K. Wheeler says, to be sent overseas, "every fourth boy to be plowed under."

The whole situation is well summed up in a statement by George H. Cless, Jr., who writes:

"The American people, I believe, do not want to give their country away to anybody; they do not want to engage in any international piracy, no matter what high-sounding phrases the pirates may throw around themselves; they do not want to become economic, political and military slaves to the state; they do not want a repetition of the war lies and hysteria of 1917; they do not want



again to try to save democracy where democracy isn't.

"The American people, I believe, do want to stand on their own feet and preserve their own free institutions; they will, if necessary, defend their own America."

IV.

Now let us ask ourselves, just how far have the British diplomats succeeded in their propaganda to enlist America in the war. The answer is given by our Vice-President, Henry A. Wallace. In a radio broadcast, Mr. Wallace declared:

"It is no longer a war for the self-preservation of the British Empire. . . . It is our war."

Support of the British cause in Washington emboldens England's propagandists.

Prime Minister Churchill, unhampered by considerations of good taste, had the impudence to publicly take a

fling at Senator Wheeler for advising Americans to stay out of war.

Later, Colonel Josiah C. Wedgwood, member of the British Parliament, in Boston, where American patriots staged the historic Boston Tea Party, likewise had the temerity to assail American character and insult our Congress:

"The trouble with you Americans," he said, "is that you're afraid to assume responsibilities. . . . Why haven't you got a sensible Congress?"

Then Colonel Wedgwood proceeded to echo Vice-President Wallace:

"After all, this is your war and you are in it up to your necks."

More recently, Queen Elizabeth in a special broadcast to the women of America, said:

". . . we fight to save a cause that is yours no less than ours."

How do you like that, my fellow Americans?

Our war, indeed!

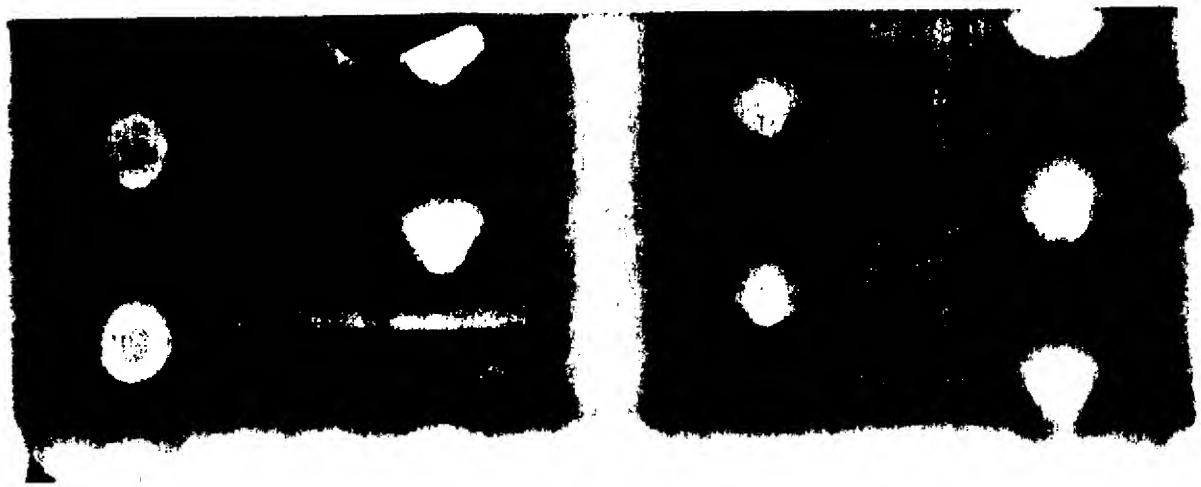
By what mental hocus-pocus?

What a display of contempt for the intelligence of the American people!

But if we are not on our guard, it is likely to become our war!

British propaganda is doing its utmost to pull us in.

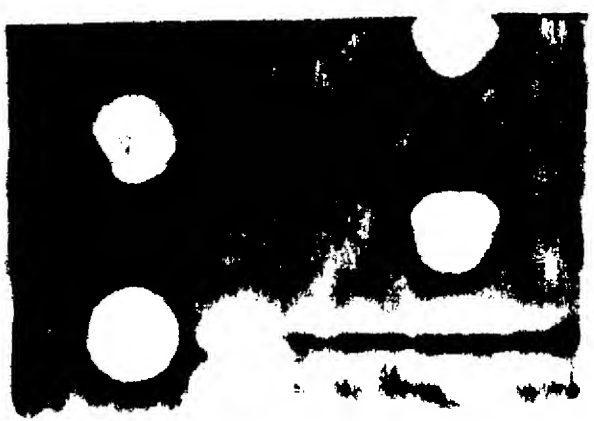
In the present situation, however, one thing at least is clear. Actual danger

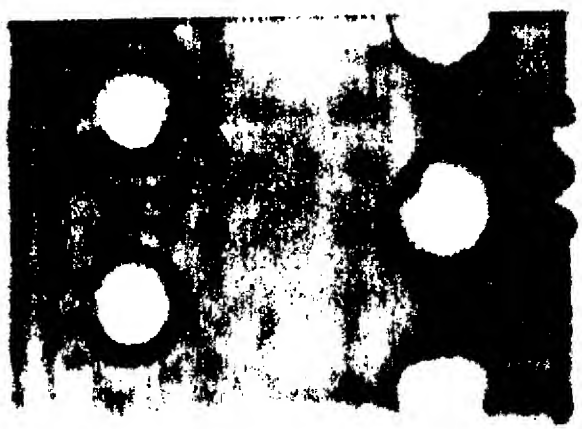


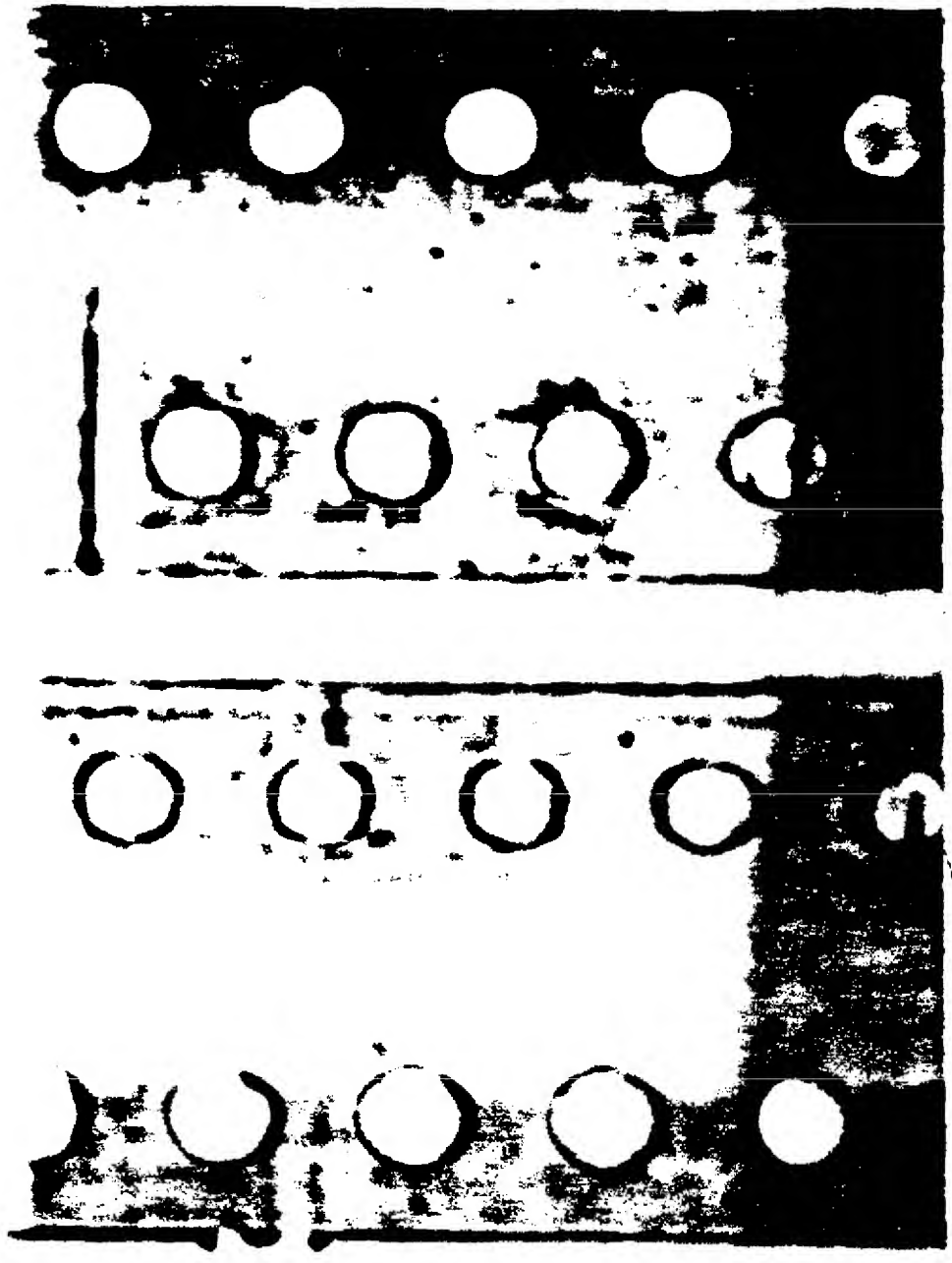
to America lies, not overseas, but within our own borders.

The real danger threatening our independence is the foreign invasion of the United States by British propaganda.

This is the invasion that must be repelled. Until the propagandists are defeated, there can be no peace or security for our land.







MR. CHURCHILL AND THE FREEDOMS.

The Indian council of state has adopted a resolution asking that the viceroy convey to the British government India's "deep discontent" at its present relations with the British empire. Mr. Churchill was known to have signed the Atlantic charter of freedoms with his fingers crossed. He explained in the house of commons that the problems arising out of the evolution of self-governing institutions in regions owing allegiance to the British crown were a separate matter entirely from the problems created by the Nazi subjection of European nations.

The prime minister couldn't have said much more plainly that nothing in Mr. Roosevelt's rhetoric would change the status of people in the British empire. "Everywhere in the world" does not mean everywhere in the world, and no sensible person could regard the phrase as anything but moonshine. People later, however, will convict its authors of insincerity, if not hypocrisy, in dressing a pretentious crusade up as a moral one.

These fictitious altruisms are not harmless. Mr. Wilson's high moralities proved to be evil in their after-peacemaking, and harmful just to the extent that they had been effective as war propaganda. The disillusionments caused by the actual peace terms produced a bitterness and cynicism wherever a sense of betrayal and injustice was felt.

Only over-sentimental or over-simple minded people now can be taken in by professions of universal freedom when it is apparent to the average foresight that no such millennium is in prospect.

Mr. Churchill doesn't propose to be embarrassed later by any misunderstanding now as to the position of his government. He has signed some declarations but he has hastened to qualify his signature and put himself in position later to reject the ideas as impractical, undesirable, and premature if he ever has the good fortune to sit down at a peace conference with the power to dictate the terms.

Mr. Churchill has had some experience with idealogues and, quite prudently, he puts himself on record in advance as writing his own reservations. He cannot wholly escape the reproach that he is lending himself to the promoting of false hopes and expectations of things that are not to be. America cannot impose its ideas outside the dominion of the United States, and it cannot wholly maintain them within its boundaries.

THE TRUTH ABOUT ENGLAND

AND THE "NEW" EUROPE

★

"And ye shall know the Truth, and the truth shall make you Free."
—St. John, 8-32

★

Learn the Cause and Cost of Our Wars
1776 - 1812 - 1917 - and 1941?

★

PRICE 25 CENTS

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PUBLICATION

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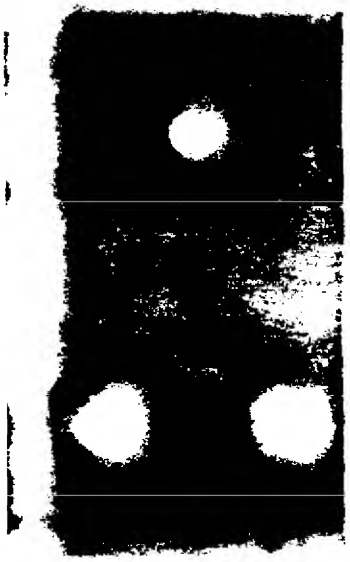
AUTHOR'S NOTE

When first issued in May, 1940, this booklet bore the title "The Truth About England"; a title which was then appropriate since the England therein described was the England of King George III and his Prime Minister Lord North, and the England of King George VI and his Prime Minister Winston Churchill. . . . In brief it was the "old" England which for 160 years had kept the world in a ferment of war and revolution for the purpose of exploitation. To the same effect the title and subject-matter of the first booklet were suited to the America of May, 1940, for at this date the American government was still a government Of, For and By the people, and in no danger of becoming a Dictatorship, as now seems inevitable. But with the fall of France,—the impending fall of England,—and the certainty of an American Dictatorship, the Author found it necessary to re-write several pages of the original text; and here re-names the present issue "The Truth About the "old" England—and (the truth about) The New Europe" . . .

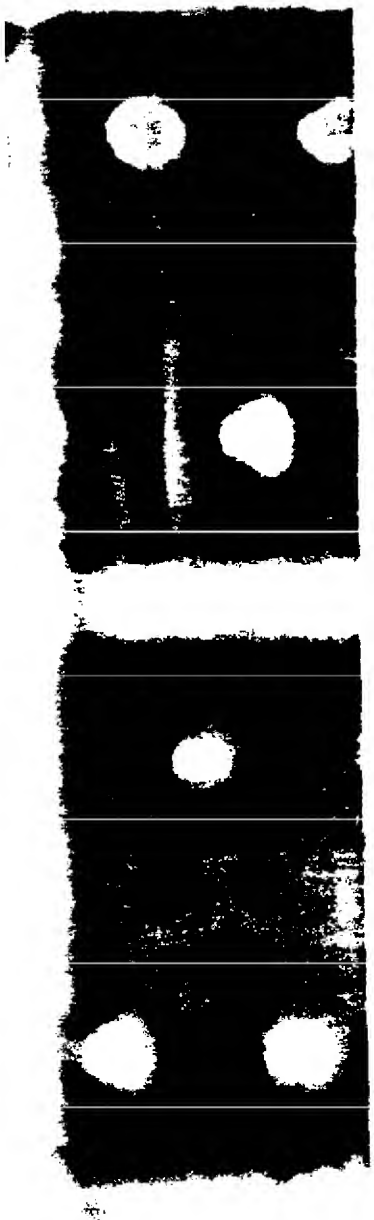


True, the "old" England is not yet completely dead nor the "new" American dictatorship completely established; but since these are consummations soon to be achieved (if not "devoutly to be wished") —and since the "old" England with its Royalty, Nobility and Aristocracy may soon remove to Canada, it is high time that the people of the United States consider seriously (1) What should be their attitude toward the "old" England then established on American soil, and (2) What should be their attitude toward the new nation that will arise in the British Isles once the British Royalty and Nobility have removed to Canada . . . ? To repeat the first question in more explicit language —"Can the people of the United States dare assume the risk of sharing the American Continent with a Royalty and Nobility that have been our economic and political enemies for 160 years?" To restate the second question in equally explicit language, "How shall we deal with the new nation soon to arise in the British Isles, when that new nation has become part of the New Europe,—the New United States of Europe?" That the issue involved in these questions will vitally affect the future of our own United States, will be immediately apparent, but to the average reader it is not yet apparent that the issue here involved was in no way affected by the result of the 1940 Presidential Campaign; since the Candidates of both major parties espoused the same Foreign Policy of "unlimited aid" to the "old" England . . . . Thus the two questions merge into one,—"How can we be friendly with the 'old' England then established in Canada, and with the 'new' England then an integral part of a new Europe dominated by Germany?"

Since both Presidential Candidates in the recent campaign carefully avoided any reference to this question, our people must answer it for themselves: And to this end the Author urges, that in his study of the following pages the reader keep always in mind this under-lying question,—

"Shall we fight FOR the 'old' England, or prepare to trade WITH the New Europe?"

THE TRUTH ABOUT ENGLAND



Foreword

When, in October, 1937, President Roosevelt startled the world with his declaration that the Democratic nations must unite to suppress the Aggressor nations, the declaration was quietly whispered throughout England and France that in "due time" America would again join the Allies in a new war against Germany. . . .

When four months later Secretary Harold Ickes broadcast throughout the British Empire (but not in America) his promise that America would aid England in any future war with Germany, the Ickes promise was also whispered throughout England and France as further proof that in due time, America would join them in another war to make the world safe for Democracy.

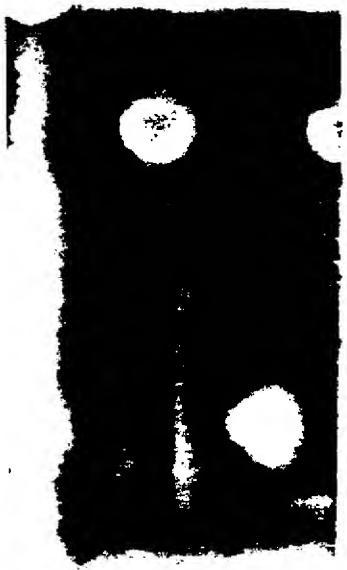
When ten months later, Secretary Cordell Hull convened the Pan-American conference at Lima, Peru, it was quietly whispered in England and France that the purpose of the Lima conference was NOT as indicated by Secretary Hull—a conference to promote commerce between the United States and the nations of Central and South America, but was instead, an attempt to destroy the commerce then existing between Central and South America, and the aggressor states, Germany and Italy. So interpreted, the people of England and France regarded the Lima Conference as further evidence that the United States was attempting to strengthen the Allies and weaken Germany, for the war soon to begin. . . .

When a few months later, in his best remembered speech, President Roosevelt declared defiantly that in the present war, the resources of America should be pledged to the Allies (short of war), his declaration was shouted throughout England and France as proof positive that in due time, American troops would fight for the Allies, as in 1917 . . . . In the light of these events, and in view of the fact that for many months our Press and Radio, Pulpits and Platforms have flooded the country with Pro-English, pro-war propaganda, while our President continued his violations of our Neutrality Act and of International Law with his unauthorized trades and pacts with the "old" England; it is now clear that the GOVERNMENT of the United States will FIGHT for the "old" England, and thus deprive the PEOPLE of the United States of their right to TRADE with the new Europe . . . Though it is now too late to resist this pro-English Policy of our Dictatorial Government, this present Booklet is offered the American reader in the hope, that AFTER the war ends, the PEOPLE of America can set to work to create a Government and a Foreign Policy, under which the people of the United States of America can unite with the people of the United States of Europe, in bringing peace and prosperity to the entire world.

But this united effort for world-union and peace cannot and will not come, until the people of America realize the stupidity of trying to save that "old" England which for 160 years has methodically robbed, plundered and betrayed the nations of the earth. . . . By the time this booklet reaches the reader that old England may be dead and buried but even so, READ THIS BOOKLET CAREFULLY, that no act of ours may contribute to a Resurrection of the "old" England, but that to the contrary, our united efforts may contribute the creation of a NEW English p[illegible] which in turn will contribute to t[illegible] tion of a new United States of E[illegible]

CHAPTER I.

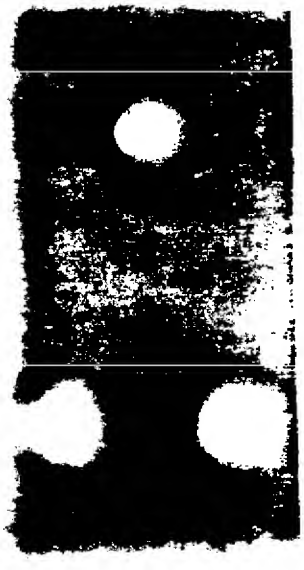
TYRANNY
By Military Power



In 1606 England granted the American Colonies their first Government Charter, and among the concessions granted in this Charter the one of greatest importance was that contained in Section X which empowered the Colonies to establish their own Banking System and issue their own colonial money . . . Because this Banking System was free from any English interference, the Colonies began to enjoy an immediate expansion of commerce, both between themselves and with foreign nations, with the result that the colonies also enjoyed a steady growth in population and prosperity . . . By 1750 with a population of approximately three million, and with their ships sailing the Seven Seas, the Colonies began to be known as the American Utopia: But in England the growth of the colonies was no longer viewed with favor. For with thousands coming to America yearly from all over Europe, the English foresaw that it would not be long until the Colonies would be more European than English, and that with their rapidly growing commerce and industry, the colonies would soon achieve Economic independence. So the merchants and bankers of England said to the Crown, "If the Colonies achieve Economic independence, it will not be long until they demand Political independence"; and at once the Crown, the merchants and bankers began conspiring to prevent Colonial independence either Economic or Political. As the first step in this conspiracy, Parliament enacted a law forbidding the colonies to trade with any nation except England, expecting this law to have three specific results:

First; Since American ships would be restricted to English ports, emigration from other lands would be greatly curtailed, and thus the population of the colonies would remain largely English: This result would benefit the Crown . . . Second; As a result of the law, the colonies would be compelled to sell their farm products to English merchants, and buy their manufactured articles from English merchants, and for such prices as the English merchants might dictate: This result would benefit English merchants and manufacturers . . .

Third: Since the balance of trade would always be in favor of England, and since this trade-balance must be paid in Gold, the colonies having no gold would be compelled to borrow it in England: This result would benefit English Bankers . . . As we can now readily understand, this English Conspiracy was a terrific blow to the colonies; prosperity and immigration came to a dead stop, hardship succeeded happiness and here and there were men who spoke of revolution . . . But here as many times later, England over-reached herself, for the colonies, unable to buy and sell to advantage in England, began solving their problem by building their own factories, and by so doing, created a market for their raw-materials, created the goods formerly purchased in England, and created employment for their workmen. . . So, fearing the success of this new threat to their domination, the English merchants and bankers compelled Parliament to further a second conspiracy by enacting a second law,—The Stamp Act of 1765. . . Under the provisions of this Law, no circular or pamphlet, no Legal Document such as Notes, Mortgages or Bills of Exchange could be circulated in the colonies without first having affixed thereto the required English "Stamp"; the Stamps ranging in cost from one penny to fifty dollars . . . As in the former case, three results were expected from the Stamp law: First: It would place such a burden on business that investment in Colonial Industry would soon end, with the result that Colonial trade would again be dominated by English merchants and manufacturers. Second: Since the "Stamps" must be paid for in English gold, and the gold borrowed in England, colonial finance would again be brought under the domination of English Bankers.



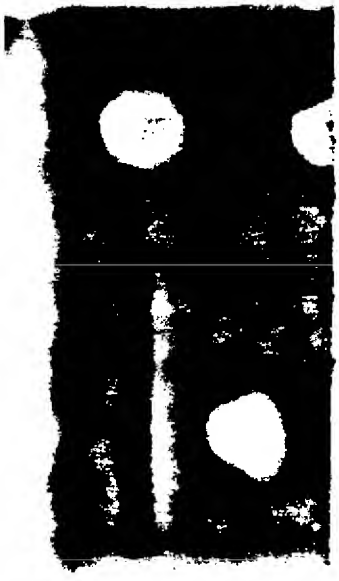
Third: Since these restrictions would prevent economic progress, the resulting hardship and poverty would render the colonies submissive; and thus greatly benefit the English Crown . . .

But in this second conspiracy England had "killed the goose that laid the golden eggs," for the Stamp Act so completely destroyed colonial business that there was an immediate and nation-wide demand for complete Independence and the end of English tyranny. . . Aware of this growing threat of Revolution, Parliament repealed the Stamp Act in 1766; but the repeal came too late, for realizing that in the two laws just described, England was attempting to hold the Colonies in economic slavery; and realizing further that there could be no real progress or expansion under English rule, the Colonies began their preparations for Revolution, and finally in 1776, issued their Declaration of Independence and began the War which later ended in the victory of 1781, with surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown. . . . And so ends the first period of British-American history; the 180 year period here entitled "Tyranny by Military Power" . . . Had the England of that day possessed that Spirit of Democracy which has ever been her boast, she would have seen the folly of her tyranny, and would have realized that in forcing the colonies into war she was making the greatest mistake in human history. For this war not only cost England all the colonies had then become; it cost her all the colonies MIGHT have become, under a wise and beneficent rule . . . But though England had lost the War, she was far from through with us yet, for what she had lost at Yorktown, she now planned to recover in New York: What she had lost on the field of battle, she now planned to recover in the field of finance; —and so we come to the second chapter of English tyranny in America; a chapter we shall call,

CHAPTER II.

TYRANNY
By Conspiracy

While this period "officially" began in 1791 with the founding of "The Bank of the United States," it actually began in 1778 while the Continental Army was enduring the terrible winter at Valley Forge. Here for a time it looked as though the War for Independence would be lost for General Washington was unable to procure funds with which to equip his rapidly dwindling army; but at the psychological moment a Philadelphia merchant, Robert Morris, came to Washington's rescue by placing at his disposal more than one million dollars . . . Where or from whom Robert Morris secured this stupendous sum was not disclosed, but it is now widely believed that the money came from the same European Banker who framed the deal by which King George III had procured 15,000 Hessian soldiers from the Landgrave of Hesse two years before. That King George paid twenty million dollars for his Hessian troops, and that much of this sum was then paid to the Banker by way of commission is now well known: And it is highly probable that soon thereafter the Banker sent much of his commission to his Philadelphia agent, one Haym Salomon, who at the psychological moment, gave it to Robert Morris. If this theory is true, part of the money spent by King George for his Hessian Army was later used to equip our Continental Arm

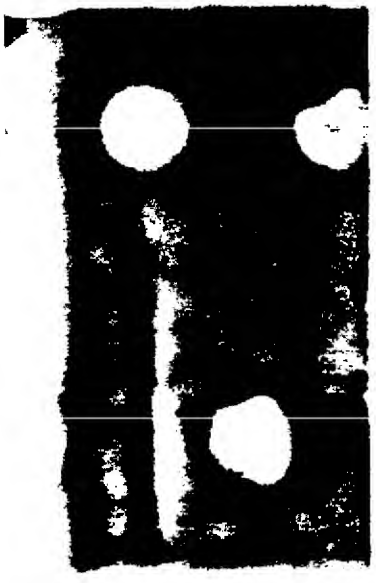


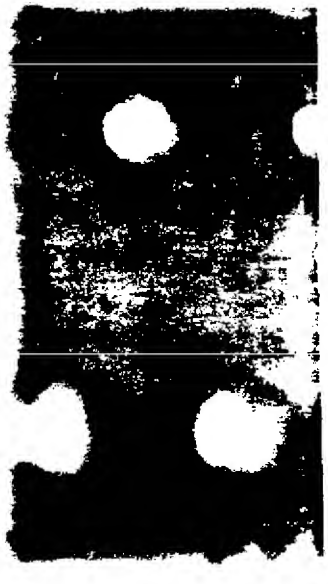
—an early instance of an International Banker financing both sides of a War. . . At any rate the theory is supported by the fact that in 1776 Haym Salomon was arrested by the British General in New York, and was later released in 1778 at the demand of the Hessian Officer commanding the Hessian troops. . . And the theory is supported by the further fact, that immediately following his release Haym Salomon came into the official family of Robert Morris, and that soon thereafter Robert Morris received the million dollars he gave to General Washington . . . But even though the origin of this million dollars remains uncertain, the purpose of the gift is now clear, for though this million-dollar gift won the war, it later caused the enslavement of the American people for a period of forty years. . .

AN ENGLISHMAN BECOMES OUR FIRST SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY

Soon after making his million-dollar gift Robert Morris suggested to General Washington that he appoint a young man named Alexander Hamilton as aide-de-camp, explaining that as young Hamilton was an expert financier he could render valuable services in handling the finances of the Army. As aide-de-camp, Hamilton, who had been born a British subject and trained in British banking-and-business methods, soon won the confidence of General Washington; so completely in fact, that when eleven years later the General had become President, he appointed Hamilton as our first Secretary of the Treasury . . . Whether Morris was involved in this second Hamilton appointment is not clear, but it is clear as his later record revealed, that Hamilton was better fitted for the Treasury appointment than any other man then available. . . . During his one year in the Treasury, Hamilton placed the national credit on a sound financial basis, following closely the plans and principles long since adopted by the Treasury department of the ENGLISH government . . . But as later events revealed, Hamilton as Secretary of the Treasury did something more than establish the national credit, — he "won" the friendship of important members of Congress, who were later to repay his favors in a most substantial manner. After one year in office, Hamilton took the first step in a well-laid conspiracy, by threatening to leave the Treasury and enter private business. . . . Now, since Hamilton had planned the Treasury Department and was the one man in America who understood its intricacies, his threatened resignation caused a near-panic throughout the nation: Immediately Government finances became involved, and the Government credit impaired; and when leading businessmen and bankers announced THEIR loss of confidence, now that Hamilton no longer controlled the Treasury, a wave of fear swept the country causing a complete stoppage of the Nation's Industry and Commerce. . . Beyond question, this is exactly what Hamilton and his friends had planned and expected,—a complete undermining of the nation's Financial structure, as the first step of a conspiracy TO GAIN CONTROL OF THE NATION'S MONETARY SYSTEM.

About one year after his resignation and with conditions growing from bad to worse, Hamilton petitioned Congress for a Charter for a National Bank; urging that by no other means could national confidence be restored and the nation's financial structure preserved. . . . The petition was at first refused, but later as conditions grew worse (and his friends in Congress had done their work) the petition was granted, and Hamilton was given a Charter for "The Bank of the United States," — the said Charter to expire in twenty years. Concerning the internal organization of the new Bank, the following may prove interesting:—In form and power, it was a duplicate of the Bank of ENGLAND. The Gold which sustained its credit, had been largely advanced by the Bankers of England; Much of its stock was owned by English bankers . . . In brief, this original Bank of the United States was little other than a BRANCH of the Bank of England; as, from the day he took office as Secretary of the Treasury, Hamilton had planned it should be . . . Pat-





terned after the Bank of England, financed with English gold, and with much of its stock owned in England, the Bank began its operations, and HOW did it operate? It operated as surgeons usually operate, by "cutting out" something: And in a few years the Bank had "cut out" the happiness and security of most of the "Americans" in America by this simple expedient:

—It restricted its Loans (1) To those merchants who would make their foreign purchases in England. (2) To those newly arrived Englishmen, who upon their arrival bought a controlling interest in existing companies, or when that was impossible started similar companies in competition. (3) Made loans to those American Tories of New York, Boston and Philadelphia who had opposed our War for Independence and who still hoped that Mother England would again dominate the colonies . . . As a result of this concentration of money and control of credit, in less than twenty years the establishment of the Hamilton Bank, the English and Pro-English completely dominated the nation's industry and commerce, while the Americans who had won the War for Independence had been driven out of business and their properties foreclosed . . . This first instance of English domination of our economic life, followed the plan used consistently by England throughout the world for the past 150 years, and always with the same result,—Great Profits for England; and Great Losses for the nations victimized . . . This Plan, conceived in Conspiracy and born of Tyranny, has been best described in the remarkable monograph "Forty Years After," published in 1931 by Pope Pius XI: Here His Holiness said, "This Power (control of Money and Credit) becomes PARTICULARLY IRRESISTIBLE when exercised by those who because they hold and control Money, are able also to govern Credit AND DETERMINE ITS ALLOTMENT." It was this fact of "allotment" that made the tyranny of the Hamilton Bank "particularly irresistible"; for since the Bank's Loans were "allotted" to the English and pro-English, while the real Americans engaged in Industry and Commerce could not obtain such loans; it was inevitable that the business and the wealth of the real Americans would soon pass to the English and pro-English,—as Hamilton had foreseen and planned. . . In brief what England had lost at Yorktown and Saratoga, she had now regained in New York and Washington: She had lost the battle with bullets, but won the battle with Gold, and again the American people, as in the days of the Colonies, were the victims of English tyranny.

True, the people still retained their boasted freedom of Speech and Assembly, but these were of no avail for Hamilton could say with Rothschild, "Give me the power to control a nation's money, and I care not who makes its laws" . . . But here again as in 1765, England had overreached herself: Too many merchants and manufacturers had been driven out of business; too many farmers had lost their land; and too many workmen were walking the streets while newly-arrived Englishmen possessed their jobs; indeed conditions had grown so desperate that the Congressmen who had granted the Charter for the Hamilton Bank, began to fear for their jobs: And so it happened that in 1811 when the Bank's Charter was about to expire, these Congressmen confided to the Bank's officials that their Charter would not be renewed, lest such renewal cause a revolution . . . At this point, England that had for twenty years dominated the Bank from behind the scenes, came out into the open, and repeated her trick of 1775, by forcing America into another war,—The War of 1812 . . . And so for the second time in our history, the International Bankers led us into war; certain that whichever side Lost, the Bankers would win; and win they did.

THE WAR OF 1812

Though England's war against America in 1812 somewhat contradicts England's claim that all her wars are fought in defense of Democracy and Christianity, the war did verify the old statement that "England never won a war or lost a Peace": For in this war, as in that of 1775, what England lost on the field of

battle, she later regained in the field of finance . . . Students of history have long puzzled over the nonchalance with which England accepted the defeat of her army at New Orleans where General Packenham was routed by General Andrew Jackson, but the reason for her nonchalance is both simple and obvious,—England never expected to win the war, for at this time nine-tenths of her army was engaged in France and Spain in a war against Napoleon: What England DID expect and did accomplish in the war of 1812, was to BANKRUPT THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT . . . . As England had foreseen and planned, the war would bankrupt our Government; after which, The Bank of the United States would refuse to circulate its money or renew its loans, thus causing a nation-wide panic and depression . . . Then, after a year or two of fear and suffering, the people would permit Congress to issue another twenty-year Charter to the "Bank of the United States." As we now know, the plan worked out according to schedule, and in 1816 the new Charter was issued and the Hamilton Bank (and England) were off to another twenty years of plunder and oppression: Twenty years in which the American people would again be victimized, American merchants again driven out of business, American farmers deprived of their lands, and American workmen robbed of their jobs; and all for a gang of English stockholders and pro-English bankers, masquerading behind the title, "The Bank of the United States." . . .

When after another twenty years of loss and suffering, poverty and foreclosure, the Bank's second charter was due to expire and the Bank was preparing to petition for a third charter; Andrew Jackson, who had defeated the English in 1812, decided to defeat them again in 1832, and so in this year he ran for the Presidency, promising that if elected, he would destroy the Bank of the United States forever . . . Elected by a great majority Jackson kept his promise and the Bank was destroyed, —the Bank which Jackson knew had never been anything less or other, than a Branch of the Bank of England: But Jackson could not destroy the English Bankers who had sponsored the Hamilton Bank, and in 1872 these Bankers again appeared in America, with a different Plan, but with the same objective,—to re-establish their Tyranny by Conspiracy.

ENGLAND "CARRIES ON"

Conspiracy No. 3

In 1872, an agent of the Bank of England, one Ernest Seyd, came to America bringing with him $500,000.00 in CASH, —the half-million dollars he later used to "persuade" Congress to DE-monetize Silver . . . From the days of Andrew Jackson, Silver had been our chief medium of exchange, and because it was "coined" by the Government and not issued by bankers, it had been mainly responsible for the great increase in national wealth which we experienced between 1832 and 1872. During this forty years Silver had been "lawful money," which is to say it was good for ALL debts, both Public and private. But after 1872 when a bribed Congress DE-monetized Silver, it was no longer "lawful money" and could no longer be used for the discharge of Public debts (Government Bonds), for thereafter Government Bonds must be redeemed in Gold, gold-certificates or National Bank notes. To the average citizen this demonetizing of Silver made little difference, for the average citizen had no Government Bonds to be redeemed; but it made a great difference (and a great profit) to the bankers of England who held nearly a billion dollars in those Government Bonds which had been issued by Lincoln to finance the Civil War. After the Civil War and while our commerce and industry were still disorganized, these Bonds fell below par (perhaps were "driven" below par) and when they struck bottom, they were bought up by the English bankers for the reason that will now appear: On the face of these Bonds were printed the words "Redeemable in Lawful Money of the United States"; words which would later cause the third greatest Panic in our history, and set in motion a series of financial reverses from which we have not recovered to this day. In brief, when the

bonds were issued they were redeemable in Silver which was then "lawful money"; but after 1872 the bonds must be redeemed in Gold, for Silver was no longer "lawful money" . . . Thus to put over their conspiracy the English bankers sent Ernest Seyd to America to bribe Congress to De-monetize Silver, so that later when their Civil War bonds were presented for redemption, the Government must redeem them in Gold . . . . Now there were two reasons for this conspiracy;—first, the English wanted our gold for its intrinsic value in world trade; second, **and more important still**, they knew that the withdrawal of this gold from America, would produce a terrible Panic, for in withdrawing our gold, they would withdraw the foundation of our monetary system . . . They further knew that as a result of this Panic (1873) the value of our **corporate stocks and bonds** would depreciate at least fifty per cent, and that when such depredation occurred, they could purchase our best stocks and bonds in Industry, Banks and Railroads,—and **for half their actual value** . . .

Their conspiracy worked out exactly as planned: Silver WAS demonetized;—the Panic DID depress our stocks and bonds to half their former value,—and then, the English stepped in to buy our banks, railroads and factories at their own price, and buy them with the profits they had made on our gold and our bonds. As a result of this third conspiracy and Panic, we suffered our usual terrific losses while England reaped her usual tremendous profits; which is to say, that while we were losing homes and farms, Banks and Railroads, our loss was England's gain. But of more importance to England than these immediate profits was the dominant position she then achieved as a result of the Panic;—a dominance she later used to demonetize Silver a second time in 1893, resulting in another disastrous Panic, and with the usual losses for America and the usual profits for England. Since both the Panics of 1873 and 1893 resulted from the demonetization of Silver we may regard them as but parts of the same conspiracy; which though conceived in England was born in America, and though born in America and suffered by America, began a period of forty-five years of English domination of America's industrial and financial system. Surrendering to English conspiracies having now become an American custom we turn to the Great conspiracy of 1917; the one that led us into war.

CHAPTER III

"The Great Conspiracy"

During the World War we extended England a loan of approximately Seven Billion Dollars;—a loan that was to bring us the greatest panic and depression in our history;—a loan that was to prove conclusively that American bankers and statesmen are boy-scouts when compared with the bankers and statesmen of England;—a loan that was to prove conclusively that when we "cooperate" with England,—we are flirting with economic suicide. . . . And here in brief, is the record and result of that loan:—

In 1923 an Agent of the Bank of England came to America, and said to President Harding somewhat as follows,—"Mr. Harding, in the political campaign of 1920 you and your party promised that if elected you would collect the war-debt owed to America by England: You are aware as we are, that for months past there has been an increasing demand that you keep your promise and collect this debt. . . . . You are also aware that behind this demand is a growing threat that if you fail to collect the debt, you and your party will be defeated at the next election . . . So we are here from England to discuss a Plan by which the debt can be paid and you and your party retained in office. . . . You will realize, Mr. Harding, that we cannot pay you in gold, for most of our gold was sent to America during the war, as payment for munitions and war-supplies, — gold which still circulates among your people . . . . You will further realize that we cannot pay you in "goods," for the reason that our goods would compete with American

products of factory and farm, a policy forbidden by your tariff laws and abhorrent to the Republican Party .... However we have a Plan, which if it meets with your approval, will not only pay our debt, but will guarantee a period of great prosperity for all the American people.

"And here, Mr. Harding, is our Plan: If you will permit us to sell to your people, Seven Billion Dollars worth of English and Foreign stocks and bonds, we will agree to spend every dollar received from such sale, right here in America; and you will quickly realize, Mr. Harding, that putting seven billion dollars into the veins of American Industry and Commerce will at once generate an unequalled era of prosperity .... Most of the billions so received, we will spend for American products both of factory and farm, and thus carry a continuing wave of prosperity to those who need it most; the workmen and farmers ... We will spend the remainder so received for factory equipment and machinery, which will be installed in England and throughout the Empire. During the war, most of our factories were dismantled and became munition plants, leaving us unable to produce for foreign markets as had been our custom; but with this new machinery purchased from America, we can refurnish our factories, resume production, and thus earn the money with which to pay our war-debt, and redeem the stocks and bonds we now propose to sell in America."

MR. HARDING "AGREES"

The Plan appealed to Mr. Harding, and was later approved by President Coolidge and Mr. Mellon, and so during 1923 and 1924, English bankers sold in America,—(and mostly to people of moderate means) Seven Billion Dollars worth of English and Foreign stocks and bonds. It is a matter of record, that most of these stocks are now worthless, and most of these bonds are now in default; which is to say, that we have not only lost the original war-debt of seven billion dollars, but lost also, the seven billion dollars paid for their worthless stocks and bonds. Now, fourteen billion dollars is a terrific sum of money and to lose it is a terrific loss, even to a nation as rich as ours. But this fourteen billions is the smallest loss we suffered as a result of our loan to England,—the greater loss, approximately 200 billion dollars, — came about as follows;—and we begin with the question, "Did England keep her promise to President Harding, to spend here in America, the seven billion dollars received for her worthless stocks and bonds?" Yes, she did keep her promise,—and HOW: And this is HOW she did it: She spent 2 billion dollars (of our money) buying our GOLD; and for a reason that will later appear, she left this gold on deposit here in America. She then spent 4 billion dollars (of our money) buying our gilt-edged stocks and bonds in our biggest corporations. Most of these stocks and bonds she took to England and Europe, to use as security for further loans there. The remaining billion dollars, (Of our money) she spent in buying our latest improved MASS-PRODUCTION, BELT-LINE MACHINERY,—and here the story gets hot. In taking this machinery to England and her colonies, she took also American engineers and factory-foremen, to install the machinery and teach the English workmen how to use it. This task required about four years, but finally when the task was completed early in 1928, the British Empire, for the first time in history, was on a MASS-PRODUCTION basis; able to produce as rapidly as any nation in the world, AND FAR MORE CHEAPLY .... And now see what happened:—

In December, 1928, American salesmen who toured the world for our big corporations, began slipping back home and whispering to their employers, "We can no longer sell American goods in Foreign markets" .. When the Employers asked "Why Not?": the salesmen answered,—"Because England is selling the SAME goods and for 40% less than we can sell them: And no customer is going to pay us a dollar for an article, when he can buy the same article from England for 60 cents." And then the truth came out: Throughout the British Empire, England was making American goods, on American machines, under American factory fore-

men; and selling these goods throughout the world for 40% less than we could sell, because her Labor and Shipping costs were 40% less than ours; and because her MASS - PRODUCTION MACHINERY HAD COST HER NOTHING, having purchased the machinery with our money; money we had paid for her worthless stocks and bonds four years before . . . . In brief, with this trick,—and with our money and machinery, England had stolen our Foreign Markets,—To Have and Hold forever. . . . And we pause to say something every voter should remember,—"When a Candidate for Congress promises if elected, he will recover our Foreign Trade"; he is either a fool or a liar: Our Foreign Trade is gone forever, because we cannot and will not lower our standards of Living and Wages, to meet the competition of England's cheap labor. . . True, certain men in Washington have attempted to meet this competition by "Reciprocal Trade Treaties," and by lending Foreign nations the money with which to buy our goods: But these schemes are worse than absurd, for as recent history has shown, when we make these loans for the purchase of our goods; we lose both the loans and the goods; and incidentally; we lose the respect of the nations that get our loans and goods . . . .

Returning now to Dec. 1928, we take up the second phase of the conspiracy which began with our War-loan to England . . . When our big businessmen realized that our foreign trade was gone and gone forever, they determined to protect themselves by selling their stocks in those corporations which catered to the foreign trade: And to do so quietly so as not to disturb the Stock-Market. . . . So, during January and part of February, 1929, our big businessmen sold their stocks as rapidly and quietly as possible; but when the Market began to sag, the stock-market gamblers got suspicious, and when they discovered the reason why our big businessmen were selling and that our foreign trade was gone forever, they too began selling their stocks, but NOT quietly: They rushed into the Stock-market and sold their holdings for the best price obtainable; and so precipitated the stock-market crash of February, 1929. This crash was the fourth largest in our history and with it began the eleven-year depression we still enjoy . . .

A few weeks later Herbert Hoover entered the White House, and for the next eight months he used his every energy and ingenuity to avert a calamity, and did all any man could have done, to restore the nation to normalcy . . . Calling to Washington many of the nation's Industrial Leaders, Mr. Hoover revealed business conditions as dangerous, but assured these Leaders that if they would exhibit no alarm,—would keep their factories running and their employment-rolls up to standard,—business would soon improve and the country soon recover from the effects of the February Crash. This was the act of a statesman,—the act of a true American who hoped he was talking to true Americans: But as later events revealed, his plan was a failure, for most of the Industrial Leaders went home with the same resolve,—"To retrench and save themselves." . . . Thus from March to October, 1929, factory production was reduced, more and more men were discharged, more and more orders cancelled, and more and more millions of dollars went into safety-deposit boxes . . . Finally when these methods of retrenchment were exhausted and our big men had become more and more frightened, they rushed into the stock-market on Oct. 23rd, 1929, and dumped the remainder of their stocks. . . . Here was the moment for which English bankers had been waiting, since 1923; the moment they had planned six years before, the moment they knew would come,—THE MOMENT THEY COULD BREAK THE AMERICAN STOCK-MARKET and start American money fleeing to England . . . So on the following day, Oct. 24th, THEY rushed into the stock-market and dumped 4 billions in stocks and bonds, breaking the market for the greatest crash in our history . . . When and where did they get the 4 billions in American stocks and bonds, with which to break our market ? ? ? ? They bought them in 1923 and 1924,—bought them with our money,—money we

had paid for their worthless stocks and bonds . . . But didn't they take a terrific loss when they sold these stocks on a falling market? NO, because the stocks hadn't cost them anything, they had bought them with OUR money.

Thus in a single year the English Bankers had completed the first two phases of the conspiracy they had begun in 1923; they had (1) Stolen our Foreign Trade, (2) Broken our Stock-Market,—and accomplished the entire feat WITH OUR MONEY . . .

And now a word as to the Third and final phase of this long-range conspiracy. Of the 7 billion dollars given our English cousins in 1923 and 24, we have accounted for 5 billions,—the one billion spent for our Mass-production machinery (and used to steal our foreign trade); and the 4 billions spent for our stocks and bonds (and used to break our stock-market): What then became of the other 2 billions?,—the 2 billions in gold, which they bought with our money? This gold has remained on deposit in American banks, AWAITING ANOTHER PSYCHOLOGICAL MOMENT.

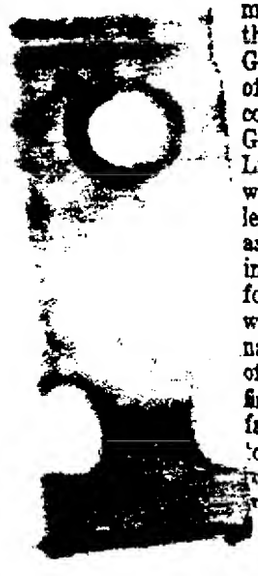
Following the crash of October, 1929, the depression deepened and widened through 1930, 31, and 32, causing an increasing fear that we might yet be engulfed in complete bankruptcy . . . As if to further the depression and assure national bankruptcy, our English cousins began withdrawing their gold and sending it to England, the withdrawals continuing through 1931, and 32 . . . The story of these withdrawals and the disastrous effects which followed, has been graphically told in an authoritative report published in 1934. This report has been ordered by President Roosevelt, and was compiled by Mr. George Peek.

A Summary of this report may be stated as follows: Since in 1931, 32 and 33, we were still on a Gold Standard, each gold-withdrawal made by England meant the withdrawal of part of the foundation which supported our economic and financial structure . . . Which is to say, that when sufficient gold had been withdrawn, our economic-financial structure having no foundation MUST crash; and to precipitate this crash the English had continued their gold-withdrawals from Dec. 1930 to February, 1933, when the last of their gold was shipped to England . . . To avert the coming crash our American bankers of their own volition closed all the banks in the nation, — the incident being remembered as the Bank Holiday of March 3rd, to 13th, 1933 . . . Though the Bank Holiday did prevent national bankruptcy, it could NOT prevent another Stock-market crash which came near the end of March; a crash that caused greater financial losses than the more spectacular crash of Oct. '29. With this crash of March, 1933, England completed the long-range conspiracy begun ten years before in 1923, and here is a quick summary of this 10-year conspiracy:—England had stolen our foreign trade by buying our machinery with our money: She had caused us the greatest stock-market crash in our history by dumping the stocks and bonds she had bought with our money: She had given us our second-greatest stock-market crash by withdrawing the gold she had purchased with our money: She had given us an eleven-year depression which caused us a financial loss of 200 billions and set in motion a chain of sorrow and suffering, sickness and suicide costly beyond computation. . . Beyond question it was the most successful conspiracy in all history: Successful for England, but tragic, even pitiful for America . . . But as all "good things" come to an end, so in March, 1933, this conspiracy-good-thing came to an end; and from March, '33, to December, '36, England left us in peace because we had nothing left to steal . . . . The peace was enjoyable even though for millions of Americans it was the peace of the Tomb...

"PROFIT AND LOSS"

Of course England came back again in December, 1936, but before taking up that story let us sum up the "profit and loss" resulting from our effort to "cooperate": As usual it will not take us long, for England got all the profits, while we took all the losses . . . . . These losses included the 7 billions loaned England during the war,

—the 7 billions we paid her for worthless stocks,—the 27 billions we spent during the war,—the 25 billions of federal debt accumulated after the war,—the 50 billions now owing by city, county and state governments,—and the 200 billions lost during the eleven years of depression,—a grand total and gross loss of 316 billion dollars paid for the privilege of "cooperating" with England "to make the world safe for democracy."



As to the profits made by England, let Mr. Lloyd George testify:—Recently while discussing the cost incurred by England during the world war, a cost of approximately 20 billion dollars, Mr. Lloyd George declared,—"the war had cost England NOTHING"; that to the contrary England had made a profit out of the war. . . . He then enumerated the items included in that profit, namely—the German Colonies, of great value,—most of the German navy, —most of the German Merchant Marine, —most of the gold and machinery remaining to Germany after the war,—most of the military equipment and Live-Stock remaining in Germany after the war,—and last but not least, an item of profit with which few Americans are familiar, — the fact that many of the neutral nations of Europe were heavily in debt to England, after the war. We are aware that the German Colonies were worth far more than the war had cost England;—aware that Germany's foreign markets over a period of twenty years might also equal the cost of the war;—aware that Germany's Gold, machinery, military equipment, Live-stock and Merchant Marine were worth billions to England. . . . These were legitimate Spoils of war, which England as victor was entitled to, even though they included Live-stock, (which meant that for twelve years thereafter German babies would have little milk, and the rest of the nation, little meat or wool.) But where we of America are most concerned, is in that final item mentioned by Lloyd George, the fact that "neutral nations were indebted to England for money borrowed during the war." "Think fast now and remember what you think."

If England was able to lend billions in Europe, including 2 billions loaned to France and Italy, why was it necessary for her to borrow American money? The 7 billions we loaned her during the war? The answer to this question illuminates one of the most startling facts in our English-American history,—and if this fact and answer fails to stir your anger, you are a poor American.

When the World War began, the rich people of England owned approximately 7 billion dollars of our American wealth, represented by Gold, Bank-deposits and securities. Had England used this 7 billions in cash and securities for the purchase of war-supplies, she would not have had to borrow in America. Why then did she borrow our 7 billion dollars? She did so for three reasons: First, because she knew her loan would never be repaid: Second, she needed money to lend to France and Italy: Third, she needed money to lend to the Neutral nations of Europe, both for the purpose of KEEPING them neutral, and to assure herself of their markets after the war. Now, if you study the financial page, and have watched the movements of European capital for the past twenty years, you are aware that during this period when England was persistently refusing to pay her debt to America, she was assiduously collecting the debts owed her by France, Italy and the said neutral nations mentioned by Lloyd George. Think of it—while our own people were hungry and many starving because of the billions we had loaned to England,—England for over twenty years has been collecting from France, Italy and the neutral nations, billions in principal and profit, on the money she loaned them during the war,—On the money she borrowed from us, but refused to repay. No wonder England recovered from war faster than we did: No wonder Lloyd George now boasts, "England made a profit out of the War": While for eleven years, our people have gone hungry and starved, England has made a profit and as usual, with our money.

And thus we end the story of 190 years of English treachery, and English hatred for America. . . . THINK OF IT,—from

1750 to 1940 this England that boasts of Democracy and Christianity, has carried on an unending conspiracy to destroy her one enemy, her one possible competitor, the United States of America: And this is the England which in 1940 an American President declared we must aid again,—to the full extent of our power "short of war" ? ?

CHAPTER IV.

HOW ENGLAND PREPARED AMERICA FOR WAR

Though the word "propaganda" did not become current in America until during the World War, the principle of propaganda is as old as history.

Never yet has a war been fought without being precipitated and maintained by the propaganda "WE are fighting for God and Country." In the past century England has changed the slogan to read "we fight for democracy and Christianity," and with certain variations it was this slogan which she used to lure America into war in 1917. Space will not permit a complete expose of all this propaganda, but since much the same stories are being told today, the same arguments presented, and the same objective sought as in the World War, it is well that we here consider the highlights of this propaganda that we may understand England's present objective. But before discussing this propaganda serially, there are two things we should remember,—(1) That England's propaganda-agency has been set up and was operating long before the war began: (2) That immediately following her declaration of war in August, 1914, England cut the telegraph-cables connecting Germany and the United States. Obviously, these cables were cut to prevent our getting news and reports from Germany, and to restrict our information as to the war, to those reports sent us from England. Of course England knew her reports and propaganda would eventually be contradicted by reports coming from Germany, but with German-American cables severed, our FIRST information would be of English origin, and England knew that in propaganda as in war, the nation that gets there first has the advantage; so she cut the cables without asking our permission and in direct violation of International Law. With these preparations made and provided, the propaganda-flood began, and began with the well-remembered

ATROCITY STORIES

These stories headlined in the press, shouted from pulpits and platforms, taught in our schools and whispered everywhere from factory to farm, reiterated for months on end the following propaganda: —(1) That hundreds of French and Belgian girls had been assaulted by German soldiers. (2) That the bodies of dead soldiers, French and Belgian, were being shipped back to Germany to be reduced to soap. (3) That hundreds of Belgian babies had been beheaded or had their hands severed by the sword of some brutal German.

Considering these stories in retrospect, it seems unbelievable that our people could have believed them, but millions did; and beyond question they had their effect in preparing the American mind to accept and believe the propaganda which followed later. But the fact that such stories were believed is not now so great a cause for shame, as the fact that when these stories were disproved and denied by nationally known war-correspondents, — our press, our pulpits and platforms made no effort to publish the expose, but to the contrary unanimously suppressed it. Since these stories were concocted purely for American consumption and were not circulated in Europe, our war-correspondents were unaware of their publication until they read them weeks later in American newspapers. After reading them for weeks and suspecting they were lies and propaganda, several of our best known correspondents decided to make an investigation. When this investigation was completed they sent the now famous telegram to the Associat-

ed Press, which read as follows: — "In spirit of fairness we unite in declaring German atrocity stories groundless, as far as we are able to observe; after spending TWO weeks accompanying German army for upward a hundred miles we report not one single incident of unprovoked reprisal. . . . No mistreatment of prisoners or non-combatants . . . numerous rumors proved groundless, . . . discipline German troops excellent . . . no drunkenness. To truth of these statements we pledge our word."

Signed:

Roger Lewis (Associated Press)
Irvin S. Cobb (Saturday Evening Post)
Harvey Hansen (Chicago Daily News)
John T. McCutcheon
O'Donnell Bennett

No five reporters or correspondents in American Journalism have ever achieved or retained a higher place in the esteem of the American public than these five men; four of whom are still alive to confirm their telegram. Yet this, the most sensational telegram received from Europe during the war, and sent by the five best known correspondents at the front, was NOT publicized; and why not? Because the men who dominated all channels of information didn't want our people to know the Truth,—because the men and papers subsidized by English money could not afford to let our people know the Truth. (And these were the same men who ever boast of Freedom of Speech and Press in this land of Democracy and Christianity.) And the reason is obvious; — had our people known that these atrocity stories had all been concocted in London, our people would have been less likely to swallow the other and later propaganda that led to war; and so the Truth was suppressed.

SO THE INTERESTS OF ENGLAND AND AMERICA ARE IDENTICAL?

Quick to realize the success of their Atrocity Stories, our English cousins now issued their second wave of propaganda which later became known as the "Identity of Interest Doctrine." Reduced to fewest words, this Doctrine was as follows:— "England and America are ONE people; sharing the same Language, Blood, Customs, Laws and Religion . . ." and therefore, if England lost the war "American blood, customs, laws and religion" would suffer proportionately. . . . This was a deliberate appeal to "racialism" and "religious fanaticism," and when cleverly expounded by such famous American clergymen as Henry Van Dyke, Newell Dwight Hillis and S. Parks Cadman, it had a tremendous effect. . . . Later, in a slightly different form the same doctrine was issued to American Businessmen who were told that since England had billions invested in America, and Americans had billions invested in British corporations, England's loss of the war would wreck our entire financial system causing a nation-wide wave of business and bank failures, the closing of thousands of stores and factories, and a nation-wide wave of unemployment. . . . That finally as a result of these conditions, our banks would be compelled to call in their Loans and Mortgages, causing the loss of millions of homes and farms. . . . Thus the "Identity of Interest Doctrine" was extended to include every citizen in America, and the total effect was just as England had planned, for bankers and businessmen, factory-workers and office-workers, home-owners and farm-owners, teachers and preachers, lawyers, doctors and taxpayers saw themselves engulfed by economic disaster, IF ENGLAND LOST THE WAR. As a result America became pro-English and pro-War, as we all joined the procession to "make the world safe for Democracy." . . .

But the story cannot end here, for we must follow this "Identity of Interest" doctrine down through the years that FOLLOWED the war. . . . When in the Panic of 1921, four-fifths of the Farmers of the nation went bankrupt, carrying with them into bankruptcy 5,000 Banks and 500,000 business concerns located in farm areas, there grew up an immediate nation-wide demand that England pay us the seven billion dollars she had borrowed during the war. Congressmen and Sena-

tors from agricultural states explained,—that much of this money had come from farm areas,—that millions of the boys who had fought for England had come from the farm,—that the food which had sustained England during the war had also come from American farms and that therefore, England which owed so much to the American farmer, should discharge her Moral obligation, by meeting her Financial obligation and pay her war debt. It was further urged in Congress, that since all wealth comes from and depends on the land, the payment of England's war-debt would do more than relieve distress in farm areas; it would restore the purchasing power of the farmers, and thus contriute to factory-production, store-sales, and nation-wide re-employment.

Clearly, the argument thus presented was logical both in Morality and Finance, and was widely acclaimed throughout America; but what happened when we presented the argument to MOTHER England?

Hadn't we heard? The War was OVER: England had won the war: And England had been fighting to preserve American Democracy: Pay her war-debt? Ridiculous. . . . In brief, "The Identity of Interest Doctrine" was no longer necessary; England had come out of the war with all the great profits hereinbefore enumerated by Lloyd George and had no further need of her American step-child: So for the next fifteen years from 1921 to 1936, England called us a nation of "Shylocks" whenever we suggested that due to our "Identity of Interest" England should pay her war-debt. . . .

And so we come to the third type of propaganda used to mis-lead us into the World War.—

ENGLAND ALWAYS DEFENDS DEMOCRACY AND CHRISTIANITY

This plea, immediately acclaimed and circulated by Press and Pulpit, platform and School had been prepared for, and was directed to, that section of the American people, who will believe ANYTHING, that contains the words "Democracy" and "Christianity." And when it found immediate acceptance in the "wide-open-spaces" and vacant minds, it was adopted by the Politicians, who at once became pro-English and pro-war. . . . And since today we are hearing again and will continue to hear, this same claim and propaganda—and may be again mis-led—it is well that we pause right here, and ask this pertinent question: Has England EVER defended Democracy and Christianity?

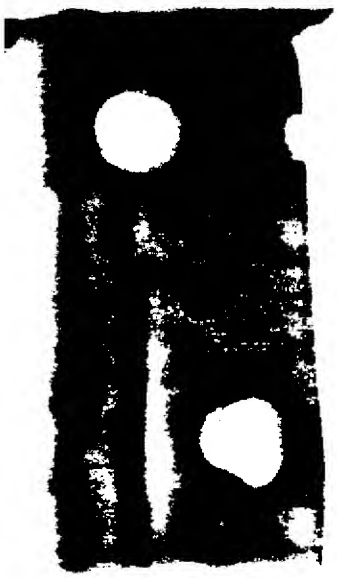
"LET THE RECORD SPEAK"

Did England defend democracy or Christianity in the America of colonial days or after? Was she propagating democracy and Christianity when with whiskey and glass beads she bribed Indian braves to slaughter farmers and settlers in the Mohawk Valley and from New England to Tennessee? Was she promoting democracy and Christianity when she attacked the Colonies in 1776 and our new Republic in 1812? Was she defending democracy and Christianity when in 1864 her warships stood in the harbours at New York and San Francisco and would have shelled both cities, but for the arrival of the Russian Navy which carried orders from the Czar, to attack the English if they dared attack America? From the story related in preceding pages, of her numerous plots and conspiracies to wreck our economic and social system, would you conclude that her treatment of America had been for the purpose of promoting democracy or Christianity? No, these acts were ENGLISH, but they were NOT Christian nor Democratic. And so we leave America for a journey around the world, to note in other lands how democracy and Christianity have been promoted by MOTHER England. And it is fitting that we stop first in INDIA, where today 350 millions of people, pray as we prayed in 1776, for Independence and the RIGHT TO LIVE.

"Democracy Comes to India"

Between 1725 and 1775, English armies under Lord Robert Clive and Warren Hastings, overran and conquered India, and when this period of fifty years of un-

paralleled slaughter came to an end, England with her fourteen million population, had completely enslaved a people of 200 millions. Later, to perfect her dominance and reduce the cost of maintaining an English army in India, she bribed the Rajahs and Holy Men to betray their people, and to aid in England's program of enslavement and exploitation. These Rajahs and Holy Men and their sons were taken to England, to be wined and dined, and TRAINED in the English method of colonial development. When their training was complete, they returned to "carry on" in India, and to them as much as to the English army may be attributed the success of the English method in India. For the past 170 years, more than half of the income enjoyed and the wealth accumulated by England, has come from the labor of the sorrowing slaves of India. Moreover, it was the wealth drawn from India that made it possible for England to increase her domination in other lands. But while the British Empire grew in scope and power and the British aristocracy grew in wealth and insolence, the people of India continued in poverty and slavery, with the highest death-rate from starvation of any people in the world, save China. And to this day and hour, the pious and pitiful people of this pitiful land, are shot down in droves by the gunmen from Democratic and Christian England. No wonder that Winston Churchill said the other day, "The British Empire was built by the sword, and will be maintained by the sword." Yet, as we shall now discover, England had other weapons than the sword with which she conquered India, and the Gold with which she conquered America. Weapons less brutal, but infinitely more deadly. When the Sword kills, the victim can no longer labor to produce wealth for England, but there is a way to kill, and still let the victim live, to labor and produce. This was the weapon which brought England unlimited wealth, and at little cost in men or money: And so we go to China.



"Democracy Comes to China"

Here, we need not tarry long for the story of England's subjugation and exploitation of China, may be told in a single word, **Opium.**

Soon after establishing trading-posts at Shanghai and Hong Kong, English traders discovered the Chinese "Poppy"; the flower from which comes most of the world's supply of Opium. A little later, other English traders made a second discovery; that by teaching the Chinese to smoke Opium, Chinese resistance to military invasion would disappear. As the Opium-habit spread up the winding rivers of China, English trade and traders followed in pursuit: More Opium sold, meant more markets opened; more markets opened, meant more Opium would be sold. And so the endless chain continued until one-third of China was under English control; the chain of Opium and markets which brought great wealth to England, and infinite tragedy to China. Still later, about 1870, other English traders began opening factories and mines in China, and soon they made a Third discovery; that Chinese labor would work long hours and for a small wage if part of that wage was paid in Opium; and much of it was. And so as a result of these three discoveries,—that Opium would conquer faster and cheaper than armies; that Opium would open markets, and that Opium would pay wages,—England in fifty years had possessed herself of a veritable Treasure House, from which she still draws treasures to this hour.

In recent years it has been the custom of English poets to speak of China as "Cathay," the land of magic and romance; and so it HAS been, for England. And we will let God and the recording angel speak for China, after a hundred years of saturation by English Opium. . . . And here ends this "short and simple annal of the poor"; one hundred years of English democracy and Christianity, in China. . . . And now we go to, AFRICA.

"Democracy Comes to Africa"

The record of England in Africa is neither better nor worse nor different than her record elsewhere, thus the story may be told in a few short sentences. . . . In approximately one hundred years, more

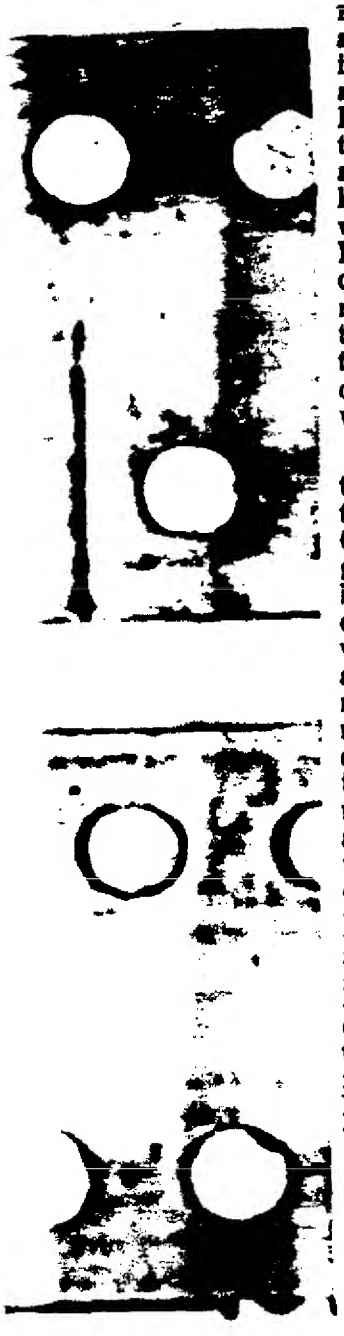
than half the continent of Africa has been brought under English control; a control effected and maintained in the good old English fashion, and with or without English formality. According to the English historian, Briffault, uncounted millions were slain in Africa to perfect his country's control, but how many were slain by bullets and how many were slain by Opium, the author fails to state. Indeed the matter is unimportant, for since the millions slain were Negroes, who according to the English Faith, were born to be "hewers of wood and carriers of water" and servants for the most favored nation, we may dismiss England's control of Central and North Africa with a single observation: That in these areas, English democracy and Christianity have proved no more enlightening, than in China and India.

But in South Africa we find a different picture,—for in this area Opium was of no avail, and England had to win control by bullets and bayonets and general slaughter.

About one hundred years ago, a few Dutch and German farmers founded a colony on the southermost tip of Africa; a colony which grew and prospered as year by year more and more Dutch and German families emigrated from their fatherlands. For nearly a hundred years,—these Dutch and German folk lived at peace among themselves and with negro natives of the area, the colony becoming a nation, and in time the Boer Republic of South Africa. Unfortunately, it also became wealthy, partly because its ports became ports of call, for the merchant fleets and all nations, and partly because they possessed gold mines and diamond fields. But despite their rapidly growing wealth, and because of their ancestry, the Boers of South Africa remained strongly Democratic and deeply religious. But again unfortunately, their democracy and religion was not of the variety approved in England, and so about forty years ago, England decided to bring the heathen of the Boer Republic, a true democracy and true faith,—and of course, with never a thought of the gold mines or the diamond fields. The war began and almost ended in defeat for England, but finally by applying her old method of "blockade," the Boers were starved into submission, and the Boer Republic became a British colony. This of course was not "aggression"; it was merely the English way of propagating democracy and Christianity. Thus around the world "The course of Empire takes its way" and by fire and sword, whiskey and Opium, old Mother England has built her Empire. But before we end our journey and return to America, let's stop for a moment at England's door-step where just across the channel from Liverpool, just across the Irish Sea, we find a Nation which even more than America and India, China and Africa, has known the full effect of England's democracy and Christianity.

"DEMOCRACY COMES TO IRELAND"

Though with a culture and aristocracy older than England's, and proud of their history and ancestry, the people of Ireland came under English domination more than 700 years ago. Prior to the English invasion the people of Ireland were anything but war-like, and were not the "fighting Irish" they were later compelled to become in order to survive English tyranny. They had their homes and farms, their fields and streams, their culture and Faith, their laughter and songs, and so were content. But unfortunately they were a bit too prosperous, too independent. Their well kept farms produced luxuriantly and their looms gave forth the finest linen and woolen cloth in Europe. And thus as happened in South Africa, the English saw and desired these products of Irish fields and looms, and so invaded the country by surprise attack. Historically, it was a series of attacks or a series of wars, which the Irish were destined to lose to the superior numbers and equipment of the English armies. Thereafter for more than 700 years the people of Ireland endured a degree of tyranny and suffering such as no other people have known in all history; and such as no other people but the Irish could have endured and still retain their racial and cultural integrity. More poems have been written and more songs have been sung about Ireland than any other



country in history; and in proportion to her population, she has given the world more first-rate poets, authors and playwrights than any other land. Which raises a question not easy to answer:—How could this people retain their freshness and vigor, their spontaneity and color, and go on century after century, producing poets and playwrights, authors and artists, when for more than 700 years England had used force and violence, taxation and starvation, to break their courage and still the soul of the nation?" I do not know the answer, unless it be found in what Nietzsche described as "The Will To Live." At any rate, though England conquered Ireland and captured its land, she never conquered the Irish people nor broke their spirit. Partially free for a generation they still fight on, singing the songs of Wolf Tone and Emmett as they look toward the day of complete deliverance.

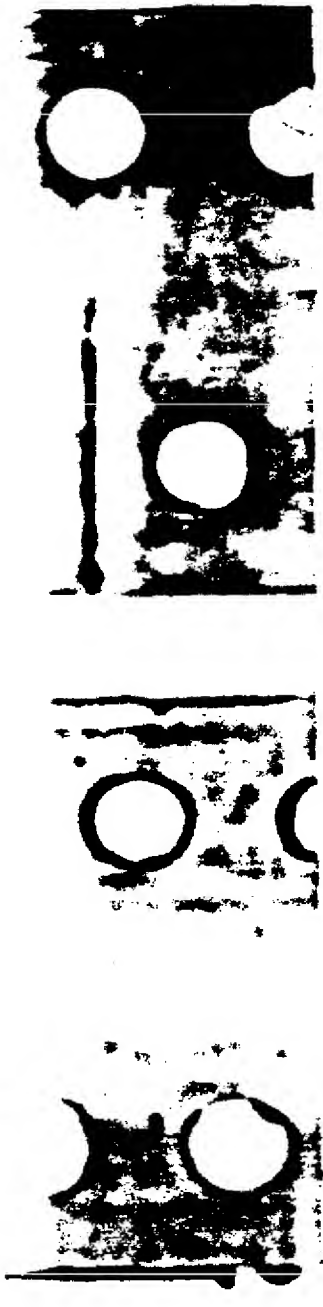
In the early years of the English occupation, the land of Ireland was parceled out to the English aristocracy and the Army Officers who had aided in the wars of aggression. For a time this seizure of the best land satisfied England, but as the centuries passed with England always at war and with more and more English aristocrats to be provided with a living, more and more Irish land was taken to meet the need. Eventually, when no more desirable land remained, England turned to Taxation, and little Ireland, dug up much of the wealth consumed by English armies and aristocrats. Among these taxes, was a stiff tax for the maintenance of the Established Church of England, whose parishes could be found in every Irish community, and attended only by the English landlords who had stolen their lands from the Irish people. As a result of the general tyranny and oppressive taxation, thousands of Irish churches fell into disrepair and were deserted, while the Irish people slaved and saved to maintain the alien Faith of an alien people.

By 1820, as a result of her wars against Napoleon in France and Spain, the English government and many aristocrats were practically bankrupt, causing England to seize still more land in Ireland and further increase taxation. The result was a fitting climax of her 700 years of tyranny and exploitation, for between 1820 and 1850, the population of Ireland decreased from 8,000,000 to 4,000,000. Though this decrease may be partly explained by migrations to America and other lands, and by the deportation of political prisoners to Australia, the fact remains and will never be forgotten, that during this period more than one million Irish people starved to death; and starved while the English landlords and the English Army of occupation lived in luxury. But why lengthen the story or add new counts to the indictment: Whether in colonial America, or India, in China or Africa, the Boer Republic or Ireland,—the indictment stands, the evidence is irrefutable, and the verdict is clear,—and before the world, England stands convicted of the most consistent and shameless violation and perversion of that Democracy and Christianity which has ever been her boast and her masquerade. When to her violations of the past we add her recent desertions of Poland, Finland, Holland, Belgium and France, the picture is complete; and this is the England that a President of the United States has asked us to support in order to preserve "Democracy and Christianity." If we follow this advice,—

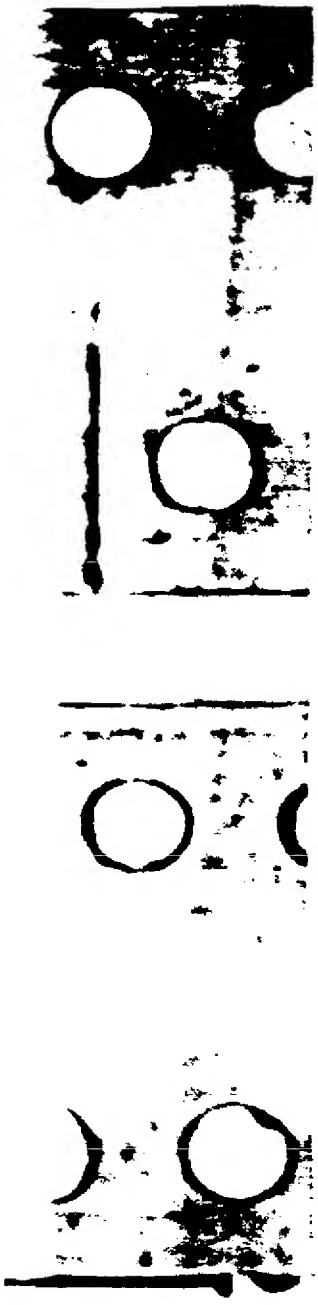
CHAPTER V.

DEMOCRACY LEAVES AMERICA

To those who make it their business to watch the trend of national and international events, it has been evident since 1936 that our Government was steadily and deliberately shifting its interest from national problems, to INTERNATIONAL affairs, and from a HOME to a FOREIGN Policy. During these last four years the urgent problems of Unemployment, Old-Age Pensions, Debt and Taxation, have been shelved as matters of secondary importance, while the Government busied itself with Reciprocal Trade-treaties, Pan American conferences and unasked-for



advice to Moscow, Rome and Berlin. . . . That the welfare of the forty million Americans whom the President described as ill-fed, ill-clad and ill-housed, should be deemed of less importance than Reciprocal Trade-treaties; that the problems of the Unemployed and the Farmer should be side-tracked in favor of a Big Navy; that the thousands of hungry and starving people of Cleveland, Chicago, Detroit and elsewhere could be forgotten, while we send millions of dollars to Finland, Poland and Norway,—that these things could happen in the Administration of one who promised to do something for the "forgotten man," is a pathetic commentary on the promises of public officials, and a prophecy of the eventual disappearance of what we are pleased to call Democracy. It would be bad enough if this shifting of the Government's interest from HOME to Foreign affairs had merely increased the burdens of those least able to bear them, but this is less than half of the story, for today as a result of the shift and for the first time in our history, **the fate or fortune of our entire nation depends upon a FOREIGN POLICY**, created and dominated by one man, and for the avowed purpose of preserving the British Empire which the President describes as "our Sister Democracy." The danger involved in such a Foreign Policy can scarcely be exaggerated. From March, 1933, to December, 1936, our Government's only policy was a HOME policy, under which we more than doubled the national income, — reduced unemployment, restored confidence, and seemed well on our way to a balanced budget. That the country approved of this HOME policy, was shown by the overwhelming vote of confidence given the President in the election of November, 1936. . . . But in October, 1937, less than one year later, the entire national picture had changed; the recovery and progress achieved during the President's first administration had totally disappeared, and we were back at the depression low-point of March, 1933. While New Dealers have excused the depression of 1937, by saying, "the President was compelled to surrender to the Wall Street demand that he stop spending money,"—and while it is true that the cessation of "spending" did reduce the purchasing power of those who had been receiving Government aid, we still confront a fact which New Dealers cannot explain, namely, — "that when Government spending was resumed in the spring of 1938, business did not respond, confidence was not restored, and the depression continued to deepen, despite the billions being spent here for munitions by England and France. If spending generated new business and confidence from 1933 to 1936, why did not even more generous spending have the same effect in 1938 and 1939? The answer is obvious,—because, from 1933 to 1936, Government spending was matched by the spending and investment of Big Business, for both the Government and Big Business were operating under a HOME policy, both seeking to expand the HOME market. But later in 1938, when the Government resumed and increased its spending,—Big Business refused to spend, and began to retrench, because Big Business and Big Bankers knew of the secret Foreign Policy of Mr. Roosevelt, and that it would be foolish for them to invest money and expand production when the President was planning to shift American welfare from a HOME policy to a Foreign policy. In other words they would not risk their money on a Policy which rendered American interests subservient to those of England. . . . When we remember that 80% of the goods made and sold in the United States are produced by 200 corporations, which in turn are controlled by 8 big banks in the city of New York, we realize what is meant when we say "the United States is a Big Business Country." It is true that this family of great corporations is in a position to earn billions in profits when America's business and political health are normal; but these great corporations because of their stupendous investments are ALSO in a position to lose billions, when as recently the Washington Government shifts its interest from HOME affairs, which are measurable, to Foreign affairs which are unpredictable, — and it may be written down as definite and final, that America's Big Businessmen will not expand their plants, production, or pay-rolls,



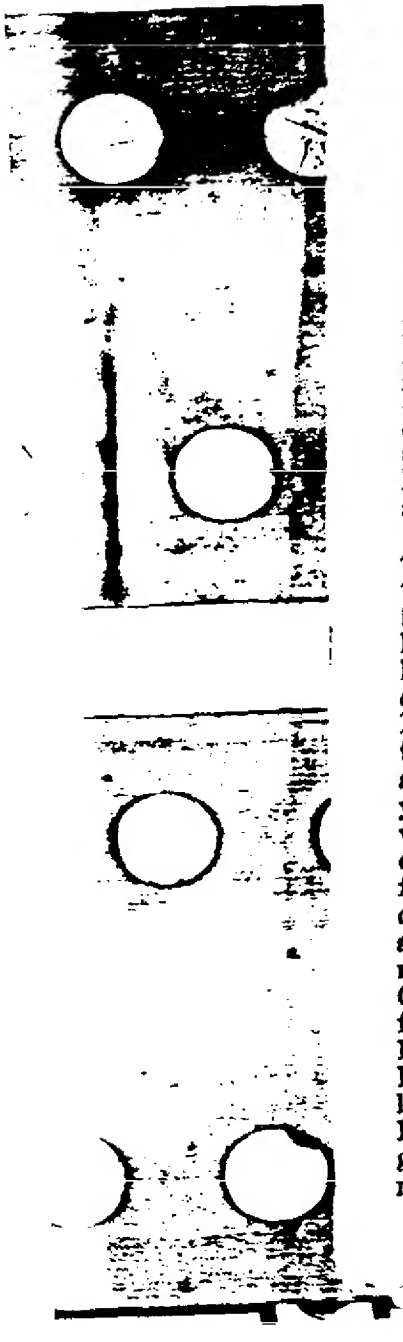
so long as the Washington Government persists in its Internationalism and the risking of America's welfare on Foreign events. And if the reader desires confirmation of this fact, he will find it in the Stock-Market crash of May 14th, 1940. . . . And what caused this recent crash? . . . It came because speculators and investors knew that the Government's Foreign policy was predicated on an English-French victory, and that this policy would fail, if that victory did not materialize. On May 14th, they feared that this victory would not materialize and that England would not win, and so they rushed into the Market and dumped their stocks. . . .

We will not censure Big Business for assuming this attitude, but we may and should censure the Roosevelt Administration for deserting the HOME policy under which we had prospered from March, 1933, to December, 1936, and for adopting a Foreign policy destined to drive Big Business into retrenchment, and thus produce a NEW depression. . . . In brief, when the Government shifted its interest from HOME to Foreign affairs, it was to be expected (as Wall Street well knew) that the money which might have gone to the solution of Home problems and for the expansion of the Home market, would now go for the promotion of a Big Navy, Reciprocal Trade Treaties, Loans to Europe and South America,—and for what purpose? For the purpose of promoting a Plan conceived in England and born in America,—the plan to create a

BRITISH-AMERICAN UNION

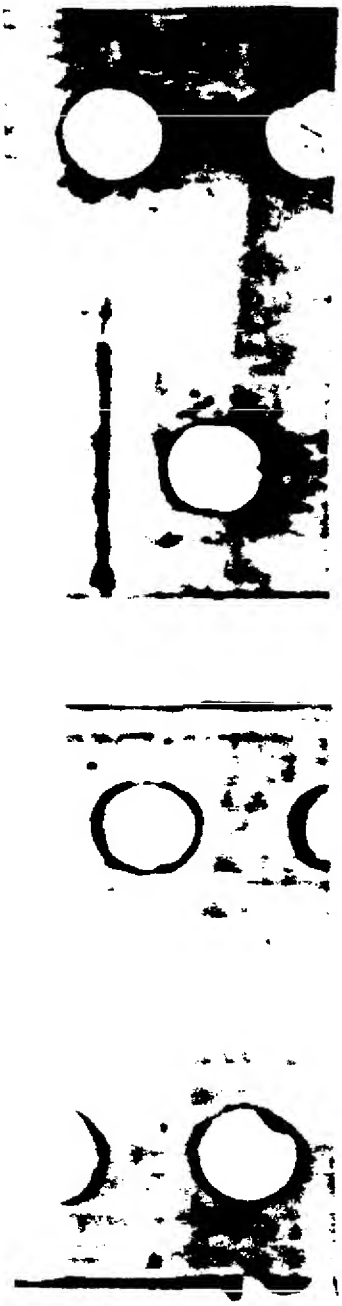
For the past five years the Author of this booklet by Pen, Platform and Radio has warned our people that by enacting the "Gold Bill" of 1934 (the Bill which demonetized Gold), Congress invited a national disaster similar to that which followed the DEmonetization of Silver in 1873. . . . Among the many mysteries of the Roosevelt Administration none has been so carefully guarded as the secret of this Gold Bill. . . . In 1935, Clarence Darrow said to the Author, — "Watch that Gold Bill,—no one knows who wrote it or who sponsored it or why; but mark my prophecy, when the Truth comes to light this Gold Bill will prove the "KEY" that unlocks all the mysteries of the Roosevelt Administration." . . . Today the Truth has come to light and Mr. Darrow's prophecy has been fulfilled, for we now know that the Gold Bill is and has always been the Soul of the Roosevelt Foreign Policy. . . . Time and again during the past six years Senators and Congressmen have asked the President to explain his Foreign Policy and reveal its objective: These requests have not only been refused, but in accepting renomination by the 1940 Democratic Convention the President defiantly declared, that so long as he was President his Foreign policy would be the Foreign policy of this nation. . . . Could these Senators and Congressmen have known the Truth about the Gold Bill they would have had the KEY to the President's Foreign Policy; and here in brief is the meaning of both:—

In 1932, England helped finance the campaign which elected Hitler to power in Germany, and later in 1933, helped finance the plan for German Re-armament. That in making these financial advances England was violating the terms of the Versailles Treaty, and betraying her former allies France and Belgium, not even England would now deny. Nor can she deny that in aiding German Re-armament she expected Nazi Germany to attack Communist Russia, and had planned that when these her mortal enemies had fought to exhaustion, England would then enter the picture, seize and dominate the whole of Europe. (Was America involved in this plot?) . . . That England was later caught in her own trap when Hitler and Stalin out-smarted her is now a matter of history, and recalls the line of the English poet who said, "The best laid schemes of mice and men gang oft agley." . . . Indeed it was because she knew her plan might go astray that England then planned a way of escape, — the plan by which an American President would sponsor the Gold Bill of 1934. . . . There were two reasons why England desired the enactment of this bill; (1) Because under the terms of the bill the United States would pay



$35 an ounce for Gold which England would produce for $17 an ounce: And since we have paid England a net profit of 6 billion dollars on the gold she has sold us since 1934, this phase of the Gold Bill has been a complete success, — for England. (2) England's second reason for enacting the Gold Bill was to so involve the United States in the joint-ownership of most of the world's gold, that the Foreign Policy of the United States would be inseparably joined to the Foreign interests of England. . . . Which is to say, that when the United States had 16 billion dollars invested in Gold which would have little value if England's European plans went astray, it was practically certain (as England realized in 1934) that whether her interests were involved in Europe, South America or the Orient, our heavy investment in Gold would compel us to protect England wherever her interests were endangered. . . . While these two reasons motivated England's sponsorship of Our Gold Bill-Foreign Policy, a third reason appeared in July, 1940, and came as follows:—When after the fall of France and Belgium, England realized she could not long survive the attacks of Germany, she began planning (July, 1940) to remove her Government to Canada. With the English Government then operating from Ottawa and a friendly Government in Washington, England planned to use her gold and our gold, her navy and our navy in a scheme to dominate the world by and through a British-American Union. . . . That both the British and American Governments are now promoting this Union is clear beyond argument; the first step toward world-domination having been taken when our American destroyers were "traded" for British Naval Bases. The entire Plan of this British-American Union would seem to be as follows:—(1) To fortify a ring of Naval Bases completely encircling Central and South America, from which fortified bases the combined Navies of the British-American Union will dominate the East and West Coasts of the Latin Republics. (2) The purpose of this ring of Naval Bases and Battleships is not as the propaganda declares, to keep the Totalitarian nations out of Central and South America, but to keep the Latin Republics from trading with the Totalitarian nations. . . . When we remember that 80% of the exports from these Latin Nations go to Europe and the Orient, and that if deprived of this foreign trade the Latin Republics would soon face bankruptcy and chaos, the real purpose for thus encircling Central and South America becomes apparent. . . . In brief, when the encirclement program has been completed, Central and South America will be completely at the mercy of the British-American Union, and compelled to submit to the demand then made by the Union, which will probably be as follows:—That the Latin Republics grant immediate citizenship to the 10 million Refugees to be sent from England, Europe and Africa. . . . These Refugees supplied with their own funds and with money advanced by the British-American Union, will be distributed throughout the cities of Central and South America, and in due time will become paying customers for the goods of the British-American Union. . . . Which is to say, that much the same plan as was used by England in colonizing Australia will soon be used to colonize Central and South America. . . . That such a plan would prove profitable to its sponsors,—(and the Refugees) there can be little doubt, but there is a very large doubt as to whether Central and South America will surrender as easily as the Sponsors of the plan now imagine. . . . And by this time there may be some doubt in the mind of the Reader that a plan so fantastic could be seriously considered by the Washington-London Axis. While the Author has no "documentary" evidence to prove the existence of the above described plan, he offers in the pages that follow, 13 items of "circumstantial" evidence which the Reader may now consider, as we study the "13" Steps, by which our Government, since 1937, has promoted a British-American Union, by deserting our traditional policy of "no entangling alliances" and by moving steadily and defiantly up the hangman's steps and to the Hangman's noose, —WAR.

CHAPTER VI.



"THE THIRTEEN STEPS"

STEP 1.

The first step was taken in October, 1937, when in his famous speech at Chicago the President startled the nation and the world by declaring in substance, that "The Democracies (England, France and the United States) must combine to suppress the "Aggressor Nations" (Germany and Italy). The declaration came like a clap of thunder out of a clear sky and should have warned our people, that our Government was shifting its interests from HOME affairs to International affairs. We now realize that the speech was made as a "trial-balloon" to test the drift and force of American sentiment. . . . The effect of the speech was disappointing to the President, both because he received no applause, and because his declaration left our people so stunned and inarticulate that as a test of public opinion his trial-balloon was a flop. . . . For the next four months the Administration was silent as to Foreign Affairs, but when pressure was exerted by foreign influences, the Administration decided to take a **second** step, but to make it **outside our** country, and for the purpose of testing public opinion in other countries. And thus we come to the **second** step.

STEP 2.

In February, 1938, Mr. Harold Ickes, of the President's Cabinet, and surely with the President's approval, broadcast throughout the British Empire a **second** startling speech: Concerning which two things should be noted. (1) That the speech had been prepared weeks before, prepared and recorded on phonograph records (transcriptions) and the transcriptions shipped to radio stations throughout the British Empire, where on the same day the speech was broadcast to the listening public. (2) This startling speech was NOT broadcast in America, a fact which is highly significant. The reason why the American people were not allowed to hear the speech is clear when we remember what it "promised," which was substantially this,—that if England should again be involved in a European War, America would again come to her rescue as we had done in 1917. Not until two days later did the speech make the **head-lines** in the American Press, and by this time, it had done its work abroad; spreading consternation throughout Europe, but spreading enthusiasm and encouragement throughout the British Empire. In brief, the purpose of the speech was to assure the people of the Empire that they as well as England could expect American aid in the event of war. But the speech which was a great success in the British Empire, was again a flop in America, where it was immediately denounced in Congress and by the public at large. Don't waste any time asking "by what right did our Government promise our aid to a foreign nation," but ask instead **"How did our Government KNOW**, in February, 1938, two and one-half years ago, that England in 1940 would be asking American aid?"

STEP 3.

Stunned perhaps, by the indignation aroused by the Ickes speech our Government decided to cut-out speeches for awhile, and further the English cause in a manner less obvious but equally effective.

. . . A few months before, Mexico had expropriated those Mexican oil-wells owned by foreign corporations, seizing them on the theory that these oil-wells had been originally stolen from the people by the bribery of Mexican officials. Despite the effort of the American Press to make it appear that these oil-wells belonged largely to American corporations, the fact is that most of them belong to English corporations. With England preparing for war, and with this Mexican oil a vital necessity it must be recovered at any cost; but how could England recover it? To sue in Mexican courts would be a waste of time; and the Monroe Doctrine would not permit England to recover her oil by force. Then, as always, the kindly American Government solved the problem, by refusing further purchases of Mexican silver. Now, for some years past, the Mexican government had had a hard time paying expenses and had relied upon her sales of silver to the United States, more than upon any other income, to pay her current charges. So, in stopping our purchases of Mexican silver, with the implied promise that the purchases would be resumed if Mexico would release the English oil-wells, Mr. Hull had taken and completed the third step, by which we have moved toward war. And waste no time in regretting that in this attack on our neighboring Democracy we lost much trade, and the confidence of Latin America; remember only that we were fulfilling a provision of our secret foreign policy, in attempting to aid Great Britain.

STEP 4.

Following our attack on the economic and financial structure of Mexico; an attack that had little success there but caused political repercussions here, our Government decided to use Gold rather than force, in its attempt to draw Brazil into the English-American orbit. Thus the Government loaned Brazil (or the politicians of Brazil) Nineteen million dollars, with the promise of fifty-million more, if and when. At the time this step was taken, Germany was not only Brazil's best customer, but much of the products bought from Brazil were materials needed in war, such as cotton, rubber and manganese, and thus our Government had TWO good reasons for breaking up this German-Brazilian trade; we would keep Germany from getting important war-materials, and thus weaken Germany for the coming war with England; and would keep Germany from getting food products, including coffee, and thus contribute to any discontent or fear that might arise in Germany. . . . Due to Brazilian politicians (and our Gold) the step was quite successful and in a few months Brazilian shipments of food and other materials to Germany had DEcreased approximately 60%. Of course this was a hard blow to the German Government and the German people, but eventually the full effect of the blow was evaded, when Germany arranged to buy cotton and coffee, rubber and manganese in other South American countries,—and with the result to be mentioned later in Step 8.

STEP 5.

This Step,—the recall of our Ambassador to Germany, was a serious diplomatic blunder, and for two reasons: (1) It served notice to the whole world that the American Government was NOT neutral, but was co-operating with England; and as a result Germany at once began a series of conferences destined to produce the most startling alliance of modern times, the alliance between Germany and Russia. (2) It caused the people of Germany to rally unanimously and loyally to the support of their government. In brief, the result of this step was the exact reverse of what our President had planned and hoped for. Which introduces a similar step which had very similar consequences.

STEP 6.

As the preceding was a diplomatic blunder, step 6 was a blunder both diplomatic and economic. When the President raised the Tariff rates against Germany to the unheard of height of 25%, he was adding a second panel to the wall of economic-blockade which we noted when Brazil had been bribed to cease her trade with Germany. To thus prevent our importation of German goods was a terrific blow to Germany's economic and financial system; as

it was intended to be; in addition it was a threat to the smaller nations of Europe, as to what they could expect if they dared co-operate with Germany. . . . But here again our Government over-reached itself, for instead of decreasing this co-operation, the smaller states of Europe entered into trade agreements with Germany on a more favorable basis than theretofore. Further, and as in the preceding step, this attempt at economic blockade rendered inevitable the Russo-German alliance which came later. As such, this step was a diplomatic blunder.

Here at home the step was an economic blunder, in that it robbed our people, particularly those of the Pacific Coast, of their best foreign market for fruits and farm products, cotton and oil. Nothing that had happened during nine years of depression had caused so much suffering to the people of the West Coast as this raising of tariff rates against Germany. Up to the present moment these western people have not fully realized the cause of their loss of this foreign trade, but they will realize it in time;—but then perhaps, Too Late.

STEP 7.

Aware of a nation-wide anger over the loss of German trade as a result of the rise in tariff rates, something had to be done to quiet this anger, and so the President and Secretary Hull staged their Pan-American Conference at Lima, Peru. . . . Though they hoped through this conference to achieve a series of "defense" alliances with the states of South America, this fact was kept in the dark; and so the conference was advertised as a move to increase trade between the United States and the states of South America. In effect, the Government said to our people, "Don't worry about the trade you have lost with Germany and Central Europe; we will get you even more business in Central and South America." But equally important, the conference was staged to show the nations of Europe that unity of thought and action could be expected between the nations of the Western Hemisphere; in other words to show Europe that Central and South America had become pro-English and pro-United States. But as is now history the conference was a flop from both angles,—it failed to deceive Europe, and it brought no increase in trade to our country. Perhaps, it was the failure of this Lima conference that caused our Government to lose its temper and sense of propriety as was evidenced by our Government's next step.

STEP 8.

This was the step in which Under Secretary of State Mr. Sumner Welles said to the world, in effect,—"that the United States regarded Central and South America as its own trade-province and that all other nations should stay out." This step which was intended seriously, at length resulted humorously, and for two reasons, —(1) The States of Central and South America said to themselves and each other, "by what right does the United States tell foreign nations to keep out of our countries? Doesn't the United States realize that in making this statement she is practically saying to South and Central America that they are no longer free to trade when and where they please? Is this Democracy, or 'economic aggression'?" Well, whatever else they decided, they decided to go on trading where and as they pleased, and still continue to do so. In this respect the Welles' speech was "funny." Later, it was funny for another reason, for it was the same Mr. Welles of whom our government said while he was in Europe, "he took with him no proposals of any kind to any government,"—a statement contradicted a few days after Mr. Welles returned to Washington, when in a world-wide broadcast in French and English, the French Premier, M. Reynaud said, "the proposal brought by Mr. Welles has been approved by the French Government." Which recalls the old couplet

"O what a tangled web we weave
when first we practice to deceive."

STEP 9.

Time and again during 1938 and 1939, United States Senators and Congressmen stated on the floor of Congress their belief that our Government had "secret" under-

The Last Step . . .

Will Be the LAST Step!

(13) WAR?

(12) PACIFIC FLEET SENT TO PHILIPINES. PROTECT DUTCH EAST INDIES.

(11) F.D.R. SPEECH: "FULL AMERICAN AID TO ALLIES "SHORT OF WAR, (?)

(10) REPEAL OF THE EMBARGO ACT. TO AID ENGLAND AND FRANCE IN WAR.

(9) SECRET TREATY WITH FRANCE: REVEALED BY AIR-PLANE ACCIDENT, LOS ANGELES.

(8) SUMNER WELLES TELLS WORLD, "KEEP OUT OF SOUTH AMER-ICA." OUR TRADE PROVINCE.

(7) CONFERENCE AT LIMA, PERU. ATTEMPT TO TURN SOUTH AMERICA AGAINST GERMANY.

(6) TARIFF RATES ON GERMAN GOODS, RAISED 25%.

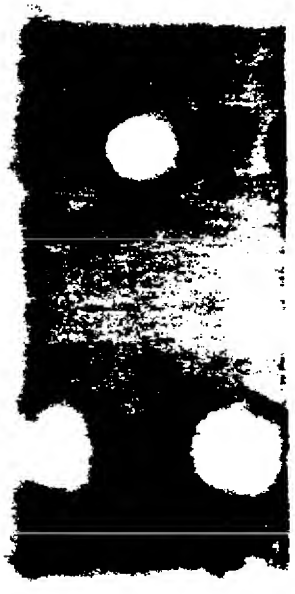
(5) RECALL OF THE AMERICAN AMBASSADOR TO GERMANY.

(4) LOANS TO BRAZIL. A BRIBE TO STOP BRAZIL TRADING WITH GERMANY.

(3) WE STOP PURCHASE OF MEXICAN SILVER. FORCE MEXICO RESTORE ENGLISH OIL FIELDS.

(2) THE ICKES SPEECH, FEB., 1938, PROMISING AMERICAN AID TO ENGLAND.

(1) THE CHICAGO SPEECH, OCT., 1937. "DEMOCRACIES MUST SUPPRESS "AGRESSORS."



standings with England and France. These statements made the head-lines and caused nation-wide concern: So on several occasions our Government assured the nation that no such secret agreements had been made or existed. . . . And then the truth came out. . . . In an airplane accident in Los Angeles a high official of the French air-service was killed, and though every effort was made to keep his identity a secret the effort failed,—and the country knew the Truth. . . . We did have a secret agreement with foreign nations, at least for the purchase of airplanes, and perhaps for other reasons.

STEP 10.

That the matter here described was important to the government's plan to keep its agreements with foreign nations, is clearly evidenced by the fact that our Government called a Special Session of Congress in order to take this step, — The Repeal of the Embargo Act. . . . Of course the "repeal" was sold to the country as a "peace measure," but as many of us knew then, and as everyone knows now, it was a war measure, and was taken to open the way for aiding our "Allies" with Loans and Credits and perhaps, ships and men.

STEP 11.

To those of us who had watched the unfolding of the Plan described in the preceding Ten steps, it was no surprise when the President took the Eleventh step with his startling speech in which he said in effect, "we must give England every aid within our power, short of war." To us, his declaration was convincing evidence that the "die had been cast," and that it was only a question of time until the phrase "Short of War" would be dropped and the phrase "including war" substituted.

STEP 12.

When two years ago our Pacific battle-fleet was shifted to the Atlantic Ocean, the country was encouraged to believe that due to events in Europe, our Government was afraid of an attack upon our eastern ports. Yet, strangely enough a few months later when the war-danger in Europe had increased by a hundred fold, our Government seemed to lose its fear of an attack in the East, and returned the battle-fleet to the Pacific. . . . We didn't know at the time why the fleet had been returned, but knowing our Government, we knew that something was afoot. . . . Thus, when a few months later most of our Pacific Fleet was sent to Honolulu, and part of it to the Philippines, we felt sure of the reason for the shift, and stated our opinion publicly by platform and radio. . . . Later our guess was confirmed, and for months our Navy has been in the far Pacific protecting England's Empire. In other words, our Monroe Doctrine which was formerly restricted to the three-mile limit of the seas surrounding the Western Hemisphere, has now been stretched from the Rhine to Singapore, which is some stretch even for the American Taxpayers who pay for it.

STEP 13.

Should War, whether "declared" or undeclared be the final step leading to a British-American Union and Dictatorship, 180 million Americans may say with the French King, "After us, the Deluge."

* * *

But before closing this chapter of the "13" Steps the Reader is asked to note and remember three things of infinite importance: (1) That in NOT one of these Steps has our American welfare been preeminent but to the contrary, each of these steps has been taken to strengthen England and weaken Germany and Italy. (2) That in following this Gold Bill-Foreign Policy, our people have been robbed of valuable foreign trade,—our federal debt has been increased at least 40% with no profit to our country,—and our Government has offered an unprovoked insult to the millions of German and Italian people who have ever been our most loyal, thrifty and law-abiding citizens. (3) If under the pressure and hysteria of War 30 million citizens of German and Italian descent are to be persecuted by a British-American Dictatorship how long will it be until another 100 million Americans meet the same fate?

These questions recall the prophetic words of John Quincy Adams who in his Plymouth Oration said in 1802,—"Westward the course of Empire takes its way." . . . From Babylon the course of Empire did move westward, — to Greece, then Rome, then Spain and finally to the France of Napoleon: But all these Empires came to the same inevitable end; for as Napoleon said, they were "built by the sword, maintained by the sword and died by the sword." . . . Today, the English Empire, also built and maintained by the sword, confronts its hour of destiny; but this Empire, unlike those that preceded it, seeks escape from "death by the sword" by its plan to remove to Canada, and thus comes true the prophetic words of John Adams, "Westward the course of Empire takes its way"—to America. . . . Which raises a question that the people of the United States should well consider;—"If the England herein described, has been able to wreck at will, our entire economic system while governing from London 3,000 miles away, — what may we expect when this England governs from Ottawa, and with a friendly President in Washington?"

Here the angry Reader may exclaim, "The people of the United States will not permit our nation to be joined with England either in War or a British-American Union." . . . But are you Sure? Have not the preceding pages shown that today "History Repeats Itself" as our present government follows the path of 1917, the Woodrow Wilson path that led to War? And who can say what our American people will do once "History Repeats Itself" in,—

"Propaganda"

That History is repeating itself in Propaganda is evidenced by the fact that we are again being deluged with the same flood of Hypocrisy as that which misled us into war 23 years ago. . . . Again English Lords and Ladies, preachers and politicians, authors and actors, tour America preaching the same false gospel as of 1917. Led by the Duff-Coopers, and by subsidizing our Press and pulpit, platform and Radio, they broadcast the same three doctrines which misled us into the first world war. . . . Again we are told, (1) That the interests of England and America are "identical," and so interwoven that if England suffers, we suffer. This sounded so logical in 1917 that we went to war to protect our "joint" interests, but AFTER the war, we discovered that our interests were NOT identical, for when we asked England to pay her war-debt, she not only refused, but called us "shylocks" for requesting payment. (2) Again we are told that "England is fighting for Democracy, and has ALWAYS fought for democracy, and that therefore we should again join England in defense of our common democracy." . . . But how can we reconcile THIS doctrine with the fact, that of the past 160 years, England has devoted 108 to War, never in defense of Democracy but always in the promotion of slavery, as shown hereinbefore in her treatment of China, India and South Africa, Ireland and our American colonies. . . . And now reconcile this doctrine with the recent declaration of Mr. Winston Churchill who said, "The British Empire was built by the Sword, and will be maintained by the Sword"? . . . Does this sound like Washington or Jefferson or Jackson or Lincoln?

(3) Again we are told "That England fights to preserve the independence of small nations." WHAT independence and WHAT small nations? Not Czechoslovakia,—which England gave Mr. Hitler to strengthen Germany for a war against Russia: Not Spain, which England gave Mussolini despite the English claim that Spain was a democracy: Not Ireland, held in slavery by English landlords for 700 years: Not India, held in slavery for three hundred years: Not Mongolia, given to Japan, in the hope of saving England's investments in Shanghai and Hong Kong: Not Norway, which in time of battle England deserted, leaving the troops of Norway without food or munitions: Not Holland or Belgium or France, which England urged to war and then deserted. . . . WHAT "small" nations has England defended? None as yet, but of course she may defend Australia and the Dutch East Indies, provided the United States Navy does most of the defending. Be this as it may, these

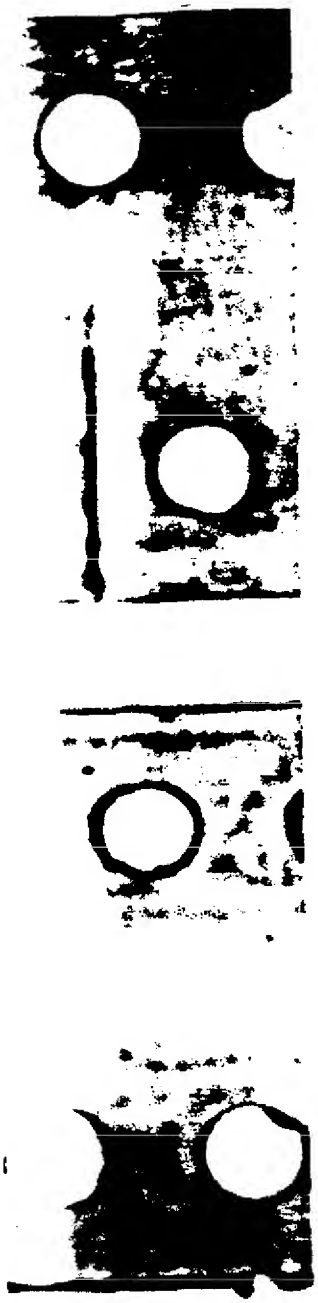
three types of English propaganda, aided by a friendly American Government, are again being broadcast throughout our nation with a zeal unequalled even during the first World War. Which raises a final question,—

"Who Pays for This Propaganda, and Why?"

We answer this question by citing documentary evidence, found in our Congressional Record, and here restated as follows:—Seven years ago, one of our bravest Statesmen, an American of and for America, Congressman Tinkham of Massachusetts, delivered in Congress, February 3rd, 1933, one of the greatest speeches ever heard by that body. Parts of that speech are here reproduced. Mr. Tinkham said:—"The time is here to fully disclose to the American people, the iniquitous intrigue against public safety and the sovereignty of the United States. . . . Andrew Carnegie was alien born and alien minded and what his plans and aims were, may be seen from the following statements.... In his book, 'Triumphant Democracy' (Mr. Carnegie said), 'I crave permisssion to address some consideration in support of my belief, that the future is certain to see a reunion (of England and America) and once again a common citizenship. Some day therefore, delegates from the now separated branches will meet in London, and readily agree upon, and then report for approval and verification, a basis for restoration of an indissoluble and indestructible union. Let men say what they will, therefore I say, that as sure as the sun in heaven once shone upon Britain and America united, so surely is it one morning to rise, shine upon, and greet again the reunited state, 'The British-American Union'." (end of quotation from Mr. Carnegie). Congressman Tinkham continues,—"As may be seen from his own statement, Mr. Carnegie never believed in American Independence, American Sovereignty, American Neutrality. When in 1910, Mr. Carnegie determined to enter the American political field and to dictate American Foreign Policy; and established for this purpose a 10 million dollar Endowment, he chose to name it the 'Carnegie Endowment for International Peace,' and not the 'Carnegie Endowment for the Abolition of American Independence.' . . . It can be proven that nearly all the agitation and vast expenditures made for the propaganda for American adherence to the League of Nations, were directed and managed by this organization. . . . It organized and financed International Clubs, it publishes International literature, it imports foreign propaganda speakers and lecturers, and pays American Professors and students liberal amounts for the promotion of the political policies of the Endowment. . . . We, the descendants of old Americans, refuse to submit to these dictators of the Foreign Policy of the United States, whose purpose is to denationalize the United States, to destroy her independence, to involve her in European political affairs by entering first the Court of International Justice of the League of Nations, and to abolish her neutrality. . . . We the descendants of those who established civilization upon this continent; fought the Battle of Bunker Hill; died at Valley Forge, saw the rising of the sun at Yorktown and drew up the Constitution of the United States:—We whose ancestors flew the American flag upon the seven seas in 1812, are ready here and now to fight the battle of the Republic, without quarter and without cease, by all the means that lie within our power, to expose the plotters against American Independence, American Sovereignty, American Neutrality and American safety. . . . A Congressional Investigation of the Carnegie Endowment and its allies, will insure preservation of American Independence and American Neutrality. The Congress of the United States can save the Republic, by this investigation of its enemies within our gates." (end of quotations from speech of Congressman Tinkham).

"Is America a Nation of Sheep?"

Yes, if we act like sheep and follow the "big fellows" over the fence and into the War. And here's the evidence: In 1915, when the English and French armies in the West, were being defeated on every battlefield, and England was fighting with



her back to the wall, Winston Churchill said to his fellow-Cabinet-Officers, — "Locked in the deadly struggle with the danger of Russian collapse staring them in the face, and with their very existence at stake, neither Britain nor France was inclined to be particular about the price they would pay for the accession to the alliance, of a new first class power." Reduced to plain English, Mr. Churchill meant that conditions were so desperate they would pay ANY price for another first class ALLY. We do not charge that the "Lusitania" was a part of the price, but it did do much to draw America into the war. But this fact is certain. At about the same time, 1915, Lord Northcliffe, England's great publisher and propagandist, was sent to America, "to find out just what particular type of propaganda Americans would be most likely to swallow." After interviewing numerous Editors, College professors and politicians, Lord Northcliffe returned to London, and said to his friends, two things we should never forget: — "The American people Look alike, Think alike, Dress alike, they are a nation of sheep." Which is to say, we would believe ANY kind of propaganda, including the kinds mentioned in this booklet. Think of it: Lord Northcliffe comes here to get our aid at a time when England was fighting for her life; then goes home and says to his friends, "the Americans are a nation of sheep," they will believe anything. Well, Lord Northcliffe was right 23 years ago; what about today?

The other statement by Lord Northcliffe was equally startling, and will explain why some of our leading citizens are today pro-English and pro-War, said he,—"I left 150 million dollars in America, for propaganda purposes." Think that over. . . . Finally, to show his final contempt for the people of America, Lord Northcliffe said,—"So far as exercising real independence of judgment and action, with respect to the war, I can think of only one people with whom to compare the Americans,—namely, the Chinese." And think that over.

"We Sum-up the Evidence"

And now, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Jury:—The Case of England VS. America is before you: Evidence supported by incontrovertible Facts has been submitted to prove,—That by bribes and favors England has corrupted our Legislative Assemblies: That by conspiracy she has subverted our Chief Magistrates: That by propaganda and intrigue she had deceived and misled the American People to their sorrow: That for 150 years England has used her every power to destroy the Peace and Security of these United States:—And now that the Defendant England can make no defense, the Prosecution rests.

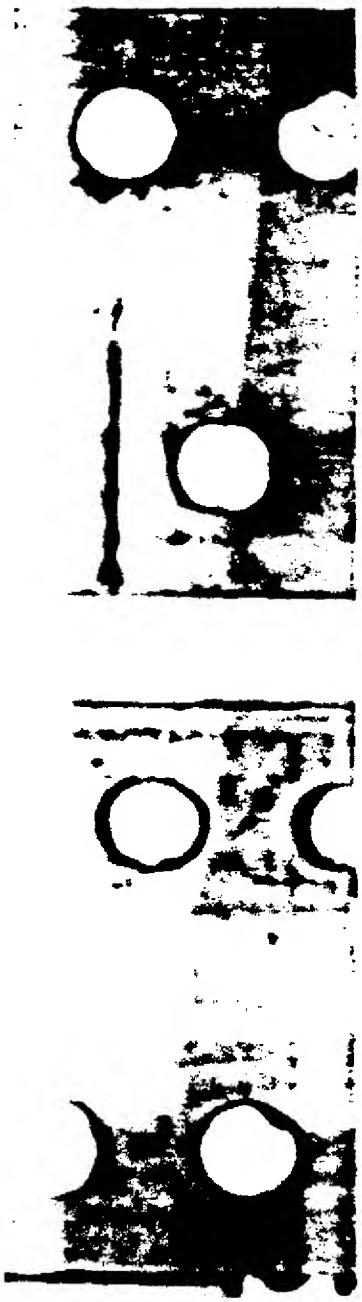
"The Verdict"

Upon YOU, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Jury, now rests the duty of rendering a Verdict,—A Verdict that will seal the Fate or Fortune of these United States for generations to come. . . . And as you now retire to consider your verdict remember this:—The England charged in this Indictment is NOT the rank and file, the Common People of the British Isles,—it is instead an England of Political Parasites and Financial Pirates, who have robbed and betrayed their own people, as they have robbed and plundered the nations of the earth. In brief, that England, that Government which now plans to desert its Land and People, to continue its evil tradition on American soil.

CHAPTER VII.

The Coming
UNITED STATES OF EUROPE

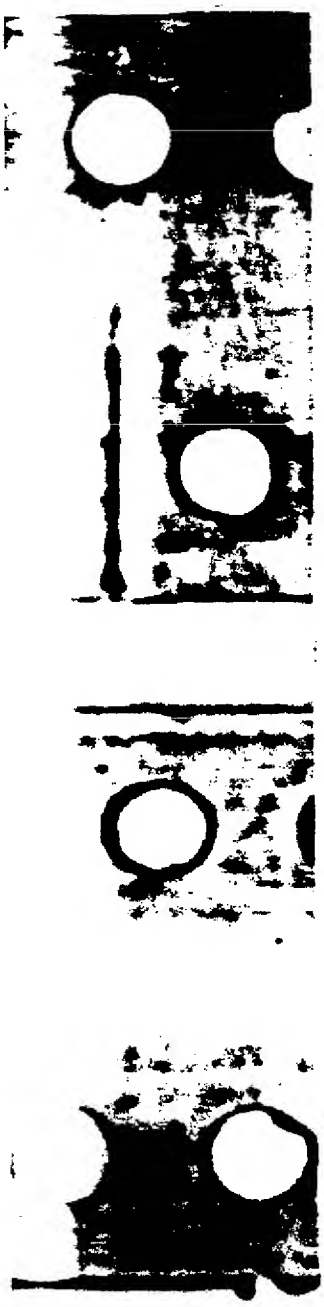
To paraphrase the words of Lincoln,—"In 1781 our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all Americans should enjoy equally, an enduring freedom from economic and political tyranny." Our fathers did achieve INDEPENDENCE, at Yorktown in 1781, but not until 1789, eight years later, were



they able to adopt the CONSTITUTION and found the NATION described by Lincoln. . . . Our history-books have carefully omitted the REASON for these eight years of disunity and chaos but the facts are as follows:—Though the English had lost the war at Yorktown they did not lose the hope that eventually the Colonies would be forced to return to the English Crown; for as they well knew, the economic life of the colonies was still dominated by English Aristocrats, Agents and Bankers who would use their every power to prevent the establishment of an Independent nation. . . . For eight years after Yorktown, these English Agents and Bankers said to each of the thirteen colonies, "You dare not join a confederation or Union of States, for if you do, some ONE STATE will dominate the other twelve." To the people of Virginia and other southern colonies they said, "Do you want to be dominated by the large and rich New York colony?" To the people of New York and New England they said, "Do you people who pay wages in commerce and industry want to be dominated by the southern colonies which produce and transport by 'slave labor'?" . . . As a result of these and similar arguments the colonies were kept in chaos and disunity for eight long years; but finally, when disunity threatened them with destruction, they agreed to bury their individual ambitions and unite under one Flag and in one Nation, The United States of America.

At this very moment the 250 million people of the several states of Europe, are seeking a method by which to escape the chaos, poverty and tyranny, which DISunity has forced upon them for many centuries past. . . . But in the Europe of today as in the America of 1781-89, English Agents spread their favorite propaganda, "The Fear of Domination," to each of the small states of Europe they bring the same argument, — "You dare not join a United States of Europe, for if you do, you will be dominated by a rich and powerful Germany." . . . In brief, it is the same old argument England has used for more than two hundred years, to maintain her "Balance of Power" and her control of Europe. . . . But at last there has come to Europe the same certainty of destruction as that which threatened our American colonies in 1789, and the states of Europe now realize that they MUST unite, or die: And UNITE they will; regardless of anything England or the United States of America can do to prevent it. . . .

Suppose Germany does dominate the New Europe for the next 25 or 40 years, what of it? Does not New York City dominate the economic life of the 48 states of Our Union? Are not the daily "Bank clearances" of New York City, greater than all the rest of the Nation's banks combined? Do not the 200 great corporations that dominate the industrial and commercial life of our nation maintain their main offices in New York City? And what of it? Is it not inevitable that some one city or state should serve as the Center of a nation's economic life? Is there any state in America better qualified to be our economic center than the State of New York? Why then should not Germany be the economic center of a New Europe, since for fifty years Germany has been the one country from which all Europe drew its Culture, its medicine, its chemicals and machinery, and has been the one market that could absorb the surplus products of the several states of Europe? Could the small states of Europe have sent their surplus food-products and raw materials to France or England or the United States of America? Of course not; England and France got these products from their colonies, and we had an annual surplus of our own. . . . Only Germany could and did afford a continuing market for these surplus products, and only Germany can continue to afford such a market for the new United States of Europe. . . . Because this Law of Economic Necessity must take its course, the peoples of all Europe desire Economic Union with Germany and will gladly surrender all nationalistic ambitions to this end, rather than longer endure the poverty and chaos which England's Balance-of-Power has forced upon them for more than 200 years. . . . Could the people of Europe vote on the question tomorrow, they would vote unanimously for a United



States of Europe with Germany as the economic center, for they not only realize that they prosper only when Germany prospers; they know that in a single generation, with peace throughout Europe and with all tariff-barriers removed, every nation on the Continent would be lifted to the high plane of modernization and prosperity that characterized Germany before the World War.

And what prevents the coming of this United States of Europe? For a time it was prevented by those crooked politicians who later deserted Poland, Czechoslovakia, Norway, Holland, Belgium and France, who fled to England taking with them most of the gold of their respective nations. Now that Carol has fled from Rumania, nothing prevents a European Union, save the still more crooked politicians, who operate in and from England and the United States of America. . . . But for the opposition of these politicians and hypocrites who clothe their opposition with sanctimonious phrases about Democracy and Christianity, the United States of Europe would be functioning smoothly within six months.

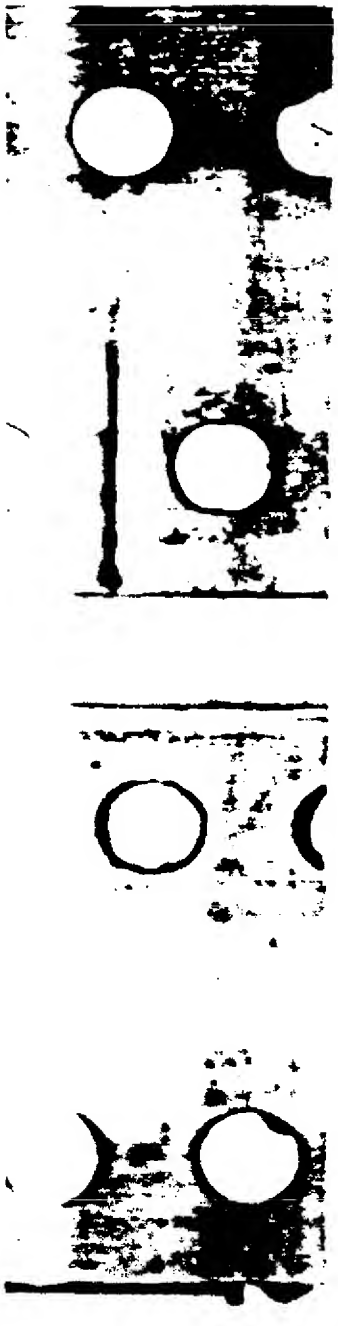
And why do these English and American politicians still oppose a European Union? Because they fear they may lose their 20 billions in Gold, should the New Europe adopt some medium of exchange which would not require Gold as a base or foundation. . . . As a matter of fact no such medium of exchange is either planned or desired by Germany or the rest of Europe: They not only desire enough Gold to render their currency stable in all world markets; they would gladly give abundant security if English and American bankers would make such Gold available. . . . In brief, due to the stupidity and greed of English and American bankers, Europe and America confront the greatest crisis in all history:—the Old Balance-of-Power-theory has run its course, and must now give place to International co-operation if either Europe or America shall endure.

Soon, the English Government, together with England's Royalty, nobility, aristocracy and money, will have removed to Canada, and a new Government, favorable to a United States of Europe will arise in England. Whether this happens as a result of a Hitler victory or because of a revolution within England, will make no difference whatever. . . . IT WILL HAPPEN. . . . What THEN should be the attitude of the American people? Where then will our interests lie? We have been told that our interests are identical with those of England,—Will they still be identical when a "new" England has joined the new European Union? Roosevelt and Churchill would say NO.—That America should unite with the "old" England then sojourning in Canada. While this may be the answer of Roosevelt and Churchill, what is the answer of the PEOPLE of America? Where do OUR interests lie?

> "Shall we fight for the 'old' England, or shall we TRADE with the 'new' Europe?"

Can anyone doubt that this United States of Europe would bring us a thousand-fold more profitable trade than we have yet had from that Continent? Can anyone doubt that peaceful commerce between the European Union and the American Union is the hope and dream of every leading statesman on the Continent? Such questions answer themselves, for as Solomon said,—"Wisdom is better than many weapons" and Trade is better than War. But alas and alack the Washington-London Axis does not agree with Solomon nor with the People of America and Europe. And so when English Royalty and Nobility have removed to Canada and the Washington-London Axis has become the British-American Union, we may find ourselves involved in a new World War, in which our Rulers seek to prevent a United States of Europe, and to the sorrow of the United States of America.

Even though we lose our fight to keep America out of the new World War, the Author re-issues this Booklet in the hope,—that AFTER the war ends, the people of America may produce a Government and a Foreign Policy under which we can unitedly support the hopes and plans and dreams of the people of Europe;—that thereafter the United States of America



may join a United States of Europe, in bringing peace and prosperity to all the world. . . . But this united effort cannot come, until the people of America see the hopelessness and stupidity of trying to save the "old" England. . . . By the time this booklet reaches your hand, this "old" England may be dead and buried, but even so, let us fervently pray that America may not participate in any resurrection, and that our people may decide wisely this all-important question:—

"SHALL WE FIGHT FOR THE 'OLD' ENGLAND OR SHALL WE TRADE WITH THE 'NEW' EUROPE?"

"Words to the Wise"

TO THE FARMER: For months you have been encouraged to believe that the NEW war would bring you the same prosperity as you enjoyed during the first Word War. You were deceived. England buys her food and farm products from her Colonies; she has to, to get the "boys" of her colonies into the front trenches. Today, your farm products sell for less than a year ago,—while your taxes go higher and higher.

TO BANKERS, BUSINESSMEN AND INVESTORS: In the last seven years, your benevolent government has purchased nearly 10 billion dolars worth of Gold from England. England produced this gold for approximtely $15.00 per ounce, and sold it to Uncle Sam for $35.00 per ounce, making an approximate profit of 6 billion dollars. How will this transaction affect YOUR investments, with 6 billion dollars withdrawn from legitimate trade-channels? In 1935, Clarence Darrow said to the author; "Watch that Gold Bill, no one knows who wrote it or who sponsored it or why; but mark my prophecy when the Truth comes to light, the Gold Bill will prove the 'KEY' that unlocks all the mysteries of the Roosevelt Administration." Mr. Darrow's prophecy DID come true and the Truth did come to light; This Gold Bill is and has ever been the soul of the Roosevelt Foreign Policy: In brief, it was a Bill to give England a 6 billion dollar war-chest, at our expense.

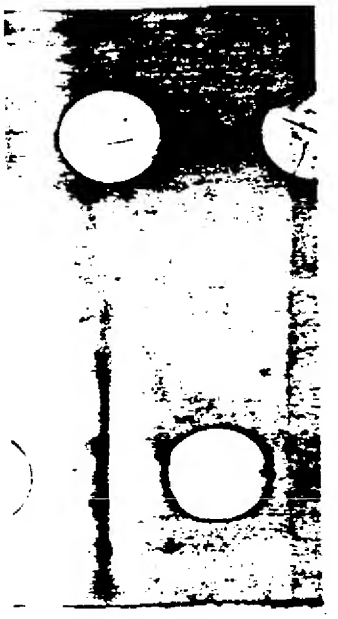
TO CONGRESSMEN: When England now has approximately 6 billion dollars, in cash and securities, on deposit in this country, why should the Johnson Act be repealed, and more taxpayers' money loaned to England?

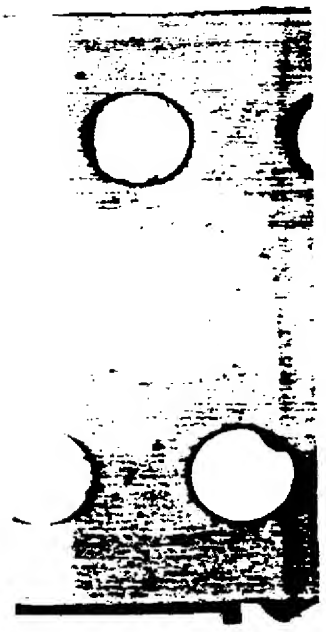
TO THE AMERICAN CITIZEN: When on May 9th, 1940, Mr. Jerome Frank, Chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission, reported through the Press, that if we go to war, the Government will raise 20 billion dollars per year for war purposes, over and above and in addition to the other billions we must raise for legitimate purposes, Relief, Public Works and current expenses; and when the Chairman states that this 20 billions will be raised by restricting our purchases of automobiles, furniture, electrical-goods, machinery, office equipment and "consumer-goods",—AND by forcing us to buy Government bonds,—WHERE WILL THE AVERAGE CITIZEN get off?

TO LABOR: When the Chairman states that in the event of war, our Government will adopt the "Keynes Plan," under which Labor will be told, when to work, where to work, and at what Hours and Wage: And when Maj. Gen, George Strong, says to a Congressional Committee, "We cannot get ready for war with a 32 hour week, but must repeal the Wages and Hours law, and set up a 60 hour week, with no time-and-a-half for Overtime: In other words that Labor will be Conscripted.—Where Will Labor Get Off? They Won't!

TO THE PRO-WAR, pro-ENGLISH AMERICANS: If we go to war and thereby double our unpayable debts and treble our then unpayable taxes; resulting in more unemployment, more suffering and sorrow, and THEN, an enraged people start looking for a "goat," and start organizing to punish those who forced us into war, WHERE WILL YOU GET OFF?

TO THE VOTER: From the days of Thomas Jefferson, the theory of "Government by Political Parties" has been permanently established in our country, and for 150 years the Ballot-Box has been the keystone of American Liberty. To Washing-





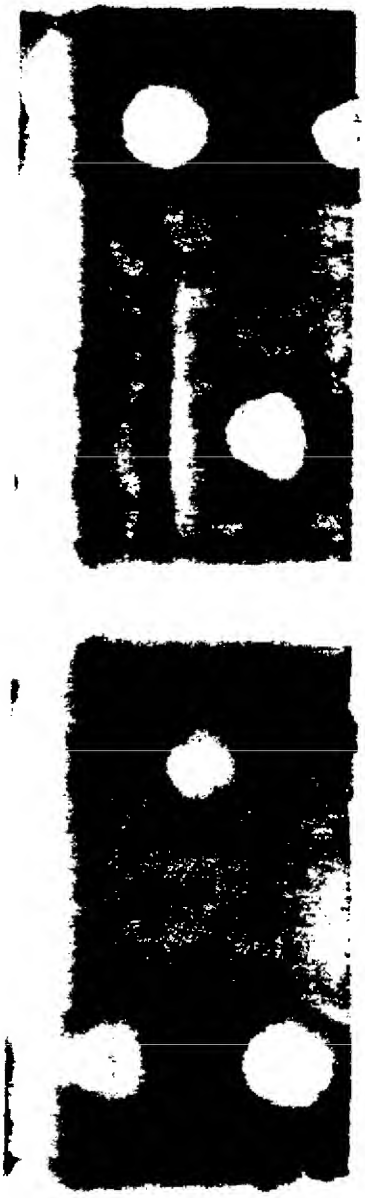
ton and Jefferson, Jackson and Lincoln, "The Right to Vote" was the one Guard and Bulwark which would guarantee our Constitutional Liberties, and the one Constitutional Right which should ever remain inviolable.

Only twice in 150 years has an effort been made to violate this Right to Vote or abridge the power of the Ballot-Box: Once, during the administration of Woodrow Wilson, when Foreign-language newspapers and Free-speech in any language were suppressed: and recently, when the Roosevelt administration by its indirect censorship of Radio and its threat to suppress Foreign-language newspapers, has made and threatens to make it impossible for millions of our voters to vote INTELLIGENTLY. Nor should we fail to note the fact, that both of these violations of our most sacred right and privilege were made by Democratic Administrations which were openly Pro-English and Pro-War.

The greatest danger now confronting this nation, is NOT "an invasion by some foreign power,"—it is this invasion of our Constitutional Rights of Freedom of Speech, Press and Assembly, through which alone the Voter can vote intelligently.

If the Voter will think this over, he will realize that the Totalitarian Theory of Government,—the ONE PARTY, One Man Theory of Government is already here, threatening to destroy the Republic bequeathed us by Washington and Jefferson. This is the real Trojan Horse, the real Fifth Column, the real "enemy within our Gates."

TO THE POLITICIANS AND PUBLIC OFFICIALS: "Watch Your Step." The American people are going to watch you, from now on.



THIS BOOKLET PUBLISHED TO REVEAL THE FACTS OUR HISTORY-BOOKS REFUSE TO PUBLISH

For additional copies write:
Box 307 — Hollywood, California

PRINTED IN UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

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Dear Fellow Peace Worker:

"History was made and we were there." That was the reaction of all those who came together in answer to the call sent out by "We, the Mothers, Mobilize for America, Inc."

We who labor for peace have felt the need of getting together and talking things over, measuring our strength, counting our resources, hefting our weapons, and setting our course.

We met, clasped hands, looked into each other's eyes, and our courage revived. We talked together, each putting forth the result of individual effort and the accumulation of knowledge gained through experience.

There was such an outpouring of enthusiasm as the result of this contact that when we met in final conference there was a demand that we not part on this high note without definite plan. By unanimous vote the conference was turned into a convention. A tentative plan of federation was drawn up to be submitted to the constituency of each delegate. A copy of this plan accompanies this letter. Your organization is asked to pass on this at once and return to our Headquarters their decision. If they are in accord with this action will they at once fulfill the conditions as set down. The permanent organization must be completed as soon as possible. The election of permanent officers is necessary as We, the Mothers, Mobilize must be relieved of this obligation.

With the report of the Committee on Organization there are also the reports of the Resolution Committee, the Action Committee, and the Minutes of the Meeting.

This meeting was a "mountain top" experience, demonstrating that women love their sons and their country beyond every other consideration. Personal feelings and petty hindrances were put aside, generous gestures of burying differences of opinion were made, for these women are big enough and fine enough to realize that they must stand together, walk together, fight together if they are to win the great battle that is before them. Wounded feelings are not a soldier's equipment and we are militant mothers, consecrated to the service of humanity and Christianity.

We are grateful that you came. We cherish the memory of your presence. We look forward to meeting you again. Meanwhile may we each march separately but rhythmically toward our common goal—"an ever swelling symphony of mother feet".

Yours for Peace and harmony,

Lyrl Clark Van Hyning

"Give the people light, and they will find their own way." *Abraham Lincoln*

REPO OF PROCEEDINGS OF CONFERENCE
Held in Lincoln Room, La Salle Hotel - Sept. 27th and 28th, 1941.

The purpose of this conference as stated in the call sent out was to plan a nationwide Congress or convention of women, the purpose of which was the preservation of peace for this nation and the defense of our Constitution.

The actual program began with registration at the Hotel at 10:30 A.M. The following delegates and representatives were present. (list attached)

Informal conferences were held in the assembly room until lunch time.

The first public meeting - the formal opening of the conference began at 2:00 P.M.

Rev. H. G. Brodt, pastor of Peace Memorial Church, gave the invocation.

Greetings and messages from individuals and groups not present, including a number of telegrams, were delivered by Grace Koore.

The opening address "This is Women's Business" was delivered by
Lyrl Van Hyning.

At 4:30 the meeting adjourned in order to give the delegates an opportunity to discuss questions designated, covering the following topics:

Neutrality Act.
Impeachment.
Repeal of Lease Lend Bills.
Repeal of Conscription.
No1 A. E. F.
The truth about Jewish influence.
No foreign alliance
Boycotting
Suspension of 1942 elections

Informal discussion brought out many interesting views and a stimulating exchange of ideas.

The second public meeting was held in the large assembly room at 8:00 P.M.

Laura Ingalls, the noted flyer and writer, here from Burbank, California was the principal speaker of the evening. "Mothers Militant" was the title of her address. Extemporaneous talks from the floor followed.

The meeting adjourned with the call set for 9:30 A.M. Sunday morning for all delegates to be in the conference rooms to formulate the program or plan of organization and action for which this conference was called.

Sunday, Sept. 28th, 1941.
The delegates met in the conference rooms at 10:00 A.M. and proceeded to consider the business in hand.

The first consideration was the question of holding a convention as previously planned. It was generally felt that time was too short, and that it was imperative to produce a plan of action immediately, rather than wait on the slower movements of a large convention. Inasmuch as the majority of women's peace groups from different parts of the nation were represented, and many others had signified their intention to abide by whatever program we might formulate, the matter of turning the conference into a convention was put to a vote, and adopted with one dissenting vote.

Proceedings of Conference.

The next consideration was the form of organization which could best effect concerted action of the groups represented.

Beatrice Brown of Women United of New York presented a motion to federate the different groups so that united action could be effected. It was proposed that a committee be formed to bring in a reporton such a proposal, and Miss Brown was asked to head this committee.

Committees were formed for "Resolutions" and "Action"

The conference dissolved into Committees who retired to consider the subjects assigned. Reports were to be presented in the open meeting at 2:30 P.M.

The closing session of the conference began at 2:30 P.M.
Mrs. Van Hyning presided.
FAther Willford of St. Peter's Church prounounced the invocation.

The "Star Spangled Banner was sung and the Pledge of Allegiance recited.

A paper "Government by Law" was read by Mabel Willard.

Father Borgon of St. Andrew's Church delivered a stirring address on the awful stupidity and ghastly cruelty of war. Paraphrasing the saying that "The Bourbons of France never forgot anything and never learned anything", he said the administration in W ashington "forgot everything and learned nothing.

Reports of the Committees were read. Resolutions adopted. Telegrams were sent to Col. Lindbergh, Congressman Sweeney, The Republican National Chairman, Joe. Martin, and the Democratic National Chairman, Edward Flynn and Senator MacKellar.

The Battle Hymn of the Republic was sung by all.

The conference closed.

of the
M[illegible]RS OF THE UNITED STATES OF A[illegible]RICA

Members of the Committee:

Beatrice Brown	Women United	New York, N. Y.	Chairman
Mrs. Lulu Avery	Mothers of Minnesota	Minneapolis, Minn.	State President
Mrs. Marie Lohle	Defenders of George Washington's Principles	Pittsburgh, Penna.	Secretary
Mrs. Minnie Fischer	Mothers Mobilize Against War	Milwaukee, Wis.	Nat'l President
Mrs. Phyllis G. Byron	National Peace Army Crusade	Los Angeles, Calif.	
Mrs. Catherine P. Baldwin	Defenders of the Constitution of the United States	New York, N. Y.	

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE:

OBJECT: To consolidate the efforts of all organizations working to defend and preserve our Constitution and American form of government.

OFFICERS: President, Vice-President, Recording Secretary, Corresponding Secretary, Financial Secretary and Treasurer. Officers to be elected once a year by the Board of Directors.

HEADQUARTERS: The headquarters shall be in Washington. We invite all organizations who are working to keep out of foreign wars.

DIRECTORS: Directors and officers shall be limited to women. Forty-eight directors, one from each state, each organization to appoint an elector, such electors to choose state director. The Board meetings shall be held not less than once a year on the call of the President on a notice of not less than two weeks. Failure of the President to call such meeting, the Board of Directors may convene at their own discretion.

FINANCE: Each organization present shall contribute $10.00 towards the organization and report to Mrs. Loefe within ten days their acceptance of this organization.

MEMBERSHIP: A majority of the Board shall have the right to request the withdrawal of any board member or officer, after a hearing, who has been proven disloyal to the organization's Constitution.

Report of Committee on Resolutions

Members of Committee

Mrs. H. P. Pike, Forest City, Iowa.
Ruby Wackor, Garnor, Iowa.
Mrs. Edna L. Moriarty, Los Angles, Calif. National Peace Army Crusade.
Mrs. Eva Kleinman, Minneapolis, Minn.
Mrs. Beatrice M. Knowles, Chairman, Detroit, Mich.
Mrs. Helene E. Johnson, Chicago, Ill.
Mrs. Katherine M. Sutter, Flint, Mich. Neutral Mothers of America.

Resolutions adopted:

We mothers, representing the various mothers organizations throughout this nation, assembled in Chicago this twenty seventh day of September, 1941, herewith reaffirm and declare our belief in the rights and principles set forth in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States, and

Whereas, the Declaration of Independence affirms that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, and

Whereas, the preamble of the Constitution states these principles: "We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to OURSELVES AND OUR POSTERITY, do hereby brdain and establish this Constitution, and

Whereas, the Constitution incorporates the principle that, "An act done by an official body in excess of his or its legal competence, is simply void and should be so regarded by even the meanest citizen," and

Whereas, we believe this war to be [redacted], a struggle for power for a few and slavery for the many, and

Whereas, the President and Congress of the United States are elected and paid by the people, and under oath, are bound to represent them, and

Whereas, the President and his administration while proclaiming their intention of exporting the four freedoms to the rest of the world, are consistently denying them and abridging them here in the United States,

Therefore, be it resolved, that we, mothers of the United States, in association with the rest of the patriotic citizens, are duty bound to regain our

representative form of government provided by the Constitution, and

Be it further resolved that we hereby demand that Congress refuse to repeal the Neutrality Act, that

Congress refuse further appropriations under the Lend-Lease Bill,

Congress stop further action on the Search and Seizure Act and any other measure giving dictatorial powers to the President.

That Congress repeal the Unconstitutional, iniquitous Lend-Lease Bill.

That Congress repeal the shameful Conscription Act, or the Selective Service Act, as it was termed to mislead the people.

That Congress banish from our Capitol all British propagandists and foreign agents and the arrogant foreign nobility, who lacking the courage to remain with their people and fight for their liberation, are striving to push their responsibilities upon the American people, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that copies of these resolutions be sent to the Congressmen in the respective districts represented by the delegates to this conference.

Report of Resolutions Committee - Sept. 28th.

We mothers and women of America, assembled here in the City of Chicago, Illinois this 28th day of September, in the year of our Lord, 1941, after due deliberation and discussion, have formally and unanimously adopted the following resolutions: -

Whereas, the Constitution of these United States and the independence of our country have been jeopardized by the overt acts of our Chief Executive, the President of the United States, and

WHEREAS, our American boys have in time of peace, been conscripted and placed in camps unsuited to their safety and welfare, contrary to the Constitution which reserves to the States alone the power of draft and then only for insurrection or invasion, and

Whereas, our friendly relations with other peoples of the world have been unduly jeopardized and the neutrality of these United States, has been unduly destroyed, and

Whereas, our navy, our merchant ships, our airplanes, tanks, guns and other implements of war have been given to a foreign government under the guise of defense, thus leaving our own shores unprotected from an invader and without due process of law, and for other and various breaches of oath of office,

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, that the Congress of the United States shall by this demand of the people bring impeachment proceedings against the President of these United States for high crimes and treason, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that American boys shall at once be marshalled out of service and returned peacefully to their homes; that all men now in foreign lands be at once returned to these shores, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that we, women and mothers of America, motivated solely by the welfare of our country, do admonish the Congress to proceed at once and without delay to the fulfillment of these resolutions.

Report of Committee on Action.

Members.
Mrs. E. V. Dodge, Chicago, Ill, Chairman.
Laura Ingalls - Burbank, California.
Mrs. Marie Randby - Women United, New York, N. Y.
Mrs. Philip Monreal - United Mothers of America, Cleveland, Ohio.
Mrs. Grace Keefe - We, the Mothers, Mobilize for America, Chicago, Ill,
Mrs. Young - Service Mothers of America, Indianapolis, Ind.

It is generally recognized that the main purpose, the most valuable result to be achieved by this conference is CONCERTED ACTION.

The action involved in this program must, of necessity, take place on two fronts-
THE WASHINGTON FRONT, where thousands possibly, will operate.
THE HOME FRONT, where millions of members are available.

ACTION IN WASHINGTON.

A march on Washington is to be started - 500 women from the East are prepared to be in the Capitol not later than October 10th. This will be the vanguard of a mighty army.

To carry out such an undertaking successfully, headquarters must be established in the Capitol. A line of communication must be established to keep THE HOME FRONT advised. It is proposed to issue a daily bulletin "Light" from the Capitol to be sent to the heads of the various groups.

In Washington activities will include:
Visits to Congressmen, bringing messages from constituents.
Assembly in caucus rooms in Capitol, which can be secured by favorable Congressmen.
Trail Congressmen, wearing black veils, particularly outstanding warmongers, Pepper, Glass, Knox, Stimson, etc.

"Nationwide Prayer in the Public Square"
Assemble on Capitol steps to kneel and pray, led by clergyman.
Simultaneously throughout the nation, the HOME FRONT will join in prayer.
Word will go out to all members to assemble in key places, block traffic if necessary and join in this nationwide prayer.

Headquarters will keep groups advised of possibilities for testifying at Committee hearings. Much valuable work can be done in these hearings.

ACTION ON THE HOME FRONT

First we considered the weapons at our disposal.
We control enormous purchasing power - 85% of the spending done by women.
We have the ballot.
We are informed - knowledge is power.

1st - Purchasing power - this can be withheld or used to advance our cause.
A silent strike is advocated on one day of the week; we will neither buy nor go out of doors on this day, except when absolutely unavoidable; if necessary, we will fast.
A taxpayers' strike - refuse to pay taxes or buy bonds.
Why should we pay the salaries of a Congress that has abdicated, to give financial support to the program of this administration is to endorse their program of exploitation, draining this nation of its wealth and ultimately its manhood. This weapon must be used.

2nd - Political power - the ballot - focus attention on Congressional Districts. We cannot exercise this power immediately but it is a most effective threat. Put pressure on political leaders to take a stand with us or be defeated in April.

3. Knowledge is Power.

"Education and Action" or "Light and Action" was our conference slogan. The lamp and the broom were pictured on our badges, symbolic of Light and Action. The education must be continuously carried on. Study clubs should be encouraged and books giving valuable facts combating current propaganda should be read and discussed at meetings.

Handbills should be distributed at churches, street corners, meetings, and door to door missionary work done.

Many vital facts can be brought to the public attention through these special pieces of literature - facts about our soldiers, conditions in camps, food prices, and exposures of graft and subversive activities. This is a way of reaching many people at little cost as thousands of handbills can be printed at very little cost.

Put pressure on clergymen - our spiritual leaders sometimes need to be informed - send them all the literature you get out.

Telegrams, Letters, TELEPHONE CALLS should be kept pouring into Washington. Long distance calls are most effective.

Picketing is often effective - particularly picketing homes of Congressmen. It is advisable to secure police protection in certain localities.

In order to keep lines of communication open between groups working for peace, we suggest the use of the weekly paper "The Chicago Leader" which now carries news of the activities of We, the Mothers, Mobilize for America. This paper will carry news of any groups who report their activities. Through the office of We, the Mothers, this material will be edited and sent in for weekly publication.

4. Numbers are essential.

Study your state - keep a map whereon you can indicate the progress of the peace groups in your State. Every Congressional District should have some active organization. Endeavor to get the cooperation of these groups in the plan proposed by this convention. Study methods of increasing attendance at your meetings; music is inspiring; peace groups can utilize the power of music as well as the militarists. Try and get local bands to furnish music at your meetings. Encourage the young people to take part in your meetings or form groups of their own.

We cannot emphasize too strongly the absolute necessity of loyal cooperation in this program for CONCERTED ACTION. Through the use of the weapons at our disposal, we can force the will of the people on the recalcitrant servants in Washington. Anyone, who holds that a great people must stand helpless before a handful of public servants, who will submit to having their sons sent to slaughter and their children bound to slavery under a despotic dictatorship, is not worthy the name of American or the heritage of freedom bequeathed her.

THE WOMEN OF AMERICA CAN AND WILL STOP THE WAR MAD MINORITY THAT IS TRYING TO LEAD THIS NATION TO DESTRUCTION!

REGISTRATION

NAME	STATE	ORGANIZATION
Mrs. Beatrice Brown	New York	Women United
Mrs. Marie Randby	New York	Women United
Mrs. Catherine B. Baldwin	New York	Defenders of the Constitution of U. S. A.
Mrs. N. V. Geib	Elmwood Pk. Ill.	
Clara Borguo	Mokena, Ill.	
Mrs. Etta Russell	Decatur, Ill.	
Mrs. Marie Brunicon	Waukegan, Ill.	
Mrs. H. B. Roberts	Highland Pk., Ill.	
Mrs. Ruth Cope	Highland Pk., Ill.	
Mrs. H. C. Olson	St. Paul, Minn.	Parents of America
Mrs. Lulu E. Avery	Minneapolis, Minn.	Mothers of Minnesota
Mrs. Eva Kleinman	Minneapolis, Minn.	Mothers of Minnesota
Mrs. Ida A. Connaly	Rochester, Minn.	Mothers of Minnesota
Mrs. Colletta O'Brien	Sewickley, Penna.	
Mrs. A. L. Collins	Pittsburgh, Penna.	Mothers of U. S. A.
Mrs. Marie Lohle	Pittsburgh, Penna.	Defenders of George Washington's Principles
Mrs. B. C. Schmidt	Dubuque, Iowa	Constitutional Government Club
Erma Wacker	Garner, Iowa	
Jane Wacker	Garner, Iowa	
Mrs. H. P. Pickar	Forest City, Iowa	
Ruby Wacker	Garner City, Iowa	
Mrs. B. M. Knowles	Detroit, Mich.	American Mothers
Margaret Darling	Detroit, Mich.	Mothers of the U. S. A.
Mrs. Rose Farber	Detroit, Mich.	Mothers of the U. S. A.
Katherine M. Sutter	Flint, Mich.	Neutral Mothers
Mrs. Alice Marvin	Detroit, Mich.	Mothers of the U. S. A.
Mrs. Minnie Fischer	Milwaukee, Wis.	Mothers Mobilizing Against War
Mrs. R. E. Houseman	Milwaukee, Wis.	Mothers Mobilizing Against War
Mrs. C. B. Becker	Milwaukee, Wis.	Mothers Mobilizing Against War
Mrs. Edna L. Moriarty	Los Angeles, Calif	Nat'l Peace Army Crusade
Miss Laura Ingalls	Burbank, Calif.	
Mrs. Phyllis G. Byron	Los Angeles, Calif	Nat'l Peace Army Crusade
Mrs. Frank Seidensticker	Indianapolis, Ind.	Service Mothers of America
Mrs. Paul C. Carpenter	Indianapolis, Ind.	" Inc.
Mrs. Minor Goulding	Indianapolis, Ind.	"
Mrs. Alex Clark	Indianapolis, Ind.	"
Mrs. A. R. Young	Indianapolis, Ind.	"
Mrs. Phillip Monreal	Cleveland Heights, O.	United Mothers of America
Mrs. David Stanley	Cleveland, Ohio	United Mothers of America
Mrs. Ethel Green	Cincinnati, [illegible]	Mothers of Sons

Bulletin #664
October 31, 1941

A M E R I C A F I R S T C O M M I T T E E

TO ALL CHAPTERS:

RADIO BULLETIN

Have you asked your Congressmen to join the "Fighting" forces on the air?

Have you asked your Senators to become active in rally speeches?

TUESDAY — JOHN CUDAHY — NOVEMBER 4

from

Washington, D. C.

9:15 P. M. EASTERN STANDARD TIME

Mutual Network

TUESDAY — SENATOR NYE — NOVEMBER 4

from

Washington, D. C.

9:30 P. M. EASTERN STANDARD TIME

Mutual Network

"Let Us Have The Facts"

PLEASE CONTACT LOCAL STATIONS. . . . . .ADVERTISE ALL

RADIO ADDRESSES. . . . . .INFORM ALL MEMBERS

Page Hufty
Director of Organization

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From: Richard A. Moore
National Publicity Director
America First Committee
141 West Jackson Blvd.
Chicago, Ill.
Wabash 6996

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

STATEMENT BY GENERAL R. E. WOOD, NATIONAL CHAIRMAN OF THE AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

The rising tide of opposition to the President's war policy was never more clearly demonstrated than by the vote in the House of Representatives on revision of the Neutrality Law.

In order to prevent a vote of no-confidence, administration leaders were forced to apply every available type of political pressure. The narrow margin by which their so-called victory was achieved is eloquent proof that the American people will not stand for broken pledges and government by subterfuge much longer. Congress has served clear notice that the President must go slowly from now on or suffer repudiation from the people's representatives.

The result was so close that a shift of ten votes would have defeated the bill. A more important fact, however, is that those voting against the bill represented districts embracing approximately 50% of the voters of the United States.

Another significant aspect of the House vote is found in the fact that anti-war sentiment is spreading not only numerically but geographically. For the first time the opposition has made important inroads into the Democratic south, enlisting even such traditional southern Democrats as Hatton Sumners, of Texas, Chairman of the Judiciary Committee and Robert L. Doughton, of North Carolina, Chairman of the powerful Ways and Means Committee. The determination of the American people to stay out of the European war is not restricted to any particular area.

(more)

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The President's last-minute interference in the House debate by means of his letter to Speaker Rayburn was the greatest confession of weakness he has made to date. The message showed concern only with the reaction in foreign capitals --with never a thought for the American people. This letter was read to the assembled Representatives and was intended for public consumption. However, the American public is also entitled to know what information the President gave to those Democratic Congressmen who were so hurriedly called by the White House before the vote. Did the President tell them facts which he was unwilling to reveal to the other members of the House and to the people? If so, what is the justification for withholding this information from all but a select few.

The President can do much to restore public confidence by revealing the substance of these conversations immediately. The ugly rumor that the purpose was to obtain support by promises of federal jobs and patronage is having an unfortunate effect upon the nation. The mere suggestion that the Administration would use public funds as a means of influencing votes on an issue which involves life or death for millions of Americans is so repugnant that it should be authoritatively denied at once.

On behalf of the America First Committee, which represents the millions of Americans who wish to stay out of this war, I congratulate those Representatives who had the courage to vote in accordance with their conscience and will of the electorate. Their stout refusal to succumb to political pressure and manufactured hysteria gives new hope to the millions who have nothing to offer except their gratitude and their votes.

The America First Committee has worked against heavy odds. With yesterday's vote we attained a new height in solidarity. To that growing group of Congressmen who put their obligation to the people above obligation to anyone else we pledge our unswerving support. And to that dwindling number who persist in putting partisanship and politics above their pledges to the people we say: "We will meet you at the polls."

Bulletin #687
November 14, 1941

A M E R I C A F I R S T C O M M I T T E E

WE ARE AT OUR GREATEST STRENGTH

Thursday, Nov. 13, 1941 the House of Representatives voted to repeal the Neutrality Act 212 to 194.

It was the greatest division of Congressional opinion on a war involvment question that this country has ever seen.

The switch of ten men would have meant repudiation of the Administration's foreign policy.

Actually the number of Representatives who opposed this war measure was 200. There were 6 paired against the repeal. (The entire vote against the Lend-Lease Bill, including pairs, was 167. We have gained 33 Congressmen.)

For the first time in this fight the solid south has cast votes against a war measure. Votes from eight southern states were recorded.

The Democratic Chairmen of three important House Committees broke with the Administration and voted against repeal. They are Hatton Sumners, Chairman of Judiciary Committee, Robert L. Doughton, Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee and Joseph Mansfield Chairman of the Rivers and Harbors Committee.

According to reliable Washington sources the pressure exerted on wavering Congressmen by the Administration Wednesday night and Thursday was terrific. The statement of Representative Tinkham, Mass., given out before the vote, was typical of the thought and conversation circulating about the Capital: "They may be able to persuade enough members to vote against their honest convictions. They are using every kind of White House pressure. We hear they are promising judgeships, postermastorships and all sorts of things to win votes."

Still by your letters, wires and phone calls 200 men voted with us.

The day proceeding the vote the volume of mail delivered to Congress was reported to be a nine year high. The day of the vote the number of telegrams received smashed all records.

We are now at our greatest strength both among the people and in Congress!

The fight for American freedom has just begun!

Organization Department

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Bulletin #690
November 18, 1941

A M E R I C A F I R S T C O M M I T T E E

*** JUST 30 DAYS LEFT ***
until the Christmas Season

CHRISTMAS — THE SEASON OF PEACE — IS NOT FAR OFF

YOUR COLUMBUS DAY EFFORTS WERE GRATIFYING.

MEETINGS, RALLIES, SERMONS, AND RADIO BROADCASTS DURING ARMISTICE WEEK ENABLED THE AMERICA FIRST CAUSE TO BE HEARD BY MILLIONS IN EVERY SECTION OF THE COUNTRY.

OUR CHRISTMAS WEEK ACTIVITIES SHOULD BE EVEN MORE TREMENDOUS.

SO

START PLANNING NOW TO HAVE A RALLY
SOME TIME DURING THE WEEK OF DECEMBER 15TH.

INVITE YOUR LOCAL MINISTERS AND PRIESTS (per attached sample) TO JOIN IN A CRUSADE FOR A PEACE OFFENSIVE.

APPLY NOW TO YOUR LOCAL RADIO STATIONS FOR TIME DURING THAT WEEK AND HAVE OUTSTANDING LOCAL MEMBERS BROADCAST SPECIAL CHRISTMAS MESSAGES.

URGE TWO OR THREE CLERGYMEN, WHO ARE EITHER MEMBERS OF YOUR CHAPTER OR ARE SYMPATHETIC TO OUR AIMS, TO APPLY FOR TIME UNDER THEIR OWN NAMES, AND BROADCAST THEIR VIEWS DURING THIS — THE GREATEST OF ALL SEASONS.

*** JUST 30 DAYS LEFT ***
until the Christmas Season

THE TIME TO START IS NOW.

Wm. S. Foulis, Chairman
Speakers' Bureau

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Bulletin #658
October 27, 1941

A M E R I C A F I R S T C O M M I T T E E

TO ALL CHAPTER CHAIRMEN:

ISOLATIONIST ?

"We must be safe from undue foreign pressure. We simply cannot afford to confide the safety of our country to the passions of the panic of any foreign nation which may be facing some desperate crisis. All history has proved the peril of being dependent upon a foreign state for home defense instead of upon one's right arm."

Winston Churchill, 1934
"While England Slept"

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Page Hufty
Director of Organization

HERE IS YOUR FIGHT: - DELUGE YOUR FRIENDLY AND WOBBLY SENATOR WITH MAIL ASKING FOR BUT ONE THING - - - A FULL AND COMPLETE DEBATE ON THE NEUTRALITY ACT REVISIONS.

America First Committee

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS ★ 141 WEST JACKSON BOULEVARD ★ CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

TELEPHONE WABASH 6000

GEN. ROBERT E. WOOD, ACTING CHAIRMAN
JANET AYER FAIRBANK, VICE-CHAIRMAN

★

National Committee

★

CHESTER BOWLES
DR. A. J. CARLSON
WILLIAM R. CASTLE
MRS. BENNETT CHAMP CLARK
IRVIN S. COBB
JOHN T. FLYNN
BISHOP WILBUR E. HAMMAKER
GEN. THOMAS HAMMOND
JAY C. HORMEL
GEN. HUGH S. JOHNSON
CLAY JUDSON
KATHRYN LEWIS
CHARLES A. LINDBERGH
ALICE ROOSEVELT LONGWORTH
FRANK O. LOWDEN
THOMAS N. McCARTER
RAY McKAIG
MRS. JOHN P. MARQUAND
STERLING MORTON
KATHLEEN NORRIS
GEORGE N. PEEK
AMOS R. E. PINCHOT
WILLIAM B. REGNERY
LOUIS A. TABER
MRS. BURTON K. WHEELER
DR. GEORGE H. WHIPPLE
MAJOR ALFRED J. WILLIAMS

October 17, 1941

R. DOUGLAS STUART JR., DIRECTOR
J. SANFORD OTIS, TREASURER

TO ALL CHAPTER CHAIRMEN:

Due to the outstanding success of our Columbus Day efforts, when better than 100,000 persons heard speeches espousing the non-intervention cause and millions listened to "our side" through radio broadcasts in strategic centers of the nation, we have decided to launch an "all out" campaign culminating on Armistice Day.

Since on that day bands will be playing, airplanes roaring overhead, etc., it is imperative that we launch a counter offensive — so please — without further delay — apply now to all your local radio stations for time on that date.

Have a member of your committee, some prominent businessman or outstanding member of the clergy make the address. We will send you a suggested speech but act now. Contact your station managers.

In the meantime, appoint a committee and have them contact the secretary of every civic club in your city to arrange for a speech — even if its only 10 minutes — at one of their luncheons between now and November 11th. Issue press releases (to papers and radio stations alike) after each speech is made.

If you encounter too much difficulty let us know and we will do everything to help — But act now — There must not be a second Armistice Day for these United States. # # #

William S. Foulis, Chairman
National Speakers' Bureau

4/29/85 SP8BT/LOL #245238
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9/4/84 BY SP8 BT/ltr
Orig #242,942
269,350 9145JFT&100/COL 4-23-86
318,519 SP8BTS/COL 10-18-90

"The Path to War Is a False Path to Freedom"

Bulletin #653
October 24, 1941

A M E R I C A F I R S T C O M M I T T E E

ARMISTICE DAY

ARMISTICE DAY, NOVEMBER 11, IS A LIVING TESTIMONY OF THE CAUSE FOR WHICH WE ARE FIGHTING.

THE AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE IS BENDING EVERY EFFORT TO MAKE THIS ARMISTICE DAY CONVEY THE POWERFUL MESSAGE TO THE PEOPLE OF AMERICA THAT WE MUST KEEP OUT OF THIS PRESENT EUROPEAN WAR.

What efforts has your chapter made to prepare an Armistice Day program?

Have you arranged for a city rally with a nationally prominent speaker?

Have you arranged district rallies with local speakers?

Have you arranged for radio time on all local stations for non-interventionist speakers in your city? (Prepared Armistice Day radio script will be furnished to chapters.)

Have you contacted your local friendly American Legion Post in order to plan a joint celebration? (Ex. laying of wreath on memorial to war dead plus non-intervention speech.)

Have you prepared your copy for a newspaper advertisement to be run in local papers on Armistice Day?

Have you written your "spot announcement commercials" to be run on local radio stations?

PLEASE KEEP US INFORMED OF YOUR PREPARATIONS FOR THIS DAY. WE WILL BE HAPPY TO ASSIST YOU IN ANY WAY POSSIBLE.

William S. Foulis, Chairman
National Speakers' Bureau

318,319
SP8B5/GL 4/29/85 SP8B5/GL#245238
10-18-90 ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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YOUR ☆☆☆ RALLY ☆☆☆

1. SHOULD START NOT LATER THAN 8:00 P.M.

2. NATIONAL SPEAKERS SHOULD COMMENCE NOT LATER THAN 8:30.

3. IMPORTANT LOCAL INFORMATION ABOUT YOUR CITY AND CIVIC OUTLOOK SHOULD BE GIVEN SPEAKER PROMPTLY UPON HIS OR HER ARRIVAL.

4. A DETAILED REPORT OF YOUR RALLY SHOULD BE SENT TO NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

START PLANNING NOW TO HAVE

A MAMMOTH RALLY DURING THE

WEEK OF D E C E M B E R 15

Wm. S. Foulis, Chairman
Speakers' Bureau

4/29/85 SP8BTS/GL #245238
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264.350 9145 SFG/AG/GL 4-23-86
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THE FOLLOWING IS A LETTER WE SUGGEST YOU SEND ONLY TO THE LEADING CLERGYMAN IN EACH CHURCH IN YOUR CITY OR DISTRICT. IT IS ONLY CONSISTENT WITH THE DIGNITY OF THESE MEN THAT YOU MAKE INDIVIDUAL COPIES OF THIS LETTER.

Dear Father, Reverend, or Mr._____:

In times of national confusion caused by calamitous social upheavals, it is necessary for the people more than ever to turn to their leaders for guidance. On all sides men in public office have been found guilty of wholesale betrayal of public confidence, of public trust, of public well-being. It is becoming increasingly evident that the people no longer know to whom they can turn. This grave situation occasions an obligation incumbent on the clergy of our nation - the leaders of our spiritual welfare who yet have the full confidence of the people. It is the obligation to speak out and tell the people what they must do in these times of national stress.

The world has gone far from the ideals of Christ. Therein lies the explanation for our present state of universal catastrophe - the greater has been the retreat from Christ, the greater has been the retreat from civilization, from culture, from the principles of goodness, of truth, and of justice. If there is to be salvation of mankind, it will be through a return to the principles of Christianity, and it is your responsibility as leaders to lead us back.

Soon the Christmas season will be here. There will be little significance in this event unless it is given real significance by you, our leaders. As true Americans, needing, begging guidance, we ask you to make a special effort during this time to instruct the people what they must do in these times. Reason has been lost, war hysteria has torn charity from men's hearts - our leaders must keep their heads and their hearts, guide them by example, show them the inherent fallacy of seeking peace by inviting destruction.

There is an old axiom which sums up well what people must be told: "Operatio sequitur esse." Unless we have preserved the principles of Christianity here, the principles of justice and charity, unless we forego destruction and wholesale mass slaughter, then we shall never be able to lead others back to peace, to Democracy, nor to Christ.

#245238

Sincerely yours,

Chairman, _____Chapter
America First Committee

4/29/85 SECRET/US
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314 519 SP9BTJ/CAL 10-18-90

Bulletin #690
November 18, 1941

A M E R I C A F I R S T C O M M I T T E E

*** JUST 30 DAYS LEFT ***
until the Christmas Season

CHRISTMAS — THE SEASON OF PEACE — IS NOT FAR OFF

YOUR COLUMBUS DAY EFFORTS WERE GRATIFYING.

MEETINGS, RALLIES, SERMONS, AND RADIO BROADCASTS DURING ARMISTICE WEEK ENABLED THE AMERICA FIRST CAUSE TO BE HEARD BY MILLIONS IN EVERY SECTION OF THE COUNTRY.

OUR CHRISTMAS WEEK ACTIVITIES SHOULD BE EVEN MORE TREMENDOUS.

30

START PLANNING NOW TO HAVE A RALLY
SOME TIME DURING THE WEEK OF DECEMBER 15TH.

INVITE YOUR LOCAL MINISTERS AND PRIESTS (per attached sample) TO JOIN IN A CRUSADE FOR A PEACE OFFENSIVE.

APPLY NOW TO YOUR LOCAL RADIO STATIONS FOR TIME DURING THAT WEEK AND HAVE OUTSTANDING LOCAL MEMBERS BROADCAST SPECIAL CHRISTMAS MESSAGES.

URGE TWO OR THREE CLERGYMEN, WHO ARE EITHER MEMBERS OF YOUR CHAPTER OR ARE SYMPATHETIC TO OUR AIMS, TO APPLY FOR TIME UNDER THEIR OWN NAMES, AND BROADCAST THEIR VIEWS DURING THIS — THE GREATEST OF ALL SEASONS.

*** JUST 30 DAYS LEFT ***
until the Christmas Season

THE TIME TO START IS NOW.

Wm. R. Foulis, Chairman
Speakers' Bureau

318.519
SP8BTJ/aL
10-18-90
4/29/85 SP8BTJ/DLS #245235
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DATE 9/4/84 BY SP8BTJ/aL
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To enter the wars now raging in Europe, Asia and Africa would be an act of national folly from which our country must be spared!

318,519
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★ #245238

4/27/85 SP8BTS/bls
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AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

1806 Board of Trade Building

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

PUBLICATION FILE

This collection of cartoons by Mr. John T. McCutcheon, Pulitzer Prize Cartoonist, was originally published in the Chicago Tribune and is here reproduced by special permission. All rights are reserved by the Chicago Tribune.

A PLATFORM TO WHICH EVERY AMERICAN CAN SUBSCRIBE

The America First Committee was formed by a group of citizens gravely concerned over our country's alarming drift toward war.

Every member shares the firm conviction that the preservation of American liberties and the future of democracy itself depend on keeping out of foreign wars.

NOTE: The principles of the America First Committee heartily approve all possible aid to Britain permitted under the provisions of the Neutrality Act, but we oppose aid beyond the limits of that Act, sometimes miscalled "aid short of war".

HOW TO TELL THE ROPAGANDA

If it makes you so mad you want to get into the war at once—

—just remember that's the very kind of stuff the clever propagandist is trying to send out.

In these critical weeks, the Interventionists lead us step by step closer to actual warfare—with its disastrous consequences, sure to affect the lives of every living American.

Now is the time when every citizen faces a tremendous responsibility to THINK STRAIGHT in a world gone mad with war—to MAKE THE WISE DECISION in a whirlwind of propaganda such as never before has confused the thinking of a neutral nation.

THE UNDERTOW WILL DO THE REST

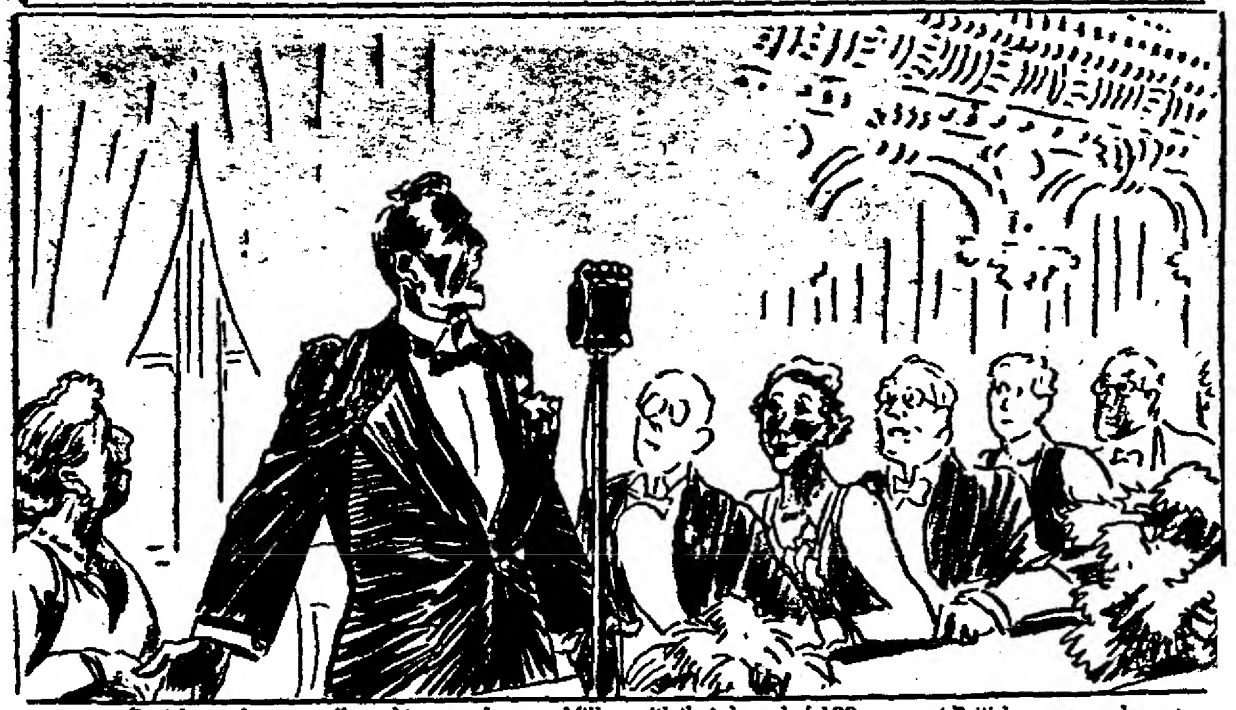
The grim choice between Peace or War should be fairly and honestly placed before the people.

Instead the Internationalists have deliberately confused the issue with that flexible phrase "aid short of war."

The America First Committee gladly extends to Britain the tremendous facilities of our private production under the provisions of our Neutrality Act.

But we oppose shipment in American merchant vessels convoyed by American warships. This would not be aid short of war. It would be WAR!

WE'VE AD EXCHANGE PROFESSORS -WHY NOT EXCHANGE PROPAGANDISTS?



British speakers are allowed to come here and fill us with their brand of 100 per cent British propaganda——
"Ladies and gentlemen—or may I say, fellow Anglo-Saxons! Civilization is facing its greatest test! Democracy stands at the barricades, breasts bared to defend all those nations which, like us, love peace and justice. We know your sympathies are with us and that you will cheer us on as we fight for the safety of your homes!"

Supposing American speakers from West of Long Island went over and tried to give the British some of our American brand of propaganda——
"Gentlemen—I note with interest that you always say civilization is in danger whenever you get into a war. That is not strictly accurate. As long as America keeps its senses and stays out of your European wars there will be a fair amount of civilization left—but not the kind we fought to save in the last big European war. We Americans remember that rescue very well. We remember the shocking ingratitude, the sickening disillusionments, not to mention other things, that the saving of civilization brought. We are keeping out of this war as the best way of saving our kind of civilization."

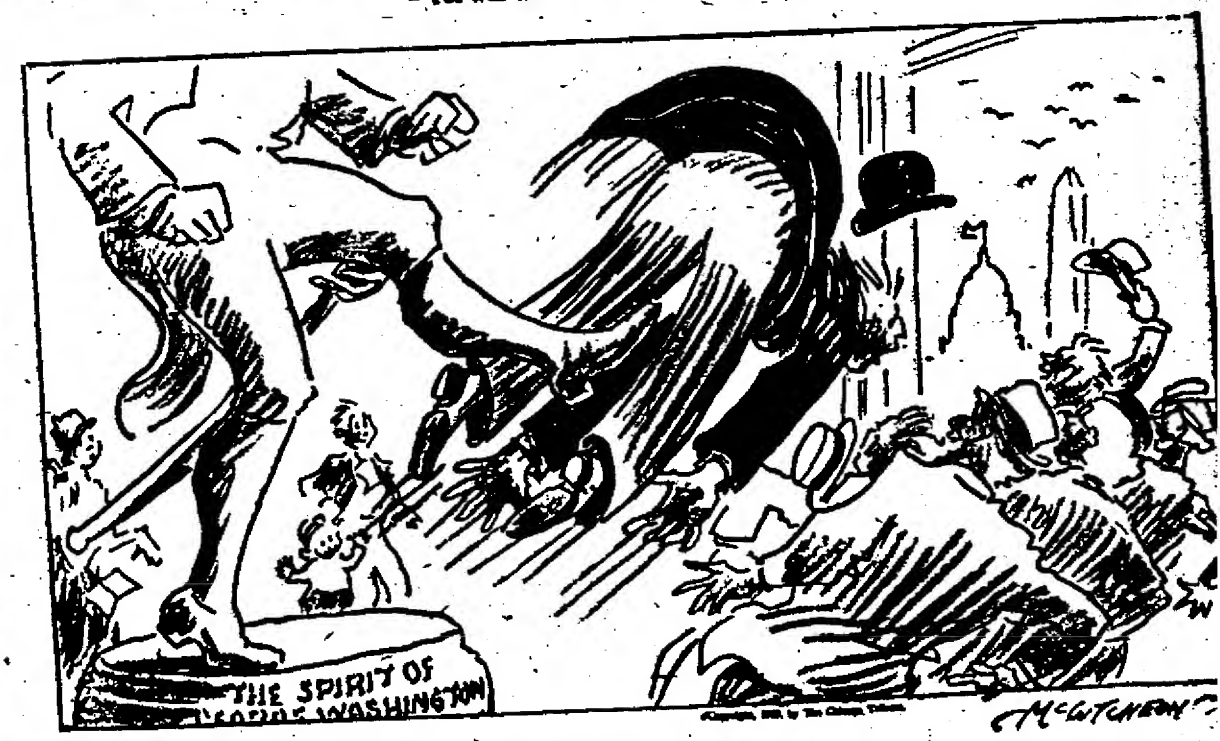
The leaders of the United States are trustees for the future of over 130,000,000 Americans. They must be realists, unswayed by our admiration and friendship for Britain or our hatred of Totalitarianism.

They must realize that the basic American democratic liberties, which the Interventionists tell us are at stake, would be instantly suspended and permanently threatened if we go to war.

The hope of Democracy throughout the world lies in a PEACEFUL America, strong and unafraid.

IT SHOULD BE MADE UNPOPULAR IN THIS COUNTRY—

—For war wishers to pave the way for—



—American entanglement in future wars.

The Interventionists have carefully built up the mistaken belief that our entry into the war is inevitable—that if we must fight sooner or later, we might as well fight now.

This is clever propaganda—but it is ridiculous when subjected to the light of reason.

If we enter this war, it will be because we CHOOSE to enter. No nation and no group of nations can ever successfully attack a PREPARED America. And they realize that fact!

THE BIG PARADE

The America First Committee believes that if we enter the war we will eventually win. But we will face the most difficult military problem in all history in attacking and conquering the forces of Germany and her allies on their own front.

The costs and consequences will be disastrous—human, social and material. There can be no true victors in such a war. The victors, as always, will be Death, Debt and Depression.

THE HIGH COST OF FOREIGN ENTANGLEMENTS

The last time we went to war for the ideals of democracy we got off lightly. But war settles nothing.

The spawn of that war was Communism, Nazism and Fascism. No less than eight distinct wars have arisen in Europe during the past twenty years to resettle the same eternal quarrels.

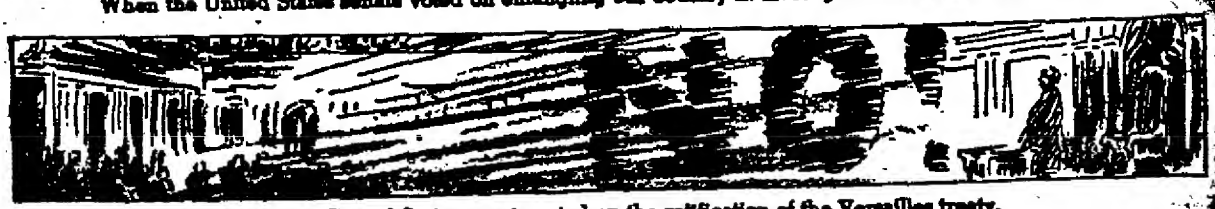
American costs of the last war now add up to one-quarter of our national debt. So that every one of us who pays Federal taxes—direct or indirect—is still paying for the *last* war.

THE WAY THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ALWAYS HAVE VOTED

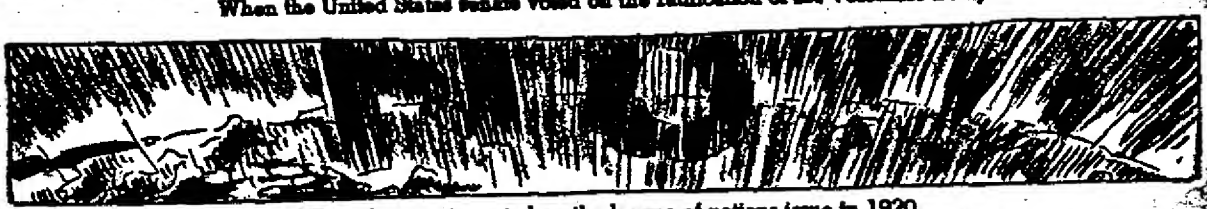
and the way they would undoubtedly vote today if given the chance.

When the American voter in 1916 had a chance to express himself on getting into the war in Europe.

When the United States senate voted on entangling our country in an Anglo-French-American alliance.



When the United States senate voted on the ratification of the Versailles treaty.



When the country voted on the league of nations issue in 1920.

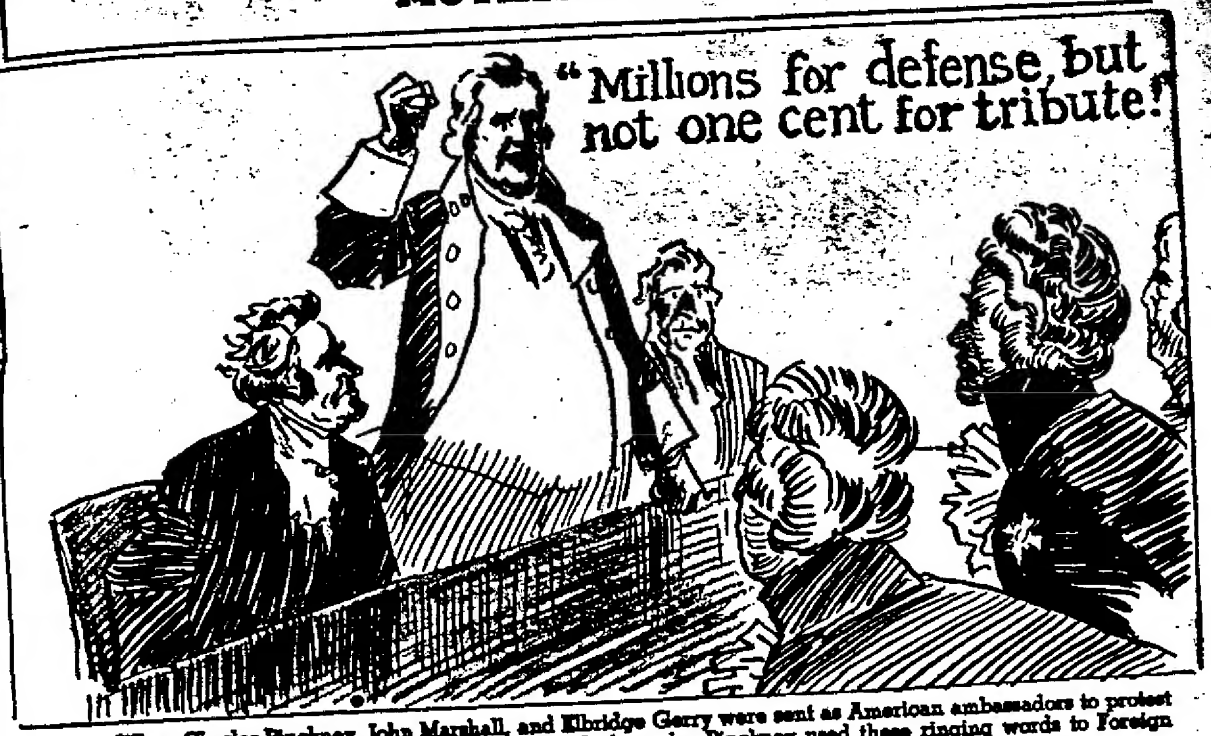
When our Interventionists tried to entangle the U. S. still further in Europe by keeping American troops on the Rhine.

And if congress ever votes to send American men to fight in Europe again, it will be in defiance of the profound convictions of an overwhelming majority of our people.

The great majority of the American people do not want this war. They do not believe that the mission of America is to police the world. They do not think that we are called upon to enforce our ideas on other peoples by force of arms.

Good Americans know our job is here at home—to strengthen and improve the working of our own democracy. And when Peace comes, a strong, healthy America will be the sole hope of a war-torn world.

MOTHER'S DAY



When Charles Pinckney, John Marshall, and Elbridge Gerry were sent as American ambassadors to protest to France against unjust treatment on the high seas, Ambassador Pinckney used these ringing words to Foreign Minister Talleyrand.

Today the overwhelming majority of American mothers will paraphrase those historic, undying words.

The Interventionists try to delude us with the promise that even if their efforts bring us into the war, there will be no A. E. F.—that planes and ships and other tools of war will be enough.

That was the promise last time. It was false then. It is false today.

When the United States goes to war, it goes in to win. A deadlock will never satisfy us. We will want a decisive victory. And that means men as well as machines—men enough to destroy the most powerful military machine ever developed, entrenched upon a continent 3,000 miles away.

Added Note

AFTER the preceding interview was completed, the President and Secretary Hull again reiterated their views. The President stated, ". . . International commerce in a world dominated by totalitarianism would never be carried on for the mutual benefit of all . . . Therefore, it is idle for us to talk of future foreign trade unless we are prepared now to defend the principles upon which it is and must be based." This statement is on a par with his grandiose utterance about our enforcing the "four freedoms everywhere in the world."

Secretary Hull sets up five peace points:

1. "Extreme nationalism must not again be permitted to express itself in excessive trade restrictions.
2. "Nondiscrimination in international commercial relations must be the rule, so that international trade may grow and prosper.
3. "Raw material supplies must be available to all nations without discrimination.
4. "International agreements regulating the supply of commodities must be so handled as to protect fully the interests of the consuming countries and their people.
5. "The institutions and arrangements of international finance must be so set up that they lend aid to the essential enterprises and the continual development of all countries, and permit payment through processes of trade consonant with the welfare of all countries."

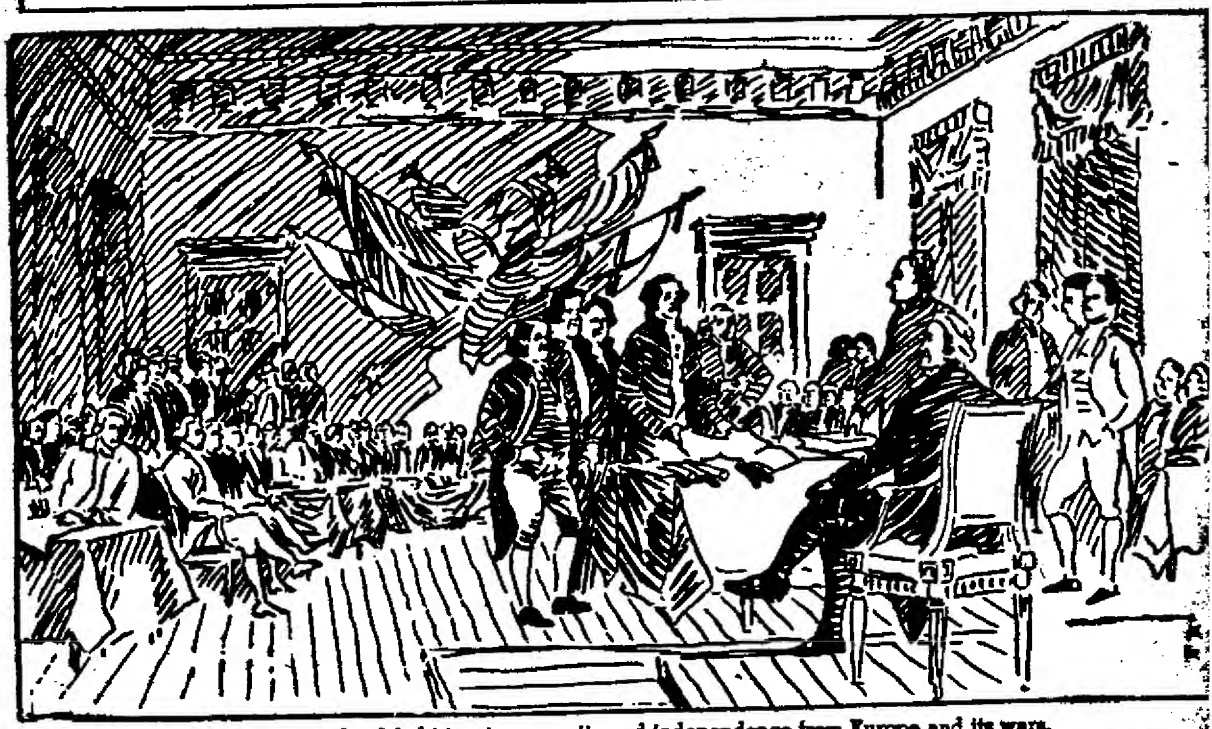
If the President's statement and the Secretary's five points mean anything, they mean world free trade, with the United States acting as underwriter and director general even if such fanaticism drags us into war. G. N. P.

Principles
of
America First Committee

1. Our first duty is to keep America out of foreign wars. Our entry would only destroy democracy, not save it. "The path to war is a false path to freedom."
2. Not by acts of war abroad but by preserving and extending democracy at home can we aid democracy and freedom in other lands.
3. In 1917 we sent our American ships into the war zone and this led us to war. In 1941 we must keep our naval convoys and merchant vessels on this side of the Atlantic.
4. We must build a defense, for our own shores, so strong that no foreign power or combination of powers can invade our country, by sea, air or land.
5. Humanitarian aid is the duty of a strong, free country at peace. With proper safeguard for the distribution of supplies, we should feed and clothe the suffering and needy people of England, the other democracies, and the occupied countries.

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
141 WEST JACKSON BOULEVARD
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

INDEPENDENCE DAY SHOULD BE A DAY OF NATIONAL UNITY



It took a long, hard fight to win our unity and independence from Europe and its wars.

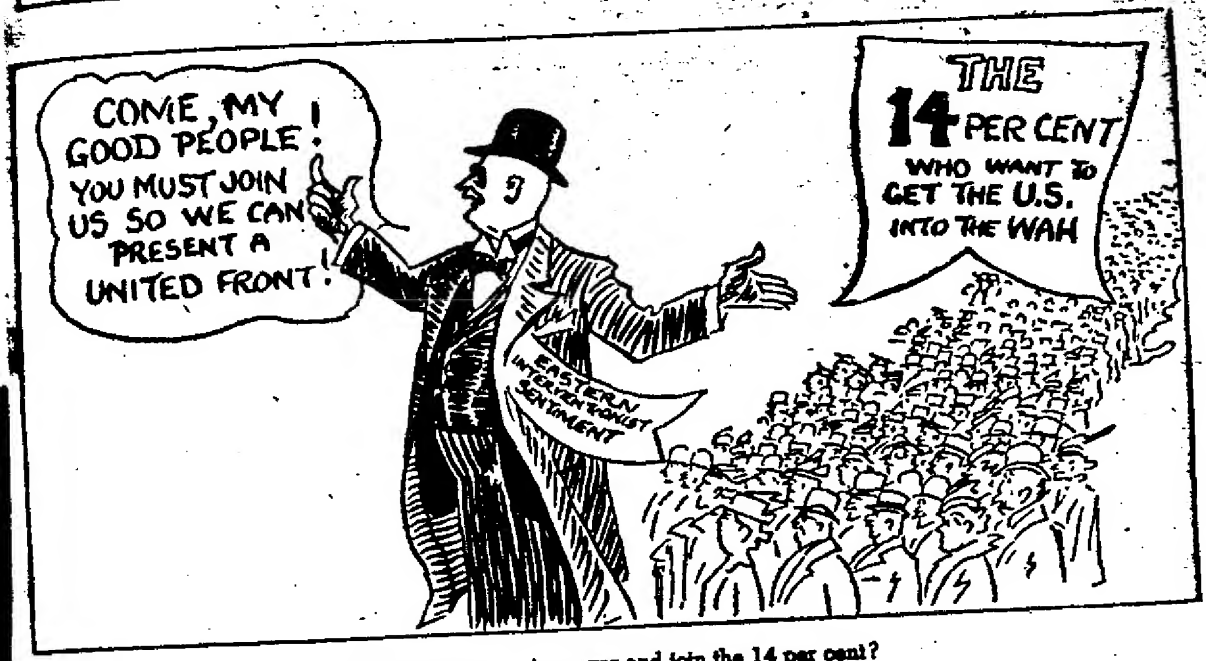
Can we retain our unity and our independence when there is a small, but active, minority striving to get the nation back into Europe and its wars?

We must all realize that even the most ardent Interventionist will not promise us that *this* war will be the last one.

Should we become involved in war, we also find ourselves involved in the unending aftermath. We shall be a part of the explosive quarrels that spring up with clock-like regularity after the Peace Treaty is signed.

Let us unite in our adherence to the time-honored American policy of Independence of Europe and its affairs.

WHICH IS THE BEST WAY OF SECURIN NATIONAL UNITY—



—let the 86 per cent go over and join the 14 per cent?

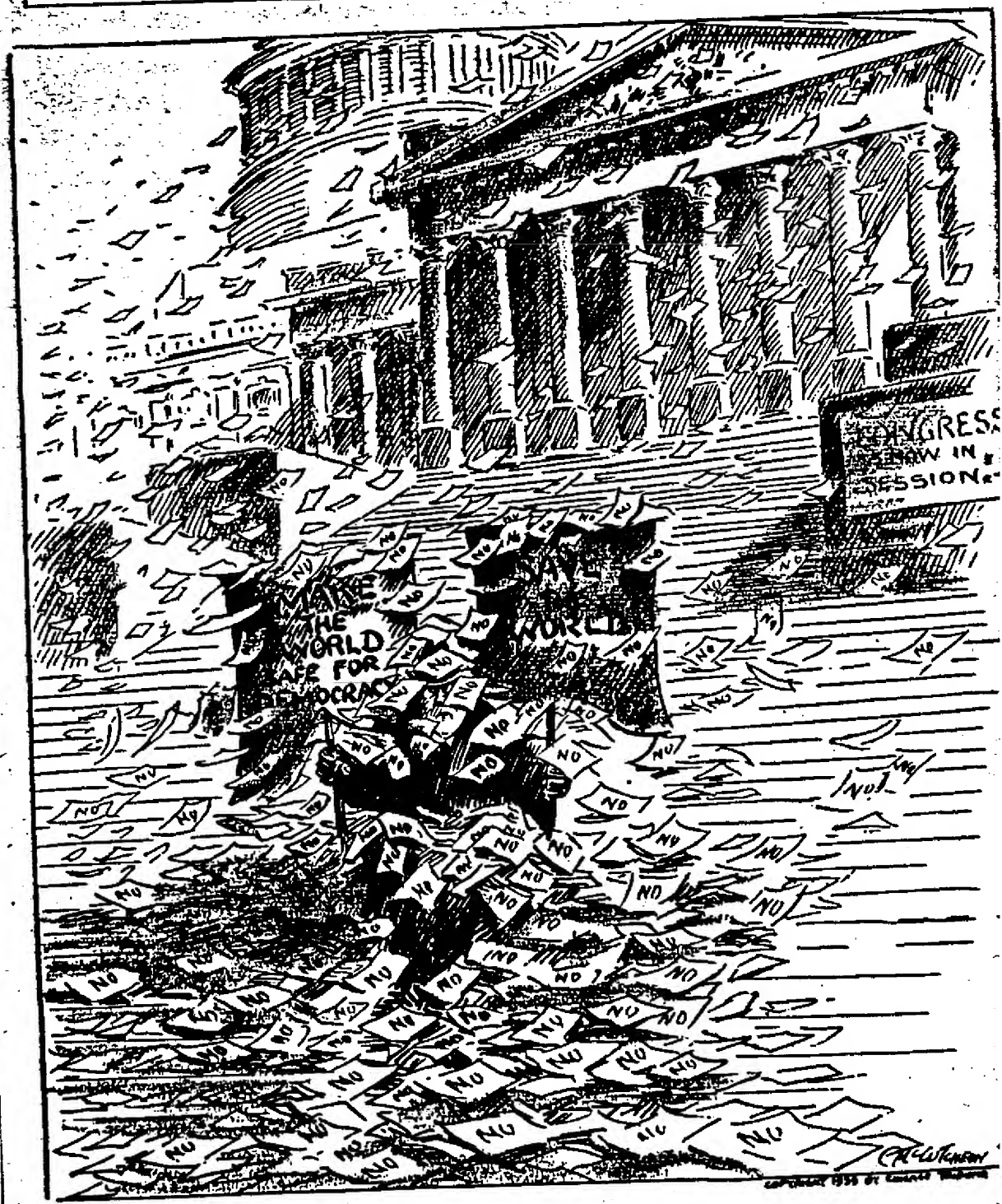
—or let the 14 per cent go over and join the 86 per cent?

For many months that small minority of Americans, eager to have us go to war regardless of the costs, had things their own way. They bombarded the public through the press and over the radio with their hysterical arguments. They made those who differed with them feel like a small, voiceless and ineffective group.

But now the America First Committee is giving a voice to the many millions of loyal and patriotic Americans who believe we must keep out of war. We are the majority!

A BIG NO STORM IN WASHINGTON

The Country Doesn't Seem to Want That Kind of Saving.



Perhaps the most important objective of the America First Committee is to consolidate that great mass of American public opinion that stands firmly opposed to involvement in the present war.

Letters and telegrams from good citizens in every one of the United States are pouring into Washington—addressed to Congress and the Administration.

So the will of the people is becoming unmistakable—a clear-cut mandate for Peace.

AN UNJITTERED PORTRAYAL OF THE NATIONAL SITUATION

If it's for home defense the ladies will all be rooting.

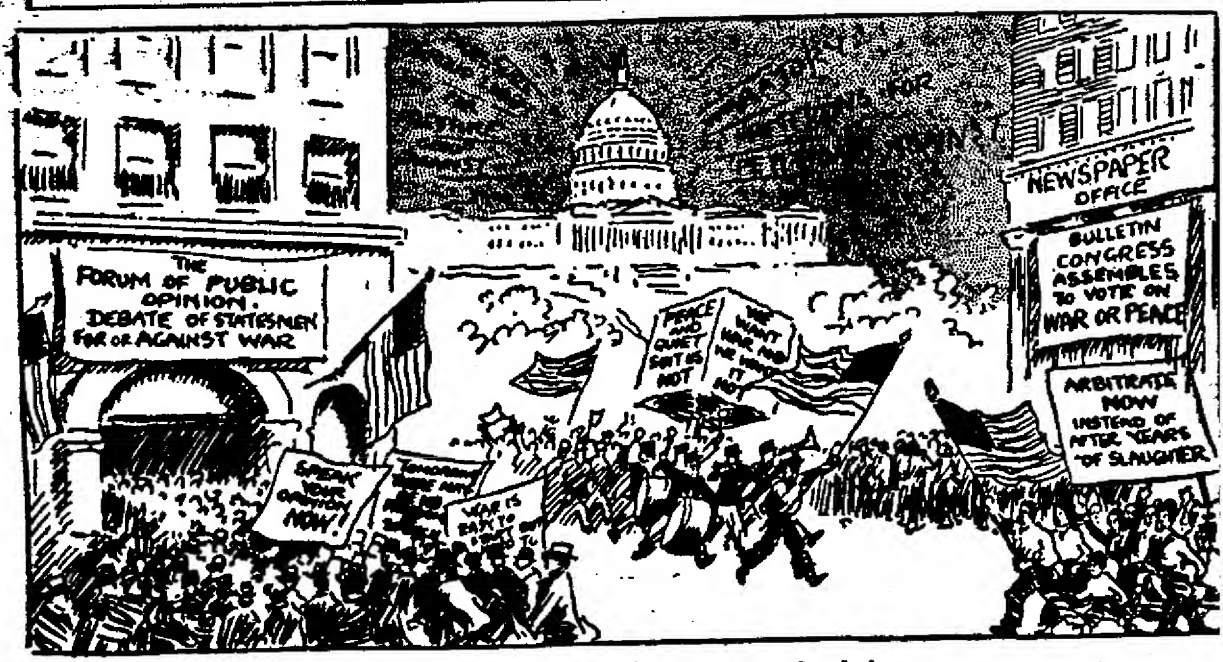
If it's for the defense of other nations 3,000 miles away, a sensational restraint of rooting.

The President of the United States stands ready to carry out the will of the people. The Congress is in Washington to enforce your wishes.

But the pressure of the Interventionists has been enormous. Their strength, concentrated in the nation's capital and a few Eastern cities, has given a false impression of their numbers.

Now all forty-eight states are speaking out! The tide is unmistakably turning toward Peace.

ONE OF THE IRONIC FEATURES OF A WAR BETWEEN DEMOCRACY AND DICTATORSHIPS IS—



—the fact that as soon as such a war is declared, the

—democracy at once has to suspend most of the constitutional rights we are fighting for and immediately has to clamp down the harsh restraints of dictatorship for the duration of the war.

As individuals, it is our right to hate Totalitarianism and all its wrongs. But we cannot destroy that philosophy of life by making war upon it. We cannot destroy among other peoples a form of government that they have chosen and continue to maintain for themselves.

The human liberties that make up our democratic way of life must be preserved here in America.

At the very outbreak of war, all of our liberties must be suspended. For how long? After the war is over they may be returned to us. How many of them? And in what form?

Remember, it is war that breeds dictatorships! The ideals we go to war to protect are the first that we must relinquish when war comes.

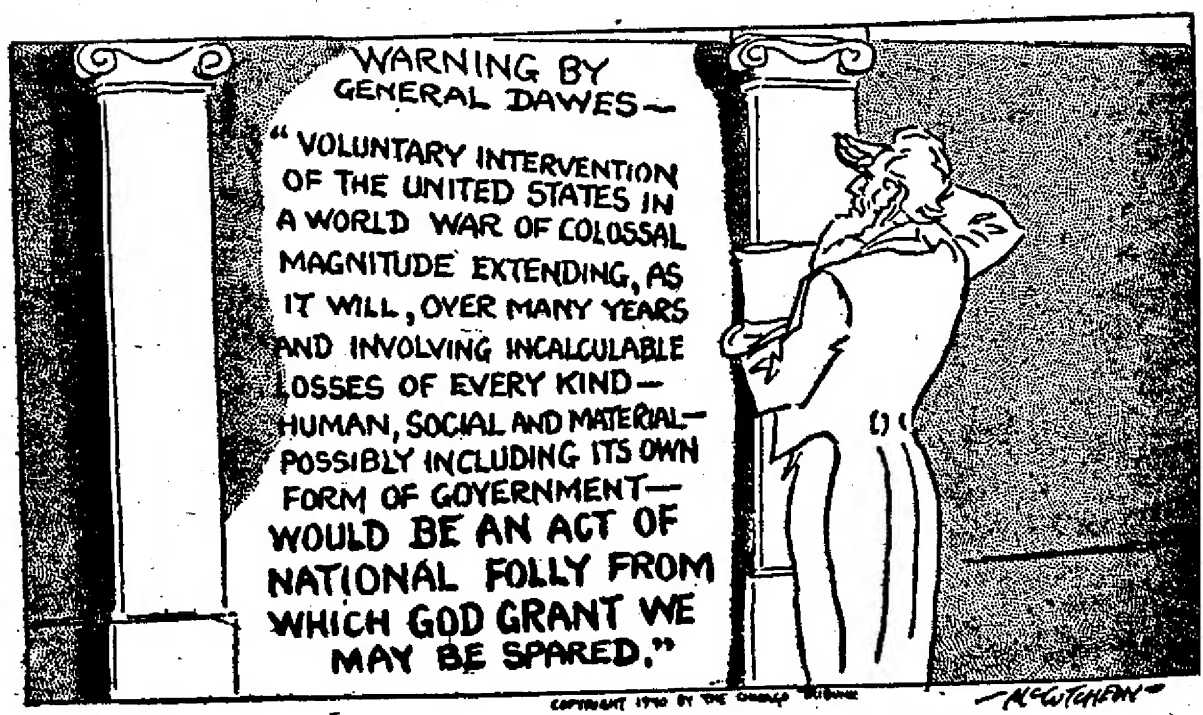
THIS DOCTRINE, IF ADOPTED AND IMPARTIALLY ADHERED TO, IS THE ONLY FOREIGN POLICY THAT WILL KEEP THE UNITED STATES OUT OF ENDLESS TROUBLE

If you support the principles of the America First Committee, you may be called an Isolationist. But no man can truthfully be called an Isolationist who stands ready to extend humanitarian aid to peoples of England and the small democracies—and when Peace shall come, to help rebuild the world along saner lines.

The Monroe Doctrine, keystone of American Foreign Policy for over a hundred years, forbids European forces to intervene in American affairs. It is both inconsistent and foolhardy for American forces to intervene once more in European affairs.

AN AMERICAN PATRIOT PUTS INTO WORDS WHAT MILLIONS OF LOYAL AMERICANS FEEL

In 1775 Paul Revere and William Dawes rode on swift horses to warn the country of danger.



Today a descendant of William Dawes warns the country of another and far greater danger.

The issue of Peace or War for the United States is by far the most important issue we will be called upon to face in our life-times.

The consequences of participation will be so far-reaching that we will be called upon to suffer for them every day for many years to come.

Our country can be spared from such an act of national folly. But not if we stand idly by while the Interventionists have their way with us. We must ACT!

AS HE LISTENED TO THE PRESIDENT'S NATIONAL DEFENSE MESSAGE

The America First Committee holds that there is no real danger of attack, for several years, if at all, from any nation.

If Hitler cannot cross thirty miles of Channel with his scores of near-by bases, it is ridiculous to fear that he can attack us across 3,000 miles of ocean.

But we must build impregnable defenses so that our shores will always be safe—now and forever!

THE BEST RECIPE FOR NATIONAL UNITY

On Nov. 5, President Roosevelt was elected to a third term by an overwhelming majority. The chief reason for his great victory was his repeated and emphatic promise that he would keep us out of this war.

We trust that promise. But if the Interventionists have a free hand, America will have no choice for Peace or War.

If we ship munitions to England in American ships convoyed by American warships, the fighting will begin immediately.

Such a calamity must not be allowed to happen.

OUR LIGHTNING RODS

The United States must build and maintain a Navy and an Air Force second to none and a trained Army fully competent to repel any future attack upon the Americas.

These three will form a permanent line of defense behind which our liberties will always be secure.

Any attempt to weaken them for any purpose must be opposed with vigor and determination.

UR TRINITY OF NATI[illegible]NAL STRENGTH

[Reprinted by request.]

A strong, free, prosperous America is the best and only safeguard of Democracy here—and the true hope of democracies throughout the world.

When the peoples of Europe, Asia and Africa, ravaged by all the horrors of modern war, turn to Peace at last, America's strength will help rebuild them and bring them back to health and hope.

The PRINCIPLES of the America First Committee

1. The United States must build an impregnable defense for America. With such a defense no foreign power, or group of powers, can successfully attack us.
2. With proper safeguards for the distribution of supplies and the maintenance of our neutrality, Americans should, to the limit of their ability, give humanitarian aid to the suffering and needy people of England and the occupied countries.
3. The cash and carry provisions of the existing Neutrality Act are essential to American peace and security. Within the limits of that Act Americans may properly aid Great Britain. Aid to her beyond the limitations of the present Neutrality Act would weaken our defense at home, and might well involve us in conflict. We oppose any change in the law which would permit American vessels to enter the combat zone or which would permit the American navy to convoy merchant ships through that zone, as any such course would inevitably plunge this country into Europe's war.
4. Americans should and do cherish the ideals of democracy and abhor dictatorship, but the welfare of one hundred thirty million Americans and the preservation of democracy on this continent demand that the United States keep out of foreign wars.

Subsidiary Objectives

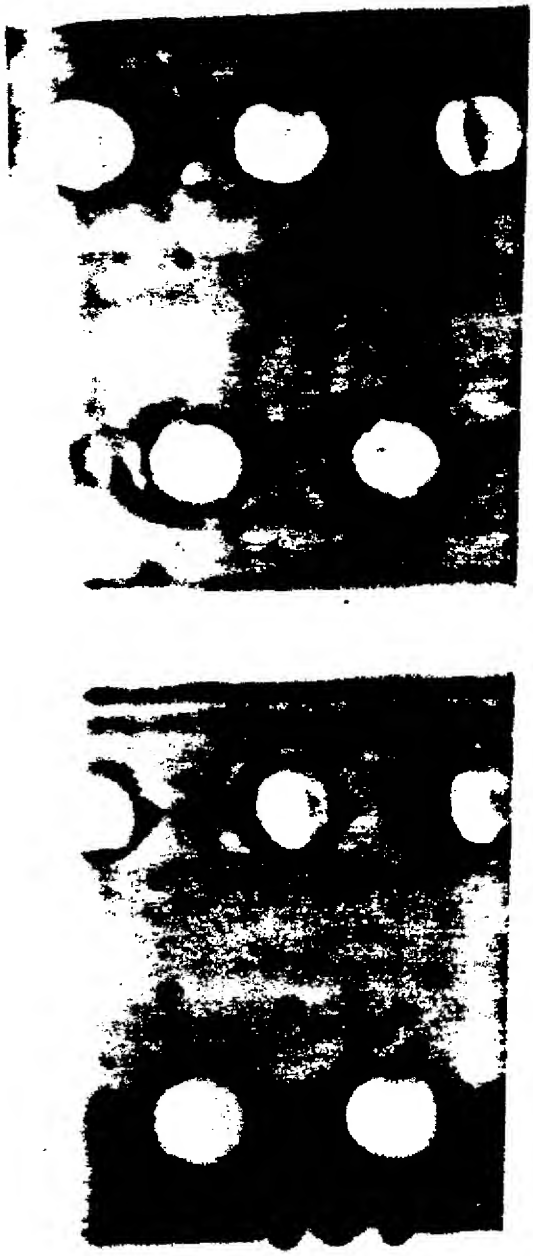
1. To bring together all Americans, regardless of possible differences on other matters, who see eye-to-eye on these principles. (This does not include Nazis, Fascists or Communists.)
2. To urge Americans to keep their heads amid rising hysteria in times of crisis.
3. To provide sane national leadership for the majority of the American people who want to keep out of the European war.
4. To register this opinion with the President and with Congress.

National Committee

General Robert E. Wood, Acting Chairman
R. Douglas Stuart, Jr., National Director
J. Sanford Otis, Treas.

Chester Bowles	Kathryn Lewis
Dr. A. J. Carlson	Alice Roosevelt Longworth
William R. Castle	Hanford MacNider
Mrs. Bennett Champ Clark	Thomas N. McCarter
Irvin S. Cobb	Ray McKaig
Janet Ayer Fairbank	Sterling Morton
John T. Flynn	Amos R. E. Pinchot
Bishop W. E. Hammaker	William H. Regnery
Gen. Thomas Hammond	Capt. Edward Rickenbacker
Jay C. Hormel	Edward L. Ryerson, Jr.
Gen. Hugh S. Johnson	Louis J. Taber
Clay Judson	Mrs. Burton K. Wheeler

Dr. George H. Whipple



MUST WE FIGHT FOR OUR FOREIGN TRADE ?

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AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
141 West Jackson Boulevard • Chicago, Illinois

Must We Fight For Our Foreign Trade?

(Reprinted by courtesy of The Progressive) By STUART CHASE

We were talking on world about the war. A pretty girl, with big brown eyes, opened them even wider and said: "But if Hitler wins we will be ruined, we will lose all our foreign trade. We can't compete with his slave labor—it will be on all the radio—our standard of living will be forced way down. It's awful to think about."

It is painful to think about, just as awful as if it were true. Mental torture is mental torture, as any sufferer from delusions knows can tell you. The fact that the pink snakes are in his mind and not on the lawroom floor does not lessen the anguish.

How many Americans are now seeing the pink snakes of economic collapse unless we go to war, I do not know, but it must run into millions. They have been well drugged by radio and editorial. Yet of all excuses for intervention this is the worst.

A case for military danger can be made out which has something to be said for it, and an ideological case, based on common language and democratic institutions between Great Britain (not the Empire), Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and the United States, is not too implausible. But the economic case is nonsense any way you look at it.

How We Would Fare

There are two major ways to look at it: the physical picture and the financial picture. The former is, of course, the more important. Can a German victory, or the control of the Old World by totalitarian governments cut off so many essential materials that the American standard of living is wrecked? In my little book, *The New Western Front*, I analyzed the materials which we must have to maintain, our living standards. The analysis can be summarized in this fashion: If an airtight blockade could somehow be drawn around the boundaries of continental United States, we should continue to "eat regular," clothe and house ourselves adequately, but we should be shy of many luxuries such as imported fabrics, tea, coffee, spices.

If the blockade were pushed back to the boundaries of North America, including the Caribbean line, we could have many comforts and luxuries.

If it were pushed back to surround the Western Hemisphere (without rubber-sheet geometry definitions of the Hemisphere), we should have practically all essential materials, except rubber and tin. Rubber can be made from petroleum, of which we have plenty. Tin may be had from Bolivia, but perhaps not enough for our standard consumption of the cans. We might have to use glass or synthetics; or, who knows, housewives might take up crushing cans. The OPM has just issued an excellent report on how to get around the tin shortage.

We Can Pretend To Die

So far as physical materials go, there is not more chance of retention than there is of a man in a riverboat on Lake Michigan dying of thirst. Of course he can pretend that the water is salt, but that will be due to his mental machinery.

not to nature. If he wants to explore on those conditions, perhaps it is just as well. If a great nation wants to aspire because it refuses to take the trouble to obtain from Brazil what it need to obtain from Malaya, perhaps that is just as well too. God does not smile perpetually on idiots.

Now let us move over to the financial frame of reference. Here it is argued that while we may have the materials available in the Hemisphere, our prosperity is dependent on world free trade and the profits which importers and exporters make on that trade. Wipe it out, and farmers are stuck with surpluses of cotton and wheat, manufacturers are stuck with surplus Fords and adding machines, our economy is thrown out of kilter, and everybody suffers.

In 1913 there would have been something in this argument, but not in 1941. Before the last war there was a world free market where private business men from all countries competed, and where the profits of foreign trade and investment were very important to the national economy. You can hardly find the ghost of that picture today.

In 1941, governments, not private business men, are running exports and imports, and the world free market has been knocked haywire by the abandonment of gold, by export subsidies, tariffs, quotas, barter deals, blockades, lack of shipping, submarines and self-sufficiency programs.

So far as the freedom of foreign trade goes, it is already ruined, and the process has been going on at an accelerated pace since the last war. People who argue that we must beat Hitler to keep trade free have apparently been sound asleep for a generation. They pulled the covers over their heads along about the time of President McKinley.

Foreigners Haven't Paid Anything

Win, lose or draw, there will be no world free market on this planet in our lifetimes. Governments are going right on controlling exports and imports, and right on promoting programs for national, or at least continental, self-sufficiency. Any profits which private exporters or importers make will be at government sufferance, and the effect on the economy as a whole will be very small.

America will not have to compete with the "slave labor" of the totalitarians, for there will be no free market in which to compete. All that is 1913 stuff. We do not have to take shoes from Czechoslovakia: we can make them in Brockton. If the cost is higher, so what? When you add in the cost of unemployed Brockton shoe workers on relief, the home cost may be lower.

Does anyone pretend we could not sell all our farm surpluses if poor folks had the means to pay for them? Poor folks can pay something, but foreigners haven't been paying anything, as we shall see. How much can they pay after the war is over?

Our Recent Experiences

The United States is the most nearly self-sufficient nation on earth. Its exports amount to only about five per cent of the national income. Since the war began, the export market has been turned upside down, with all Europe shut off. Two-thirds of our exports are now going to the British Empire, and a large fraction of that is in the form of munitions. Furthermore, it is not trade but a handout, under the Lend-Lease Act. American taxpayers are giving American products to Britain.

There is nothing new about this arrangement, either. American taxpayers have been financing great WPA programs for foreigners, one after another, since the last war. We shipped them ten billions of stuff in 1918, and got nothing in return. That was handsome, but hardly trade. Those old war debts will, of course, never be paid. For one thing, our tariff policy made it impossible to pay them in goods. We shipped them another ten billions of stuff in the 1920s and got beautifully engraved bonds, most of which are now in default.

We shipped them another ten billions of good American wheat, steel machinery, and got gold, in the 1930s. The gold is probably useless. And now we are shipping seven billions of stuff to Britain, with more to follow, under a plan in which the lending and the loaning is a polite fiction to get around the Johnson Act.

This foots up to four great WPA projects, totaling some thirty to forty billion dollars in the last 25 years. In other words, American taxpayers and investors have paid American farmers and manufacturers forty billion dollars for shipping their products abroad. This has given work to farmers and industrial laborers, but the United States as a whole has lost forty billion dollars' worth of goods. It certainly shows a fine, generous spirit, and I am not at this point criticizing. But it does burn me up when interventionists say that if this kind of thing is stopped by Hitler we shall be ruined.

There is another thing which burns me up too. In books like Miller's *You Can't Do Business With Hitler*, the point is made that if we don't go to war and keep at it until Europe is reduced to a pile of rubble, we shan't be able to get rid of our surpluses. If we do keep at it until that happy day, then we can have a super-colossal WPA program unloading the surpluses as free gifts to starving Europeans, thus clearing our shelves. As a practical economic program this is about as sensible as burning the house down to get rid of the wasps.

I should be the last to deny that a German victory would give us plenty of mean problems. I should be the last to deny that an American private exporter who tries to do business with Hitler would lose his shirt. But a war abroad to the death for a free market, which practically had disappeared before Hitler came to power, and for a foreign trade which has already worked out to forty billion dollars worth of Santa Claus, is something else again. It is a something else which might well spell real physical ruin, with the bones of our young men whitening the shores of the seven seas.

"WE DON'T HAVE TO"

SAMUEL CROWTHER

Reviews

Douglas Miller's Book "You Can't Do Business With Hitler"

(Reprinted from The Congressional Record—Aug. 18, 1941)

This is an extraordinarily dishonest book, in that the author purports to write of Nazi business methods from first-hand experience as a commercial attache at Berlin, 1925-39, but almost nothing in his book is drawn from experience except a few trivial and well-known incidents. Instead, most of the book has to do with events after 1939, and it is almost wholly a rewrite of the regular anti-Nazi propaganda. It is only slightly factual, and most of these "facts" are wrong. The book bears every evidence of having been written by a propagandist and planted on the supposed author, who is an assistant professor in economics in the University of Denver. It would be interesting to trace this book to its origin.

The theme is now standard. Hitler will encompass the earth, encircle the United States, and crush our foreign trade. That will crush us. Therefore we must, as a plain matter of self-preservation, go out and defeat Hitler and then reorganize the world with the money we are supposed to have and get the trade we so desperately need—even if we pay both ends of it—and keep the world prosperous and peaceful. In other words, the book attempts to appeal to business people whose concepts are too low to grasp the "four freedoms"—that defeating Hitler is just good business because Nazi ethics are bad for business.

"But He'll Have to Do Business With Us."

The whole approach is juvenile. For instance, the author complains that Germany aims to be self-sufficient, which means a minimum of imports, while talking of Nazi plans to capture world trade, which, of course, means a maximum of imports and is wholly incompatible with self-sufficiency. He has a notion that a defeated Hitler will restore the British economy to the pre-1910 basis, with never a notion that the world has changed. He points to two-thirds of our trade being with the British Empire and seems to have the impression that this trade is with the British Isles, when, in fact, it is largely with Canada and Malaya. He also thinks that our foodstuffs and cotton exports can be revived by demolishing Hitler. Our foodstuffs went out of the market long ago, while the A.A.A. killed our cotton exports by holding our cotton above the world price. But the curious point is that he does not comprehend that what we buy from the world is more important to the world's economy than what we sell to the world is to our economy. So, if Hitler should control the world, we would not have to do business with him, but he would have to do business with us. The conclusions of the book are wholly maudlin.

A good deal of the book could be written about any country—if one chose to take the slant. For instance (P. 87), "Lawyers in Germany have very largely ceased to function as interpreters of the law, because, as I said earlier, courts are instructed to render decisions according 'to healthy public opinion' ". The African stuff is fantastic, the financial operations of post-war Germany are mis-stated—there is no mention that the President was an officer of a concern selling marks for speculation or that American bankers loaned Germany to stir up borrowers. There is no mention of the events leading up to the moratorium or the standstill agreements, that the whole world put in exchange agreements after Britain went off gold in 1931, nor the action of France in precipitating the credit contact collapse or that our bankers have gotten most of their short-term money out of Germany.

There are some curious misconceptions. For instance, the author thinks our reciprocal trade agreements form a system and that the other party obtains from bilateral agreements. In fact nearly every country with which we made agreements also entered into bilateral agreements. And some, as Brazil, actually blocked our exchange and found the British. The author is the first man who never understood that Hull, Sayre, and Grady played a great practical joke. Everything that could be done to us under the trade agreements has been done. Also he speaks of the vast store of gold owned by the Government. Nearly every dollar of that gold secures a gold certificate issued to the F. R. B., and taking that gold would be an utter breach of trust which would destroy what is left of our currency.

The book is not unlike several that were published during the last war "exposing" the Kaiser's world plans. This book differs from those in being more credulous and having a larger chamber of horrors. Considering the fact that most American corporations with property in Germany have long since charged it off, the terrible effects of confiscation are quite funny. It is also noteworthy that there is no mention of the fact that, although Russia in 1921 had at least the intentions of Germany today, our Government recognized her for trade purposes.

The big point in my mind is who planted this book on this head-water college imbecile. And how did he get into the service and why did he leave it?

THE AUTHOR OF THIS REVIEW

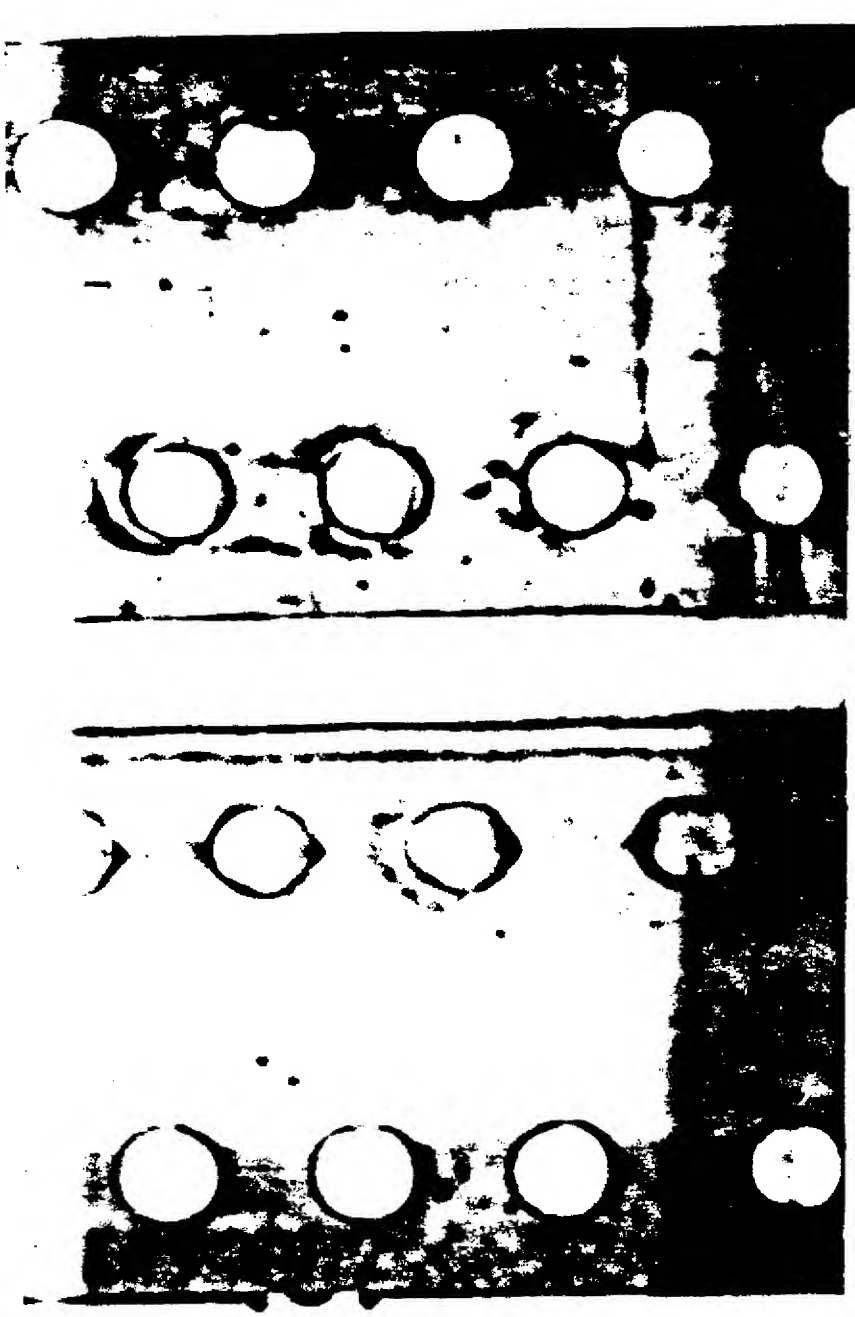
Samuel Crowther, the writer of this review, possesses a long and distinguished record as an economist and an author. Internationally known, he served in the Balkans as newspaper correspondent in 1905, was New York Herald Tribune correspondent in England and Germany in the last World War and became special European correspondent for Collier's magazine in 1923.

As an author he has to his credit innumerable works on labor, trade and economy. A few of them—as listed in Who's Who are as follows:

"Common Sense and Labour", 1920; "The Book of Business", 1920; "The First Million Ten Hundred", 1922; "Men and Rubber" (with Harvey S. Firestone), 1926; "The Presidency vs. Hoover", 1928; "Money", 1929; "A Basis For Stability", 1930; "American Self-Contained", 1933; "Why Quit Our Own" (with George N. Peek), 1936.

It is evident that Mr. Crowther is qualified to discuss comparative European and American trade and business.

As far as can be determined this is the first book Douglas Miller has had published on any subject. There is no record of the author in Who's Who nor is there any mention of his experience or previous publications in a preface or foreword to his book.



MR. PRESIDENT!

Address by

His Excellency, The Most Reverend

FRANCIS J. L. BECKMAN

ARCHBISHOP OF DUBUQUE

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America First Committee

Strand Arcade

Lansing, Michigan

JUNE 21, 1941

PUBLICATIONS FILE

MR. PRESIDENT!

Nationwide Radio Address by

His Excellency, The Most Reverend

FRANCIS J. L. BECKMAN

ARCHBISHOP OF DUBUQUE

on occasion of America First Rally at Loras College Stadium in Dubuque, Iowa June 21, 1941

DUTY can be a stern and terrible thing. In every man's life there are obligations and responsibilities which may not be shirked except at the expense of others. The discarded burdens of irresponsible people but add to the load upon other shoulders. A neglected duty today may bring disastrous consequences tomorrow; and even at this fateful hour decisions are being made which may profoundly affect whole generations of the unborn.

AND SO, my dear friends, tonight finds me heavy-hearted but determined, at this microphone. *As a Prince of*

the Church, this time, not alone as a citizen, do I bring my message—a message delivered in line of bitter duty and intended primarily for the children of that flock over which I am bound as Shepherd to watch zealously. If in addition, I can bring some comfort by means of this broadcast to millions of my fellow-citizens —that shall be.

TO begin with, let us be clear on one point: *on the day that our Congress repealed the arms-embargo with the pretext "it would keep us out of war" —on that day our people were tricked into the parlor of the interventionists.* On that occasion I joined my plea with those of my countrymen who were valiantly striving to prevent repeal of this law because they were far-sighted enough to see in such action *a first step toward war.* But over our earnest plea to the Congress the lying tongues of the hippocrites prevailed. With "measures short of war" they proceeded diabolically, step by step, maneuvering us to the very brink of military involvement which is our position at this moment.

WHO would have dreamed five years ago that we would thus be led

again by the propagandists? And the climax of all this trickery!—that monstrous perpetration upon our *people who found no vote for war or peace at the November polls!* The same bloody brigands who had their way in the last war saw to that. The *democracy of which they prattle so effusively was for all present purposes, if I may borrow the phrase, "sold down the river" on November 5th!* What a great laugh these Judas Iscariots and Benedict Arnolds must have enjoyed next day at the expense of the trusting millions; and, tragically, what a great laugh *at the expense of all our beloved America stood for.*

YET it is not enough that our people should be humiliatingly subjected to the vile indignity of the lie, *but for those who cry the truth now come the slurs and the revilings.* From the temples of the moneyed mighty the flood of denunciation rolls forth: "These are not of Christ; these are not of democracy; Bundists! Communists! Pacifists!—these are all of the same stamp; disregard them!—CRUCIFY THEM!" But Oh, take comfort, people; for if *Christ Himself were this moment to return and confront these modern Herods, and Pilates,*

and Neros for their crimes before the world, He too would be crowned by them a Bundist! . . .

THEREFORE, proudly conscious of your own strength, you dear fathers and mothers, you of all faiths and earnest patriotic convictions, you AMERICANS stand up courageously with Christ to your persecutors and *make your louder voice for peace prevail.* Even the valiant English would understand that in thus acting we, the united 83% are merely at long-last exercising our prerogative as a democratic majority. If our letters and our *telegrams are not enough let us represent ourselves personally to the governmental authorities.* This criminal betrayal of our people at the hands of the few must never be consummated; *for, indeed, the future of all morality, of confidence in government and the democratic process hinges on the proof that our people still do the debating and the deciding.* Imagine!—the suicidal stupidity of risking our own democracy at home while vainly trying to impose it abroad!

IT HAS been said that there are two sides to this question, and our interventionist brethren accuse us of

"ostrich" tactics. To them we would answer and appeal in all earnestness: "What proof have you that YOUR side of the matter is the just one? The American people took *your* advice twenty-four years ago and emerged from the chamber of horrors wiser and sadder after Versailles. *Now it is OUR turn to have our way!"*

• • • • •

MR. PRESIDENT! I address you humbly and with all the dignity which becomes your high office; in the name of the 83% whose will has been grossly disparaged, also in the name of my spiritual children over whose welfare I am gravely concerned, Mr. President, I respectfully address you:

YOU *have given the people of these United States your solemn pledge that the youth of our land will not be sent to fight in any foreign wars.* We choose to believe that that pledge was given *unequivocally and without mental reservation of any kind.* To repudiate that pledge, Mr. President, *would be to break down the last vestige of public trust in government.* For if *we cannot trust your word then in whom of our governmental*

leaders are we to trust? As a Churchman, therefore, I solemnly adjure you not to break faith with our people.

I REALIZE, Mr. President, the extreme difficulty of your position; for on the one hand you *are faced with a small but formidable group who control the economic life-lines of the nation,* and on the other—the people. Little people, to be sure, with little power of themselves, but, *united in peaceful democratic existence behind an impregnable defense they could constitute an invincible moral weapon with which to beat the very brains out of Communism, Fascism, Naziism and ALL "isms" everywhere.* Take heart, Mr. President: free yourself of those who are evily attempting to inflence you against the majority will. *In this you will most certainly have the united support and acclaim of all our people.* Their immediate destinies and the destinies of millions everywhere at this moment lie in your powerfully equipped hands. In *temporarily* surrendering this power, Mr. President, the *people expect and have* every *confidence that you will use it in conformity with your pledges. Yours is indeed the opportunity of a whole era in history.* The role of *a peacemaker is the role of a true child of God* and one appreciated by all mankind *save those whose interests dictate war.* For my part, Mr. President, I *would rather go down fighting the cause of peace, suffering any abuse and persecution, than to stand idly by while millions of our youth are prepared for the slaughter.* I repeat, with the great Prelate of the East, that *the continuation of this senseless war truly means the end of our civilization, with complete moral, spiritual, and material collapse at the end of the long road.*

NO! Mr. President. This time we assure you the *opposition of our people will not be broken down! Your pledges will be kept because we will help you to keep them.* This time the Golden Calf must go unworshipped, the sacrificial altars unadorned. Our *boys are staying home,* and in your own words "they are going into training to form a force so strong that of its very nature it will keep the threat of war far from our shores." May God bless and guide you in this critical hour.

Principles
of
America First Committee

1. Our first duty is to keep America out of foreign wars. Our entry would only destroy democracy, not save it. "The path to war is a false path to freedom."
2. Not by acts of war abroad but by preserving and extending democracy at home can we aid democracy and freedom in other lands.
3. In 1917 we sent our American ships into the war zone and this led us to war. In 1941 we must keep our naval convoys and merchant vessels on this side of the Atlantic.
4. We must build a defense, for our own shores, so strong that no foreign power or combination of powers can invade our country, by sea, air or land.
5. Humanitarian aid is the duty of a strong, free country at peace. With proper safeguard for the distribution of supplies, we should feed and clothe the suffering and needy people of England, the other Democracies and the occupied countries.

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
141 WEST JACKSON BOULEVARD
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

America First Committee
Strand Arcade
Lansing, Michigan

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

MEMBERSHIP AND CONTRIBUTION FORM

I hereby enroll as a member of the America First Committee in order to help keep our country out of foreign war. I am a patriotic American citizen. I am not affiliated in any way with any foreign power.

Name_____ Date_____

Address_____

To further support the work of the Committee, I wish to enroll as a

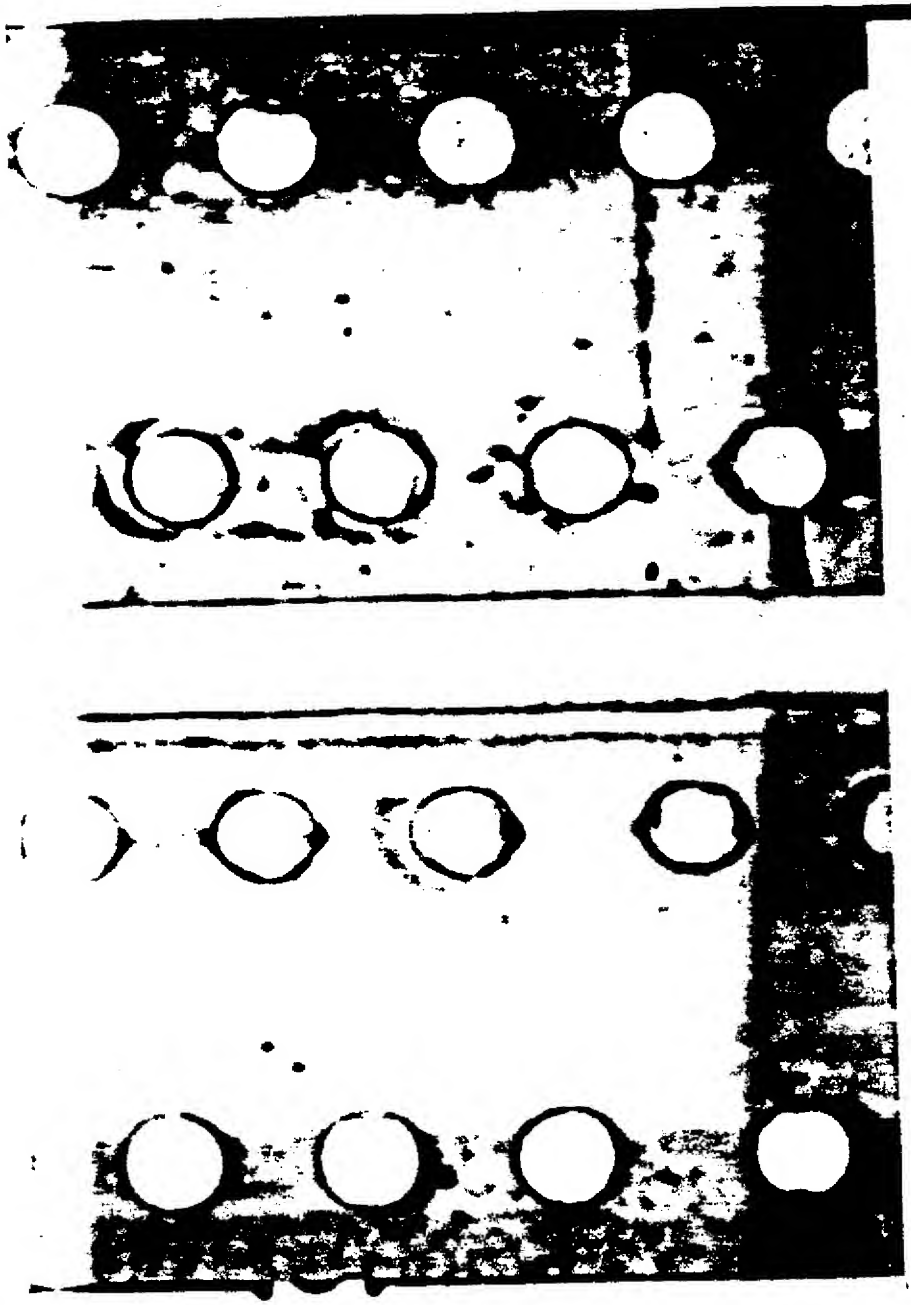
☐ CONTRIBUTING MEMBER $1 TO $5 _____

☐ SUSTAINING MEMBER $5 TO $10 _____

☐ SUPPORTING MEMBER $10 AND OVER _____

Send to America First Committee
Strand Arcade
Lansing, Michigan

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE,



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Our Foreign Policy

by

GENERAL ROBERT E. WOOD

Acting National Chairman

America First Committee

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Speech before the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations

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AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

141 WEST JACKSON BOULEVARD

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

America First Committee Principles

1. The United States must build an impregnable defense for America. With such a defense no foreign power, or group of powers, can successfully attack us.

2. Americans should and do cherish the ideals of democracy and abhor dictatorship, but the welfare of one hundred thirty million Americans and the preservation of democracy on this continent demand that the United States keep out of foreign wars.

3. The cash and carry provisions of the existing Neutrality Act are essential to American peace and security. Within the limits of that Act, Americans may properly aid Great Britain. Aid to her beyond the limitations of the present Neutrality Act would weaken our defense at home, and might well involve us in conflict. We oppose any change in the law which would permit American vessels to enter the combat zone or which would permit the American Navy to convoy merchant ships through that zone, as any such course would inevitably plunge this country into Europe's war.

4. With proper safeguards for the distribution of supplies and the maintenance of our neutrality, Americans should, to the limit of their ability, give humanitarian aid to the suffering and needy people of England and the occupied countries.

Introducing General Wood

By Clay Judson

Former President of the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations

We are at a crisis in our international relations. On the decisions now made by the people of this country and their leaders may depend our national welfare for generations to come.

At earlier meetings you have had presented to you dramatically, brilliantly, emotionally, the views of those who believe that the ideal of American life now demands a full participation in the war between England and Germany, and a willingness to take all the risks of war which that involves.

Now there is another view, equally patriotic, equally above question from the standpoint of ideals—but diametrically opposed in its spiritual and its practical approach to the problem. This view sees America's destiny as the preservation of peace for its 185,000,000 people; the abstention on any account, and no matter how emotional the appeal, from European and Asiatic wars; the maintenance of the processes of democracy and of civilization.

Those who hold this view are certain that we cannot enforce democracy on the rest of the world by force and arms. They believe war will be ruinous to everything we cherish most, and they believe we can avoid war, and should make every effort to do so.

This is the view of the man who addresses you today. He was born sixty-one years ago in the State of Missouri. Forty years ago he graduated from the United States Military Academy at West Point. His first military service was in the Philippine insurrection. As Chief Quartermaster at Panama during the days of the canal construction under General Goethals, he was charged with the duty of acquiring food, clothing, and supplies for the 40,000 employees and officials in the canal zone. During the World War he had a major responsibility for supplying our entire military establishment. After the war, in civil life, his ability gave him immediate recognition in the commercial world, where he served for ten years as President of Sears, Roebuck & Company, and is now the Chairman of its Board of Directors.

For his outstanding services during the World War he was awarded the Distinguished Service Medal. He is a Commander of the British Order of St. Michael & St. George. He is a Knight of the French Legion of Honor. At present he is the Acting Chairman of the America First Committee.

I am honored in presenting to you General Robert E. Wood, who will speak on "Our Foreign Policy."

General Robert E. Wood's Speech

"Our Foreign Policy"

I hesitated to accept the invitation of my friends, Dr. Lichtenstein and Mr. Utley, to address this gathering for two reasons—first, because I do not feel on a par as a speaker with the very eminent persons who have addressed these gatherings; second, because my views are opposed to those of a probable majority of my listeners—and I may add—opposed to those of some of my dearest friends and relatives. I have a brother-in-law on the William Allen White Committee.

But it is one of the beauties of a democracy that in time of peace, at least, men are free to express their opinions and honest men respect opposing opinions if those opinions are sincere and free of ulterior motive, and now is a time for all honest men to express their convictions.

The Hour of Decision

This country is on the eve of momentous decisions. The results of these decisions may be so far reaching that they may have an effect for good or bad on the life of this country for at least a generation. I am at the stage of life when I do not care as to the effect on myself or my own generation. I do greatly care what the effects will be on my children and grandchildren and their generation.

There are two schools of thought in this country on the subject of our foreign policy. They may be termed "Interventionists" and "Isolationists." These terms are not exactly descriptive, because all interventionists are not extreme interventionists and most isolationists are only isolationists as to Europe and Asia, but not isolationists as to the balance of North America and South America.

I except from my discussion those who have ulterior motives—anything except the welfare of our country. That would include the Communists who really desire to destroy our Government; the Nazis and members of the Bund who put the interests of Germany above those of this country; some ultrapacifists who forget the interests of their country in their desire for peace at any price; a limited number of extreme Anglophiles who put the interests of Great Britain above those of their own country.

Our Common Ground

These schools of thought are in violent opposition, but there are certain points of agreement among all classes except perhaps what may be called the lunatic fringe of our population.

These points of agreement are:

First—The necessity for a strong defense—a strengthening of our army and navy and air force. Our people are practically unanimous on this subject—the only differences are on differences of detail. It is obvious that the richest nation of the world, in a world of force, must make itself impregnable.

Second—The belief that no foreign nation must obtain possession of any part of the two Americas, and that the United States must be prepared to defend the North American continent, and at least that portion of the South American continent as far as the Equator. There is some difference of opinion as to whether military and naval protection should go as far as Cape Horn.

Third—Access to our great industrial plant by Great Britain within the limits of the neutrality law—that is, unlimited right of purchase by Great Britain of planes, tanks, munitions of war, raw materials from private manufacturers, provided she can pay for them and provide her own transportation. And this I may add is a very great aid.

Without this aid now being given, England could not long carry on the war, for her supplies of raw materials, her steel making capacity, munitions and plane plants are insufficient for a long major war. Without the production facilities of the United States she would be crushed. Theoretically, Germany is entitled to the same privilege—actually, on account of the British blockade, she cannot use our facilities, but she has no right to complain. I believe the overwhelming majority of the citizens are in accord with these three principles. I know I am.

Here Differences Begin

But it is when we get beyond the third point that opinion diverges sharply. The present administration in power, probably the majority of our editors and columnists, a very influential body of public opinion as represented by the Committee to Defend America by Aiding Britain is in favor of our government turning over some of our flying fortresses, more destroyers, more planes, and merchant ships. Others, even more extreme, favor an outright alliance with Great Britain and a declaration of war on Germany.

Now what are the fundamental arguments for this point of view? They may be reduced to three principal reasons:

First—The totalitarian state with its ideology, with its record of persecution, is repugnant to our ideals and should be destroyed, even if we have to enter a war to accomplish this result.

Second—Our own protection depends on Britain as our first line of defense, and if she falls, we are exposed to the onslaught of a totalitarian combination. Per se, it follows that we must give England all the aid we can, even at the risk of entering the war.

Third—If Britain is defeated, it will be impossible for a free competitive, unorganized and unmanaged industrial system to compete with a totalitarian system.

War Does Not Destroy Ideologies

As to the first reason, you cannot destroy an ideology by waging war on it. The conditions created in Europe by the Versailles Treaty were largely responsible for the rise of Hitler and the Nazi philosophy. The history of Europe for the last 100 years is a story of cruelties, persecutions, injustices. No government was more repugnant to our ideals and ideas than the old Czaristic regime of Russia—it had over many years a series of pogroms, but we remained on friendly terms with Russia. Up to 1917 we had always remained true to the principles of foreign policy laid down by the founders of our country: the policy of keeping aloof from the quarrels of Europe and Asia.

The Communistic regime of Russia under Lenin and Stalin was equally opposed to our principles and was detested by the majority of our people. Nevertheless, we have maintained our relations with Russia, and we have certainly had no idea of making war on that country.

Sentimentalists or Realists?

A nation cannot be a knight-errant. It must be realistic. Great Britain, during her entire history, has been coldly realistic, and her success in building up her Empire has been due to her realism. As individuals we can give vent to our generous impulses or even to our pet hates, but our statesmen, our editors, our moulders of public opinion must consider that it is not their individual fortunes and lives that are to be considered, but those of 130,000,000 of their fellow citizens.

Now as to the second reason—our military defense in the event of a German victory. Our country has gone through a curious transformation of thought since May 10th. From an underestimate of the military and economic strength of Germany, it has gone to the opposite extreme of overestimating that strength. From some of the remarks heard on the Eastern seaboard in June, we would have thought that New York and Boston were in imminent danger of being bombed.

Bombings Alone Cannot Win

Now the events in Spain, Poland, Belgium and France showed the major importance of the air arm when supported by tanks, infantry and a modern army. But Spain showed that bombing of cities, unsupported by an army, cannot win a war or even shake the morale of a population if the nation is of tough fibre like the Spanish and English peoples.

Apparently the Battle of England is demonstrating the same principle. Unless an army can cross the Channel, the German air force cannot impose a decision on England. Casualties and material damage —yes. The 15,000 casualties in London so far are but a drop in the bucket for a nation of 45,000,000 people; more casualties were incurred in single days of the Verdun, Ypres and Somme offensives. The destruction of apartment houses, stores, public buildings do not constitute a blow to the military strength of a nation. If the docks, railroads, power plants and munitions plants are put out of commission, it does affect the military effort, but unless it is done on a gigantic scale the nation cannot be subdued, and all evidence is to the effect that military damage thus far has not been of such a serious character as to severely impair the island's defense.

Can England Be Invaded?

As for an invasion, at the great risk of being called a false prophet, I doubt whether any invasion will ever be made, and if it is attempted, it will be decisively repulsed. To land 250,000 Germans in England, with mechanized equipment, ammunition and necessary supplies, would be a gigantic operation. Once landed, that force would have to face 1,500,000 Englishmen under arms, fighting on their own island behind strong defenses. And to land those 250,000 Germans means practically complete mastery of the air, blocking off the English fleet, complete control of the Channel—none of which objectives have yet been attained after more than a month of intensive

effort. To sum up, I doubt whether the island can be conquered, and I am quite sure the British fleet cannot be put out of commission.

Now we come to our own danger of invasion and the perfectly fantastic hysteria that pervaded this country after the battle of France. I think any competent military or naval expert, certainly the vast majority, will tell you that there is absolutely no danger of an invasion of the United States even if Germany is completely victorious, and I doubt whether she will be. The amount of shipping required for the transportation of even 250,000 men of a modern mechanized army with their ammunition and supplies over 3,000 miles of ocean is colossal and it is to be presumed that our own navy and air force will not be idle.

No Army Can Attack Us

If it is impracticable or at least exceedingly difficult for an army to cross 25 miles of Channel, what valid grounds are there for supposing that a large army can cross 3,000 miles of ocean to invade a continent?

Some will inquire—why should it not be possible for Germany to seize bases in Mexico or Central America and attack from those countries. Again, that presupposes an overwhelming sea power. But even if that sea power were present, there would again be the same difficulties of a 3,000 mile long line of communication for an invading army. And an army once landed must cross an exceedingly difficult terrain before ever arriving at the Texas border. I think that hypothesis may be safely dismissed.

Panic First—Then War!

Now we come to the favorite bogey—air attacks. I quote from Major Al Williams' recent speech, reprinted in the Congressional Record—"Oceans and extended lines of communications are still vital factors in modern warfare. President Roosevelt's panicky flight schedule for the air invasion of America is ridiculous, worthy of Hollywood and certainly not of the White House. To support my argument against the President's wild flight schedule for a foreign air invasion of the United States I offer a single incontrovertible reason. With all their air power the Germans could not attack and subdue England from air bases 300 to 500 miles distant. Instead they seized air bases on the north coast of Holland, Belgium and France 20 to 100 miles distant from the coast of England. Each and every stage of

the fantastic itinerary for the air invasion of America would have to be conquered for the establishment of major air bases for the enemy attempting the job. The President must know this—but apparently the pattern is panic first, and then war."

An Exhausted Germany Is Harmless

All of this presupposes a completely victorious Germany, ready at the end of a long and costly struggle to immediately embark on a new and perilous adventure across 3,000 miles of ocean against a nation of 130,000,000 people. The present war represents seven years of preparation on the part of Germany. So-called total war represents a prodigal expenditure of labor, money and effort. Steel is rapidly consumed, aircraft and mechanical equipment are rapidly worn out, reserves of all kinds are exhausted, not to mention the wear and tear on human beings. A nation that for seven years has been given guns instead of butter is apt at the end of this war to demand more butter from its leaders.

So on every count it seems inconceivable to me that Germany at the end of the war, even if aided by its allies, who will be in a worse condition of exhaustion than Germany itself, will attack the United States. And if this country with its 130,000,00 people and its two great natural ocean barriers cannot defend itself unaided by Britain or anybody else, it does not deserve to survive. The great nation that has to trust to others for its defense is on the downward path to destruction.

Europe Must Have Our Goods

Now as to our economic problems. An economic war after the war—the loss of our European, Asiatic and South American trade. I have a high personal regard for Walter Lippmann's brains and ability, but I believe his picture of an unequal contest between a totalitarian economy and a free economy is misleading. After all, when two nations or two continents each have things the other needs trade eventually results regardless of the feelings each may have for the other. Europe needs us more than we need Europe—our materials and products are more important to her than hers to us. True, Germany has reduced largely its purchases from us, but more from necessity than choice. As far as South America is concerned, we can always obtain the lion's share of the trade of Mexico, Central America, Colombia and Venezuela because we buy the metals of Mexico, the coffee and bananas of Central America and Co-

lombia, the oil of Venezuela. In those countries, our geographical location must always give us the edge. We can take the coffee of Brazil but not its cotton; so its trade will naturally divide between Europe and the United States. It is in Argentina and Chile that our troubles come. We cannot take the meat, cotton and wool of the Argentina because we produce those products ourselves. The same applies to the copper and nitrates of Chile. We cannot sell unless we buy and that is a far greater obstacle than all Naxidom.

It must not be forgotten that Germany put on an intensive drive for trade in South America in the period 1936-1938, and if my recollection of the figures is correct, while Germany's percentage of the trade gained somewhat, the gain was not large, and it was largely at the expense of Great Britain; our trade declined only a fraction of one per cent.

We'll Get Our Share of Foreign Trade!

No man can foretell the future, but as long as we have products South America can use and above all, if they have products we can use, we will get our full share of the trade. As for Asia, the same remarks pertain as to Europe. Japan needs us far more than we need her. Our trade with Japan incidentally runs between five and six times the trade of China, whom we are making such great efforts to help. Even if Japan gets control of the Dutch East Indies—and that is not assured—she is going to be more anxious to sell us rubber and tin to obtain dollar exchange than we are to buy the products. And if war with Japan comes, we can get Bolivian tin and develop our synthetic rubber. We are certainly as resourceful as the Germans who are filling 90% of their rubber requirements with the synthetic article.

In 1937 Colombia's trade with us was 168,000,000 pesos, with Germany 40,000,000. Of Venezuela's trade, the United States took 12.5% of their imports and furnished 58% of the exports, Germany 13.6%. Of Costa Rica's imports, 42.5% came from the United States, 28% from Germany. Of her exports 45% went to the United States and 19.5% to Germany.

As for lack of organization, if needs be, we can meet fire with fire; we can set up export cartels and mass purchasing organizations and we can do this without danger to our system.

The Americas Must Stand Together!

Americans like myself feel that our true mission is in North America and South America. We stand today in an unrivalled position. With our resources and organizing ability we can develop, with our Canadian friends, an only partially developed continent like North America and a virgin continent like South America. The reorganization and proper development of Mexico alone would afford an outlet for our capital and energies for some time to come. And while I think we should try in every way to maintain the friendship of our neighbors to the South, I think we should also make it clearly understood that no government in Mexico, Central America and the Caribbean South American countries can be tolerated unless it is friendly to the United States and that we will make every effort to prevent the spread of totalitarian influence there.

Instead of what seems to be a sane objective we are on the verge of throwing our treasure and our blood into a European war, with consequences that no one can foretell.

I respect the honest views of honest Americans, no matter how opposed they may be to my own, but there are two matters that I resent: First is the attempt to smear any one opposed to what I might call the majority publicized viewpoint of what we should do in this war. When the editor of a New York "newspaper" denounces Col. Lindbergh as the head of the Fifth Column in the U. S., we have reached the summit of mud slinging. You may disagree violently with Col. Lindbergh, you may feel he has made serious mistakes, but you have no right to denounce a courageous, patriotic American citizen as a traitor merely because he disagrees with your views. This is as bad as the Nazis, an attempt to suppress freedom of speech.

The other point I resent is the way the issue is being presented to the American people. We are being edged into the war without the masses' knowledge. We have the anomalous situation of the polls showing a majority of the people favoring a course that is bound to get us into the war, while the same polls show 88% of the same people oppose actual entry into the war. That shows that the minds of the people are confused.

How Wars Are Sold to Us

Many of my hearers were adults at the time of the previous war and were familiar with the propaganda that led up to that war. If you want to know the

history of that propaganda and its falsity, read a book by Sir Philip Gibbs with the title of "Now It Can Be Told," in which he admitted the outrageous lies that were perpetrated on the American public. And Sir Philip Gibbs was no German but the leading English war correspondent, knighted by his King. The London Economist in a recent issue said it was only a question of time until American public opinion could be brought to the point where we would actively enter the war.

I believe a majority of the people who are advocating "aid short of war" do not desire us to enter the war. But there are others who do desire us to enter the war, who are taking the necessary steps to prepare the American people for active participation, who would enter it tomorrow if they dared, who are today in practical alliance with England, and unfortunately they are the people who are shaping our national policy today. You hear in Washington today that we are now in the war. You hear predictions from men, and men who ought to know, that we will actively enter the war within sixty days after the election.

The American people should think this matter through. The course we are pursuing is bound to involve us in the war. You cannot play with fire and not get burned. You cannot have your government, not private manufacturers, transfer its equipment to foreign powers, you cannot have your government in an unofficial alliance with a foreign power, you cannot be a meddler in Indo-China, berate Italy and Germany without eventually involving the nation in war, and if war comes I venture to predict that we will repeat the history of the last war. When the declaration of war was made in 1917 originally it was intended to send only the Navy to the assistance of the Allies.

Man-Power, Too!

Joffre came over in the spring of 1917, told the plight of the French Army after the 1917 spring Champagne offensive, where whole divisions of the French Army mutinied, and implored us to send over a token force, otherwise France would collapse. We sent Pershing and the First Division, about 30,000 men. Then came the impending collapse of Russia, frantic calls for more men, then the great German offensive of 1918 and the rout of the British Fifth Army, more frantic appeals, until finally we put under arms 4,000,000 men, sent 2,000,000 men

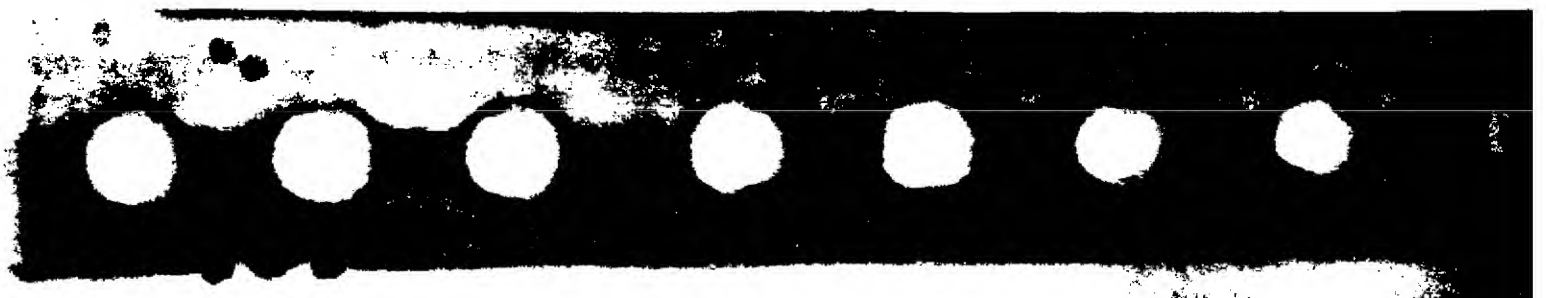
to France, spent 20 billion dollars and had 150,000 casualties. I need not refer to our treatment by our former allies after the Armistice. They took the loot, we did not even get thanks.

I do not often agree with the editorials on foreign policy in my friend Frank Knox's paper, but there is a recent editorial with which I am in 100% agreement. The editorial quoted two recent speeches by both Presidential candidates in which both pledged themselves never to send American boys to France. The editorial spoke of both these pledges as political bunk and very truly stated that if we entered the war we would enter it to win, and, if necessary to win, we would send an expeditionary force—and that is the absolute truth.

The People Must Know the Truth

The issue should be honestly presented to the people. If we aid Britain, short of war and beyond the limits of the Neutrality Act, it ultimately means war and should mean war. If we enter the war, we must enter it with all our strength in men and money. That is the only way to win a war.

If the military reports from abroad are correct, I feel there is no doubt that Great Britain can defend her island, her dominions like Canada, Australia and New Zealand. She may lose Egypt, the Suez and Gibraltar, though this is extremely doubtful. So far the Italians have shown no signs of real offensive strength. There is little doubt that England can make a negotiated peace by which she can keep her fleet and her colonies, but which will leave Germany the economic control of Western Europe. But she cannot decisively defeat Germany unaided. Her statesmen privately admit that, and say that for her to gain a decisive victory we will have to actively enter the war. One of the great mistakes made by the Allies in this war was that in its first six months they thought they could win a safe economical war, with France sitting behind the Maginot line and England maintaining its blockade, with little expenditure of blood and a minimum expenditure of treasure. For us to actively enter the war means ships, planes, money, men, expeditionary forces. That is the issue that must ultimately be presented to the American people, and it should be presented openly, honestly and squarely.



Our Own Democracy Will Be Sacrificed

In deciding this issue, the American people should face the costs. We start with a debt of $50,000,000,000. With the enormous cost of waging modern war, the cost of sending forces over 3,000 miles of ocean, of engaging our navy in the Far East, we would ultimately face a debt of from 100 to 150 billions. Victorious or defeated, we will be faced at the conclusion of such a war with great economic dislocations —the rich would face a capital levy, the middle classes impoverishment, and the masses a lowered standard of living and the loss of most of the social gains so far secured.

Competent observers believe that if the war is prolonged in Europe over one or two years, it will result in Communism in all Europe, and a species of National Socialism in England. If we are involved, it probably spells the end of capitalism all over the world.

Defend America First, Last, Always

I would unhesitatingly say to throw everything we have into a war to defend the United States or our own sphere of influence, which is the North American continent and part, if not all, of the South American continent. I do not think the American people should make these sacrifices to interfere in the quarrels of Europe and Asia, old, sick and overpopulated continents with ancient rivalries that cannot be healed. It is up to the American people to decide whether they want to make these sacrifices to preserve not England but the British Empire, and help regulate Europe and Asia. But they should make the decision with all the cards on the table, not misled by artifice and subterfuge.

But if that decision is given affirmatively, I think you will find Americans like myself, who sincerely believe such a course spells disaster to the nation, will be at their posts of duty in the service of this country. I am old fashioned enough to believe in the toast offered by Stephen Decatur back in 1816, "Our Country! In her intercourse with foreign nations, may she always be in the right: but Our Country, right or wrong."

Additional copies of this speech can be obtained from America First Committee, 141 West Jackson Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois.

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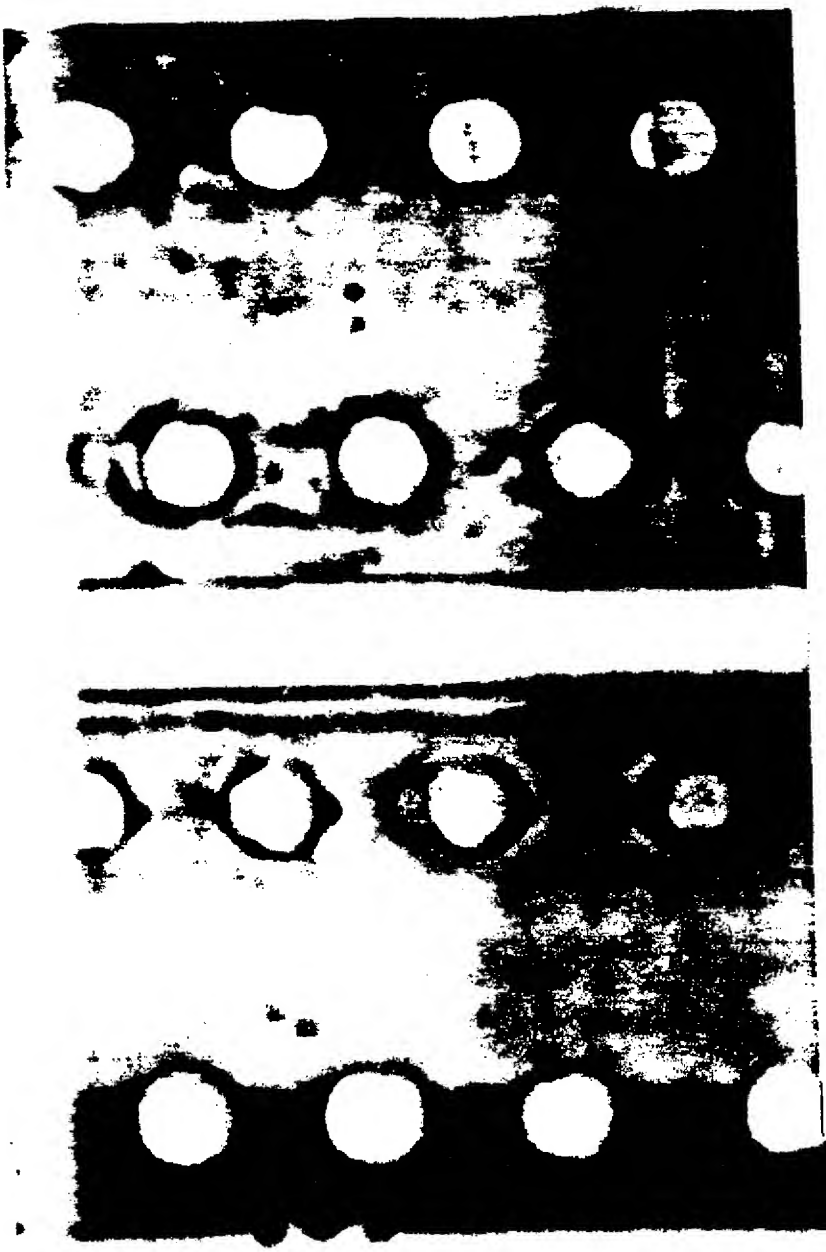

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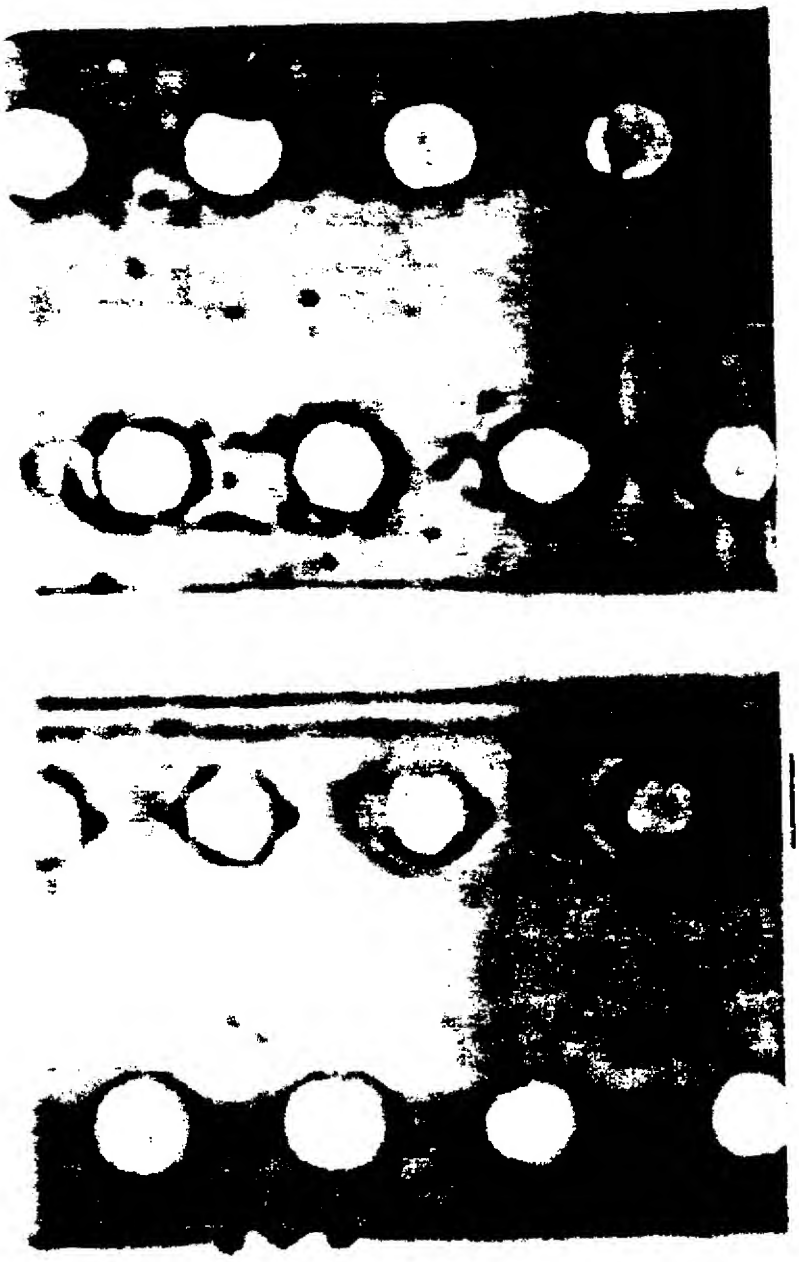

Can Hitler Invade America?

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The facts in this pamphlet were compiled for the America First Committee by John T. Flynn from information gathered from military authorities and writers on military affairs.

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AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
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PUBLICATION FILE

QUOTATIONS OF LEADING MILITARY AUTHORITIES

"No foreign power or group of powers can operate across the ocean and stand in combat with the American Navy and planes operating from home bases."—Admiral William S. Sims, shortly before his death.

"Of course there is no possibility ever of any hostile attack on either of our coasts."—Rear Admiral W. W. Phelps, Nov. 18, 1935.

"I do not think that any fleet could ever make a landing an effective force on our coast, whether we had a navy or not, provided there are enough shore-based aircraft available. . .I do not think that any thinking person ever feels that any nation can successfully invade our country leaving out the aircraft or anything else."—Rear Admiral Cook, 1938.

"Considered from the defensive standpoint America is the strongest military nation on the earth—that is, it is the easiest nation to prepare for defensive warfare. It would not take much to make it invulnerable against any nation or combination of nations that might be brought to bear against it."
—Major General Hagood, 1937.

"Our fleet IS LARGE ENOUGH TO HANDLE SIMULTANEOUSLY A COMBINATION OF ENEMIES, being about as large as Britain's scattered fleet, considerably superior to Japan's, three times as large as Italy's, four times stronger than Germany's, only slightly inferior to the combined navies of all three totalitarian nations, and far stronger in naval aviation than any navy in the world."
—Hanson W. Baldwin, July, 1939.

"Continental United States, even without the extraordinary defense measures adopted by Congress, is well-nigh impregnable. So are its outlying possessions, except the Philippines, Wake and Guam. Such impregnability can be brought to a point of completeness with relatively small additional effort."
—Hanson W. Baldwin, July, 1939.

CAN HITLER INVADE AMERICA?

THIS little pamphlet is intended to answer the question—Can Hitler Invade America?

This is a very important question. It is important because Americans are told that this terrible war in Europe is our war.

It is called our war because, we are told, if Hitler defeats England the United States is next on the list. Having crushed England and taken the English navy, it is said, he will then INVADE AMERICA. And because so many people believe this to be true they are willing to go to any lengths to aid Britain to defeat Hitler.

This whole argument turns on one point—that Hitler, after he defeats England, CAN INVADE AMERICA. And so the great question is — CAN HE?

Now then, let us begin at the beginning.

There is no doubt that Hitler and his great Nazi army is a powerful military machine. There is also no doubt that Hitler will stop at nothing to gain his objectives—to take any country that he wants.

He overran Czechoslovakia and Poland swiftly. Then he turned to overrun Norway, Denmark, Holland, Belgium, France in startling quick succession.

Because he could do this we are warned that he can do the same thing to the United States and that the only thing that protects us from Hitler is the British navy.

Let us see therefore just what Hitler would require in order to invade the United States.

First of all, we start out with the fact that all these countries put together — Poland, Czechoslovakia, Norway, Denmark, Holland, Belgium, France —are much smaller than the United States.

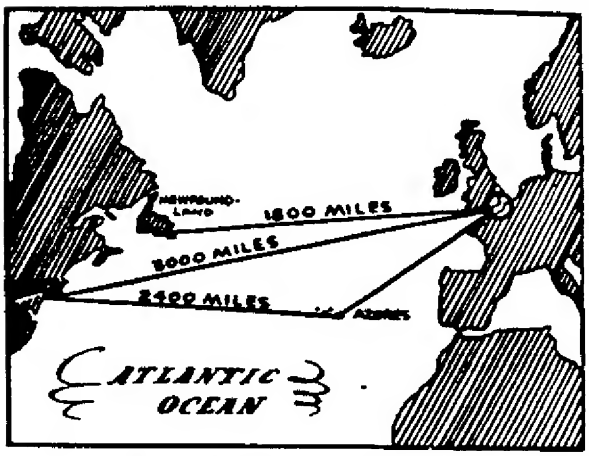
Their total populations equal 110,000,000. Our total population is 130,000,000.

They were divided into seven different countries. Each one was small compared with Germany. They were scattered around Germany's rim. Hitler could attack each one separately. And each one —save France—was just a small morsel for him. But the United States is a unified country—a single nation—and the attack would be against the whole United States.

In the next place, all these countries were right on Germany's land frontiers. In each case all he had to do was to roll across their land borders and he was inside their gates. They had fortresses, barricades. But these were nothing against his vast mechanical equipment. When he had defeated France he turned to fight England. Germany has 80 million population and a gigantic army and an air force three times the size of Britain's. England has only 50 million people. But when Hitler turned on England there was the English Channel —only 23 miles wide at its narrowest point. This is only about half the distance from Washington to Baltimore: But when he faced that problem

of crossing that narrow strip of water—he has not yet, after fifteen months of war and seven months since France fell, even attempted to cross it with soldiers or tanks.

When he attempts to invade the United States —or Canada—he would have to face the problem of crossing with his armies THREE THOUSAND MILES of the Atlantic Ocean and facing not 50



The problem of invading England is all comprised in the small circle. There is a narrow strip of sea—less than 26 miles at its narrow point—which Germany must cross to invade England either with an army or with planes. Sending planes over, of course, is a simple matter as far as distance is concerned. But invading the United States or Canada means traversing the immense mileage of ocean either to New York or Newfoundland or from the Azores or other equally distant ports.

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million people on a small island with but small natural resources, but a vast nation with 130 million people and resources far exceeding his own.

Now let us look at this problem as realistically as possible. Just what would be the job that Hitler would have on his hands?

We have spoken of the "might" of Hitler's armies. In what does that might consist? His armies are mighty because they are equipped with an endless supply of tanks, armored trucks, machine guns and great cannon and mortars, anti-aircraft guns and anti-tank guns and great motorcycle squadrons and planes. His army was no longer an army on foot. It was an army in trucks and in tanks plunging against its adversaries and mowing them down and rolling over them.

Of course if Hitler ever attempted to invade America he would have to bring not only his soldiers but all this equipment. Without it he would be helpless.

Let us see then what he would have to bring across the 3,000 miles of ocean to invade America.

First, we have to decide how many men he would use to invade America and defeat us. Now right here the reader must understand that the German army leaders have shown immense intelligence. We know that they are not coming to America with a handful of men—they are not going to attempt to conquer us without bringing enough men here to do the job. How many men would that be?

When Hitler invaded little Norway he sent 60,000 men.

When Mussolini attacked Ethiopia he used half a million men—When Hitler went into Poland—just across his borders and with only 36 million population—he marched with 1,000,000 men.

When he moved against Holland, Belgium and France he used not less than TWO MILLION MEN. Estimates place the number far higher.

Now is it not a fair assumption that to defeat the United States here he would have to have at least as many men as he took into France? Does anyone suppose that Hitler could conquer this country with anything less than three or four million men? He would have to have an army that size and all the equipment necessary to make it irresistible.

But let us suppose, however, that Hitler was crazy enough to try to beat the United States with a mere million men. Just how much equipment would he have to bring along with the men to make them effective? The mass of war instruments that such an army requires staggers the imagination.

The following figures are based on the equipment carried by American army units and are, therefore, very much under what the German army units carry.

This army would require:

19,320 machine guns	2,520 75mm. field guns
7,770 automatic rifles	1,120 155m. howitzers
2,590 anti-tank guns	6,930 mortars

Vehicles:

65,590 trucks	1,610 tractors
19,820 trailers	1,756 ambulances
4,500 tanks	1,120 passenger cars
7,910 motorcycles	450 air-compressors

70 electric lighting sets

Planes:

1,820 light bombers	5,880 reconnaisance planes
1,650 pursuit planes	350 transport planes

(a total of 9,800 planes)

Anti-aircraft guns:

840 3mm. AA guns	1,680 37mm. AA guns

1,680 .50 calibre AA guns

Of course such an army must have food, fuel and ammunition. This vast armada, with its modern weapons, would have to bring its food, its oil, its ammunition until the country is conquered.

It would require:

9,000,000 lbs. of rations and supplies a day
1,500,000 gallons of gasoline a day
150,000 gallons of oil.

What quantities of shot and shell would be required it is difficult to say, but the amount would be staggering. After Hitler's army got here, it would have to keep open behind a line of supply from its main supply base capable of keeping a continuous flow of provisions, fuel, ammunition and replacements of arms and equipment.

The problem of transporting this vast army and the mountains of equipment and continuous supplies it would require is utterly beyond the power of any country.

First, the men must be sent over in ships. And these ships must be convoyed. They cannot be sent across the ocean in little vessels. Ships of less than 2,000 tons would, of course, be completely useless.

Of course to send a million men over at one time would be out of the question.

Mr. Hanson Baldwin, the military expert of the New York Times, says:

> "The world's tonnage facilities are such that no power or combination of powers could possibly transport more than 300,000 men in a month. An initial expeditionary force of about 50,000 would be the maximum practical number that could be brought against us, if the size of convoy, number of ships and planes needed for protection and the like are considered."

In the World War we sent two million men to France. But we had, according to Col. Leonard Ayres, who wrote the official report on this great enterprise, the ships of twelve different countries—American, British, French, Italian, etc.—and the convoys of the American and British and French navies. The Germans were without a fleet. We landed these men on a friendly shore where they were received with open arms. And we sent an army of engineers and mechanics ahead of them to build ports and docks to unload the equipment.

Let us suppose that Germany has defeated England and taken the British navy. She now decides to send her army to America. Major George Fielding Eliot, military expert of the pro-war New York Herald-Tribune, says:

> "Troops cannot be transported overseas in any number save when naval command of the waters over which they pass has been previously assured, since a troop convoy is a large, slow and vulnerable target and will surely suffer heavily if its escort be attacked by anything like an equal force."

In the circumstances we have assumed that Germany, even with the British fleet, would not have complete command of the seas. For there would remain the American navy. And that navy would have to be wiped out before the German navy would command the seas on this side of the ocean. Two things must be remembered. First, at the end of this war the American navy would be larger than the German navy and the British navy combined. Second, the German government would have to do its naval fighting on this side of the ocean. It is an axiom of sea warfare that a naval vessel loses a fixed percentage of its effectiveness every 100 miles it gets from its own base. Great battleships have to fuel up frequently and must be accompanied by immense auxiliary ships. Three thousand miles away from their own coasts this navy would be utterly helpless against a navy which is merely its equal in numbers, but which would be three times its strength in effective fighting power. There is not a naval authority who believes that the German government would attempt a mass naval battle in our waters against our naval strength.

If a flotilla of 30 or 40 ships with 50,000 men, convoyed by a larger number of warships and all their equipment attempted to land here, it could not sneak in on some dark night. Plane scouts would herald its approach days in advance. When it got here it could not empty its cargo on an open beach. Which means the flotilla would have to come into one of our harbors, all of which are protected by artillery and would be sown with mines. Major Eliot makes this clear. He says:

> "Large armies, accompanied as modern armies must be by artillery of various calibres, tanks and other heavy equipment, as well as vast quantities of munitions and supplies, cannot usually be landed on an open beach; but must first obtain possession of a secure harbor with the necessary piers, cranes, and other accessories for getting ashore their accessories."

Even the planes used by this invading force must be transported to this country by ships. Mr. Baldwin says:

> "Today planes must be transported by sea to the Western Hemisphere; the air armies of Europe and Asia are not yet able to bridge the Atlantic and Pacific under their own power. Isolated planes can do it but not mass bombing formations."

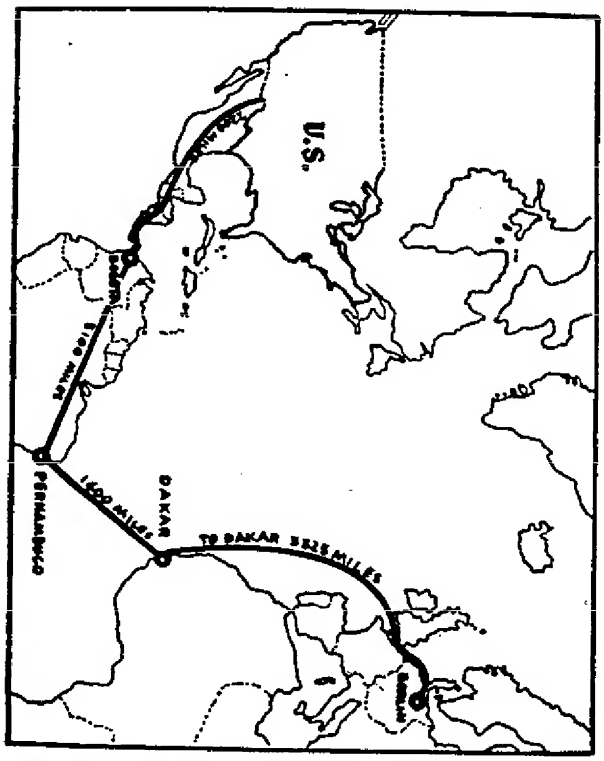
There are planes that have flown across the Atlantic, but they must find a friendly landing here. They cannot come here as hostile craft and be welcomed on hospitable landing fields. It is possible to build bombers that could come here and land a few bombs but this would have no military effect at all.

For every man transported here there must be at least seven and a half tons of shipping. An attacking force of 100,000 would require 750,000 tons. An average of 5,000 tons would require 150 vessels convoyed by a flotilla of naval vessels made up of seven battleships, several aircraft carriers, seven light cruisers, a couple of mine-layers and at least seventy destroyers. Imagine this immense armada, moving slowly over the seas and approaching our coasts—3,000 miles from their own base and at the mercy of our navy and our air force, and compelled to make a landing at a port protected by heavy guns and mine-sown seas.

By the time a million men were landed, if that is conceivable, the attacking government would require 12,000,000 tons of shipping plying back and forth from the other side of the Atlantic to ports here to keep this great army supplied with provisions, fuel and ammunition. This would mean the arrival and departure of at least eighty ships a day and all at hostile ports and through hostile seas. The whole idea is so fantastic that no serious mind will entertain it for a moment. And, as a matter of fact, there is no military authority in this country who believes that an invasion of America by Germany with or without the British fleet is possible.

Hanson Baldwin, in Harper's Magazine for August, 1940, said, referring to an invasion of this hemisphere: "The problem seems impossible; not even Britain or a combination of Britain and Germany has sufficient shipping to divert such an enormous amount of it from their ordinary and vital trade routes to military purposes. We do not, therefore, have to fear the employment of mass armies in this hemisphere; the most we have to guard against is the possible transportation of a *small expeditionary force.*"

To come here, after defeating England, Hitler would have to set out for America upon a vast



This shows the immense distances which Hitler would have to travel with his great army of a million men to attack the United States by way of South America.

military adventure, using up all the military resources he has. He would leave behind him on his rear Russia, which would welcome his plight, and 200,000,000 sullen people in Europe who, we may be sure, would be watching the moment to cause him trouble. That moment would come when he was compelled to strip himself in Europe to fight here. And he would fight here a battle that he would be sure to lose. Dictators cannot afford to take on such battles. They must win.

The President said in his last Message to Congress, January 6, 1941, "Even if there were no British navy it is not probable any enemy would be stupid enough to attack us by landing troops in the United States from across thousands of miles of ocean, until it had acquired strategic bases from which to operate."

Here is a complete admission by the man who has done more than anyone else to frighten the American people with the fear of invasion that a direct invasion is not possible. Yet hardly were these words cold on the President's lips when Mr. Hull went before a Congressional Committee and said if the British navy were eliminated to cross the Atlantic by Hitler would be a comparatively easy matter.

The President saves his point by insisting that Hitler would first have to acquire bases in this hemisphere. Now just look at this with a little common sense. Hitler will not come across thousands of miles of ocean to invade us directly because of the great distance he would have to transport his armies and equipment. Therefore if he attempted an invasion from bases those bases would have to be much closer to the United States than is Germany. Otherwise there would be no sense in bases.

The bases in this hemisphere which would answer this description from which Hitler could attack us are Brazil, various points in the West Indies, Bermuda, Newfoundland, Greenland and similar points.

Brazil is the favorite South American base to which the President is fond of referring. This is because Hitler can take over West Africa and concentrate his forces at Dakar there.

Africa bulges out on its west coast toward South America and South America bulges out toward Africa in Brazil. Dakar in Africa is only 1,600 miles from Pernambuco in Brazil. Hitler will be able to cross over the Atlantic at this narrow stretch to Brazil, and, as Senator Claude Pepper has described it, roll on into Venezuela, into Colombia, up through Central America into Mexico and on to the Rio Grande.

This amazing proposal is so grotesque that it hardly calls for an answer. It overlooks the fact that Hitler must take his vast force to Western Africa by sea—which is 3,200 miles from Germany—and then 1,600 miles across the Atlantic to Brazil. He will have travelled near 5,000 miles. Before he started from Germany he would be 3,300 miles from the United States. After travelling 5,000 miles to Brazil he would be 5,300 MILES FROM THE UNITED STATES. He would be further away than before he started.

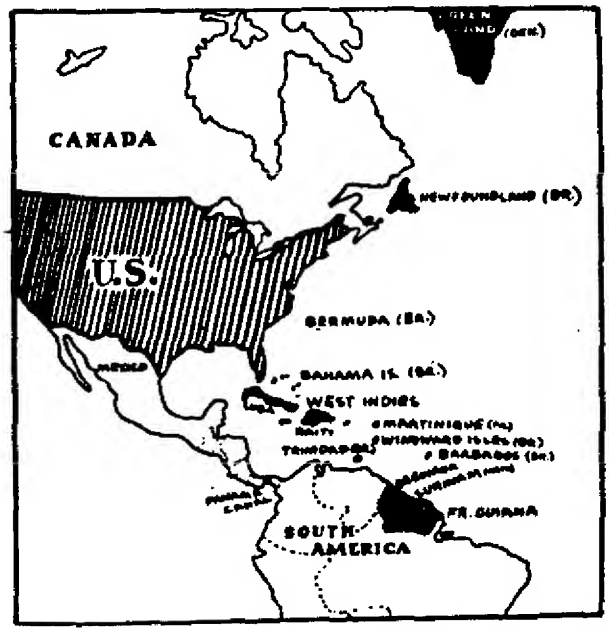
He would have to have of course at least a million men—which would be a ridiculously small number. He would have to bring along all that immense accumulation of trucks, and trailers and motorcycles and tanks and guns and supplies. He would have to conquer Brazil, Venezuela and Colombia. He would have to move his men up through the narrow Isthmus of Panama and on through the mountainous regions, the swamps, the trackless plains of Guatemala, Nicaragua, Panama, Salvador and Honduras, dragging along his thousand-mile train of trucks and tanks and guns and trailers and supplies into Mexico and up over the wide plateaus, the pathless jungles, over the mountain gorges and the fever-infested plains of Mexico—his million men,

his 65,000 trucks, his 20,000 trailers, his 10,000 tanks and incredible supplies of food, fuel, oil and ammunition—conquering all these countries as he goes and leaving behind great numbers of troops to hold them in subjection until he came at last to the Texas border—after a journey of nearly 10,000 miles over land and oceans. And he would still not be in the United States.

This, of course, is a bedtime story to frighten children and is based upon the assumption that American citizens are morons and will believe anything. Yet this is the basis of the argument that "we are next on Hitler's list."

Others tell us he will go to Greenland. Greenland is a vast tract of artic wilderness, its coasts rimmed by immense mountains, its interior covered with ice in places a thousand feet deep. Military and aviation experts know it is impossible to build these bases there to accommodate either naval or airplane units large enough for attack here. Even if it were possible Hitler could not do this unless he had command of the seas. And if he had command of the seas he wouldn't go to Greenland.

There are, however, other bases from which attacks might be launched. The map (Map 4)



This map shows the various bases from which an enemy might attempt to attack the United States. All those belonging to Britain, Holland, France are within a few days of our waters, some in our waters. They could be taken without firing a shot or losing a life if England were defeated. Germany would then have to take them from us which would be as difficult as landing in the United States.

will show these. You will see very quickly how little we have to fear on this score.

These bases are Newfoundland, Bermuda, the West Indies or any British or Dutch or French possessions in the general neighborhood of the Northern coast of South America.

Germany, it is feared, might, with the British fleet, capture these bases, if Hitler defeated England. If England were to be defeated the American fleet could seize any one of these bases within two days, three at the most. American warships kept within a day or two run from these places—mostly islands—could almost the very day that England fell take possession of these places without firing a shot, spending a dollar or losing a man. There is no need of going into a war—perhaps a ten-year war—to keep the Germans out of bases which we could capture in a few days and at no cost if Britain is defeated.

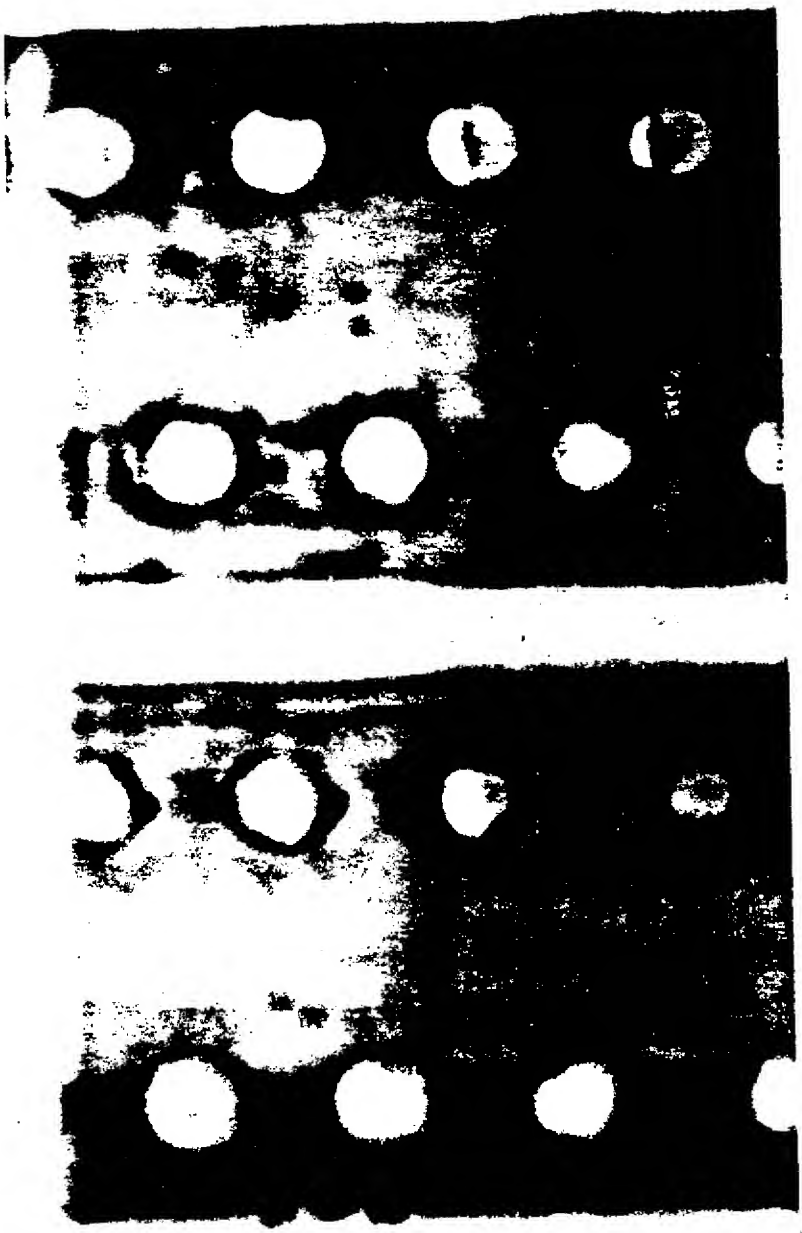
As for Newfoundland, there we would pursue the policy we would adopt for all of Canada and the country to the North of us in this hemisphere. We would announce that we would resist with force any attack upon that country. It would take Germany years to prepare for such an expedition and when prepared, even if she were stupid enough to attempt it, the same arguments which reveal the folly and impossibility of a frontal attack on the United States apply to Canada backed by the United States.

Why, then, do men talk *about* Hitler coming here? Because this is the cornerstone of the propaganda to get us into the war. Propagandists have pointed out that to get America in the war, "Americans must be frightened by some threat." And this threat has been manufactured by British and American interventionist propagandists and industriously circulated by them to get us into this war.

Americans are willing to aid Britain because they hate fascism, they are against Hitler, they look upon the *English government*, despite its aristocratic character, and its empire, as a more civilized form of government than Hitler's dictatorship. They are willing to help through a generous sympathy and not because they think this is our war.

Any airplane attempting to bomb us from Europe or from the Azores would have to face the certain fate of being destroyed. There is not in existence any fleet of planes that could menace us from Europe or from any base such as Greenland or the Azores. And of course everyone knows by now that you do not conquer a country like America merely by dropping bombs on it. It must be occupied. We are not vulnerable as Britain is, which depends for the very food she eats as well as for almost everything else, on shipments from abroad. She can be blockaded. We cannot.

All this does not mean that our country is not menaced by dangers. The most serious dangers are interior. It does not mean that we must be unarmed. It means that we must provide this country with whatever defenses are essential to make an invasion by any force, however great, impossible. And that is easily possible to us. What is impossible to us is to create inside of many years an aggressive force capable of invading Europe or Asia and carrying on an aggressive war there. And few Americans want to do that.



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The greatest service you can render your country is to write at once to your Senators, your congressman, the President of the United States and your local newspaper protesting against any further steps to involve the United States in the European war.

Also send in your name as a member of the America First Committee, which is working to save America from this war. National Headquarters, 141 West Jackson Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.

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PUBLICATION FILE

SP88TT/cdl 1/5 2
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318,519

Can Hitler Cripple America's Economy?

4/29/85 SP88TT/cdl #245238
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED 264,350945 JFK/100/cdl 4-23-96
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
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Read what three of America's outstanding economists say:

BERNARD M. BARUCH
RAYMOND MOLEY
GEORGE N. PEEK

TO FIND the answers to the questions which are being asked so frequently these days about Hitler's threat to our economy, the America First Committee presents the views of three men who know as much about that problem as anyone in the country.

A brief biographical sketch of Mr. Baruch will be found on page 4.

Mr. Moley's background is described on page 9.

To see why Mr. Peek is so well qualified to answer those questions, read the brief outline of his record on page 16.

An interview with

BERNARD M. BARUCH

BERNARD M. BARUCH was born in 1870. As the man who directed this country's unprecedented industrial effort of 1917-18, he is singularly well qualified to discuss America's economic relation to the present war.

A member of the New York Stock Exchange, who had dealt with problems of trade and finance all his life, Mr. Baruch was appointed a member of the Advisory Council on National Defense by President Wilson in 1916. He was soon elevated to the post of Chairman of the War Industries Board, where he discharged with great distinction powers which were said to be the greatest ever held by any American. Later he served as Economic Advisor for the American Peace Commission and in 1922 became a member of the President's Agricultural Peace Commission. He is the author of many treatises on various economic subjects.

The statements he makes in the interview published herein are rendered particularly pertinent by the fact that Mr. Baruch is presently a close consultant of President Roosevelt on matters of national defense.

(The following is a reprint of an article by Robert Laffan which appeared in the June 6th issue of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.)

U. S. CAN UNDERSELL TOTALITARIANS IN WORLD MARKETS, SAYS BARUCH

Germany Would Be "On Spot" Economically Even If She Won War, He Asserts.

THE UNITED STATES can undersell totalitarian countries in world trade, according to Bernard M. Baruch, formerly chairman of Woodrow Wilson's War Industries Board, now a national defense consultant to the Roosevelt Administration.

In an exclusive interview with The Wal Street Journal, Mr. Baruch pointed out tha Germany, not the United States, would be "o the spot" economically if Germany were to wi control of the European continent.

"What will she do? Where can she sell h products or those of the countries she has co quered?" the veteran of another all-out w asked the reporter.

The United States market will be cut off fro European countries that formerly sold here, a cording to Mr. Baruch. Under proper econo policy the United States should be able to dr Germany out of any desired neutral market, believes.

A Program for the U. S.

According to Mr. Baruch this country must:

(1) Maintain a low price structure throughout this war.

(2) Develop quality and economy in mass-production industries.

(3) Build military defenses.

Fears concerning Germany's economic prowess and cheap labor are exaggerated, according to Mr. Baruch.

He cited evidence he had just received from a large American company that owns a factory in a leading industrial city in Germany. (He named the city, but suggested the name be omitted.) The parent American company has received a report from the German factory, Mr. Baruch asserted, that shows conclusively that despite low wages and long hours, with the German mark at 37 cents, the American plant is turning out the same products more cheaply.

"Oh, they can make gimcracks where we don't make them," Mr. Baruch remarked, "but there is no reason why we can't undersell them in important mass-production products provided we maintain a low price structure."

Importance of Low Prices

He stressed the importance of this. A price rise now would have to be liquidated in the post-war period, and that would throw this country off balance and place it in an unfavorable position to wage economic war, he pointed out. But if prices here are held down, Germany will be faced with the huge unemployment and economic problem after the war, he believes.

Won't that mean that Germany will be forced to attack us? Mr. Baruch was asked.

"Let 'em come," he replied. Mr. Baruch emphasized that he is not one of those who have been complacent about Germany over the past many years. Like Winston Churchill, Mr. Baruch can point to the fact that he has been trying to awaken public opinion ever since 1935 to the rise of Nazi military power and to the need for preparedness.

Mr. Baruch's comments followed a discussion of his book, "American Industry in the War," which has just been issued by Prentice Hall, Inc. The book is a reprint of the report of the old War Industries Board, together with Mr. Baruch's own program for total mobilization of the nation as presented to the War Policies Commission in 1931. It also contains material on priorities and price fixing.

An editorial by

RAYMOND MOLEY

RAYMOND MOLEY was born in Berea, Ohio in 1886. He has long been a keen observer of national affairs—first as a Professor of Politics, Government and Public Law; later, as a journalist. He has been one of President Roosevelt's closest advisors.

During the World War, Mr. Moley served as Director of Americanization for the Ohio State Council on Defense. In 1933 he was appointed Assistant Secretary of State by President Roosevelt—his special forte being international economics. He left this post to assume the editorship of the magazine "Today". This magazine later merged with "Newsweek", of which Mr. Moley is now Contributing Editor.

The following editorial by Mr. Moley appeared in the June 9, 1941 issue of "Newsweek".

WORLD TRADE AND THE FUTURE

BY NOW the military, naval and diplomatic implications of President Roosevelt's fireside speech have been pretty thoroughly thrashed over. He has, by subsequent statements and acts, clarified much of what he said then. So it is unnecessary to pursue those aspects here. But there were economic implications in the President's statement of policy that will prove to be of almost equal importance in the long run. What he said about international economic questions, taken in connection with Mr. Hull's speech a week before, merits the keenest examination.

In much of the discussion on both sides of the debate on how far we should move into the orbit of war, there is a common economic assumption. It seems to be taken for granted that it is possible, through a military decision, to restore nineteenth-century methods of international trade if Britain wins, or, if Germany wins, to destroy those methods as we have known them in the past and to substitute an entirely new worldwide system of exchanging goods among nations.

YET it ought to be remembered that, war or no war—even without the interposition of the World War, in fact—economic developments were taking place throughout the world which pointed to a permanently changed world trade.

This has never been described so well as in Mr. Graeme K. Howard's book, "America and a New World Order." Mr. Howard's rare competence to speak on this subject lies in the fact that he is not a mere theoretical economist or a diplomat or a politician. He is vice president of the General Motors Corporation in charge of overseas operations, and his experience has been that of a man who has actually been engaged in selling goods abroad. He says: "In the new century, in spite of the fact that markets have grown and that new inventions, such as the automobile and the airplane, have infused new vigor into world economy, the rate of market expansion has declined . . . Unless domestic economies everywhere are again made to function as they once did, we will find the twentieth century barren of the remarkable growth in trade which was characteristic of the nineteenth."

There have been times when the Administration has proceeded on the basis of this belief. There have been others when the Administration has adhered to this theory's exact opposite. The strange duality of economic policy with which the fabric of New Deal history is shot needs no detailed analysis here. In the oil business, for instance, agreements to limit production and dispose of surpluses—agreements encouraged by some sectors of government—have been attacked by other sectors of government as combinations in restraint of trade. Or, to take another example, we are boosting the price of cotton by artificial means, thus encouraging competitive foreign production, at the same moment that

insist upon talking about increasing our exports of cotton.

THE success of the United States in world competition after this war will largely depend upon the power, resourcefulness and productiveness of its own economy. Of course we cannot compete if that economy is plagued by disunion, hamstrung by fundamental inconsistencies, living beyond its means, dissipating its substance for nonproductive purposes. Nor can we afford to make the mistake of attempting to repeat the imperialistic course of the British Empire in the past century. The creation of that kind of empire is a thing of the past. We should find it impossible, as Germany, Japan or any joint effort of Germany and Japan will find it impossible.

The world is moving in the direction of self-dependent states and self-dependent blocs of states, eager to produce what they consume and intent upon an economy that will, through inventive genius, devise substitutes for the materials supplied by foreign producers. In this very fact lies a direct economic answer to the German threat. Because whatever may be the intention of the military and political masters of Germany, the kind of economy that the Germans have developed is in itself an answer to and a defeat for its pretentions as an imperialistic system. That is the ironic truth that Germany will sometime have to face. And if it has any intelligence left, it will face it soon, before the lust for empire gets too strong.

It was a corollary of the haphazard free-enterprise theory of trade that some, though not all, wars were fought in pursuit of trade advantages. It is possible that there was just enough color in the theory of the military pursuit of foreign markets to lend widespread credence to the Marxian thesis that capitalism was a breeder of wars.

If that thesis of Marx cannot be refuted by cold facts and by internationally directed intelligence, the future of the world is dark indeed. If the choice we of the twentieth century face is a choice between militarily controlled trade and the boggling free-enterprise kind of trade—both of which ultimately run themselves into the ground—then Communism may be destined to inherit the earth, with all the evil that would follow in its wake. If we cannot carry on trade without fighting wars over and over—wars which, in most instances, bring to the conqueror the hatred not only of the enemy, but the hatred of those who are allegedly being helped—then there is no prospect but retrogression before the human race.

All this has a very special bearing upon the economic future of this hemisphere and upon our relations with the countries to the south of us. The attitude of this Administration with respect to Latin America has been admirable in its restraint, in its courtesy and in its constant emphasis upon a spirit of mutual help. It has limited itself to mere conversational hoopla, has made sincere efforts to lay the foundation for sound political relationships with the La

American nations. Still there is a tendency to blur over the hard fact that lasting relations cannot be established on any basis that would keep these countries as permanent producers of raw materials only. Without industrialization they cannot develop the means of economic self-defense. They will lack even the means of effective cooperation in hemisphere defense. And, unless they are industrialized, we, in turn, cannot escape the ultimately disastrous role of a dominant industrial nation penetrating the markets of these countries solely for the purpose of supplying them with consumers' goods.

THE military as well as the economic defense of the other countries in this hemisphere can succeed only if those countries are able to sustain, in and of themselves, a considerable proportion of their energy and of their material means for that defense. That will mean close and active military alliances with us. It will mean the joint occupation of military and naval bases. It will mean a clear definition of the extent to which nations alien to this hemisphere will be permitted to penetrate any of these countries.

Thus mobilized, the Western Hemisphere could contemplate the localization of the Nazi movement in Europe alone with vastly less trepidation. As the President pointed out in his speech, the farther the Nazi power spreads itself over Europe, Asia and Africa, the greater the danger to itself and the more certain that the whole structure will ultimately break up into little bits.

An interview with

GEORGE N. PEEK

GEORGE N. PEEK *was born in Polo, Illinois, in 1873. All his life he has been intimately connected with farm problems, and especially with their relation to America's foreign trade.*

In 1933 he was appointed Administrator of the Agricultural Adjustment Act, and during 1934-35 he filled the post of Special Advisor to President Roosevelt on foreign trade. During this same period he was President of the Government Export-Import Banks.

Thus, Mr. Peek speaks as a man whose life has been devoted to those very problems whose solution means so much to America today. His opinion is an expert one. His facts come not only from the most accurate sources available to the government, but also from his own vast knowledge and experience.

QUESTION:

Can Hitler impoverish America? Can he cause an economic collapse in this country by stifling our foreign trade, cutting off our markets, and denying us access to the vital materials we need? Can his slave labor, his barter system, his goldless economy invade us where his panzer divisions cannot? Assertions that Hitler could do those things are made by the war interventionists, including Mr. Wendell Willkie, in a recent statement. What do you think of those assertions in general?*

*"Americans, Don't Be Afraid!" *Collier's*, May 10, 1941.

ANSWER:

HITLER cannot impoverish America by stifling our foreign trade, by cutting off either our markets or our sources of supply of vital materials. To assume that he can is a counsel of unreasoning defeatism. But America can impoverish herself by spending her substance on foreign wars.

One of the presumably convincing arguments put forth by many well-meaning people, as well as by the interventionists, is that although a victorious Germany might find it impossible to invade this country, she could destroy our world trade and force us to trade according to her wishes and on her own terms.

Now comes Mr. Willkie citing this argument as part of the interventionist campaign to take this country into war. He does not advance a

single reason why his views should be taken seriously on account of any special knowledge or experience in the field of trade—foreign or domestic. He advances no new points. Rather, he seems to appear as just another advocate, this time on economic grounds, of the interventionists' campaign—a campaign to involve our country in a foreign war. In this campaign, too, his assertions may be regarded as "campaign oratory."

The arguments of one, however, are the arguments of all. They stem from the self-interests of a few. They are built on a false theory of trade. Therefore, their case will not stand up before a jury of American informed opinion.

QUESTION:

Your statement may be perfectly true, but I think it must be substantiated. You say that the arguments of the war interventionists are based on a false theory of trade. Now if Hitler were to control a large part of the rest of the world, would he not be in a position to dictate terms to us? Why is that a false theory of trade?

ANSWER:

MY REPLY to their argument has been that we hold the answer largely in our own hands. The same argument could be advanced with respect to Great Britain or other nations. My reply would be the same. Competition is the life of trade and is always a threat in private business, no matter from whom it comes. So it is with nations.

Political control is one thing—economic necessity quite another. Now let us get this straight. There is no difference in principle between foreign and domestic trade, except as restrictions have been imposed upon the entry of goods and the transfer of funds between countries. The war interventionists' theory is that one party to a transaction could dictate all the terms and conditions of the trade between two or more parties. How false! Every man, woman, and child knows better if he will think but for a moment. It takes two parties to complete a trade. The necessities and the desires of each are basic. To assume that one may dictate all the terms and conditions is assuming something which is not so. Therefore, their case rests on a false premise and should be dismissed. As to Hitler's ability to dictate terms of trade to us in the event of a victory—no—that is where economic necessity comes into play. For example:

In 1933 and 1934 we demonstrated that we could trade with other nations to our mutual advantage. Indeed, we made some desirable deals—mutually agreeable ones with France Spain and Italy—but the Administration refused to continue to trade. The reason given was that to do so would interfere with our trade agreement policy, which was one of international altruism toward every country in the world save one. The real reason, however, was more obscure. In the case of Germany, notwithstanding that her two great necessities were under-

stood to be easier access to raw materials and larger markets for her manufactured products, we denied her both, beginning as far back as 1934. The reasons were social and political. Vice President Wallace now says (Address, Foreign Policy Association, April 8, 1941) "The next peace *must* give the . . . aggressor nations the opportunity to buy raw materials and sell manufactured goods without discrimination." If the President, Mr. Hull, Mr. Wallace, and the other New Dealers had recognized Germany's legitimate necessities in 1934 and since, instead of declining to trade with her, they might have made a real contribution toward world peace and might have checked the rapid rise of Naziism and thus avoided the danger of American participation in this war.

Desirable opportunities to trade were rejected, also, for one reason or another, with England, Japan, Italy, and other nations. In 1939 we revised this position somewhat when we made an agreement with England to exchange cotton for rubber. No change in basic policy, however, is indicated by this isolated incident, as the President made clear in his message to Congress last January.

QUESTION:

Accepting your statement that it takes two parties to make a trade, what advantages would we have to use against Germany's increased bargaining power? You have shown that grave errors were made and it would have been possible to make desirable trades. But under German control of Europe and other areas, won't the conditions be so different that former rules will not apply?

ANSWER:

FIRST and foremost in importance is our great market. We have the greatest consuming power in the world. Our purchases from foreign countries support a large part of the economy of many of them. For example:

Latin America produces 90 percent of all the coffee—we consume half of it. Europe, too, depends upon Latin America for her supply—about the same quantity as ours—although she has four times our population.

The Malay States, the Dutch East Indies, and small neighboring countries produce nearly 95 percent of the rubber and, including China, 60 percent of the tin. We use half of the rubber and 40 percent of the world's production of tin.

Japan produces nearly 90 percent of the silk —we buy 90 percent of her exports.

These are examples of the dependency of foreign nations upon our market. Others may be cited, i. e., jute from India, diamonds and gold from South Africa, tea from southeastern Asia, etc.

The economy of such nations does not shift with the flag of the overlord. It relies upon our markets. It does not change with super-political control.

A careful canvass of the world's mineral production discloses that the non-American nations of the world are more dependent upon the western hemisphere than it is dependent upon them.

As an example of the dependency of other countries upon our markets, let us consider a few items:

In the case of rubber, in 1929 we imported 528,602 tons at an average price of 20.5¢ per pound; we paid foreign countries for it $247,420,000. By 1932 our imports had dropped to 393,731 tons and the price to 3.4¢; we paid $34,273,000. By 1937 we had increased our imports to 592,528 tons, and the price had risen to 19.4¢—a total of $252,859,000. The last two years show a greatly increased tonnage on account of our policy of storing up rubber.

In the case of tin, the story is similar. In 1929 we imported 195,165,000 pounds at 45.19¢, or $91,839,000. In 1932 we imported 77,995,000 pounds at 22.01¢, or $16,474,000. In 1937 our imports amounted to 197,377,000 pounds at 54.24¢, or $104,285,000.

This merely shows the necessity and desirability of an active American market for the products of foreign lands.

Then comes the question of technological development and the use of substitutes. Great progress has been made in this field in recent years.

The development of synthetic rubber has progressed to a point where we may say that,

if necessary, we are no longer dependent upon the eastern hemisphere. Within a very few years we could produce our own rubber, as Germany has done. A number of our most important concerns are active in this field.

The same thing may be said of silk—witness the great development of rayon, and now nylon.

We are now preparing to smelt a considerable portion of our tin requirements in the United States from ore coming from Latin America. In addition, important substitutes have been developed from plastics and other materials, replacing tin.

This hemisphere can supply our manganese and potash—the former through the development of machinery and processes of refining low grade ores here and in Cuba, and the latter through the development of our own mines.

These are examples only. There is great progress in other fields.

Trade is a fleeting thing. Conditions and methods change, demand and sources of supply with them. For example, we have seen England abandon the practice of a century as the leading advocate of free trade and the gold standard, and for a decade follow a new policy of tariffs, trade agreements between nations, and managed currency. I do not say that this is or is not the best way to conduct trade between nations, but the point is that that is the way world trade has been trending for more than a decade. We are the only important nation attempting to ignore this fact.

My view is that we must recognize the fact that we cannot prescribe the rules and regulations for all the world. Rather, if we are going to engage in trade with other nations, we should use our strategic advantages to negotiate country by country in our own interest.

We should, of course, keep ourselves in a position to join with other nations in improving methods of trading if and when the time comes that the rest of the world is ready to consider a change. But, in the meantime, we should refrain from playing Santa Claus and from opening our markets recklessly to nearly all the world and so exposing our national economy to influences from abroad over which we have no control. Our need is for *more* defense of our internal economy—not less. We must stop letting foreign prices determine our domestic prices.

QUESTION:

What do you mean by foreign prices determining domestic prices?

ANSWER:

WORLD price very largely determines the domestic price of every crop of which we export a surplus. This price applies to the whole of the crop, whether consumed at home or exported, however much this burden is lessened by Government handouts. Industrial tariffs can and do protect prices of articles for which crop is exchanged. The fair exchange value of the crop is thus reduced in proportion to the protection afforded industry. Therefore, the protective principle usually operates for the benefit of industry and to the detriment of agriculture.

This problem is as old as our history. Alexander Hamilton recognized it and in his famous "Report on Manufactures", written in 1790, after urging a policy of tariff protection for industry, observed that the day might come when it would be necessary to give agriculture an equivalent. He proposed at some future time to offset by subsidy or otherwise the farmer's disadvantage of having to buy in a protected market while having to sell in an unprotected world market at world prices.

Notwithstanding the millions and billions that have been appropriated for agriculture in the last few years, the basic fault remains—while we pay our farmers not to produce, we encourage foreign farmers to produce, not only for foreign markets which we formerly supplied, but for our markets, by making it easier to import. Such a policy cannot be permanent. Its duration will be immeasurably shortened by the vast expenditures we must make for our national defense program.

QUESTION:

If Germany, producing with slave labor, can offer better prices to South America, how could we be able to compete?

ANSWER:

THAT is a trick question. It must be remembered that Germany, and England, too, has a substantial representation in South Americ-

before the war in 1914. There is nothing new about competition with them except in degree. There are many considerations besides price. Design and adaptability of products to do the work desired; terms, delivery dates; personal equation between buyer and seller and numerous other things. Frequently we hear the phrase, "Quality is remembered *long* after price is forgotten." If price were the sole measuring stick the manufacturer with the lowest price would be selling all the goods, be they automobiles or what. Competition would die, monopoly would succeed it and higher prices might then result.

The answer lies in mutuality of interest between countries so long as governments control the foreign trade of their nationals. Under these circumstances there is only one intelligent procedure and that is to recognize the conditions under which trade is conducted between nations and negotiate country by country for the terms and conditions under which goods may be exchanged satisfactorily. Each country must recognize frankly the needs of the other.

Other things being equal free labor can outproduce slave labor. We made our greatest progress after we abolished slavery—slave labor produces little buying power. We must keep in mind always that American wage levels support our higher American standards of living. They protect the American workers *on our farms* and in our factories against the lower standards not only of the *forced* labor of the Axis Powers and Russia but of the lower paid labor of the Argentine Indian and the Chinese Coolie and the cheaper labor everywhere outside the United States of America. The difference is one only of degree. Our wage levels must be insulated against the competition of a world turned upside down.

Perhaps this is not a complete answer but it is difficult to give a complete answer to a trick question.

QUESTION:

In the early part of this interview you referred to the arguments of the war interventionists as stemming from the self-interest of a few. To whom did you refer?

ANSWER:

IN THE FIRST place I referred to the approximately 20% shown by the Gallup poll of the people constituting the interventionists. More specifically I referred to those who profit from international trade—the international bankers, ocean transportation companies, marine insurance companies, importers, et cetera—as distinguished from the industrialists who do some foreign business incidental to their domestic business. All of the latter group must realize that if compelled to choose between a prosperous American market and one periodically shot to pieces by foreign events, they must choose the American markets.

Many Americans will recall that Mr. James P. Warburg of New York wrote two books

1936 opposing President Roosevelt's reelection. He supported Alfred Landon, but after Governor Landon made his St. Paul speech in which he took a stand for protection of the American market and for real Yankee trading, Mr. Warburg wrote a letter to Secretary Hull saying that in view of Mr. Landon's position he would have to support the Democratic ticket. He is now one of our leading interventionists. This is queer company for the New Dealers who were going to drive the money changers from the temple.

QUESTION:

Can you sum up in a few words what you think our policy should be and what the question boils down to?

ANSWER:

I THINK that all our foreign policies—political and economic—should be related definitely to our American needs and ideals, with the objective of protecting and perpetuating the form of government and the economic policies which have made our country great. Our aim should be to make possible to all Americans the fullest benefits of our form of government as granted by our Constitution and the Bill of Rights. The first requisite to this aim is knowledge based on reliable and comprehensive information, so that we may know what the problems are and consider them fairly. The second is a realization of the principle that foreign policies—whether political or economic—must not be permitted to destroy or impair either our form of government or our standards of living.

The question boils down to this: Shall we take advantage of our position of geographic and economic security and contribute to world peace and prosperity by developing our own country and by attending to our own affairs, or shall we toss our nation into a common pool in the management of which ours will be only one voice and that not the controlling one? Shall we dilute our nation's strength with the world's weakness?

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AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

Southern California Division
Speaker's Bureau

#245238
4/29/85 SAB/CLS

TITLE: BUY OR DIE

BY: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE RESEARCH BUREAU

VOLUMN NO: 6

DATE: July 5, 1941

DECLASSIFIED
DATE 9/4/84 BY SAB-FBI/MLC
Cmt #242,942

264.350 9145 JFE/AG/COL
4-23-86

3/8519
SPYBTS/COL 10-18-90

DID YOU KNOW

That Hitler, even if victorious over Europe and the Mediterranean countries, cannot dominate our trade?

THE CLAIM

"They (the dictatorships) would fasten an economic stranglehold upon our several nations..... Wages and hours would be fixed by Hitler..... The American farmer would get for his products exactly what Hitler wanted to give. He would face obvious disaster and complete regimentation."
(President Roosevelt, in his "unlimited emergency" speech of May 27, 1941, reported in Christian Science Monitor, May 28).

THE ANSWER

"However, the import requirements of Nazi Europe are so large and so varied that she is scarcely in a position to buy or refrain from buying at will. Her exports are wanted, but are not indispensable. Barring the use of force, her position in world markets will be as weak or as strong as her capacity to pay for the goods she needs. Clearly this is an issue whose outcome cannot be dictated entirely by Nazi Europe." ("Nazi Europe and World Trade," published by the Brookings Institution, June, 1941, page 184.

"The United States can undersell totalitarian countries in world trade, according to Bernard M. Baruch, formerly chairmar of Woodrow Wilson's War Industries Board, Now a national defen consultant to the Roosevelt Administration.... Mr. Baruch pointed out that Germany, not the United States, would be 'on the spot' economically if Germany were to win control of the European continent...." (In interview reported in The Wall Street Journal, June 6, 1941.

THE E NOMIC MENACE

Interventionists originally sought to frighten the American people into willingness to support American entry into the current war by lurid tales of military invasion of the Western Hemisphere by the triumphant Nazu war machine. When that theory was exploded by the military facts, the interventioists dug up the "Economic Menace". The American people were told that a Nazi-dominated Europe threatened our very way of life; that our trade would collapse before the ingenuity of the Nazis; that we would be subdued without the necessity of military attack. The "economic" theory could be advanced persuasively because there was little evidence available of either it's accuracy or its falsity. Presumably, the absence of evidence accounts for the fact that the President was persuaded to adopt the theory in his "unlimited emergency" speech of May27. Now the evidence is available; the "economic" theory is shown to have little basis in economic fact.

NAZI EUROPE

We can test the "economic" theory. Assume that the Nazis have military control of the entire continent of Europr (for the moment we can except the Soviet Union and the Soviet-dominated states.) Make the further (and unlikely) assumption that they are able to unify the numerous nationalities of Europe, suppress or alleviate the age-old hatreds, obtain willing and eager cooperation from the sullen millions of thier victims, and coordinate the productive capacities of the continent into one intregrated, centrally contolled, economic and political unit. That unit would comprise twenty countries (Albania, Austria, Belgium, Luxembourg, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Rumania, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, and Yugoslavia.) Assume further that the Nazis are able to bring into that unit the eleven non-European countries which border the Meditteranean Sea (Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia, Libya, Tangier Zone, Egypt, Turkey, Syria, Lebanon, Palestine and Cyprus.) Such assumptions are more than generous to the advocates of the "economic" theory of conquest: they give the Nazis control over countries in Europe, North Africa and the Near East which are yet unconquered.

HOW STRONG IS NAZI EUROPE

The popular impression fostered by interventionists is based on the assumption that the Nazi regime has been greatly strengthened economically by its conquests, especially in its power to influence trade relations with the nations of the Western Hemisphere. That imprssion is shown to be far from accurate in a current study published by the Brookings Institute, a conservative and eminently authoritative research institution ("Nazi Europe and World Trade" by Cleona Lewis, published in June, 1941.) In this memorandum are discussed the resources and needs of a Nazi-controlled Europe as Dr. Lewis has analysed them Other aspects of the problem will be treated in subsequent memoranda.

HITLER'S PROBLEMS

Dr. Lewis's study is based upon two "control" years. 1929 and 1937. The first year was chosen because the Dawes Plan and American loans had made it a prosperous one. The second was chosen because it was one of great business activity and normal trade relations for Germany -- it was before the economies of European countries had been seriously distorted by "the purchase and storage of goods for war purposes" (page 3). Since no accurate date is available, no consideration is given to the cost, time and difficulties, obviously tremendous, of repairing the damage to productive capacities caused by the devastation and dislocations of war. In view of the staggering nature of the reconstruction problems, the study is reasonable in assuming that the 1929 and 1937 figures mark the maximum potential resources of Europe for several years to come. So vast would be the reconstruction job that Hitler would face, that the strengh attributed to Nazi Europe in the study probably exceeds its actual strength. The study does not consider the possibility that the total volumn of European production might increase under more efficient industrial operation. That possibility lies entirely in the realm of speculation, and is subject to a multitude of factors. Even the famed German ingenuity cannot do very much expand food and industrial raw material production in Europe. The study makes it clear that Europe's "climate, soil, and topography, and the poverty of its subsoil, all place limitations on its domestic output." (page 175).

NAZI TRADE WEAKNESSES

Except for these speculative qualifications which can be too easily over-emphasized, the study shows clearly that Nazi Europe- if it ever comes - will be in no position to dictate the nature and terms of world trade or of the trade of the Western Hemisphere countries. Paradoxical as it may sound, "Germany's supply problem has not been solved by her seizure of neighboring territories. On the contrary, it has been made more difficult. Raw-material imports, in particular, are considerably larger for the whole area than they were for Germany alone - whether they are measured in absolute of relative terms." (page 178) Despite the fact that Nazi Europe furnishes the "living space" the Nazi's claimed was vital to Germany's existence, Germany's trade position is now weaker than before the war.

THE NAZI*REICH BUYER

This is because Germany, before entry upon career of aggression, was ultimately dependent upon outside sources for food and raw materials, Far from attaining independence of foreign sources for food and raw materials by her conquests, Germany has become more dependant than ever before upon foreign sources. The old Reich, both in 1929 and 1937, managed to maintain a slightly larger volumn of exports than of imports, to sell more than she bought. Consequently she was in a position to drive a good bargain. (page 178). Her foreign trade was fairly stable from 1925

through 1937, with foods and raw materials accounting for about 90%, usually, of her imports, and manufactured goods making up from 65% to 80% of her exports. This ratio held good, in the main, even despite the much-exaggerated Nazi trade drive and Nazi attempts to force surplus manufactured goods down the throats of Latin American and other foreign trade countries. (pages 8-9)

NAZI EUROPE LARGER BUYER

Of the 20 European countries assumed to be under Nazi sway, only three really complement and help the Nazi economy by being exporters of foods and raw materials, and importers of manufacturers (Bulgaria, Rumania, Yugoslavia). Ten others are helpful to the Nazi's in part. Six of these (Denmark, Hungary, Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, and Spain) dovetail with the German economy in that they export more food than they buy, and import more manufactured goods than they sell; but they are dependent, like the old Germany , for the most of their raw materials on outside sources. The four others in this second group (Albania, Greece, Norway and Sweden) also help the old Reich in that they can supply raw materials, and buy manufactures; but these countries are a detriment in that they must buy foods from outside sources. The last six states (Austria, Belgium, Luxembourg, Czechoslovakia, France, Italy, Switzerland,) are alike Germany in that they must sell their manufactured goods to the outside world, and must buy foods and raw materials. These are the large industrial countries whose subjugation is popularly sopposed to constitute a great triumph for the Nazis. Actually, they furnish little opportunity for additional economic "living space". Once they are linked with Germany as a unit in Nazi Europe, they must buy from outside sources twice as much foodstuffs as the old Riech and almost three times as m many raw materials, and they must sell almost twice as many manufactures. They ahve made Germnay's presumed goal, independence of outside sources, much more difficult of attainment. (pages 11-13).

THE MEDITTERANEAN COUNTRIES

These figures are not changed materially even if the Nazis control the eleven non-European countries bordering the Mediteranean Sea. On the basis of 1937 data, the later provide only about 19% of the food and 8% of the raw materials needed by Nazi Europe, and take only 16% of the manufactured goods which Nazi Europe must sell. In short, " "larger Germany would have to import more food and raw materials, and find larger markets for manufactures, than were required for the old Reich." (pages 15-15).

What the effect of the conquest of Soviet Russia and Great Britain would be will be considered in detail in another memorandum. Nevertheless, it should be stated here that the subjugation of Russia would not ease the economic problems of a Nazi Europe as much as has been popularly sopposed. In 1929 and 1937 Russia's exports of foods and raw materials amounted to no more than 4% of Nazi Europe's needs (including Mediterranean countries). Nor is Russia much of a market for Nazi Europe's manufactured goods. (page 16).

BUY OR DIE

Nazi Europe must therefore import of die. Without food imports; Europe's population must go on short rations, because of shortages of cereals, fats, vegetable oils, meats, and dairy products. Without raw material imports, the textile industries would be crippled (for lack of sufficient supplies of cotton, wool, silk, jute, hemp, and flax.) The leather working industries would be gravely impaired; large scale synthetic rubber production would be necessary, which would in turn create new raw material needs. Without industrial mineral imports, "manufacturing, mining, transportation, communication and even agriculture would be severly handicapped. Machines and machine tools could no longer be made because of the lack of alloy metals and bearing metals. The automotive and electrical industries would suffer from lack of asbestos, mica, non-synthetic oils, copper and otjer minerals. There would be enough coal unless (a very likely probability) the resort to synthetic production of rubber, hosiery, and gasoline caused a coal shortage. (pages 175-177).

Nazi Europe will have to import. Without imports, even the manufactures of the goods which she must sell in order to buy more food and mor raw materials will be crippled. Nazi Europe will be in no position to buy or not to buy, as she pleases, adn therefore drive a hard bargain or dictate her own terms. The bargaining advantage will rest with the Western Hemisphere countries and the other countries of the world which have for sale the products Nazi Europe needs.

PRESS RELEASE
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

Franklin 6093

For immediate release

September 11, 1941

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 9/4/84 BY SP8 BT/ltr
Comp #6, 9, 12, 94

264.350 9145 FE/AC/COL 4-23-86
318,519 SP8BTS/COL 10-18-90

COMPLETE STATEMENT BY GENERAL ROBERT E. WOOD, National Chairman of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

The President has initiated an undeclared war in plain violation of the Constitution.

In 1917 President Woodrow Wilson sufficiently respected his oath of office and the Constitution of the United States to ask Congress to declare war. President Roosevelt now, however, ignores his oath of office and flouts the Constitution.

Not a single American life has yet been lost upon an American ship.

Shoot on sight is not short of war. It is war.

His refusal to consult Congress places upon him the sole responsibility for the inevitable loss of American lives.

President Wilson did not order American warships to shoot until Congress gave him that authority.

The America First Committee will throw its full weight on the side of the people and their Congress, in order to restore representative Government in the United States.

This attempt to take the American people into war, in betrayal of the most solemn promises a candidate ever made to his people, will be repudiated. It will be repudiated because it is a transparent attempt to avoid majority rule, and to put us into war by deceit.

President Roosevelt in effect seeks to abrogate the Neutrality Act by Executive decree. That law was three times enacted by Congress with the overwhelming support of the American people. The law was passed to prevent the American people from becoming hysterical when American lives were lost. He has become hysterical without the loss of an American life under the American flag. That Act required the

President to define "combat area" in case of foreign war into which American ships and citizens were forbidden to go under penalties of $50,000 fines and years in prison. That Act remains unrepealed.

Mr. Roosevelt speaks wider of "freedom of the seas" -- but the Neutrality Act was expressly enacted to limit our freedom of the seas. The people calmly and deliberately agreed to forego "fool's gold" rather than have their sons killed.

Under that Act President Roosevelt established a combat area and forbade Americans to cross the Red Sea. He later removed the Red Sea as a combat area. In doing so, he made it legal in the letter of the law, but not in its spirit for American ships to enter that sea. The American merchant ship Steel Seafarer entered the Red Sea loaded with contraband of war at least 12,000 miles from our shores.

It was attacked in belligerent waters where the Neutrality Act and Congress never intended it to go. Are we now to be forced into war because of a fact that Congress never intended to assume responsibility for another ship -- the American-owned ship Sessa has been sunk with loss of one American life. But that ship had been previously transferred to Panama registry presumably to circumvent the penalties under the Neutrality Act. American shipowners hid behind a foreign flag to make some money. Are American men to die for their "dividends?"

President Roosevelt's "freedom of the seas" was also one of President Wilson's fourteen points, in these words: "Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas, outside territorial waters alike in peace and in war."

The British Government through its Prime Minister, Mr. Lloyd George said it could not accept this clause under any condition. If it had been in operation, England would have lost the power of imposing a blockade--its most powerful weapon. The United States acquiesced then and now in British repudiation of freedom of the seas.

President Roosevelt now states that he proposes to maintain our line of supply of materiel to the enemies of Hitler, and to protect the shipping of this and every other nation.

This is in violation of the spirit and intent of the Lease-Lend Bill. When the Lease-Lend Bill was enacted, only a few months ago, it was clearly understood and agreed that title to munitions of war was to pass to foreign buyers on this side of the Atlantic. The point of delivery was to be in American ports — and not in Liverpool, Cairo or Vladivostok. The point of delivery is the exact difference between peace and war. When the American people, through their Congress, enacted the Lease-Lend Bill, they assumed no responsibility for the safe carriage or delivery of cargo. If that responsibility is now to be assumed, let Congress assume it. If the Lease-Lend Bill is to be changed, let Congress change it.

When the Lease-Lend Bill was passed, Stalin and Hitler were comrades in arms. It is doubtful if Congress ever intended that American munitions would be delivered to Red Russia and that American aviation gasoline would be used to bomb Finland. Nor was it contemplated that American marines would be sent to Iceland, then and now occupied by British troops.

What President Roosevelt is doing is to convoy ships in violation both of the Neutrality Act and the spirit of the Lease-Lend Bill. He has himself stated that convoys mean shooting and shooting means war.

He brings up the war party's defeatist idea of America unable to defend itself. The American people do not agree.

This whole approach to war has been tricky, secretive and dishonest.

The President insists upon other nations complying with the last jot and tittle of neutrality while unneutral himself.

Let Mr. Roosevelt and Messrs. Stimson and Knox withhold their hands from bloodshed until the whole situation in the light of these new circumstances has been again referred to the Board of Directors of the American people — the Congress of the United States, as the Constitution requires.

If Congress declares war, the America First Committee will support Congress. But the American people will insist that they be not taken into war without

consultation with them by the conjuring up of inflammatory incidents.

The America First Committee agrees with the President that Hitlerism must not invade America. But we go farther. We insist that Hitlerism must not invade America either from within or from without. We and over 80% of the American people stand firmly together -- not only against Hitler, but also against Hitlerism -- by whatever name it is called. Hitler does not consult the Reichstag.

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AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
141 W. Jackson
Chicago, Ill.
(Phone Wabash 6996)

DID YOU HEAR

264,350 9145 JFG TOC/COL 4-23-86
318,519 SP8BTS/COL 10-8-90

Philip LaFollette speak at the Neutrality Conference of 221 America First Chapter Chairmen and Delegates in Washington on Saturday, November 1? Following is the complete text of his speech which was broadcast over the Columbia network.

* * * * * *

Five years ago, I listened to a man - a man you all know - describe what was happening in Europe. In vivid word pictures he showed how the Old World had wrestled with the unsolved problems of the last World War. How unemployment, agricultural distress, business paralysis, and the corroding lack of opportunity for youth, had pounded year after year at the foundations of their governments. And then this man's voice - a voice you all know - crackled with contempt as he described how the politicians of Europe turned toward war as a desperate and fatal release from the problems they had been unable to solve at home: the unemployed shunted into the army, billions upon billions spent on implements of destruction. Finally that voice - the voice you have heard so often - rang with determination as he vowed that America would never follow that treacherous course, but would go forward courageously to find real answers for the problems of our people. The voice was the voice of Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Reluctantly and with deep regret I parted with Franklin D. Roosevelt. His extraordinary gifts and his undeniable charm did not make it easy. But deep convictions and the teachings of long experience left no other choice when I saw that his failure to solve our problems here were leading him step by step to that wishful escape of casting his gaze beyond our <u>own</u> disordered backyard, to the tempting green pastures of Europe, Asia and Africa

There is no dispute among thoughtful and patriotic Americans over the fact that our way of life is in danger. The difference - and it is a profound difference - that divides us is <u>where</u> and <u>how</u> the United States can best meet that challenge and wisely serve the cause of freedom for mankind. This difference has shattered our old political lines. It is no longer a question of the Republican Party and the Democratic Party. Today the alignment is between the War Party and the American Party. The War Party maintains that American freedom is to be won or lost on the battlefields of Europe, Asia and Africa. <u>The American Party maintains that the future welfare and happiness of our people will not be determined by the defeat or victory of any other nation anywhere on earth,</u> but by what we - we in America - do to protect and extend freedom and security of our people here.

Two years ago the President and the War Party launched us on a course of action labelled "steps short of war" to "keep us out of war". That was the most cunning of the many deceitful phrases employed in the propaganda campaign to get us into this war. Like a patent medicine ad, it promised, at almost no cost, a cure for a painful disease.

The American people by tradition and conviction hate tyranny, and specifically they hate the modern brutalitarianism whether in red, black or brown uniform. But side by side with our hatred of dictators, we have the fresh, raw disillusionment that came out of the last war, and the justified fear that involvement in another and bloodier war may doom for us the very freedom we would try to impose on the rest of the world.

The President was aware of this twin-concern of the American People - this loathing of brutality and this determination to keep out of other people's wars. So he produced a plan to accomplish what man had often tried, but never succeeded in doing: "to eat our cake and have it too". He produced a program which was to attain the laudable purpose of destroying Hitler, but which was not going to cost us a dime. Indeed, he went further in his message to Congress two years ago, in asking repeal of the Arms Embargo. On that occasion he dangled before our eyes the glittering temptation of war profits based on "Cash and Carry" the same war profits which only a few years before he himself had warned would be "fools' gold".

At that time, we of the American Party opposed the repeal of the Arms Embargo. We did not claim that that one step would put us into the war. We did claim - and events have proved us right - that that was the first long step down the road to war. We knew that out of the bitter lesson of the last war.

We are not here tonight to cry over spilt milk, or to blind ourselves to the stark realities which face this country. Nor are we concerned with the motives of Mr. Roosevelt or the War Party. What he and his administration have done in the past, is important only as it helps us to decide what reliance we can place on their judgment in the future. With that test let us remember that every step in the program, that has now led to shooting hostilities, was thrust on a reluctant and suspicious people as the one sure way, to keep out of war. Whatever the intentions may have been, this program has produced exactly the opposite result from that upon which it was sold to the people. In spite of the barrage of pledges of peace, we are today in shooting warfare - armed hostilities concerning which neither the people nor the Congress has been consulted. It was one man and one man alone who ordered the shipping of our badly needed planes and military equipment to France and Britain.

It was one man and one man alone who traded away Fifty American destroyers.

It was one man and one man alone who sent his friends and his relatives as flying ambassadors to Europe, Asia and Africa to deliver unfulfillable pledges, designed to induce other nations to go to war.

It was one man and one man alone who changed the map of the world and pushed the boundaries of the Western Hemisphere more than two thousand miles out into the North Atlantic.

It was one man and one man alone who decided to occupy Iceland and send the first American expeditionary force to stand guard intermingled with the British army in a war zone.

It was one man and one man alone who ordered the American navy to "patrol" the then convoy contraband of war into the zone of hostilities.

It was one man and one man alone who ordered our armed forces to hunt down and shoot on sight the war craft of a belligerent power.

Last Monday night this man rushed to the radio to announce that shooting had begun, that we had been attacked and that our ships had been fired upon. With a burst of generosity he assured us that they were our ships, that they belonged to you and me and to every other man, woman and child in this country. Yet, when this man ordered those ships into the war zone, he treated them as if they were his ships and not ours. Certainly no one, not even Congress, was consulted, let alone asked for approval.

Thus, after exactly two years of masquerading as true lovers of peace- as the only ones who had the answer to keeping us out of war, the War Party calmly inform us that their program has led the nation into a shooting war.

There can be no excuses and no alibis. The president and the War Party have received every single thing that they have asked for: money by the uncountable billions, unlimited power - and now shooting war. But mark these words: this administration is already preparing alibis and scapegoats for the disasters it cannot help see ahead. But the blame will be shifted to other shoulders despite the fact, and it cannot be emphasized too strongly, despite the fact that this administration has received everything - everything - it has asked for. And yet -

We will be blamed for all our troubles in aviation!

We will be responsible for military mistakes in Iceland, Egypt and Asia!

We will be the root of any trouble we have on the high seas!

Yes, all of us will be blamed for the failures in production, blamed for the closing out of thousands of small businesses, blamed for bungling in priorities throwing thousands out of work, blamed for the high Cost of living and for all of the other accompaniments that go with the administrative mad-house here in Washington. And we will be blamed if and when Britain decides she has fought enough and leaves us holding the well-known bag.

We, who oppose this war, who have had no voice in this defense or offense program - we will be held accountable by this administration for every mistake and every blunder that is made. Only when some success is wrung from the blood and tears of our people will we find the administration Johnny-on-the-spot, again saying, "We planned it that way."

The sin of the War Party is not that they advocate war. The sin is that their only answer to the menace of Hitlerism in Europe is step by step to create Hitlerism in the United States. Every step taken in the past two years has been put over on us by the same fraudulent methods practiced by the European dictators.

If a humble bond salesman used a hundredth part of the misrepresentation and fraud in the sale of a ten dollar share of stock that the War Party has used to invlove us in an all-out war, that salesman would face a stiff penalty.

It is these frauds - repeated again and again - which have made it so hard for the American People to believe that they are now face to face with war. Millions of people, in whose ears still ring the promises again and again and again repeated, that the President's program would keep them out of war, find it almost impossible to believe that we are in shooting hostilities, even when the President himself proclaims it.

In the beginning I do not believe that the President, or any other responsible citizen, wanted to see the United States involved in this war. I do not believe that the President, or any responsible member of his administration now welcomes bloodshed. But whether the Administration likes or dislikes bloodshed, is not as important to you and me, as to whether our blood is to be shed. The excuse the Administration now offers us is that bloodshed is inevitable. This comes with poor grace from the very man who, less than a year ago, secured his re-election, on the plea that he was the one and only person who could keep us out of war.

Like many others I did what I could to point out to you and to point out to him where I was certain his course was taking us. I was sure where it would take us because that hard teacher, experience, has taught some of us that it is not good intentions that decide between victory or defeat. What is most important to competent leadership is that it shall chart the right course in the great moving tide of events. No matter how able, how clever, a captain may be, if he yields to the all-too-human temptation to over-estimate himself and to underestimate the vast forces with which he is dealing he is headed for trouble. When this administration turned its back on our problems here and started in to play the old game of international diplomacy, it was only a question of time until it would be cleaned out of its own chips, and have to ask us for our money and our blood to stay in the game. One place I missed rather badly was that I did expect the Administration to come and ask us, instead of helping itself, without so much as "by your leave".

You and I have seen the steps toward war that were taken on this side of the Atlantic. Few of us appreciate the equally fateful steps taken by Administration on the other side. I saw enough in Europe to convince me that this Administration has been playing in the European game of power politics and for higher stakes than perhaps even the President himself realized.

The Administration claims that it is "hamstrung" by the Neutrality Act. The Administration is hamstrung but not by any American law. The difficulties of this Administration are all of its own making. They arise from the President's fatal mistake of promising our people one thing and promising foreign countries just the opposite. He promised us he would keep out of war. He promised the British we would join up to help defeat Germany. I would have thought that even in Washington they would know it would take all-out war to smash Germany - that it could not be done with fire-side chats and government red tape. But things in Europe went from bad to worse. The British pressed harder and harder for delivery on the President's pledges. Finally came that fateful meeting on the Atlantic. He could no longer put off the evil day. Those two inconsistent promises came due. The President yielded. He honored his pledges to Britain. He broke faith with us.

The President has told us in blunt, plain English what he is doing. There is no excuse for anyone to blind himself to the next steps the Administration intends to take: this country is to be pushed deeper and deeper into all-out warfare, and if Congress is ever to be asked for an outright declaration of war, it is to come only as a rubber-stamp formality acknowledging the existence of a war already raging.

It is this fact which gives such meaning and vitality to the historic fight now going on in Congress over the repeal of the Neutrality Act. You and I still have an opportunity to defend this last barricade of peace. Write, better still, telephone or telegraph your senators and congressmen tonight. Tell them you are opposed to butchering the Neutrality Act. If your representatives in Congress are fighting this last step on the road to war, they will be heartened by your support. If they are voting against your convictions, it is your right as an American citizen to protest and to demand that they keep the promises they made to you when you elected them to office.

The vast majority of us in the American party are not pacifists. We are not opposed to bearing arms for this country. We are opposed to the policies of the War Party because of what these policies would do to the freedom of America. But let there be no mistake about this: Defeat on the issue of the Neutrality Act does not mean that the fight for freedom - the fight for American freedom -is lost. That fight must and is going on until it is won. If we lose on the Neutrality Act, it means that for practical purposes the United States is up to its neck, if not over its head, in a shooting war. And war is a fact and not an opinion. A shell or a bomb does just as much damage whether fired with or without the approval of Congress. Questions of Constitutional law are of little practical interest to soldiers and sailors who are ordered into shooting hostilities off Iceland or perhaps in Egypt.

You ask, what can you and I do now? What are we to do if we are confronted with Hitleresque problem of undeclared war? As the lines draw tighter, as the Administration bears down on us with named and un-named threats, what is our next duty as citizens in a democracy?

Well, whatever we do or say must have one single guiding aim: We must govern ourselves not by what is safest for those who opposed war, nor by what is worse for the War Party. We must be guided solely by what is right, as God gives us to see the right, for the United States.

When we speak of the United States we are not thinking in terms of a colored map hanging on a school room wall. We are thinking of men and women who live and dream and hope - men and women who till the fields, who work in shops, offices, factories and in our homes.

When we talk about the army and navy - about divisions and ships, we are not talking about so many pins on a military chart. We are talking about your flesh and blood - we are talking about a whole generation of young men who constitute the most priceless and irreplacable of all our assets.

Everything we say and everything we do must be guided by what will promote America in the terms of the men and women who are America. Every boy on the high seas, every boy in a hut in Iceland, is a bit of America - a bit of America that is far more priceless than tons of steel or acres of land. That is what we mean when we talk about America -- we mean the men and women and the boys and girls who are America. We mean all our faiths, all our religions, all our races - we mean the one hundred and thirty million individuals regardless of color, creed, race, religion or politics, who make up the warp and woof of this, our land.

Because you young men who have been ordered to fight on the high seas and in Iceland are Americans - are our own flesh and blood - and it matters not how or by whom you were ordered to your battle stations - we shall do our full part to see you have the best training, the best equipment, the best leadership,

the best care that this richest and most powerful nation on earth can provide. Nor is it putting a dollar sign on patriotism to insist that you who are on the firing line shall have compensation sufficient at least to relieve your minds of worry about the future security of those you leave behind.

While the War Party prepares to take your sons out to impose the Four Freedoms on the four quarters of the earth, we of the American party must fight to protect the freedom of Americans. The first round in the next phase of the fight for freedom - fight for American freedom - will come in the 1942 elections. We shall band together to suppose those members of the House and Senate who have so courageously shown their devotion to the common man. We shall do all in our power to oppose and defeat those who are taking this nation step step into a Fascist dictatorship. Sooner or later - and I think sooner than some here in Washington realize - the people are going to restore constitutional government in this country. And I venture this prediction: they will bring to account those responsible for taking us in and for sending our boys to their deaths in defiance of the Constitution.

And I make this passing observation: if there be men in seats of power here in Washington with a Nazi plan of dynamiting the American ballot-box, as they have the right of Congress to declare war, we assure them they will find that the fighting spirit and the love of liberty which inspired our ancestors to rise up against George III is as fearless today as it was at Lexington and Concord.

While the War Party dreams and schemes of imposing freedom in Europe, Asia and Africa, we of the American party must go forward as an organized group to fight the battle for the plain people of America.

A vast field awaits the constructive action of clear thinking and stout-hearted Americans. A greater, richer frontier lies ahead than any we have left behind. It belongs to the strong and not to the weak. It will be opened by red-blooded fighters fighting - not to destroy - but to restore again opportunity for those who build. When this new frontier is open - there will be unlimited opportunity for every man, woman and child in this land. The tragedy of the War Party is they cannot look ahead - they only look backward. They only see - and fight for yesterday. We see and fight for tomorrow. And as ghastly as the days ahead may be, not even Fascist-minded war-mongers here in Washington can wreck the future of America. The policies of this Administration may take a frightful toll in life and liberty and treasure, but this America of ours is strong enough and great enough and rich enough to build anew - to make the dream of economic security and the pursuit of happiness again come true.

You gathered here tonight should be the last to be discouraged by temporary reverses. It was just two years ago that we were badly beaten on the repeal of the Arms Embargo. It was widely and freely declared that war was only a question of months. But then something happened. A handful of patriotic Americans got together and determined to do something, and they did. They raised the banner of America first, last and all the time, and provided a rallying ground for the millions of plain people who were without organization and without a voice in this Administration. You have done a grand job. You faced a combination of great wealth and entrenched political privilege constantly aided and abetted by the movies, press, and radio, yet you stopped the War Party in its tracks. As we entered the 1940 campaign, organized public opinion in America compelled Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Wilkie to check their guns at the door, and to vie with each other in promises of peace. In spite of the "fixed fight" of the last campaign, in spite of the betrayal of pledges by both Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Wilkie, and in

spite of the ceaseless pounding of propaganda, we have fought the War Party to a stand-still according to every rule and principle of free government. Even now the War Party can take us into this war only by short circuiting the American people the American Congress and the American Constitution.

We leave this hall tonight with our coats off, our sleeves rolled up. We are headed for the 1942 elections. We have only two planks in our platform: The Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. Our motto: "I am an American".

* * * * * *

HERE ARE THE MEN WHO CAST THEIR VOTE AGAINST REPEAL OF THE NEUTRALITY ACT

TOTAL - 200

REPUBLICANS -137

Allen - Ill
Anderson - Minn
Andresen- Minn
Andrews - N Y
Angell - Ore
Arends - Ill
Baumhart - Ohio
Bender - Ohio
Bennett - Mo
Bishop - Ill
Bolton - Ohio
Bradley - Mich
Brown - Ohio
Burdick - N D
Butler - N Y
Canfield - N J
Carlson - Kans
Carter - Cal
Case - S D
Chenowith - Col
Chipperfield - Ill
Clason - Mass
Clevenger - Ohio
Copeland - Neb
Crowford - Mich
Crowther - N Y
Culkin - N Y
Curtis - Neb
Day - Ill
Dewey - Ill
Dirksen - Ill
Ditter - Pa
Bondero - Mich
Dworshak - Idaho
Elston - Ohio
Encel - Mich
Englebright - Cal
Fellows - Me
Fenton - Pa
Fish - N Y
Cale - Minn
Gerlach - Pa
Gilchrist - Iowa
Gillie - Ind
Graham - Pa
Grant - Ind
Guyer - Kans
Gwynne - Iowa
E Hall - N Y
L Hall - N Y
Halleck - Ind
Harness - Ind
Hartley - N J
Heidinger - Ill
Hess - Ohio
Hill - Col
Hinshaw - Cal
Hoffman - Mich
Holmes - Mass
Hope - Kans
Howell - Ill
Jarrett - Pa
Jenkins - Ohio
Jenks - N H
Jennings - Tenn
Jenson - Iowa
Johns - Wis
Johnson - Ill
Johnson - Ind
Jones - Ohio
Johnkman - Mich
Kean - N J
Keefe - Wis
Kinzer - Pa
Knutson - Minn
Kunkel - Pa
Lambertson - Kans
Landis - Ind
McGregor - Ohio
Maas - Minn
Martin - Iowa
Martin - Mass
Mason - Ill
Michener - Mich
Mott - Ore
Mundt - S D
Murray - Wis
O'Brien - N Y
O'Hara - Minn
Oliver - Maine
Owens - N J
Paddock - Ill
W. Pheiffer - N Y
C. Pittenger - Minn
Ploeser - Mo
Powers - N J
Rankin - Mont
Reece - Tenn
Reed - Ill
Reed - N Y
Rees - Kans
Rich - Pa
Risley - Okla
Robertson - N D
Robsion - Ky
Rockefeller - N Y
Rogers - Pa
Rolph - Cal
Scott - Pa
Shafer - Mich
Short - Mo
Simpson - Pa
Smith - Ohio
Smith - Wis
Springer - Ind
Stefan - Nebr
Stevenson - Wis
Stratton - Ill
Sumner - Ill
Talle - Iowa
Thill - Wis
Thomas - N J
Tibbot - Pa
Tinkham - Mass
Treadway - Mass
Van Zandt - Pa
Vorys - Ohio
Welch - Cal
Wheat - Ill
Wigglesworth - Mass
Wilson - Ind
Winter - Kans
Wolcott - Mich
Wolfenden - Pa
Wolverton - N J
Woodruff - Mich
Youngdahl - Minn

DEMOCRATS - 53

Barden - N C
Barry - N Y
Beam - Ill
Boren - Okla
Bradley - Pa
Coffee - Nebr
Coffee - Wash
Colmer - Miss
Cullen - N Y
Doughton - N C
Elliott - Cal
Fogarty - R I
Forand - R I
Harrington - Iowa
Hart - N J
Hill - Wash
Hook - Mich
Hunter - Ohio
Johnson - W. Va
Kelley - Pa
Kelly - Ill
Martin J Kennedy - N Y
Koegh - N Y
Ludlow - Ind
Lynch - N Y
McGehee - Miss
Merritt - N Y
Moser - Pa
O'Brien - Mich
O'Connor - Mont
O'Leary - N Y
Peterson - Ga
J Pfeifer - N Y
Rabaut - Mich
Rankin - Miss
Richards - S C
Robinson - Utah
Sasscer - Md
Scanlon - Pa
Shanley - Conn
Shannon - Mo
Sheridan - Penn
Smith - Va
Somers - N Y
South - Tex
Sumners - Tex
Suthpin - N J
Sweeney - Ohio
Tenerowicz - Mich
Tolan - Cal
Walter - Pa
White - Idaho
Worley - Tex

PAIRS - AGAINST

R) Johnson - Cal
D) Secrest - Ohio
R) McArdle - Pa
D) Mansfield - Tex
D) O'Day - N Y
R) Blackney - Mich

PROGRESSIVES 3

Gehrmann - Wis
Hull - Wis
Sauthoff - Wis

FARM - LABOR -1

Buckler - Minn

UNION NOW.
"ONE FLAG OVER BRITISH EMPIRE AND THE UNITED STATES"
"UNITED STATES OF THE WORLD"

ALLsset --ready to go -.

"United World Peace Empire Magna Carta- United States of the World
This world is to be started with the British Empire, Colonies and Over seas Possessions, and the United States of America, States, Territories, and dependencies as a Common-wealth under ONE FLAG.
This flag is composed of the British Union as the Field(important part) superimposed in its center is a "gold" eight pointed star, called the "Star of Bethlehem". The rest of the flag (50%) being the red and white stripes, as in our flag, the U.S.share.

Article 2 of this Magna Carta cites;The Goverment of the United World Peace Empire shall consist of his Excellency The World Peace Potentate and the World Peace Supreme Council of 24 World Peace Councillors until increased under article I2. These article I2 conditions.are the admissio Of NEW member NATIONS as designated by such commonwealth.
The Councillors are to hold office as designated by each Commonwealth Th SUPREME POTENTATE is appointed for life- by the Councillors, subject to removal under limited rules-IF he has not set up so tight a political machine,that he can not be removed.

Article 5 cites "His Excellancy the World Peace Potentate and t Supreme World Council shall by unanimous action CONTROL and REGULATE all RELATIONSHIPS; FINANCIAL; COMMERCIAL; INDUSTRIAL;SOCIAL, and OTHERWISE, whatsoever between the COMMONWEALTHS themselves-and-the- severally or together,or the UNITED WORLD PEACE EMPIRE, or any of their peoples with the outside WORLD" (Emphasis added).

After one year"in office" with such powers could they be removed? Not present day politicians WITH unlimited finances.

Here is the long heraled World Dictatorship of International Finance, A World Super State (Socialist), the NEW ORDER"as stated above, stabbs wi the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Irela and the United States of America. Later it is planned that Belgium/ Netherlands, Switzerland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden and Finland, will com in. France was included, so long as she took orders from London.

One of the Bulletins of this set-up states (this is important) "All Colonies or dependencies, who do not govern themselves at present (Indi for example) would become territories of the Union. THEY WOULD BE ELIGIBLE, for admission when they develope into self governing democraci just as the Western States were admitted to the "United States".

India with her 400 million population would out vote "and out number" Even at the stabbs the United States would have to take orders, or she would not be admitted.
A few of the CONDITIONS set forth are

UNION CITIZENSHIP
UNION DEFENSE FORCE
UNION MONEY
UNION FREE TRADE AREA
UNION POSTAL AND COMMUNICATION SYSTEM

Therein lies the disposition of the United States Army, Navy, and air forces, to police the World, in a continuous War of Aggression until non-members decide to come in. Therein lies the vast GOLD HOARD buried Fort Knox, to be loaned with interest, to members and non-members or they would get no essential supplies,food, commerce, or trade. Non-

members who are persuaded to borrow, soon woul_ be obligated their recourse would be to join up.

Therein lies the"free trade" to benefit the favored, to DEPRESS the recalaitrant members or non-members.
American farmers, business men, and industrialists could soon be punishe into a non-existant state. The American Standard of living would very soo recede to the standards of other exploited peoples. Machinery to control FOOD SUPPLIES is already being erected HERE.
When food and finance is controled all else will be controlled.

How did this all come about? The answer seem to be hidden? In the follow paragraphs found in one or more circulars of this crowd, "There are some 40 prominent non-profit organizations which have been promoting peace (1 for 50 years past. ONE has had for 30 years, over 500,000 dollars a yea to spend. Others have large funds and powerful influential men and wome leaders and members.
These funds come from (by their own papers) Cecil Rhodes Foundations Carnaguie Foundations, Filene Foundations and many others.

Robert H. Jackson present ATTY GENERAL of the U.S.A. was in Cuba attend one of these International conferences helping to erect this structure of World Dictatorship, on March 27th 1941. In his address to this group he said"We are haunted by the greatest unfinished task of civiliza tion which IS TO CREATE, a just and peaceful INternational order,for and by International Finance Order, Present Aggressive Wars, and Civil Wars against the International Community". Very plain is it not?

People are very slow to grasp the fact that Hitler and the German peopl are fighting against this ORDER of International Finance.

The Literature if this and similar groups is circulated by the ton to sympathizers, and then by them to prospective converts. The millions o Americans not on their contact "lists" do not know or realize the rea facts, and when they hear of them they refuse to believe, the great danger America is in, because the whole beastly setup is obscured "by Defense,and other lieing setups by the present Administration.

Hosts and hosts of the "leaders" in Washington , in many states, and l arge cities our educators in Colleges and publis schools, are behind this traitorious movement in great numbers.Many preachers of the Gospe trail along some taking leadership.Banking groups, all large units und the domination of the BANK OF ENGLAND,and our private Federal Reserve system are way up in the front ranks. This propisition has advanced s far,its actual consumation only awaits a signal from London to Roosev that "Now is the time." Under the guise of defense, a "conference" wi be called Then the Magna Carta will be adopted, Councillors elected, his Excellancy the WORLD PEACE POTENTATE chosen. Not, American citizens only the tratiors,will know nothing until the great announcement.
From then on they can do nothing but salute the NEW FLAG, and obey or or take up arms again and fight for real INDEPENDENCE instead of the INDEPENDENCE OF THE NEW ORDER".

Who will b e the SUPREME POTENTATE? Present plans point to the Duke o Windsor to take the Dictatorship as KING DAVID, with that Gold Star of Bethlehem over his head. It is expected Emporer Franklin the Firs will be perpepuated in office as the head over America.

If you doubt Roosevelts ambition read his address Nov 6th 1941,said "The American people have an unlimited Commitment that there shall free WORLD, and against that commitment no individual and no gropp

The American people never madsuch a commitment?HE alone, Roosevelt Emporer his sponsc and aides made the commi ment, And Congress just rides along as mere passangers on the World "commitment" band wagon.

Read the old "Union Now" literature and thid new data, put them on exibit, talk about it to everyone, If these truths from their own leader does not impress you----then---- Roosevelt was right in 1932 when he sai "Americans are so dumb, it is impossible to put over almost anything on them.

IF YOU ARE IMPRESSED BY THESE FACTS WHAT WILL YOU DO ABOUT IT?

THERE SHOULD BE AN EXODUS OF TRAITORS FROM WASHINGTON D.C. TO THE CANADI BORDER.

ONLY YOU LOYAL AMERICANS CAN MAKE IT A FACT.. WHEN **WHEN?

TOO LATE AFTER THE SUPREME POTENTATE ASSUMES OFFICE.

IT CANNOT AND WILL NOT BE LONG NOW.

ALONG WITH ROOSEVELT KNOX STIMSON WELLES AND MANY OTHERS ADVOCATE THIS VERY "NEW ORDER" AS THE ONLY CURE FOR A SICK WORLD.

Circulate

Our Constitution.
Means.
Freedom----------Free Enterprise.

In this age of problems and chaotic conditions there is nothing tha one can do with so great profit, to gain a clear view of cause and remedy, as to go back and read history of this country before the Constitution was written, and a few years after it was written.

Before the Constitution was writtten the pendulum of goverment through-out the countries had swung back and forth from monarch to mob.

Before the Constitution was written the mob drove our Congress fror Philadelphia into New Jersy, Shay's rebellion assaulted the court-house in the State of Massachusetts, money was worth 2½cts on the dollar, and we had no credit any-where. In that black night of chaos , darkness and despair, ifty men met in Philadelphia and wrote the Constitution. Immediately, governmentally light c ame out of darkness, order out of chaos.
The great Gladstone of England said"The American Constitution is the most wonderful work ever struck off at one time by the brain and purpose of man".

The men who wrote the Constitution and founded this Republic strov to avoid the extremes of feudalism on the one hand, and all forms of socialis and communism on the other; and they sought also to avoid the dangers of goverment ownership, insofar as it was consistent with public welfare.
Alexander Hamilton the master mind of the Constitutional Convention said,"We are forming a Republican goverment, not a "democracy", because real liberty is never found in "democracy".
James Madison- wrote "Democracy is the BAIT OF SCHEMERS, THEORETIC POLITICIAN fits the biggest SPOUTERS of"democracy" like a glove. The"Fathers of this Republic believed in representative goverment to which they gave the name " REPUBLICANISM" as the antithesis to democracy.
Our founding fathers were such enemies of "democracy" they hated and distrus it so, they forbid us in the Constitution to advocate, propound or adopt democracy under any condition, or reason whatsoever. We are not a "democracy and every loyal American should ask when they hear the term used,"Just where in the Constitution do you find any hint that this country should be run in democratic way"?

During the hundred years following the adoption of the Constituti and the founding of the Republic, by ~~adhereing~~-- adhereing closely to repre sentative goverment, we made more human progress, material, mental and moral than the world had known in all time, we developed more statesmen on Americs soil during that time, than have been developed by all other goverments of th world. During that period of history from the time we wrote the Constitutior until we occupied the leading place among the nations of the world, there w little talk in schools and elsewhere, of direct goverment, ~~reality~~-(democracy but much talk of representative goverment(a Republic);little talk of embarg on Totalitarians, but much talk about trade for striving Americans; little about European entanglements, but much talk of American Independence; littl talk about planned economy, but much talk of individual property rights; li talk of class consciousness or labor unionism, but much talk of individual freedom in industry and proportionate reward for individual initiative and achievement; little talk of reciprocal trade agreements, but much talk of t "American way" of protecting home labor and industry; little or no talk of "democracy" but much talk of the REPUBLIC?

In recent years, the terms of "Republic" and democracy are thoug lessly and inaccurately used in our Public Schools and State Universities, over-educated(red) school administrators and mis-educated school teachers h been teaching "democracy" to such extent less than 3% of the people of thi country(lawmakers) have ever read the Constitution and know nothing of the

318,519 ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

meaning of "Republicanism". This is a tragedy far more serious than most peop realize, which accounts for the confused reasoning and superficial thinking governmentally and the "isms' and MOB-MINDEDNESS that have begun to enter our homes, schools, churches, and industry and will be very disastrous if not corrected at once; this has stolen up on the American people like a thief in the night, aided by public speakers, writers, who did not know their Constitu or did it deliberatly. RUSSIA is a "democracy", think Americans do you want be in a country ruled as Russia is, if not get busy and study your Constitut , and know your Constitutional rights, act, and see that your children know that this is a Republic.

We have fallen victims to the ballyhoo of demagogs, (bred through democracy) The direct primaries have increased expenses, lessened the ~~inter~~ interest of the American people, and has given us demagogs who would have received no consideration in a deliberative convention.
The Inter-state Commerce Commission was to do great things. It would take volumes to review the failures and expenditures of all the BOARDS and COMMISSIONS that are gradually wrecking the Republic, in the words of Linco "I am done with commissions, they are contrivances to CHEAT the Goverment".

God only knows, if this Republic will survive all the vicious enactments, the deceptive and dangerous un-American and "To h--ll with the Constitution, Lease-lend bill?. Which the Senators ~~(illegible)~~, so graciously passed and broke their oath, they swore to protect the Constitution, and th lease-lend bill is not Constitutional, as many other bills of later date are not. We are starting to reap the results of unwise departures from the Constitution, in ever increasing expenses and more and more confusion in governmental procedure, which is trying to be covered by the Administration the guise of get "Hitler" National~~defense~~, Defense, and poor mistreated Russi So the term "democracy" has been handed us, and we are now being primed to out and fight again for "democracy".
Now how does the term democracy look to you true, well informed American people? If you want a free country, get busy demand that we remain a Repub which is the rule of the people through their elected representatives, not a "democracy" which is the rule of the masses, under one man rule, and we not far from that now, unless you at once assert your Constitutional rights We do not, and will not have a direct goverment.

The keystone of the goverment of this Republic is the Constit It is the key to the solution of our domestic problems and of this awful, tragic international crisis.

Americans ~~MARCH, MARCH NOW~~, back to the Constitution, the Republ it should be the watchword of every patriotic business man, manufactuer, a laborer in this grand country of ours.

GOD SAVE AMERICA. MARCH AMERICANS MARCH.

Mabel J. Willard Pres.
We, the Mothers Mobilize
for America, Inc.

GOVERNMENT BY LAW

"A Republic if we can keep it." Benjamin Franklin

What magic in the word "democracy". Joe Stalin Commissar of Russia, capitalized its charm to foist his dictatorship on the Russians.

Speakers and writers in this country use the word " democracy" while denouncing the very principles for which it stands. Is their intelligence on a par with Russian kulaks

The keystone of the government of this Republic is the Constitution not the "new order" the so called New Deal. There is no surer way to destroy our government than to champio the Acts of Congress under the guise of democracy and national defense, which piece by piece undermines the checks and balances of our Republic.

James A. Woodburn wrote in his book, "The American Republic, (1903-Page 33)." Governme ceases to be an object of obedience when it becomes and instrument of oppression.

Reminding that Senator Holt stated that the New Deal President boasted "that he had violated enough laws to be sent to the penitentiary for 999 years," and of the continuou appeals, worse than savage mob passions, and evasions, and violation of the Constitutio during the recent years. For example, the illegal sale of 50 new destroyers and sundry equipment, to the British Empire was not only a violation of the National Defense Act of 1917, but is also opposed to the Constitution.

Quoting the Constitution of theUnited States currently unpopular in Washington today, we find "the Congress shall have the power to dispose of an make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States." (Art. 4, Sec. 3, cl. 2) Moreover, in the oath of office which the President has taken he swears that he will to the best of his ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States. (Art. 2, Sec. 1, Cl. 8)

In addition to the Executive oath, all Senators and Representatives are bound by simila affirmation respecting the integrity of the Constitution. (Art. 6, Cl. 3)

The penalty which the Constitution provides, "On impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, and other high crimes and misdemeanors, IS REMOVAL FROM OFFICE.(Art. Sec. 4)

The following words of Abraham Lincoln might be revelent. "I have done with commission they are contrivances to cheat the government, the people are the rightful masters of both Congress and the Courts, not to overthrow the Constitution but to overthrow the me who pervert it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing government they can exercise their Constitutional right of amending it, or their revolutionary right to dismember or overthrow it.

In the light of the above, it seems what this country needs at the present time, more than any one thing, is men who understand the meaning of the Constitution, the oath of public officials and lawmakers, the pledge of allegiance, and of sufficient character to have a high regard for the sacredness of taking an oath. To put it bluntly, you men tha have taken the oath of office, and pretend to know the Constitution, and to uphold your oath yell about "democracy", and break every article you can in the Constitution, are you public officials and lawmakers traitors? If not, why have you failed to clamor for the impeachment of the President?

That is the thing you have sworn, and are paid for at the expense of the taxpayer. At least for once read the Constitution of the United States. (Art. 1, Sec. I, Art. 4, Sec. 4.) "A Republic if you can keep it."

It is high time to honor the oath to defend the Constitution of the United States or resign.

What do you think? Think fast for the American public is going to think for you!

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 7-23-96 BY 9145 SP8/ac
318,519 SP8/ac 10-12-90

Since Col. Lindbergh is being smeared for conveying only facts to the American people, and took a medal to save Diplomatic relations just where do they intend to place Andrew Jackson for pinning back Englands ears Jan 8th 1815. One historian said "It was the first time in 1000 yrs, that a British line had been broken."

They seem to be noted for leaving the shores of other countries, Jan 27th 1815 the the remnants of the boasted British Army left our shores (history said forever), but we have them with us again, not in the blazing regalia of 1815, but in an armor of Gall & Crust to float their bonds, their propaganda, and bleed the American tax-payer.

Why don't the British experts, some with bought titles, stay at home, unless they think our failures, Ickes, Perkins Hopkins, KNOX, Stimson, & a sprinkle of Winchell & Thompson, need more help to betray the American people.

Awake true Americans. since when is it a crime to protect your country, your property, that you worked for and planned for your childrens future. This is your Country not Englands YET.

MWillard.

(While British bag-wigs were out for hunting)

318,519
SP8 BTS 1 COL
10-18-90
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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 4-23-96 BY 9NSJFG/AG/COL
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4/29/85 per Bty/CR #245238
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10-18-90

WE. THE MOTHERS, MOBILIZE FOR AMERICA, Inc.
SUITE 205-212 37 W. VAN BUREN ST., CHICAGO, ILL.
PHONE HARRISON 1063

~~BARBARA WINTHROP~~
President
LYRL VAN HYNING
Vice-President
MABEL WILLARD
2nd Vice-Pres.
GRACE KEEFE
Secretary
ADA COLEMAN
Treasurer
JUSTUS CHANCELLOR, Jr.
Attorney

Sun morn.

Dear Miss Ingalls:-

Enclosed find names of prominent people. There is one especially I want yon to see! J. H McKnight - atty - of Salt-Lake City. He's a prominent mon, & a member of America First. He may have yo see Heber J. Grant - Pres of Mormon Temple. (who by the way is 1/4 Jew) so see McKnight first. Utah needs work, like Okla. McKnight will tell yon - that my correspondence with Pres Grant helped the cause so far along, they held a Convention, & over the air - denounced Roosevel something they had never done before. I have several key people in Utah - but McKnigh will give them to yn - if yon need them. I feel yon can see these people, feel them out. and know Where we can put our hands, when ready.

Sorry Mrs. Van Hyning was not here. she certainly has made (to date) a very able President, and through many knocks. Remember - she alone leads us, our work is no "solo" work - We all pitch in, in our different positio

and. have many able [illegible] to go places. ~ we hold our heads & pay no attention to flattery, which always comes - when a group is getting ahead, and how been tried, which I hope is to no avail. We have a determined board - & we do not spare each others feelings -, when we it is for the good of We, the Mothers. We fear no one, as our records are clear - if a tramp moves in on us, not our fault, we usually catch up with them, before any damage is done.

Daly wish we could see you more often and hope you keep in the best of health.

Sincerely,

Mabel J. Willard
816 E. 57th St. Apt-1
Chicago. Ills

Glad to have talked to you. Try & see us Wed.

I am not giving you this to brag - But I am proud of my background. My great grand mother & Andrew Jackson, were 1st Cousins (their fathers were brothers) My mother was the 1st woman admitted to the bar in Ills - 1883.

30 E. 60th St.
Professional Bldg.
New York City

535 W/110th St
Rent Strike
N. Y. City
fearless

very active workers in the country.

Boris Brasol. (White Russian)
Russian American Natl. Committee.
New York City

Mrs L. N. Wheelright
Blowing Rock. N.C. very active.

Ben E. Adams
Charleston N. C.
State Grand Dragon - K.K.K.

Ex Gov Murray -
Oklahoma.
Any one in Oklahoma could tell you how to reach him.

Col - E. N. Sanctuary -
author of Talmud Unmasked. Every Christian in the World should read. 25¢
Mrs Phinney will give his new add -

due to age now is
Gov. Phillips - while
everyone is wrought
up over the Grand
deal - his fearless ala

Father Wm Riker
Holy City Calif

Lieut - Gen - Count
V - Cherep - Spiridovich
9 Sheriff St
New York City

His foster father
wrote the Hidde
Hand (was hailed
Every American
should read it

Agnes Waters
3267 - N. St - N.W.
Washington D.C.

some think she is too far
right, but she can get to
the Senators & Rep's - whe
no one else can. absolutel
fearless. And they are af
of her.

Christian Americans will not die to save Godless Russia

J. H. McKnight
207 Atlas Bldg -
Salt Lake City Utah.

Mormon Temple
Salt Lake City

Mrs. Fife - Chairman (I believe)
of America First Chapter in
Salt Lake City.

David Baxter
552. W. Street -
San Bernardino, Calif.

J. T. Garner. Editor of Publicity -
513 - N. Main St -
Wichita, Kansas

Chas. B. Judson. (Editor)
America in Danger. needs help.
~~2401~~ 2304 - Fontenelle Blvd.
Omaha, Nebraska.

Mrs. J. E Andrews
319 Pulliam St. S. W.
Atlanta Ga.

She is key party to get information to Talmadge

Dean McCoy
Adult-Education Foundation
Public Library
Denver Colo -

Wholly in accord with us.

Friend of ~ very tenants Julian Alfano

H 3 (10) -321

(D)

Congressional Record

United States of America

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 77th CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

LIST OF CONGRESSMEN DEFINITELY VOTING AGAINST THE BILL H.R. 1776; AND THEIR OATHS OF TRUST:

SENATORS:

NAYS—31

Adams	Davis	Shipstead
Aiken	Gerry	Taft
Bone	Gillette	Thomas, Idaho
Brooks	Holman	Tobey
Bulow	Johnson, Calif.	Vandenberg
Butler	Johnson, Colo.	Walsh
Capper	La Follette	Wheeler
Chavez	Langer	Wiley
Clark, Idaho	McCarran	Willis
Clark, Mo.	Nye	
Danaher	Reynolds	

NOT VOTING—4

Reed	Van Nuys	Wagner
Thomas, Okla.		

REPRESENTATIVES:

NAYS—71

Allen, Ill.	Bullock	Rankin, Mont.
Andersen, H. Carl	Burgin	Reed, N. Y.
Arends	Harrington	Rees, Kans.
Barry	Hoeppinger	Rich
Bennett	Hoffman	Rockefeller
Bishop	Johns	Shafer, Mich.
Bradley, Mich.	Johnson, Ill.	Shanley
Buckler, Minn.	Jones	Short
Chiperfield	Jenkman	Smith, Ohio
Costello	Keefe	Springer
Crawford	Knutson	Stefan
Crowther	Lambertson	Stevenson
Curtis	Landis	Stratton
Day	Ludlow	Sumner, Ill.
Dewey	McArdle	Sweeney
Dirksen	Marcantonio	Tenerowicz
Dondero	Murray	Thill
Dworshak	O'Brien, Mich.	Tolan
Engel	O'Connor	Welch
Geyer, Calif.	O'Leary	Wheat
Gillie	Oliver	White
Grant, Ind.	Paddock	Wilson
Guyer, Kans.	Plosser	Woodruff, Mich.
	Rabaut	Youngdahl

SAW REPRESENTATIVE HOFFMAN, FEB 6, P. 754:

When we pass this bill, we in Congress here assembled will have said to the people of the United States, "The Constitution vests in Congress the power to declare war, but we, without submitting to you an amendment to that Constitution as required by its terms, have amended it by empowering the President to make war without a declaration of war by Congress.

Yes, standing with head bared, right hand uplifted, each and all of us, in the presence of the Almighty God, solemnly promised:

I will support and defend the Constitution of the United States; * * * so help me, God.

No one will be so bold as to say that God has turned his face from us, but before the week is over, if present prophecies come true, this House will, in effect, have stricken from the Constitution that provision which gives Congress, and Congress alone, the authority to declare war, for, as I have thrice repeated, it will place in the hands of the Chief Executive the power to make war, and war, whether it be a declared or an undeclared war, is today, as from the beginning of time, hell on earth.

How can we, having taken an oath to uphold the Constitution—all of it, not just part of it—by our action effectively transfer from Congress to the Chief Executive the war-beginning power?

But one argument is advanced to justify this action. Hitler, we are told, seeks world dominion, and we are so weak, so bound to Great Britain by ties of friendship, that our only safety lies in joining her in invading Germany and destroying the Axis Powers.

The foregoing is the essence of all the arguments which have been made in favor of this bill.

Many of us doubt that Germany wants any more than has been asked down through the ages by every people, by every nation, which has found itself with territory too small to contain its increasing millions, or with men capable of fighting not needed in peaceful pursuits and with a leadership at once efficient and ambitious.

But assume that Hitler is bent on world conquest. Does it follow that we are so weak, with a population almost twice that of Germany, natural resources far greater, possibilities for industrial development as well advanced, that we cannot, properly prepared, defend ourselves from any forces which he may bring against us?

Practically all seem to agree that Hitler cannot now, or in the predictable future, successfully wage war against us in the Western Hemisphere. If that be true, then what an awful, what a terrible responsibility rests upon those who would send our ships, and ultimately our men, to invade Europe, and assume the possibility, if it be no more than a possibility, that we should be unsuccessful in that attempt.

TRADERS WITH THE ENEMY: THERE ARE WHOLE LIBRARIES OF EVIDENCE OF THIS

Mr. WHEELER. Let me say to the Senator that what Lloyd George said on the floor of the House of Commons, of course, is known not only to every English statesman, but also to every European statesman. The truth is that Great Britain and some of the other countries deliberately refused to help the democratic government of Germany and were responsible for bringing in Mr. Hitler. Not only that, but after Hitler came in they helped to finance and build up his power. Now, after that, and even after some of the German refugees at the present time in the United States helped finance Hitler and helped bring him into power, we are asked to aid England; to send American boys, American airplanes, and everything else over there to fight, because, it is said, England is our first line of defense. That is said despite the fact that England betrayed the treaty that was solemnly entered into, and, as a matter of fact, as Lloyd George said, not only betrayed Germany by not being willing to disarm, but betrayed the United States, which was willing to disarm.

Mr. NYE. Quite so.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. NYE. I yield.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. I believe I violate no confidence whatever when I say that within the past 2 years, I think, or certainly not much more than that, I was privileged to be a guest at a luncheon given in honor of Lord and Lady Astor in the Foreign Relations Committee room in the Capitol, at which time Lady Astor insisted that her husband be the speaker of the occasion and address the some 30 Senators there present in behalf of an alinement with Hitler, Hitler already was in power in Germany. Lord Astor made a speech, some 15 or 20 minutes in length, I should say, during the course of which he favored an alinement with Hitler, with Lady Astor nodding him on and turning around and remarking that, however, we should have to go along with the British in the Orient, if necessary, to the extent of a war with Japan, in which case we should have to match the British man for man and ship for ship and gun for gun.

FEB. 25, P. 1103-4

SENATOR NYE FEB. 26, P. 1171-2

Mr. President, it is known that studie and estimates are being made in the Nav Department in Washington involving th taking, holding, and keeping open of th Burma Road in spite of the assurance on every hand that we are determined t keep out of war. ..... In fact, o the same day on which he rebuked th press for saying anything about it, th British Embassy gave out a press releas in which it told all about how America bombers are being flown from the Pacif coast to Singapore. .....

Why should we be getting into a wa in that part of the world? .....

..... as he pointed out, Mr President, we made no warlike mov when Manchuria was invaded, wh North China was invaded, when Shan hai was taken, when the Yangtze Va was opened, when Canton was captur or even when the U. S. S. *Panay* was s by bombs from Japanese airplanes.

..... But t minute Japan began to move southwar the minute British imperial interes were threatened, then we began to t war and act in warlike ways, and t they warn us that at almost any mom we may find ourselves up to our neck in an Asiatic war. ... .

THE INTERNATIONALISTS' HARVEST FROM 7 YEARS' FREE TRADE WITH UNITED STATES.
PERIOD: CALENDAR YEARS OF 1934 THRU 1940. SOURCE: DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE' REPORTS.
ALL SUMS IN MILLION DOLLARS. SEE NOTES ON REVERSE HEREOF.

LINES	A We imported for our consumption-"debt"	B Our Trade Loss (-)	DESCRIPTION	C Trade gain (+)	D Exported to pay the debt	LINES
1	32,987 .	-12,569	GRAND TOTAL	------	20,417 .	1
2	17,113 .	-16,905	USELESS GOLD AT $35 PER OZ; AND SILVER:TOTAL	------	208 .	2
3	15,007 .	-15,867	. GOLD	------	140 .	3
4	1,106 .	- 1,038	. SILVER	------	68 .	4
5	15,873 .	-------	TOTAL PROPERTY OTHER THAN GOLD AND SILVER AS DESCRIBED BY DEP. COMMERCE GROUPS BELOW:	+4,336	20,210 .	5
6	578 .	- 97	Animals, and animal products, edible.....	------	480 .	6
7	1,130 .	- 760	Animals, and animal products, inedible.....	------	370 .	7
8	3,904 .	- 2,476	Vegetable food products and beverages.....	------	1,428 .	8
9	2,476 .	- 1,124	Vegetable products, inedible, except fibres&wood	------	1,352 .	9
10	2,457	-----	Textile fibres, and manufactures (Cot, cotton)	+ 371	2,828 .	10
11	1,699 .	- 926	Wood and paper-----	------	773 .	11
12	12,223 .	- 4,991	TOTAL PROFIT AND LOSS FOR THE PARTS WHO ARE CARRYING AN $8-BILLION MORTGAGE LOAD ON AN ASSESSED VALUATION OF $52 BILLION.	------	7,232 .	12
13	876 .	-------	Non metallic minerals - mostly petroleum prod's	+ 2,107	2,983 .	13
14	1,519 .	-------	Metals and mfgrs-war material-except vehicles--	+ 1,249	2,769 .	14
15	114 .	-------	Machinery and vehicles-other war material------	+ 5,401	5,515 .	15
16	532 .	-------	Chemicals and related products-other war materl	+ 435	968 .	16
17	609 .	-------	Miscellaneous - other war material.....	+ 135	744 .	17
18	3,650 .	-------	TOTAL FOR MANUFACTURING GROUP (Lines 13/17) AND DONATION TO ALL BELLIGERENTS ENGAGED IN WAR	+ 9,327	12,978 .	18

This free trade was earmarked, labelled, and sold, to sewing circle and bridge table gossipers under the false pretense of "reciprocal trade" and world peace! Has it done so ?

Disguised as "reciprocal trade" we have given the international banker and trader a protected American market through the implementation of "57 varieties" of our welfare minimum price fixing and licensing laws, of which the Sugar Act which legislates our farmer out of 70 percent home market is typical. There is much else which we could point to as "reciprocal trade" for a foreign line.

INEEDS WITHOUT NAMES-SUPPLEMENT # TO FARMS REPORTER

DEEDS WITHOUT NAMES
REVERSE SIDE OF SUPPLEMENT "E"
((Sums referred to as "items" may be located on the))
((reverse side. For example: "-12,569" is item 1-B))
((at the intersection of line 1 column B.))

NOTE 1

The accumulated balance of trade here in favor of foreigners is a minimum of $12,569 million. ((Item 1-B)) This is invested here by virtually the same foreign interests behind the recently passed go-to-war-bill HR 1776; and the "$7,000 million loan to aid democracies" win their war, and future demands to "protect that loan"; instead of trading their own investments for "their war" first.

NOTE 2

All of the $15,867 million gold ((item 3-B)) -(and over $5,000 million additional) is chattel mortgaged to the privately owned Federal Reserve banks and evidenced by "gold certificates payable to bearer on demand in gold." It can be claimed by them and shipped away, and later be resold to us again, using our navy to ferry it.(DWN p.81) It is a compound liability - not an asset.

NOTE 3

In the matter of property trading we show a net trade balance of $4,336 million.((5-C)) But as an offset against which, our farmers were legislated out of their home market in a net sum of $4,991 million. ((Item 12-B)) To "3 shell game" the farmers again they were "green goods'd" a sum of over $5,000 million earmarked as "parity payments, farm aid, commodity credits, Etc, Etc, Etc" for which the title "bribe" would have been a compliment. This sum was borrowed(?) public funds at average 2.541% interest, which interest on total of such counterfeiting (another compliment) is now costing the tax payers over $1 9 0 million per month. (See DWN, No's III,VI, XX, and others; also Treasury Reports; and Congressional Record Indexes for page numbers of facts)

NOTE 4

All other countries report their imports upon the delivered net cost basis. We do the opposite in order to deceive the public on how much our imports are really costing this nation. This exaggerates trade balances in our favor; and reduces the loss (on paper) when against us. It has been conservatively estimated by good authority that we pay foreign services at least 25% more than what Dep't Commerce report.

An application of only "25%" to the $15,873 million ((item 5-A)) would increase it to $19,841 million; and reduce the inflated trade balance on property from $4,336 million ((item 5-C)) to only $576 million.

This would correct our trade loss of $12,569 million ((item 1-B)) to $16,537 million. It would also correct the loss on farm products (($4,991 million-item 12-B)) to $8,047 million, which is very much more than the farmer was bribed with his own money.

NOTE 5

There are other accounting tricks to be found in Department Commerce Monthly Reports, besides reporting imports upon the bare cost fob foreign point of origin, and which in some instances costs the buyer here over 200 per cent more than reported, and upon which he pays duty. For instance: prior to Jan. 1, 1940, note in D/C reports read:
"8. Values shown in all tables are expressed in United States dollars unadjusted for the change in gold content in January, 1934".
Then beginning Jan. 1, 1940 this rule was changed to read:
"8. Values shown in all tables are expressed in current United States dollars."

Prior to 1940 - beginning of this war - property trade balance was against us each year. But beginning with this world war and "our prosperity" in furnishing all the belligerents with anything they wanted, the trade balance tide turned.((Col. C))

If these figures in columns A and C were to be adjusted to the above 1940 basis of calculation there would be a loss shown on line 5-B, instead of a gain line 5-C.

Of course this was not done to deceive, because it would deceive nobody who had time and ability enough to re-figure all Department of Commerce reports to get them onto the correct basis which was found more advantageous from a political standpoint after the tide had turned and the controlled public press began to ballyhoo Trader Hull.

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 77th CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

LIST OF CONGRESSMEN WHO VOTED FOR H.R. 1776:

SENATORS - SATURDAY, MARCH 8, 1941, P. 2114

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is, Shall the bill pass? The yeas and nays have been ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

The Chief Clerk called the roll.

Mr. BYRD. I announce that the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. THOMAS], the Senator from New York [Mr. WAGNER], and the Senator from Kansas [Mr. REED] are unavoidably detained.

The Senator from Kansas [Mr. REED] is paired with the Senator from New York [Mr. WAGNER]. I am advised that, if present and voting, the Senator from Kansas would vote "nay" and the Senator from New York would vote "yea."

I am further advised that, if present and voting, the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. THOMAS] would vote "yea."

The Senator from Indiana [Mr. VAN NUYS] is absent because of illness. I am advised that, if present and voting, he would vote "yea."

The result was announced—yeas 60, nays 31, as follows:

YEAS—60

Andrews	George	Miller
Austin	Glass	Murdock
Bailey	Green	Murray
Bankhead	Gurney	Norris
Barbour	Hatch	O'Mahoney
Barkley	Hayden	Overton
Bilbo	Herring	Pepper
Brewster	Hill	Reed
Bridges	Holman	Reynolds
Brown	Hughes	Schwartz
Bunker	Kilgore	Shipstead
Burton	La Follette	Smathers
Capper	Lee	Smith
Chandler	Lodge	Stewart
Clark	Lucas	Thomas, Utah
Connally	McNary	Tobey
Danaher	Maloney	Vandenberg
Downey	Mead	Wheeler
Ellender	Millikin	White

So the bill (H.R. 1776) was passed as follows:

{PAGE 2117}
{MAR. 11}

PROMOTION OF NATIONAL DEFENSE

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Speaker, in pursuance of the order of the House of January 3, I call up House Resolution 151, which I send to the desk and ask to have read.

The Clerk read as follows:

House Resolution 151

Resolved, That upon the passage of the bill H.R. 1776, an act to promote the defense of the United States, and for other purposes, with the Senate amendments thereto, and the motion to concur therein, be, and the same hereby are, severally divided, and the Speaker shall put the question on concurring in the Senate amendments to the bill H.R. 1776.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the resolution.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read as follows:

FROM WHENCE IT PASSED THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES MAR. 11, P. 2229

The SPEAKER. The unanimous-consent request agreed to yesterday left control of the time in the hands of the gentleman from New York [Mr. BLOOM] and the gentleman from New York [Mr. FISH]. At any time those gentlemen do not desire to yield further time, compliance with the regular rules will be had.

Mr. MARTIN J. KENNEDY. Mr. Speaker, may I be heard further?

The SPEAKER. The Chair has ruled upon the point of order.

Mr. MARTIN J. KENNEDY. Mr. Speaker, I wish to submit another point of order. This point of order may not be found in the Book of Rules, but there is a rule among gentlemen which is more binding than any expressly set forth as the rules of the House in the Book of Rules. Yesterday the gentleman in charge of the time on my side—chairman of the committee—gave me the distinct impression that I would be recognized for 5 minutes. Up to this minute, not a single Member suspected of being in opposition to the bill has been recognized on our side of the Chamber, and that failure in spite of the fact that almost half of the time remains unused. In my opinion, this is a flagrant violation of the rules of the House, as well as of a gentlemen's agreement. [Applause.]

The SPEAKER. That is hardly a parliamentary inquiry or a point of order either. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

Mr. LESINSKI and Mr. McKEOUGH demanded the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The question was taken, and there were—yeas 317, nays 71, answered "present" 1, not voting 40, as follows:

[Roll No. 21]

YEAS—317

Allen, La.	Allen, Pa.	Barden
Anderson, Calif.	Andresen, Minn.	Barry
Anderson, Mo.	Andrews, N.Y.	Bates, Ky.
Andrews, Ala.	Arends	Bates, Mass.
Angell	Arnold	Beam
Ashbrook	Ashley	Bell
Baldwin, Md.	Barden	Bender
Barry	Bates, Ky.	Bennet, Mich.
Bates, Mass.	Beam	Bennet, N.Y.
Bell	Bender	Bernard
Bennet, Mich.	Bennet, N.Y.	Bishop
Bernard	Bishop	Blackney
Blackney	Boehne	Bolton
Boehne	Bolton	Bonner
Bolton	Bonner	Boren
Bonner	Boren	Boykin
Boren	Boykin	Brooks
Boykin	Brooks	Brown, Ga.
Brooks	Brown, Ga.	Brown, Ohio
Brown, Ga.	Brown, Ohio	Bryson
Brown, Ohio	Bryson	Buck
Bryson	Buck	Buckley, N.Y.
Buck	Buckley, N.Y.	Bulwinkle
Buckley, N.Y.	Bulwinkle	Burch
Bulwinkle	Burch	Burdick
Burch	Burdick	Burgin
Burdick	Burgin	Byrne
Burgin	Byrne	Camp
Byrne	Camp	Canfield
Camp	Canfield	Cannon, Fla.
Canfield	Cannon, Fla.	Cannon, Mo.
Cannon, Fla.	Cannon, Mo.	Carlson
Cannon, Mo.	Carlson	Carter
Carlson	Carter	Cartwright
Carter	Cartwright	Case, S. Dak.
Cartwright	Case, S. Dak.	Chapman
Case, S. Dak.	Chapman	Cheriwath
Chapman	Cheriwath	Clark
Cheriwath	Clark	Clason
Clark	Clason	Claypool
Clason	Claypool	Clevenger
Claypool	Clevenger	Cochran
Clevenger	Cochran	Coffee, Nebr.
Cochran	Coffee, Nebr.	Coffee, Wash.
Coffee, Nebr.	Coffee, Wash.	Cole, Md.
Coffee, Wash.	Cole, Md.	Cole, N.Y.
Cole, Md.	Cole, N.Y.	Colmer
Cole, N.Y.	Colmer	Connery
Colmer	Connery	Cooley
Connery	Cooley	Cooper
Cooley	Cooper	Copeland
Cooper	Copeland	Courtney
Copeland	Courtney	Cox
Courtney	Cox	Cravens
Cox	Cravens	Creal
Cravens	Creal	Crosser
Creal	Crosser	Cullen
Crosser	Cullen	Curtis
Cullen	Curtis	D'Alesandro
Curtis	D'Alesandro	Darden, Ohio
D'Alesandro	Darden, Ohio	Dies
Darden, Ohio	Dies	Dirksen
Dies	Dirksen	Disney
Dirksen	Disney	Dondero
Disney	Dondero	Doughton, N.C.
Dondero	Doughton, N.C.	Douglas
Doughton, N.C.	Douglas	Drewry
Douglas	Drewry	Duncan
Drewry	Duncan	Durham
Duncan	Durham	Eaton, N.J.
Durham	Eaton, N.J.	Eaton, Pa.
Eaton, N.J.	Eaton, Pa.	Edmiston
Eaton, Pa.	Edmiston	Elliott
Edmiston	Elliott	Ellis
Elliott	Ellis	Elston
Ellis	Elston	Engel
Elston	Engel	Englebright
Engel	Englebright	Evans
Englebright	Evans	Fadden
Evans	Fadden	Fay
Fadden	Fay	Fenton
Fay	Fenton	Fernandez
Fenton	Fernandez	Fish
Fernandez	Fish	Flannagan
Fish	Flannagan	Flaherty
Flannagan	Flaherty	Flood
Flaherty	Flood	Folger
Flood	Folger	Fulbright
Folger	Fulbright	Fuller
Fulbright	Fuller	Gamble
Fuller	Gamble	Gathings
Gamble	Gathings	Gavagan
Gathings	Gavagan	Gearhart
Gavagan	Gearhart	Gerlach
Gearhart	Gerlach	Gibbs
Gerlach	Gibbs	Gifford
Gibbs	Gifford	Gillie
Gifford	Gillie	Gilmer
Gillie	Gilmer	Gore
Gilmer	Gore	Gorski
Gore	Gorski	Graham
Gorski	Graham	Grant, Ala.
Graham	Grant, Ala.	Green
Grant, Ala.	Green	Gwynne
Green	Gwynne	Hall,
Gwynne	Hall,	Edwin Arthur
Hall,	Edwin Arthur	Hall,
Edwin Arthur	Hall,	Leonard W.
Hall,	Leonard W.	Halleck
Leonard W.	Halleck	Hart
Halleck	Hart	Harris
Hart	Harris	Hart
Harris	Hart	Harter
Hart	Harter	Harvey
Harter	Harvey	Healey
Harvey	Healey	Hoffman
Healey	Hoffman	Hendricks
Hoffman	Hendricks	Hess
Hendricks	Hess	Hill, Colo.
Hess	Hill, Colo.	Hill, Wash.
Hill, Colo.	Hill, Wash.	Hinshaw
Hill, Wash.	Hinshaw	Hobbs
Hinshaw	Hobbs	Holbrook
Hobbs	Holbrook	Holmes
Holbrook	Holmes	Hope
Holmes	Hope	Horton
Hope	Horton	Howell
Horton	Howell	Hull
Howell	Hull	Hunter
Hull	Hunter	Izac
Hunter	Izac	Jackson
Izac	Jackson	Jarman
Jackson	Jarman	Jarrett
Jarman	Jarrett	Jenkins, Ohio
Jarrett	Jenkins, Ohio	Jennings
Jenkins, Ohio	Jennings	Jensen
Jennings	Jensen	Johnson, Calif.
Jensen	Johnson, Calif.	Johnson,
Johnson, Calif.	Johnson,	Luther A.
Johnson,	Luther A.	Johnson, Okla.
Luther A.	Johnson, Okla.	Johnson, W. Va.
Johnson, Okla.	Johnson, W. Va.	Kean
Johnson, W. Va.	Kean	Kee
Kean	Kee	Kelaner
Kee	Kelaner	Kelly, Pa.
Kelaner	Kelly, Pa.	Kennedy,
Kelly, Pa.	Kennedy,	Michael J.
Kennedy,	Michael J.	Keogh
Michael J.	Keogh	Kerr
Keogh	Kerr	Kilburn
Kerr	Kilburn	Kilday
Kilburn	Kilday	Kitchens
Kilday	Kitchens	Kleberg
Kitchens	Kleberg	Kocialkowski
Kleberg	Kocialkowski	Kopplemann
Kocialkowski	Kopplemann	Kramer
Kopplemann	Kramer	Lambertson
Kramer	Lambertson	Lanham
Lambertson	Lanham	Larrabee
Lanham	Larrabee	Lea
Larrabee	Lea	Leavy
Lea	Leavy	Lecompte
Leavy	Lecompte	Lemke
Lecompte	Lemke	Lesinski
Lemke	Lesinski	Lewis
Lesinski	Lewis	Lynch
Lewis	Lynch	McArthur
Lynch	McArthur	McCarthy
McArthur	McCarthy	McCormack
McCarthy	McCormack	McDowell
McCormack	McDowell	McGehee
McDowell	McGehee	McGranery
McGehee	McGranery	McGregor
McGranery	McGregor	McKeough
McGregor	McKeough	McLaughlin, Nebr.
McKeough	McLaughlin, Nebr.	McLaughlin, Pa.
McLaughlin, Nebr.	McLaughlin, Pa.	McLean
McLaughlin, Pa.	McLean	McMillan, S.C.
McLean	McMillan, S.C.	McMillen, Ill.
McMillan, S.C.	McMillen, Ill.	Maas
McMillen, Ill.	Maas	Magnuson
Maas	Magnuson	Mahon
Magnuson	Mahon	Maloney
Mahon	Maloney	Mansfield
Maloney	Mansfield	Marcantonio
Mansfield	Marcantonio	Marshall
Marcantonio	Marshall	Martin, Colo.
Marshall	Martin, Colo.	Martin, Iowa
Martin, Colo.	Martin, Iowa	Martin, Mass.
Martin, Iowa	Martin, Mass.	Mason
Martin, Mass.	Mason	Massingale
Mason	Massingale	Matthews
Massingale	Matthews	May
Matthews	May	Merrow
May	Merrow	Michener
Merrow	Michener	Miller
Michener	Miller	Mills, Ark.
Miller	Mills, Ark.	Mills, La.
Mills, Ark.	Mills, La.	Monkiewicz
Mills, La.	Monkiewicz	Moser
Monkiewicz	Moser	Mott
Moser	Mott	Mouton
Mott	Mouton	Mundt
Mouton	Mundt	Murdock, Ariz.
Mundt	Murdock, Ariz.	Murdock, Utah
Murdock, Ariz.	Murdock, Utah	Murphy
Murdock, Utah	Murphy	Myers
Murphy	Myers	Nelson
Myers	Nelson	Nichols
Nelson	Nichols	Norrell
Nichols	Norrell	Norton
Norrell	Norton	Nunn
Norton	Nunn	O'Brien
Nunn	O'Brien	O'Connor
O'Brien	O'Connor	O'Day
O'Connor	O'Day	O'Hara
O'Day	O'Hara	O'Leary
O'Hara	O'Leary	O'Neal
O'Leary	O'Neal	O'Toole
O'Neal	O'Toole	Pace
O'Toole	Pace	Patman
Pace	Patman	Patrick
Patman	Patrick	Patton
Patrick	Patton	Pearson
Patton	Pearson	Peterson, Fla.
Pearson	Peterson, Fla.	Peterson, Ga.
Peterson, Fla.	Peterson, Ga.	Pfeifer,
Peterson, Ga.	Pfeifer,	Joseph L.
Pfeifer,	Joseph L.	Pfeifer,
Joseph L.	Pfeifer,	William T.
Pfeifer,	William T.	Pittenger
William T.	Pittenger	Plauché
Pittenger	Plauché	Plumley
Plauché	Plumley	Poage
Plumley	Poage	Powers
Poage	Powers	Priest
Powers	Priest	Ramspeck
Priest	Ramspeck	Randolph
Ramspeck	Randolph	Rankin, Miss.
Randolph	Rankin, Miss.	Rees, Tenn.
Rankin, Miss.	Rees, Tenn.	Reed, Ill.
Rees, Tenn.	Reed, Ill.	Richards
Reed, Ill.	Richards	Rivers
Richards	Rivers	Robertson,
Rivers	Robertson,	N. Dak.
Robertson,	N. Dak.	Robertson, Va.
N. Dak.	Robertson, Va.	Robinson, Utah
Robertson, Va.	Robinson, Utah	Rodgers, Pa.
Robinson, Utah	Rodgers, Pa.	Rogers, Mass.
Rodgers, Pa.	Rogers, Mass.	Rogers, Okla.
Rogers, Mass.	Rogers, Okla.	Rolph
Rogers, Okla.	Rolph	Ramspeck
Rolph	Ramspeck	Russell
Ramspeck	Russell	Rutherford
Russell	Rutherford	Sabath
Rutherford	Sabath	Sacks
Sabath	Sacks	Sanders
Sacks	Sanders	Sasscer
Sanders	Sasscer	Satterfield
Sasscer	Satterfield	Sauthoff
Satterfield	Sauthoff	Scanlon
Sauthoff	Scanlon	Schuetz
Scanlon	Schuetz	Schulte
Schuetz	Schulte	Schwert
Schulte	Schwert	Scott
Schwert	Scott	Secrest
Scott	Secrest	Sikes
Secrest	Sikes	Simpson
Sikes	Simpson	Smith, Conn.
Simpson	Smith, Conn.	Smith, Maine
Smith, Conn.	Smith, Maine	Smith, Va.
Smith, Maine	Smith, Va.	Smith, Wash.
Smith, Va.	Smith, Wash.	Smith, W. Va.
Smith, Wash.	Smith, W. Va.	Snyder
Smith, W. Va.	Snyder	Somers, N.Y.
Snyder	Somers, N.Y.	South
Somers, N.Y.	South	Spanglerman
South	Spanglerman	Sparkman
Spanglerman	Sparkman	Spence
Sparkman	Spence	Starnes, Ala.
Spence	Starnes, Ala.	Stearns, N.H.
Starnes, Ala.	Stearns, N.H.	Sullivan
Stearns, N.H.	Sullivan	Sumner, Ill.
Sullivan	Sumner, Ill.	Sumners, Tex.
Sumner, Ill.	Sumners, Tex.	Taber
Sumners, Tex.	Taber	Talbot
Taber	Talbot	Tarver
Talbot	Tarver	Taylor
Tarver	Taylor	Terry
Taylor	Terry	Thomas, Tex.
Terry	Thomas, Tex.	Thomason
Thomas, Tex.	Thomason	Thorkelson
Thomason	Thorkelson	Tibbott
Thorkelson	Tibbott	Tinkham
Tibbott	Tinkham	Tolan
Tinkham	Tolan	Tolley
Tolan	Tolley	Treadway
Tolley	Treadway	Vinson, Ga.
Treadway	Vinson, Ga.	Vinson, Ky.
Vinson, Ga.	Vinson, Ky.	Voorhis, Calif.
Vinson, Ky.	Voorhis, Calif.	Wadsworth
Voorhis, Calif.	Wadsworth	Walter
Wadsworth	Walter	Ward
Walter	Ward	Warren
Ward	Warren	Weaver
Warren	Weaver	Welch
Weaver	Welch	Werner
Welch	Werner	Whelchel
Werner	Whelchel	Whittington
Whelchel	Whittington	Williams, Del.
Whittington	Williams, Del.	Williams, Miss.
Williams, Del.	Williams, Miss.	Wilson
Williams, Miss.	Wilson	Winter
Wilson	Winter	Wolcott
Winter	Wolcott	Wolfenden, Pa.
Wolcott	Wolfenden, Pa.	Wolfenden, Va.
Wolfenden, Pa.	Wolfenden, Va.	Woodrum, Va.
Wolfenden, Va.	Woodrum, Va.	Wright
Woodrum, Va.	Wright	Wunderlich
Wright	Wunderlich	Zimmerman
Wunderlich	Zimmerman	

ANSWERED "PRESENT"—1

Kennedy, Martin J.

NOT VOTING—40

DO YOU VOTE FOR THESE MEN AND THIS

Box 43-169

#245238

Frank A. Parker,
5653 Post Road,
Riverdale On Hudson, N.Y. City.
Oct. 18, 1941.

4/29/85 SP8BG/CLS

313,519
SP8BTS/CoL
10-18-90

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 9/4/84 BY SP8BG/mcb

Cmt # 241,942

24,350 9145SFE/ac/CoL 4-22-81

Miss Laura Ingalls,
New York, N.Y.

Dear Madam:

Greetings from a stranger who had the benefit of your very inspiring address at the AMERICA FIRST Bronx rally, Oct. 17.

I was extremely gratifide to hear what you said about foreign commerce, and am writing this letter as a suggestion from "an old timer ex-international trader" himself, a thing which I confess with the remark that "I am trying to live it down", and am only telling you in extreme confidence. Being a woman who appears extremely discreet, I am sure that you will keep my secret above confessed.

My suggestion is that instead of saying what you did say, and in which Holt later concurred on the same error, you had said, in your own words and altogether not consuming over 5 minutes, something to the following effect:

"You know 'my friends' how the internationalists, who are heart and soul behind this world war No. 2, never miss a chance to ring in the importance of our foreign trade; also that if we lost it we would perish from the face of the earth.

"They never give you any figures to show what percentage of our total commerce - domestic and foreign - that this foreign trade amounts to.

"But suppose now that our so-called income derived from commerce all kinds is a peak year like say $80 billion such as in the 20's; and that our foreign commerce, so called, amounted to 10 percent, which would make that part of it $8 billion. If we lost that we would still be making good business between ourselves.

"Strange as it may sound to you we would have no loss - in fact a national gain by losing it ! Why ? Because this imaginary $8 billion is made up of two counterbalancing elements, that is exports of what we sell abroad; and imports of what we must take actually buy back in payment for the exports, and which are the very things which we have an abundance of the same kind. Actually curtailing our own production of, in order to find market here for the imports.

"Now if we export $4 billion worth, and import $4 billion worth that makes up the $8 billion foreign commerce.

"But has our foreign commerce been $8 billion as the internationalist will tell you ? NO it has been just zero, because we bought back as much as we sold. It has other liabilities which

* Harvard College Library; at their collections. *
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time to time as occasion suggests. Complete files

lie in the obvious fact that in order to permit foreigners to market their things which we have in abundance here, or could produce in abundance or suitable substitutes for same, we must legislate the foreigner a protected American market in preference to our own people who can produce these things as cheap if not cheaper than any foreigner can.

"When we do this, and we have been doing so in hundreds of ways, we create the unemployment situation which we have witnessed for over 10 years. And we must pay our own workers and farmers for not only their idleness, but also deprive them of the things which we have exported, and which our own people would have consumed had they been given a chance to work for them, as is given the foreigner to work.

"Time permits more than one illustration. Take the case of sugar: Our country could produce enough cane or beet sugar to sugar the world - if we could get anything for it. We can produce the finest of sugars cheaper than even the present freight on imported sugar.

"Nevertheless since 1937 we have given the foreign sugar a 70 percent protected market here, confining our own producers to only 30 percent. We average about 100 pounds of sugar per person per year. Our people are forbidden by the international controlled Congress to produce but 30 pounds- the other 70 pounds must be imported. And the irony of the deal is that the sugar producing foreigners do not even take our productions in exchange for their sugar; which surely our own people would have to do if permitted to produce all of our sugar.

"I can show you a parallel condition in principle upon everything we import. Also that our foreign commerce in the 7 years of 1934 and 1940 inclusive was actually against us in a sum of over $12½ billion dollars.

"That was a pretty good business this foreign trade for foreigners wasn't it? Netted them over $1,700 million average per year; and added to our public debt a like sum to provide for the idleness it caused here.

"Now if anyone wishes to see the documented facts and get the references to Congressional debates, proceedings, and hearings, on this matter, I will be very glad to give them after the meeting has adjourned.

* * * * *

As noted, I am a pamphleteer specializing on the exposure of false economics, and am taking the liberty subject to return at my expense on postage enclosed herewith if not wanted, several pages of, devoted to foreign commerce, in numerical order.

You will find that pages 123/126; and 131/134 cover the foregoing proposed remarks. If not sufficiently documented to suit, you may easily verify through the Congressional Record indexes under their commodity nouns for the C.R. pages. I assume of course that you study the Congressional Record religiously in order to make your endeavors effective.

A NATIONAL ORGANIZATION
NON - SECTARIAN — NON - POLITICIAL

We have the plan and need your help. What will **YOUR** answer be? **Show YOUR colors. JOIN US** and distribute folders to your relatives, friends and associates, so as to prevent war hereafter, and instead have all disputes and arguments decided by arbitration. We, the *Mothers Mobilizing Against War*, welcome all true American citizens, (regardless of race, sex, creed or political choice) to join with us as a co-worker and member. Please feel free to call at headquarters where a facsimile of our Charter and By-laws are posted for your perusal. **YOUR** comments and suggestions will be appreciated. Sign and mail coupon (or deliver to a member) with your free will offering, for which we thank you.

A NATIONAL ORGANIZATION
NON - SECTARIAN — NON - POLITICIAL

MOTHERS MOBILIZING AGAINST WAR.
61[illegible] Plankinton Arcade Building
[illegible]aukee, Wisconsin

37 W. Van Buren

Dear Friends:

I have read with much interest the purpose and procedure of your Organization. I am fully in accord therewith. I am a true American citizen and desire to become a member of your Organization. I hereby pledge to distribute ..... folders, to my relatives, friends and associates, and explain to them why they, too, should be members. Please accept free will offering of $....., enclosed herewith to help defray expenses of this great work.

Received $..... Date .....

Name ..... Name .....

Address ..... Address .....

City ..... City .....

A NATIONAL ORGANIZATION
NON - SECTARIAN — NON - POLITICIAL

MOTHERS MOBILIZING AGAINST WAR.
61[illegible] Plankinton Arcade Building
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

Dear Friends:

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Received $..... Date .....

Name ..... Name .....

Address ..... Address .....

City ..... City .....

The Price of PEACE
4/29/85 [illegible] The Cost of WAR
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318,519
10-18-90 DATE 9/4/84 BY SP3 [illegible]

MOTHERS MOBILIZING AGAINST WAR

A NATIONAL ORGANIZATION

Incorporated in the State of Wisconsin

~~Principal Office: 6182 Plankinton Arcade Bldg., Milwaukee, Wis.~~

A number of the charter members of this Organization were known from 1928 to 1938, as "Volunteer Charity Workers" and as such they rendered great service to many whose sad circumstances were caused by unnecessary wars. When their official committee called upon the Senators and Representatives in Congress at Washington just before the Neutrality Bill was passed, they were lauded for the great progress they had made by presenting 100,000 signatures from the city of Milwaukee demanding strict neutrality. The committee was definitely told by these Senators and Representatives, that if the mothers of other States would take as firm a stand against war as the Wisconsin mothers have, we would have the absolute assurance that our boys would not have to face the horrors of another war. They have witnessed the great sacrifices and suffering caused by wars, and now are determined to increase their untiring efforts and mobilize all mothers, to work for everlasting PEACE.

We believe the name of the Organization *(Mothers Mobilizing Against War)* has been well selected, as it definitely implies that we are against all wars, here, as well as abroad.

This Organization is to always remain a charitable, non - profit Organization. All funds received are to be used for printing, rent of headquarters, office help, postage and to further the great cause, by branching into every state and country in the world. All officers, directors and charter members have agreed to serve without compensation, as they realize they will be well rewarded when the world is at PEACE.

We live in a world of conflict. We say that we desire peace. Have you ever asked yourself what causes the conflict which we appear not to want? Are you willing to search with us for the underlying causes that disturb man's tranquility? If so, then come let us reason together. Would you rather pay a little for peace than a lot for war? If so, then let us unite our efforts, join hands through understanding, and come into the light of truth for the heritage that is ours.

The Violation of God's Laws Bring . . . Chaos - Destruction - WAR

It is truly said that the price of peace is eternal vigilance. To be vigilant is to be on guard against danger. This calls for accurate knowledge of the cause of danger and the best methods of safe-guarding against it.

Now let us see what happens when we fail to build upon a firm foundation and on the rock. One of the early manifestations is the spirit of selfishness; then we get narrow, prejudiced, and arrogant. Immediately we can see that conflict arises. Such people are a fruitful field for the mis-leadership which gives rise to war. Then instead of individual crimes, killing and murder, we put on uniforms and murder by wholesale — and believe it or not, it's called patriotism.

What are YOU willing to do to help correct such conditions? Think how much more patriotic it would be to prevent the cause of war, instead of fighting in war! We believe you and many others are willing to enlist in this educational movement to pay the price of peace. We want you to see the way of true and peaceful living, and to help in bringing the light and truth to others, that they, too, may enlist in the cause of peace.

Let us cease being the victims of mis-leadership that brings on war. With an enlightened and organized citizenry, public officials will learn that they are servants of the people and paid public employes. If we who desire peace, will make half the efforts as they who are willing to have war, the price we shall pay for PEACE is very small in comparison to the cost of their war.

THOU SHALT NOT KILL

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Mothers Mobilizing Against War

Talk, Practice, Preach, Live

for

TRUTH & PEACE

The purposes and activities of the ASSOCIATION is to organize and mobilize throughout the United States of America, the mothers of boys, to oppose vigilantly public measures or movements, which may result in the sending of American boys to fight on foreign soil.

For information as to the sincerity and responsibility of the Officers and Directors of the "MOTHERS MOBILIZING AGAINST WAR ORGANIZATION," phone MILWAUKEE ASSOCIATION OF COMMERCE OR BETTER BUSINESS BUREAU OF MILWAUKEE, to whom a copy of the Articles of Incorporation and a copy of the BY-LAWS of this Organization have been submitted.

Suggesting what he termed "Six steps toward National Solidarity in the important business of supporting our way of life in our American sphere of influence" Congressman Karl E. Mundt (R.S.D.) told a Chicago audience in Kimball Hall here tonight that "the time has come for agitators to quit rocking the boat in this country and to quit trying to fill it with an AEF headed for the slaughter beds of Europe, Affica, and Asia."

The South Dakota Representative stated, "November 13 marked a highly important date in American history. On that date President got the full authority he wanted and Congress at the same time gave him the admonition the people wanted him to have. This new authority permits the President to lift the barriers against American ships entering belligerent zones and the admonition written into the very narrow margin by which this authority was granted expressed the determination of Congress and the people that he should go no further in the direction of War and that the American public is vehemently opposed to another A

Mr Mundt continued, "The President has now secured from Congress every decision he has requested and every dollar he has recommended for our defense program. The President and the country should now go along on this program on a definitely short-of-war basis for awhile and those who have been agitating for all-out war for America should cease their insistence for constant changes in our foreign policy and their callous clamoring for more and more steps toward wa It is now time for propaganda groups to quit trying to stampede the President and the Congress into a war we are not prepared to fight and into abortive changes in our foreign policy which are planned primarily for their effect upon foreign countri without due regard for their effect upon our own America. The road to unity is to pursue the pattern of our existing policy on the short of war basis upon which it was sold to the country and to which the Administration is repeatedly pledged. Those who would now disrupt our unity and disturb our confidence by calling for our all-out involvement in a shooting war render a dis-service to America at a time when our full effort is needed to step up production of defense materials and to implement the National policy as it is presently defined."

"It seems to me that all groups in America should now be able to unite on a formula of action which might well find The America First Committee, the Fight For Freedom Committee, the Committee to Defend America By Helping The Allies, and other organizations crusading shoulder to shoulder for the solidification of American opinion and American effort which will safeguard our own vital interests while offering maximum aid short of war to those fighting aggression abro Mr Mundt stated. "Such a program might logically be based on the following six steps toward such solidarity of action:

1- Hold Fast to our present course as now defined and authorized with assurance to the public that every effort will be made to keep it on a short of war

2- Speed up American production by utilizing the productive capacity of our little business men as well as our giant production plants, by working out a consistent labor policy which will end needless tie-ups by strikes, and by eliminating delays thru Administrative fumbling and partisan favoritism in the planning and management of defense production. Our tremendous dollar expenditure: should rapidly be translated into terms of finished defense materials available to our friends across the seas and to our own troops which are now so sadly ill-e

3- Keep Our boys out of Europe, Africa, and Asia. We must steel ourselv to take new and anticipated "incidents" in our stride and not permit incidents abr or war incendaries at home to precipitate us into a war for which we are nor prepar If we ever go to war again, let it be only to protect our own vital interests and a a time and place ###### dictated by our own best military judgment and not by propaganda groups crying for war without counting its consequences.

4- Cease agitating for constant changes in our Foreign Policy. There is not likely to be any retreat from steps already taken and there should be no ru toward new steps which might carry us completely and inevitably into outright war.

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5- Finish the job of Americanising America. Many axis propagandists have fortunately been sent back to their native countries and their propaganda mills have been closed. We should finish the job. We should permit Americans to decide for themselves the ## most important decision of their history - war or peace - without propaganda or pressure from foreign nationals of any foreign State. We should take steps at once to check the growing activities of Communism in our own country and join with Martin Dies of Texas ininsisting, first of all, that Communists be removed from positions of responsibility in our own Government. We can give material aid to Russia without marrying Communism to the American system and without letting down the bars against its collectivistic program for this country.

6- Increase our South American defenses to correspond with our South American responsibilities. We are committed to the defense of the Western Hemisphere. We should allocate some of the arms we are shipping from this country to the building of stronger defense establishments for our South American neighbors and we should greatly accelerate our program of acquiring naval and air bases South of thePanama Canal.

Mr Mundt summarizedhis position by stating, "We should continue debate in this country in an effort to solidify our people behind some such program ## for strengthening and safeguarding America as the six point program I have suggested. We should also continue public discussion in an effort to work out the goals we want this war to achieve and to determine how best, at the peace table or afterward, we can contribute to the rehabilitation of the World. By remaining out of the soldier-sending aspects of this war we can best maintain a position where we can protect and preserve the true destiny of America while at the same time ##### utilizing the strength of our position to help bring order out of chaos and justice out of calamity when the time for peace has come again."

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Neutrality—or War?

PUBLICATION FILE

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"Controversies which would involve the United States are far more likely to arise from the entrance of American ships or American citizens in the danger zone, or through the sinking on the high seas of American vessels."

—Cordell Hull and Franklin D. Roosevelt, July 4, 1939

Those who seek revision of the Neutrality Law know full well that it means:

American ships will be sunk . . .
American seamen will be drowned . . .
The American people will be swept into war on a wave of hysteria—just as in 1917.

The war party is demanding a one way passage to Davy Jones' Locker for American seamen—a one way passage to the battlefields of Europe for a huge new AEF.

What Are You Going to Do About It?

> ***"This government will insist that American citizens and American ships will keep away from the immediate perils of the actual zones of conflict."***
>
> —Franklin D. Roosevelt, September 21, 1939

The war party now seeks repeal of the section of the Neutrality Act which keeps our ships and our seamen out of the war zones.

They do so knowing that **repeal will mean:**

The sinking of American ships.

The drowning of American seamen.

A series of inflammatory "incidents" which will drag us into war.

They deliberately seek repeal knowing the certainty of these consequences—which the President foresaw in 1939—and knowing further:

1. **That there is no practical need for repeal—England needs our shipping less than at any time since the war began.** **(See Page 5)**
2. **That we will not enter the war while the Neutrality Law stands intact.** **(See Page 6)**
3. **That the purpose of the Lend-Lease Law is to prevent our ships from entering the war zones.** **(See Page 7)**

The proposed repeal is the war party's last desperate gamble—they are betting we will go to war if enough American seamen are drowned. This time they go too far—they shall go no further.

On this issue we stand our ground. Read what the true facts are. Learn what you can do—what you must do—to stop this threat here and now.

Why Was the Neutrality Act Passed?

"By the Neutrality Act . . . we made it clear to every American, and to every foreign nation, that we would avoid becoming entangled through some episode beyond our borders."

—Franklin D. Roosevelt, October 24, 1940

The Neutrality Act was a guarantee by Congress that we would not be drawn into another war. Its purpose was to eliminate the causes. Its purpose was to prevent a grim repetition of 1917.

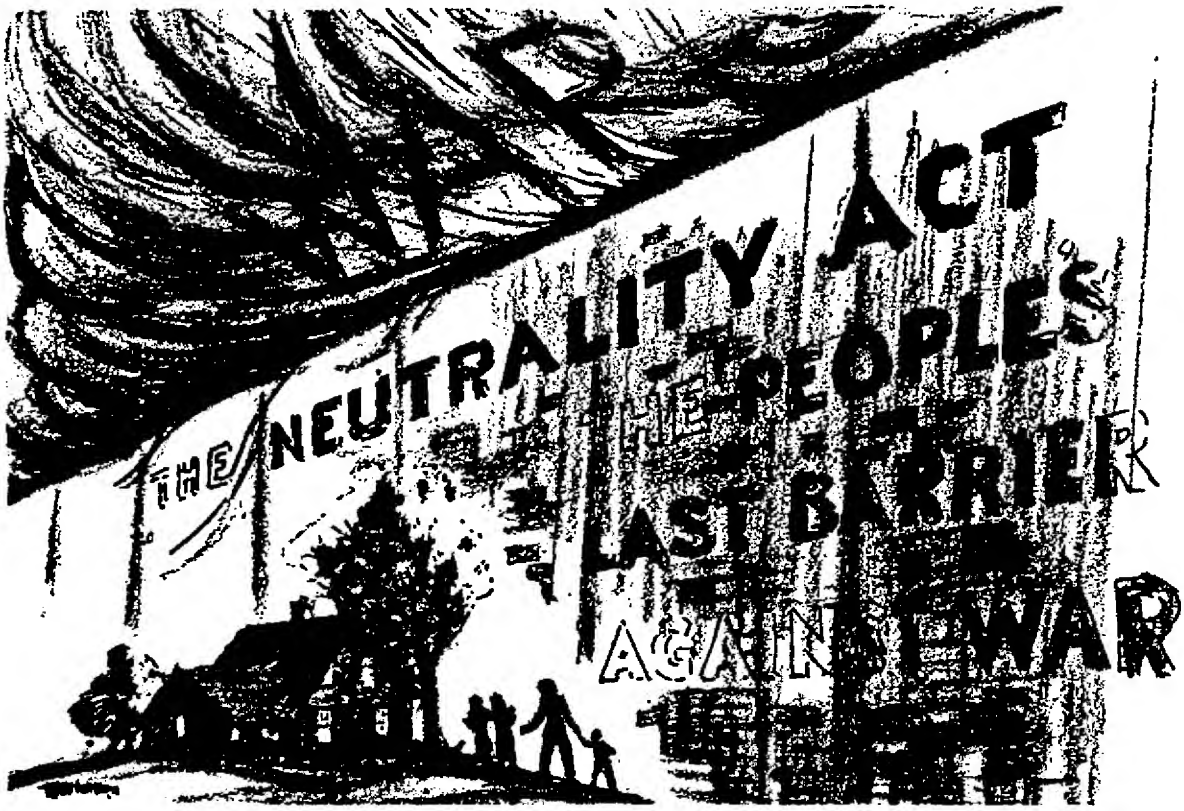
In the period of 1935 to 1939 America was cool and collected. There was no pressure—no propaganda—for war. Congress carefully studied the history of 1914-1918. It held hearings which were complete and thorough—they were not limited to two days. And Congress learned what everybody now knows.

We would not have been drawn into the World War if we had had a Neutrality Act in 1917.

So Congress passed—and the President signed—a wise and prudent law—a law to prevent another series of tragic incidents which would cause a blind hysteria for war. Today that law keeps our ships away from certain destruction—away from the submarine-infested waters off the coast of Europe.

Congress knew then and knows now that ships which carry contraband of war to one belligerent are fair targets for the other. Those ships will be sunk. This is what the war party longingly looks forward to. The American people must give them their answer.

What Has the Neutrality Law Done?



"The adoption of these recommendations offered greater safeguards than we had before, to protect American lives and property from destruction, and in that way tended to avoid the incidents and controversies likely to draw us into the conflict, as they had done in the last World War."

—Franklin D. Roosevelt, October 4, 1941.

The Neutrality Law has accomplished its purpose. It has kept us out of war.

To date not one American ship has been sunk, not one American life lost, in the war zones.

Secretary of Navy Knox testified on **October 13, 1941:**

> "In this sense, it may be said with justification that the act has been successful—the United States has not gone to war over incidents."

Until we make those incidents possible we will not go to war. That is why the Neutrality Law is the people's last barrier. That is why the war party is trying so desperately to tear it down. That is why the people must insist:

No drowning of American seamen—no tampering with American lives—**no repeal of the People's no-war law.**

THERE ARE VARIOUS KINDS OF "INCIDENTS"

American merchant ships should not be confused with American war vessels. The United States Destroyers GREER and KEARNY were both engaged in "incidents" while in pursuit of German submarines.

The Greer, according to the official Navy Department report, pursued a submerged submarine for three hours, and cooperated with an English war plane which dropped four depth bombs on the submarine. Not until after this attack did the sub fire a torpedo across the Greer's wake. The Greer then dropped eight depth charges and the submarine thereupon fired another torpedo, which missed. These actual facts were not made public until long after the President's shoot-on-sight speech, which gave a different account of the incident.

The Secretary of the Navy has reported that the Kearny was engaged in convoy duty and had searched out and attacked a submarine. After the Kearny had dropped depth charges on the submarine, the sub fired three torpedoes.

The Destroyer REUBEN JAMES was also on convoy duty. These incidents did not occur in the war zones—but they indicate what we may properly expect if our armed merchant ships and naval vessels try to deliver contraband directly to belligerent ports. Such ships, of course, will be legitimate targets, according to international law.

Is Repeal Really Necessary?

"Losses by enemy action of British, Allied and neutral ships during the quarter of July, August and September have been only one-third of those losses during the quarter of April, May and June . . . Very few important ships carrying munitions have been lost on the way . . . Our reserves of food stand higher than at the outbreak of the war." —Winston Churchill, House of Commons, October 1, 1941

THE QUESTION THEY CANNOT ANSWER

Q. If the true purpose of repeal is to increase deliveries to England, why can't this be accomplished **immediately** by transferring American ships to England in accordance with the Lend-Lease Law?

A. It can, of course, but this won't produce the attacks on the **American Flag** which the war party so desperately needs. This question exposes the proposed repeal for the sham and hypocrisy that it is.

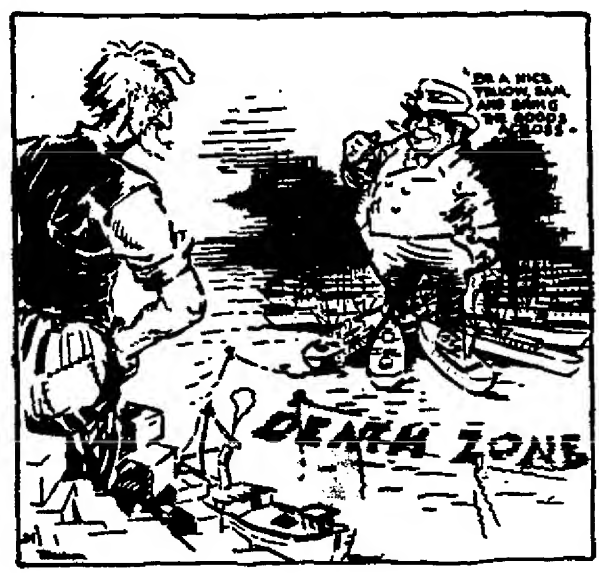
(See below amazing letter from Moore-McCormack Steamship Lines.[1])

The blunt truth is this—there is no practical need for repeal. The facts tell the story:

1. England has more shipping today than she had when the war began. In September, 1939, England had 21,000,000 tons, or 31% of the world's shipping. Today, despite losses, she has 25,767,000 tons, or 45% of the world's shipping.[2]

2. Shipping losses in the Atlantic have become almost negligible. See Churchill speech quoted above. Less than 4% of cargoes of all flags leaving our shores have failed to reach England—even last winter when the battle of the Atlantic was at its height.[3] England has just released forty of our tankers which she does not need.[4]

3. Our own ship yards and the ship yards of Great Britain are turning out new ships at an unprecedented rate that exceeds by many times the combined rate of losses.[5]



AUTHORITIES

1"From a strictly commercial point of view there is no reason at all why all of the goods carried to Great Britain cannot be carried under British registry, thus removing the dangers of an international incident so far as the United States is concerned. If one of these vessels should be sunk." Letter from Robert C. Lee, Executive Vice-President of the Moore-McCormack Steamship Lines, page 8186 of the Congressional Record, October 16, 1941.

2Washington Times Herald, October 5, 1941, citing U. S. Maritime Commission, British Shipping Mission, Lloyd's of London, British Press Service, American Bureau of Shipping. New York Times, September 28, 1941.

3Admiral Emory S. Land, Chairman, U. S. Maritime Commission, letter to Senator Vandenberg, Washington Star, May 7, 1941.

4Announcement by Secretary Ickes, October 23, 1941.

5London Economist, November 23, 1940; testimony of Admiral Land before the House Foreign Affairs, Committee, September 26, 1941.

We Will Not Go to War While This Law Stands

"I believe that American vessels should, as far as possible, be restricted from entering the danger zones. . . . This means less likelihood of incidents and controversies which tend to draw us into the conflict as they did in the World War."

—Franklin D. Roosevelt, September 21, 1939

The President made the above recommendation in his message to the special session of Congress which approved the present Neutrality Law.

Congress recognized the wisdom of this measure, and loudest in their support were the men who shout for repeal now. What they said then, however, has been proven even truer today.

Read how their past utterances belie what they say today. Let their own words state the true case for retention of the Neutrality Law.

Senator Tom Connally (Texas) Chairman, Senate Foreign Relations Committee, October 14, 1939.

"Although under international law you have a right to go about your vocation and travel the high seas, as a domestic regulation we forbid you to do so at this time, in order, not alone to protect your lives, but to protect the lives of all the millions of Americans and help keep them out of this devastating and desolating war."

(This man's radio speech opened the drive for repeal.)

Senator Alben W. Barkley (Kentucky), Senate Majority Leader, October 19, 1939.

"The law which we are now proposing would have prevented these attacks upon property and lives (in 1916-17) because both property and lives would have been withheld from regions of danger resulting in their destruction or their attack upon them. The law we are proposing will keep American ships and American cargoes and American sailors and American travelers out of the regions of danger."

(This man leads the fight for repeal in the Senate.)

Senator Lister Hill (Alabama), October 25, 1939.

"What we want to do is to keep American ships out of the danger zones, so they will not be subject to seizure, or any interference or action by Britain or Germany or any other country."

Senator Josh Lee (Oklahoma), October 27, 1939.

"The purpose of this law is to prevent war; it is a preventive measure."

Senator Kenneth McKellar (Mississippi), October 20, 1939.

"I believe the safeguards in the joint resolution constitute many steps to keep us out of war."

(This is the man who introduced the first resolution calling for repeal.)

"Changing the Neutrality Act to send our ships to belligerent ports would mean war." **—Senator George W. Norris (Nebraska), September 24, 1941.**

"Let Us Be Consistent"—President Roosevelt

"Nothing in this Act shall be construed to authorize or to permit the authorization of the entry of any American vessel into a combat area in violation of Section 3 of the Neutrality Act of 1939."

—Lend-Lease Law, Section 3, Subsection 5 (e).

In his message to Congress of October 9, 1941, President Roosevelt said: "I earnestly trust that the Congress will carry out the true intent of the Lend-Lease Act. . . . In other words, I ask for Congressional action to implement Congressional policy. Let us be consistent."

The President says the Law means one thing; the provisions of the Law state the opposite.

The only way to be consistent with the policy of the Lend-Lease Law is to retain the Neutrality Act as it is.

The Lend-Lease Law was introduced, sponsored, and passed as a means of keeping America out of war. Secretary Stimson, Secretary Knox, Wendell Willkie and every member of the Senate who supported the Bill so stated for the Record.

So strongly did Congress feel that the Lend-Lease Law should keep us out of war—not take us in—that they specifically excluded from the Bill measures which might lead toward war.

They **reaffirmed** the Neutrality Act. They refused to allow convoys and they outlawed the suggestion that we "deliver the goods." In short the Lend-Lease Law says: Let England's great fleet come and get all the goods it needs —but keep our ships and our seamen out of the war zones.

●

"Let us be consistent." Let us "implement Congressional policy" by preserving the no-war Law now.

Congress Took No Chances

When Congress passed the Lend-Lease Law, they went to extraordinary limits to make sure that the Bill would not permit the fatal step of "delivering the goods." Every word in the Bill was analyzed and all possible insurance was taken.

For instance, the original bill authorized the President to "transfer" any defense article. In his testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, former Governor Landon cited Webster's Dictionary which defines the word "transfer" as follows: "to convey from one place to another; to transport, remove, to another place."

He pointed out that this word might possibly be interpreted as authority to deliver Lend-Lease material to England. This seems far fetched, perhaps, but the Senate was taking no chances—it went out of its way to amend the Bill to make it clear that transfer means only to transfer ownership of goods right here on the shores of the United States.

Repeal Means Convoys and Convoys Mean War

If we were to send our merchant ships into the English Channel, naturally we would want to protect them with our naval vessels —our convoys, as the President indicated in his Navy Day address. But to quote the President himself,—"Convoys mean shooting and shooting means war."

That is why the Lend-Lease Law provides: "Nothing in this Act shall be construed to authorize or to permit the authorization of convoying [illegible] vessels of the United States."—Section 3, Subsection 5 (e).

Notwithstanding this provision, the U. S. Destroyers Kearny and Reuben James were on convoy duty.

How America Will Win the Battle of Neutrality

Here's What You Must Do

Whatever you do, do it now. It is a matter of days or hours before Congress votes on the issue which will mean certain war. Act at once—whatever the sacrifice, whatever the effort. Do these things immediately:

1. **Write or telegraph your two Senators and Congressman today.** These men are faced with the most solemn decision of their lives. They know their vote means peace or war. They are waiting to hear from you. Sit down and write—at once. To hesitate is to lose by default.

2. **Make a telephone call today to your Congressman or Senator.** Call him person to person at National 3120. If he is not in his office, ask the operator to put the call through to the House or Senate Floor or to his home. **Let's make the wires hum.**

3. **Join the America First Committee.** If you are already a member, call at your local chapter and enlist in the fighting forces of the Neutrality Brigade.

4. **Send us your check today.** We are in urgent need of funds. Contribute all you can immediately. One dollar will carry this pamphlet to twenty others. Ten dollars will carry it to two hundred.

America First Committee
141 West Jackson Blvd.
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Sir:
I am a patriotic American who believes that we should build an impregnable defense and stay out of the European war. Please enroll me as a member of the America First Committee. I enclose $_____ to further our work.

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____

"By the Neutrality Act . . . we made it clear that ships flying the American flag could not carry munitions to a belligerent, and that they must stay out of the war zones. Was that right?"

—Franklin D. Roosevelt, October 24, 1940
(When running for re-election)

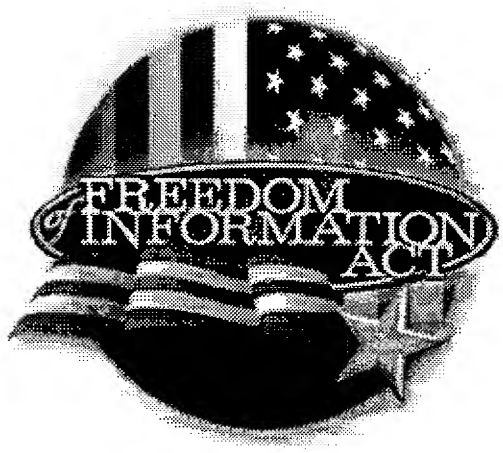
Write—Telegraph—Telephone, NOW.

FREEDOM OF INFORMATION AND PRIVACY ACTS

SUBJECT: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

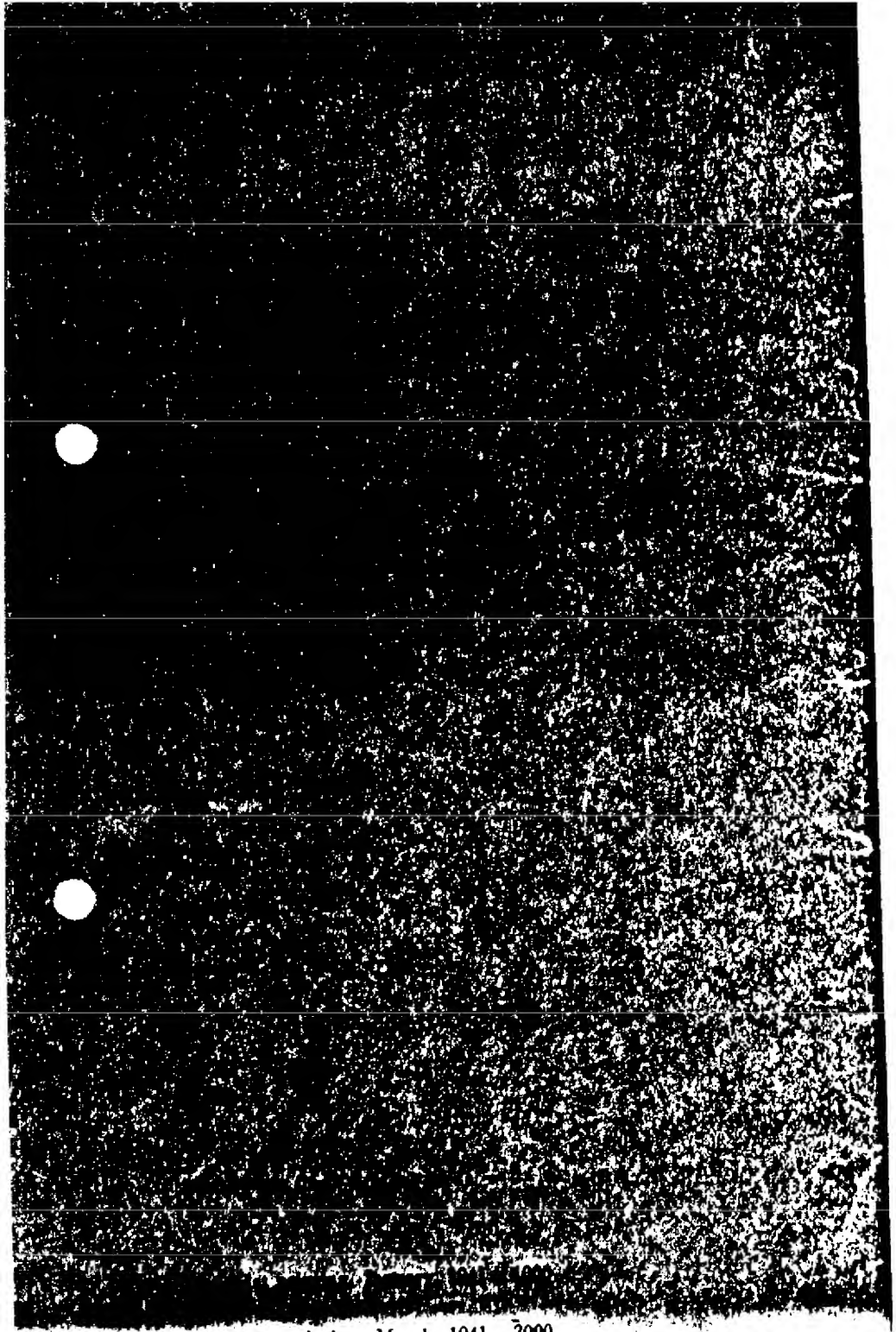
FILE NUMBER: 100-4712

PART: 14 OF 19



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WORLD ORGANIZATION



2nd printing, March, 1941 - 2000

World Organization

An Outline of Some Problems and Recent Proposals For Federation

For Use of Study Groups or General Reading

by

OLIVE I. REDDICK

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WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM
National Literature Department - 1924 Chestnut Street
Philadelphia, Pa.

PRICE 25 CENTS . 10 COPIES FOR $2.00

This study outline was written at the request of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom by Olive I. Reddick (Ph.D. Radcliffe), Professor of Economics in Hood College, Frederick, Maryland.

Organization of a World Government

INTRODUCTION

Although for hundreds of years occasional individuals have shown a deep interest in developing an international government, it is only in the present century that this interest has spread among the people of many countries, with an actual faith in the practicability of substituting law for international anarchy. This interest and faith on the part of millions of people form the necessary foundations for such a government. They should be built upon without delay.

But who shall build and how? And how shall the interest and faith be augmented during the dark days of war and failure? Here is a task — of thought, of study, of right propaganda, which falls upon all who will accept the burden. To have an opinion worthy of expression because it is based upon facts and not prejudice, because it is consistent in principle, because it provides practical suggestions — this is the aim of all who will take up a serious study of world government.

Americans are in a peculiarly difficult, as well as a peculiarly strategic, position in such a study. Would the United States join a world government? What part shall we be able to play beyond the stage of theorizing? If advice is the utmost we can give, should we then be silent? Do we, as individuals, earnestly want the U. S. to join such a union or federation as we shall conclude best from our study? That means, do we want the U. S. to make the national sacrifices which such membership would necessitate? And could a new "league of nations" succeed without the U. S.? Exactly what is our responsibility?

While all of these questions must be faced sincerely and intelligently by Americans interested in world peace, we who feel that we are not merely Americans, but are American members of the human race — individuals with our share of responsibility to institutions broader than our national government as well as to institutions narrower — have a right to add our thought to the thought of sincere people everywhere toward building a new world order.

It is true, also, on a less idealistic plane, that all nations must be interested in international peace as they are interested in national survival. In the past year a number of books and pamphlets on international government have been written, many of them by

Americans. Many of these have little to say about the ideals of justice, and democracy, and positive peace, but instead make an eloquent plea for an organization to abolish international anarchy in order that we may survive. Doubtless self-interest is the strongest motive to which we can appeal, and perhaps even the U. S. may find it profitable to cooperate actively in establishing a world government, for the richest nation, like the richest man, has the most to lose. At any rate, we can only go forward from where we are, knowing that the part we can play in the realization of our dreams will depend partly upon our national willingness to contribute to the solution of the world's problems, and partly upon the willingness of other nations to receive that contribution.

Most of the recent writing on the subject of world government was done on the assumption that the Allies would win the war — even in the cases where the author admitted that this assumption m[illegible] prove illusory. It is much easier to build up a system when we think we know upon what it will be based. What will be possible in the field of international cooperation if Germany wins the war is less clear. Nevertheless, we must remember all possible contingencies as we think through our own principles and framework.

The present course studies three divisions of the subject of organization of world government:

FIRST PART. HISTORY.

Lesson I. Past Role of the United States in International Organization.

SECOND PART. PRINCIPLES.

Lesson II. World Government. Basic Preliminary Questions.
Lesson III. Economic Cooperation Necessary for World Government.
Lesson IV. Economic Problems — Internal.
Lesson V. Political Organization of World Government.
Lesson VI. Political Issues.

THIRD PART. PROPOSALS.

Lesson VII. League of Nations, with Proposed Reforms.
Lesson VIII. Pan-Europa. Regional Pacts.
Lesson IX. Federation of Nations. (The Campaign for World Government.)
Lesson X. Federal Union. (Union Now.)
Lesson XI. A Plan for World Government.

The term "world government" is used here without definition to include any degree of federation or union by which nations attempt to govern themselves in collaboration. Throughout, emphasis is placed upon thinking through principles to conclusions which are consistent with facts.

FIRST PART. HISTORY.

Lesson I. Past Role of U. S. in International Organization.

1. The Hague

The First Hague Peace Conference met in 1899 and established the Permanent Court of Arbitration to facilitate arbitration of international disputes. There is no compulsion to submit disputes or to abide by awards. The Court consists of a panel of judges appointed by all adherent countries, from whom arbitrators are chosen for particular cases. The United States is a member of this Court, and has submitted a number of disputes to it for settlement. The Permanent Court of Arbitration continues to exist alongside the Permanent Court of International Justice (World Court).

2. The League of Nations

The League of Nations was established in 1920 by the Covenant which forms Part I of the Treaty of Versailles. Although the United States, through President Wilson, had a large share in originating the League of Nations, our government never joined it. About sixty nations, including all the important countries except the United States, have belonged to the League. The United States has cooperated with the League from time to time, either through unofficial observers, or by joining subsidiary or correlative organizations, such as in the World Disarmament Conference and the International Labor Organization.

No one can know what the fate of the League of Nations would have been if it had had the support of the United States. But it is to be regretted that in the first great international effort made by practically all nations toward world order, the United States did not cooperate more.

3. The Permanent Court of International Justice

The World Court was created in 1920 as a part of the League of Nations system. Although a judicial court had been favored by Americans at the Hague Conferences, and although the World Court which finally emerged was sponsored by Americans, the United States has never joined the Court.

4. The International Labor Organization.

The International Labor Organization, also a coordinate of the League, was established to improve conditions of labor and lay a foundation for peace in social justice. In 1934 the Congress of the United States voted to join this organization. Since then Americans have been prominent in carrying on its work.

5. The Pan-American Union

The Pan-American Union, first called the International Bureau of American Republics, was established in 1890 by the First International Pan-American Conference. This organization was at first under the supervision of the Secretary of State, and the Secretary of State is still customarily elected chairman of the governing Board. The purpose of the Union originally was to promote inter-American commercial relations, but its activities grew to include cultural and social matters, and finally, recently, political interests. There is no authoritative body; the Conferences pass resolutions which must then be adopted by the respective Governments or embodied in treaties.

6 Various Miscellaneous Organizations, in Specific and Limited Fields.

The League of Nations Handbook of International Organizations lists hundreds of such bodies, most of them, however, private. Schmeckebier lists 29 that are permanent with a central office and a budget, to which the United States belonged in 1934. The interests of these organizations are varied, but the economic and social perhaps predominate. The following are examples:

International Bureau of the Universal Postal Union
International Bureau of Weights and Measures
International Bureau of Agriculture
International Bureau of Public Health
Bureau of the International Telecommunication Union
Inter-American Trade Mark Registration Bureau.

Questions for Discussion.

1. Examine the role of the United States in international organizations up to the present. Note negative and positive types of cooperation. Upon what principle or basis should membership in international organizations be decided by the United States?
2. Do you think we were right or wrong in not joining the League of Nations? Why?
3. What part do you believe the United States (a) can play (b) should play (c) will play, in any future world government?

SECOND PART. PRINCIPLES.

Lesson II. World Government. Basic Preliminary Questions.

Certain choices must be made — between the ideal and the immediate, between principle and practicality, among fundamental points of view and final aims. It is wise to adopt first a point of view, a standard for testing, for discriminating, for choosing. Without such preliminary thought, we become hopelessly confused by later issues.

1. The Ideal versus the Immediate.

a. To what extent shall we draw up an ideal form of government with little or no reference to current situations? To what extent shall we be guided by what seems possible, although it is far from ideal?

It is much easier to construct, to agree about, to study, an ideal; it is also highly useful to have in mind the final goal, otherwise we may move in the wrong direction. The final goal must be a test of the immediate steps. But shall we compromise this ideal—ever— for the sake of the immediate?

b. It will be impossible to get very general agreement, even among those passionately desiring a world government, on any part of any proposal. (Test this in your study group. See if your small group agrees unanimously on any proposal, whether major or minor.) Must we wait for such agreement? Must we compromise?

It will be well to decide first whether you will ever compromise your ideal, and if so, under what circumstances.

c. If, in order to make some progress in world organization, we accept less than the ideal, it will be important to see to it that:

(1) the compromise does not make impossible a movement toward the ideal.

(2) provision is made for orderly revision.

(3) the emphasis is right.

d. Discuss the following problem to illustrate the present issue:

Can there be permanent peace without disarmament? Will you agree to a form of world government that does not provide for immediate disarmament? Is there any likelihood that nations, under present circumstances, will agree to disarm?

Suggest other illustrative questions.

2. **Principle versus Practicality.**

It will be well to see clearly, before considering compromise, whether the question involves a principle or is only a question of what is practical. Such thought will help to determine how far one will go to meet the views of others, and what one's absolute minimum is. It will be relatively easy to agree to compromise on matters of practicality, relatively difficult on matters of principle. Throughout the study course, apply this test.

For Discussion: Which of the following questions may be compromised:

a. Whether the League of Nations should be revised, or a wholly new organization built?

b. Whether a democratic bill of rights must be a *sine qua non* for membership?

c. Whether nations joining the federation must agree to immediate disarmament?

3. **What is the Fundamental Aim? Peace? Order? Justice? Democracy?**

One must be able to choose among his aims. Here, as always, the situation is complex; one must see it in its proportions and relationships.

a. Do you think of peace as merely an absence of war? Do you distinguish between this negative peace, and a positive peace which implies a peaceful living together in harmony?

Negative peace, or peace as order, might be maintained better under dictatorship than under democracy. Would you, then, favor dictatorship?

b. Positive peace may be thought of as peace with justice Would you be willing to fight to correct injustice? Would you favor revolution against an unjust government? What do you mean by justice?

c. Is it true that "War never settles anything"? Give historical cases.

d. Clarence Streit seems to put democracy above peace as the final aim. Would you agree?

e. State as clearly as possible your fundamental aim for world government.

4. **Points of View: Nationalist; Internationalist; World.**

a. What differentiates these points of view?

(1) Nationalist. This may be narrowly isolationist or may favor cooperation with other nations solely in the interests of America and to that extent only.

(2) Internationalist. This would favor inter-state cooperation for the development of all nations equally, but always as independent nations.

(3) World. This would minimize state boundaries and emphasize non-political unities leading finally to a "higher-than-national" loyalty without, however, sacrificing any characteristic national cultures or biological distinctions.

b. Get a clear conception of these different points of view by applying them to specific questions, e.g., the tariff policy of the United States. Then adopt one of these points of view as your own, and use it in determining your conclusions regarding all other questions. This will help a little in tearing apart very tough problems, and will give consistency to your thinking. (The word "state" is used throughout in the accepted sense of a nation as a political unit.)

———

Lesson III. Economic Cooperation — Necessary for World Government.

We shall find that it is impossible to separate the economic and the political issues. The political problems are, in general, those dealing with the location of authority, and the rights and responsibilities of those subject to that authority. The economic problems usually are related to objective acts by the State and their effects on the welfare of the people. They interact upon each other. Some believe the economic problems are more easily solved, because they seem more concrete and less emotional. Others, like Briand, believe we must begin with the political. Doubtless any satisfactory world government must settle at least a minimum of both. Some groups — for instance, with totalitarian or laissez faire philosophies — fear that a world government may place a straight-jacket upon the soldier or the business man. No world government can eliminate individual differences, victories and defeats, in business and many other fields. As the arena widens, so do the opportunities.

What will be the minimum in economic organization necessary for the maintenance of world peace?

A nation's economic problems are internal and external. It is usually the latter that are thought of when international peace is discussed. We must consider, however, whether internal economic conditions may also have to be changed: this question will be discussed in the next lesson. The present lesson deals with external economic relations.

1. **Foreign Trade.**

   a. The consumers of all nations want to import; it is an advantage to secure from other nations those commodities we cannot produce, or cannot produce so cheaply. Yet national policy is against imports. Why? Why do we have a protective tariff?

   b. All nations want to export. People are led to believe that exports benefit a country more than imports do. Examine this belief. May exports harm a country, for example, when the fertility and resources of the land are shipped away? Hitler has said that Germany must export or die. Why? Must the United States export or die? What is the relation between a particular nation's exports and imports? — in quantity? in kind?

   c. Discuss the methods used by nations to restrict their trade: tariffs, quotas, embargoes. What are the objections to these? If trade restrictions harm international relations,

and help to bring about war, should a nation have a right to impose such restrictions at will? Who should decide what restrictions are permissible?

If a nationally desirable removal of restrictions caused economic loss to a group, as the lowering of tariffs on Argentine beef might harm the beef producers of this country, what should be done? Should the interests of the group rule? Or should the interests of the group be sacrificed? Or should a method be found for sharing the loss among all the people of the nation?

d. The "Hull trade-agreements program" has as its aim the reduction of trade barriers. Study the facts of this program. Is it very important? Is it an adequate means of restoring world trade or only a "drop in the bucket?" Perhaps it is most important as a symbol.

e. Recently the growth of international cartels has augmented the control of international trade. This is a partial application of "planning" in the international sphere. In theory it is antagonistic to free trade. Some believe that free trade is of the past, and planning is of the future. We should examine the possibility of international control of trade as contributing to a peaceful world, also the possibility of rescuing distressed nations by an extension of the Excess Commodities Plan ("dumping" regulated by the World Government).

2. **Currency stability and foreign exchange.**

   a. One way of controlling trade is through the control of foreign exchange; i.e., the "money" with which foreign goods are bought and sold. Germany has used this method chiefly.
   b. Some nations have altered their currency with the purpose of increasing their exports. This causes instability in the other countries affected. Should a country have a right to alter its money on its own authority?

   c. What would be the advantages of an "international currency"?

   d. This problem is one in which the internal and external interests of a country are inseparable, and yet somewhat contradictory. To what extent should authority be handed over to an international body?

3. **Raw materials.**

   a. A great deal has been said about "have" and "have-not" nations. When objective studies are made, we find that some nations which claim to be "have-nots" have more than some nations which they accuse as "haves", (e.g., in Kranold's study, Germany ranked higher than France.) We should beware of slogans and catch phrases.

b. The physical needs of a country are too varied and the distribution of resources too haphazard over the earth for nations to dream of controlling all the raw material sources which they need. Only a very few countries can have such a dream, and its very fulfillment makes it impossible for the rest of the nations. However, if raw materials are freely bought and sold, an equivalent situation prevails. But every country is afraid of a time of war, when it may be cut off from its source of supply. However, even then control of the sea would be more necessary than control of the country producing the raw materials.

c. In view of this fear, nations have been trying to free themselves from the need of such sources by inventing substitutes for essential materials. Germany is producing artificial wool, rubber, oil. Rayon and nylon are making us independent of Japanese silk. Such production may lower the standard of living of the country. However, it will at the same time remove the necessity of controlling natural sources of supply. This has a double effect and should make countries which are dependent for their welfare upon selling (rather than upon buying) these raw materials aware of the danger to themselves of placing restrictions on the sale of their commodities. The cases of Chile's nitrates and Malay's rubber are examples. Perhaps when the present process of industrialization is complete trade will become relatively unnecessary.

d. What solution do you suggest for the "raw materials" problem?

4. International capital investment.

a. If a "backward" nation possesses large natural resources of use to the world, what principle should govern their development? Must the world wait until the "backward" nation is no longer backward and can develop its own resources? Must the "backward" nation submit to foreign exploitation of its resources and lose the wealth of its country? Is there any middle ground solution?

b. The United States in the 19th century received a great deal of foreign capital (capital invested in the United States by foreigners) without creating the problems which, for example, Mexico faces as a result of American and British investment. What made the two cases different?

Lesson IV. Economic Problems — Internal.

Must a world government concern itself with internal economic problems of its member states?

1. Must peace and justice exist within nations before they can be maintained between nations?

   Can peace and justice exist in a nation that has (a) great inequality of income; (b) great inequality of opportunity?

2. Can peace be maintained between nations of very different standards of living? Some people believe it cannot — for example, that we shall not have stable peace as long as the annual per capita income in the United States is so much greater than that in Japan. Do you see any reason to support this view?

   The United States takes the position that it must maintain its higher standard of living at all costs, even of war. Do you agree? For the sake of peace, would you be willing to adopt an economic policy which would tend to equalize the standards of living of all countries? Apply this theory to some specific policy, such as tariff policy.

   What program might be adopted by the whole world which would enable substandard nations, by being industrious and wise, to close the gap between them and more prosperous nations? Do you think a leveling up or a leveling down is a more effective economic and social program?

3. The International Labor Organization attempts to establish labor standards among its member states. Do you think we can or should try to equalize labor standards of different countries? Should there be an "International Wages and Hours Law", with the World Government empowered to make exceptions for an approved purpose of national or international benefit, and for a definite temporary period? How gradual would such an equalization of standards have to be? How is this question related to the question of the standard of living?

4. Do you believe we can have international good will with the present immigration policies and policies concerning minorities? Compare the immigration policy of the United States with those of Great Britain and Germany, prior to the war.

5. What would be the advantages of having an internationally controlled organization for the investment of money in countries needing capital for public or private works?

6. Compare the willingness of Americans to make a sacrifice for peace with their willingness to undertake the huge costs and sacrifices of war. Compare the costs of armaments and war with the costs of such peaceful, goodwill policies as admitting refugees.

For Discussion:

1. How great a financial sacrifice would you be willing for our country to make if necessary to win a war? to establish peace? Apply the implications of this question to our relations with Mexico.
2. Whatever the economic and financial costs of building a peaceful world, the economic and financial gains are apt to be greater. No country has been able to become strong economically until order was established within its borders. International chaos hinders economic progress, quite aside from the actual costs of waging wars. It would be wise economy to make necessary financial sacrifices for peace.

Lesson V. The Political Organization of World Government.

It is often said that no mere organization or form of government, no matter how perfect, can guarantee peace. This is very true. We need something more than machinery. Nevertheless, without the machinery for building peace, we shall not build it. If we are realistic, we shall depend neither too much nor too little on organization; but we shall certainly build a framework as perfect as we can within which international peace and order can function.

One of the greatest achievements of this century is the League of Nations. Because its success was limited, it has become fashionable to repudiate or scorn it. Doubtless future historians will give a different—and more favorable—judgment. It was rather stupid of us to suppose that our very first effort in so new and great a venture would succeed perfectly. Nevertheless, we should now examine carefully the causes of weakness in the League, and build better the second time.

1. An organization of states or of peoples?

The League of Nations is an organization of states; the men who form the Council and Assembly are official representatives of their governments. It seems fair to say that they are FIRST officials of their states, working for the interests of their states, and only secondly representatives of the League of Nations. And being officials (often officials of first rank, as foreign ministers) they must constantly preserve the prestige of their governments. Prestige is a rock upon which peace easily breaks.

It is often declared that this kind of representation is one of the chief reasons for the League's failures.

It is now being proposed that the new world government should represent peoples and not states; that the men sent to Geneva (or wherever) shall be elected by the people, as are the men who are sent to Washington. In such an organization there could be more than one point of view within a delegation.

Do you believe this is a sound principle?

2. An inter-state or a super-state?

a. Try to find a clear meaning for the words alliance, federation, confederation, union, federal union. How do these differ?

b. The League of Nations is inter-state. It is a loose confederation of states, in which the national governments cooperate only so long as their own interests, as they conceive them, are served. The League has no real authority, as events have proved. The absolute sovereignty of the member states is preserved through the unanimity rule, that is, in the League, with certain exceptions noted in the Covenant, a single negative vote from the smallest member is sufficient to defeat the proposition.

c. Many people now believe that no world government can succeed unless it has some authority over its members in limited, agreed-upon fields. This means some sacrifice of sovereignty on the part of the member-states.

How great this sacrifice of sovereignty must be would be determined by what minimum authority the League must possess in order to preserve peace.

Do you believe that every nation should have absolute sovereignty, to follow its own course in the world regardless of the interests of other states? (Compare the states in the United States.)

d. In what fields do you think a transfer of sovereignty to a world organization necessary? desirable? Would you be willing for the United States to transfer sovereignty in these fields? Upon what conditions?

e. Authority of the world government — advisory? partial? final? This is the same question as sovereignty. Should the League have the power only to advise? advise and bring pressure? make final decision? partial (in some questions)? or complete (in all questions)? There may be no more vital question than this in the whole study of world government. The question of authority raises the question of enforcement and means of enforcement. This will be considered in the next lesson.

f. Do you see any dangers of a super-state? What? How could they be forestalled?

3. Basis of membership.

a. Membership will, of course, have to be voluntary, although the League might consider whether it could or should bring any pressure to bear upon nations to join — even the indirect pressure of creating advantages for members.

b. But shall any restrictions be imposed, in the form of standards that must be maintained by members? One suggested minimum standard is a bill of rights. This idea appeals to the democracies, as it already forms the basis of their governments. It probably would not appeal to the dictatorships.

c. It will be necessary for us who are interested in peace through world government to ask ourselves whether we should exclude some nations by putting up democratic standards, or include all nations by having no standards at all. In general, it would be a mistake to try to impose our own views on others — except where these views are essential to the foundation of the government. Is democracy such a view?

d. During the recent years of its weakness, many have proposed revision of the League of Nations. One reason why these proposals never succeeded in changing the League was that one group wanted to revise the League toward a broader and shallower basis, which would exclude no nation; the other wanted to revise the League toward a narrower and deeper basis, which would exclude those members not really willing to cooperate. This is a choice that must be made openly and definitely in the new world government. However attractive the idea of having all nations join may be, it is well to remember that the political philosophy of some nations today holds that all sacrifices must be made for the aggrandizement of the national state, and that the sovereignty of the state must never be questioned, even in terms of the rights of its citizens, to say nothing of the rights of other nations. It is questionable whether the membership of such states would add any strength to the world government. They would probably be a liability in all periods of crisis — and even in ordinary times, as there would be constant pressure on the League to make concessions to hold them.

e. Some hold the view that the basis of membership should be geographic — that the organization should be regional. Some think that one mistake of the League of Nations was in trying to include too much, and that it would be wiser to work up from regional organizations, like the Pan-American Union and the much-discussed United States of Europe or even the Danubian Union — to a world organization. Others feel that this basis would be fatal, because it would emphasize conflicting interests and align different parts of the world against each other. Perhaps the middle ground of regional pacts plus a world organization above them would be most fruitful.

f. We may have a world organization or partial organizations. If the latter, the basis of membership may be (1) geographic (e.g., Central Europe, the Oslo States, Europe); (2) ideological (the democracies); (3) other points of self-interest (e.g., the British Empire). From the point of view of success, which would you advocate?

Lesson VI. Political Issues.

Besides the question of framework and underlying principles, there are many political questions to which answers must be found. The more thoroughly one has been able to determine governing principles, the more easily one can find satisfactory and consistent answers. Some of these questions are to be discussed now.

1. Colonies.

After the last war, the League instituted a system of mandates, whereby countries not deemed ready for independence could be guided and controlled by other countries — but in terms of the interests of the governed. The former German colonies were handed over to the Allies under this system. This deprivation of colonies is one of the grievances constantly put forward by Germany. There may also be friction between a colony and the governing country; an important example is India. In a somewhat similar case the United States decided to grant independence to the Philippines. In all these cases, why does one country want control over another?

If the population of Holland has doubled in recent years, is that partly because of positions opened to the Dutch in Java? Could these Dutchmen have been employed in Java if it had not been governed by Holland? Would you rather invest in a free or colonial Java?

Does the case of colonies represent a field in which states should give up their sovereignty to the League? Discuss the advantages and disadvantages.

Should the mandate system of the League be revised and used?

2. Minorities and migration.

Another pressing problem in the world today is the treatment of minorities, with that of migration in general and of refugees in particular. This problem is one of ethical ideals and of economics. A fundamental principle of democratic government in the United States (sometimes violated in practice) has been respect for the rights of minorities. As more and more nations close their doors against immigrants, the plight of those persecuted minorities becomes intolerable. Almost literally there is no place in the world today where they can find a home.

Do you believe, in the case of the United States, that economic interests and democratic ideals are in conflict, especially in respect to immigration?

Should minimum rights for minorities be enforced by the League? Alfred Bingham suggests that the right to emigrate with property be guaranteed. (Doubtless he refers to property legitimately acquired.)

How should the refugee problem (usually of racial or political minorities) be solved? Might this involve some control over immigration laws of member states? Would you favor free passage among all member states for the citizens of all? Would you advocate some such rule as this: that a country with a living standard above the world average should be required to accept a certain percentage of immigrants from a substandard country providing the latter had fulfilled certain requirements, such as having raised its standard of living during the preceding decade?

3. **World Citizenship.**
Would you provide for a new world citizenship for citizens of member states, so that men would have a dual citizenship—national and international—as at present Americans are citizens of both their state and the nation? If so, what would you include as (a) privileges, (b) responsibilities of such citizens?

4. **Foreign Policy.**
Control over the relations between states involves some limitation of power in foreign policy. This may be so small as merely the obligation to register treaties with the central government, or it may at the other extreme take away the treaty-making power from the individual states. How far would you go? Would you permit member states to carry on a foreign policy including contracting treaties with other states, whether members of the League or not, with no control whatever by the League? Would the League itself have a "foreign policy" to which the member states would have to conform?

5. **Police Force or International Army.**

1. Would you provide for any means of enforcement, by the world government, beyond persuasion? Many advocates of world government believe that no force should be used at all. What are the arguments for and against the enforcement of decisions?

2. Some advocate what they call enforcement against individuals but not against nations. Examine this position. Are there any examples in the United States' history where the federal government coerced state or municipal governments?

3. There are, of course, other kinds of force than military or physical. One is economic. Do you believe that economic pressure, even to the extent of "rewarding your friends and penalizing your enemies" in trade, is justified? Would you use all kinds of force but in limited degrees, or certain kinds of force, or no force?

4. Many believe that the failure of the League of Nations was in part due to its inability to enforce its decisions, either through its lack of police power or its unwillingness to carry through the use of economic weapons.

5. In a state there is certainly a difference between a police force and an army. Could a similar difference be maintained in a world government? How would you construct the police force of a world government in order to keep it from becoming a mere army? How would you insure that it would be loyal to the world government if decisions had to be enforced against a country to which some of its members belonged? It is probable that the international police force, if any, should not be constructed out of units contributed by the various governments, but that the world government should have the power to secure and pay for its own police.

6. Should the world government defend itself against attack (a) by non-member states (b) by member states? Would the nations joining a world government be justified in expecting from it protection from attack by other nations?

6. **Armaments.**

1. Can we have peace without complete disarmament? Can we have complete disarmament without peace? Are armaments a cause, or an effect, or both? What lesson might be learned from the history of the end of the feudal lords' power by the kings? of the ending of dueling and border law by the States?

2. Should complete disarmament be made a prerequisite for organizing or joining a world government? If it is, do you believe that nations would join? If nations will not disarm until they have, or think they have, security, how would you bring about that security?

3. As a substitute for immediate and complete disarmament, some advocate a limitation of arms through international control of their manufacture and shipment. That is, armaments would be controlled, or even monopolized, by the world government. Some would begin with international control of air forces.

4. Associated with the question of arms is the question of men. Should the world government allow member states to adopt conscription?

5. How is your view on the questions in this topic affected by your view of the preceding topic, i.e., whether or not force should ever be used by the world government, and whether the world government should have a police force or army? How would the view of nations joining the League be affected by this same matter?

7. Many more questions might be asked. At the least, those mentioned above must be answered. Examine them from the point of view of principle and practicality. Which ones can you afford to compromise? Which answers would wreck all chance of success in building a world government?

THIRD PART. PROPOSALS.

A great many proposals have been made for some kind of international organization, over a period of centuries. It is encouraging to see how many people have been interested in working out a framework of government by which the nations might control their international life by law. In this section we shall examine a few of them that have come since the World War, namely, the League of Nations, then Pan-Europa, then several others that have been prominent in the news recently or that offer some contrasts, and finally one presented by the writer of the study course.

These schemes, including many not examined here, differ greatly both in details and in fundamentals. They range from a world-wide union to a small defensive pact. Some are based on the League of Nations, some are more inclusive, some less. Some emphasize the economic, others the political; some are on an ideological base, and others on a geographic. Some begin as realistically as possible with the peace at the close of the present war; some (perhaps written earlier) set forth an ideal with little reference to temporary difficulties. All of the former assume that the Allies will win; no one struggles with the problem of international government in a totalitarian world. Most of those who wish to begin in a limited sphere have in mind an eventual world organization.

Certainly in many of these matters, practicality will dictate. It would be fatal, however, to begin with a form which showed no promise or capacity of developing into the ideal.

The survey given here of the various proposals is necessarily fragmentary. They may be studied further in writings suggested in the bibliography. Groups using this outline have by now thought through certain fundamental principles and practical considerations. The most beneficial study will be an appraisal of the suggested plans by these standards, and perhaps the construction of a modified plan by the group. Since we all earnestly desire the day when the world governed by law, we shall have to come to a working agreement at least, on some concrete form of international government.

Lesson VII.—League of Nations, with Proposed Reforms

A. Structure and Function of the League of Nations.

1. Basis of membership: inclusive, but on a two-thirds vote of Assembly. A member may also be expelled by the Assembly.

2. Framework:

Assembly.

a. All member states equally represented: principle of state equality.

b. Representatives appointed by the government, representing states rather than peoples.

c. Voting must be unanimous (with certain noted exceptions): principle of state sovereignty. The negative vote of any one state defeats a proposal.

d. Assembly elects states to membership; elects non-permanent members of Council.

e. Assembly may have disputes referred to it from Council; may deal with any matter within sphere of League.

Council.

a. Great Powers have permanent seats (4 to 6); others, non-permanent, elected by Assembly (9).

b. Supervises mandates;
Hears complaints under minorities treaties;
Acts as conciliation body, in inter-state disputes;
Deals with any matter within sphere of League.

Council and Assembly are essentially independent of each other, not like a two-house legislature. Except—the two act together in

a. Amending Covenant

b. Enlarging the Council

c. Electing judges of Permanent Court of International Justice.

Secretariat.

a. Permanent administrative body. Secretary appointed by Council, approved by Assembly.

b. No separate power invested in Secretariat.
Prepares agenda for Assembly and International conferences.

Carries out plans and decisions of Council.

Connected or Coordinated Bodies.

a. Permanent Court of International Justice.

b. International Labor Organization.
Practically independent of League, but with similar structure.
Delegates are appointed by governments, but are to represent three groups: government, employers and employees. They vote as individuals, and decisions are by a two-thirds majority. However, conventions adopted by the I. L. O. are not binding upon governments of member states until accepted by them.
States which are not members of the League may join the I. L. O. (the U. S. belongs to the I. L. O.)

3. Committees and Conferences — showing the scope of the work undertaken:

Of the League.

a. "Sections" under the Secretariat:
International Administration Section, Health Section, Disarmament Section, Information Section, Opium Traffic and Social Questions, Communications and Transit Section, Intellectual Cooperation and International Bureaus Section, Legal Section, Mandates Section, Political Section, Minorities Section, Financial Section.

b. Other "Organizations" and "Committees" under the League; Permanent Opium Control Board, Permanent Advisory Commission on Armaments, International Health Organization, Economic and Financial Organization, Communication and Transit Organizations, Statistical Committee, Committees for Refugees, Etc., Etc.

Of the I. L. O.
Permanent Agricultural Committee, International Public Works Committee, Committee on Recreation, Committee on Management, Committee on Investment of Social Security Funds, Committee on Social Changes, Committee on Cost of Living and Wage Statistics, Migration Committee, Etc.

4. Purpose.
"In order to promote international cooperation and to achieve international peace and security." (Covenant.)
To carry out some of the provisions of the peace treaty, i.e., mandates, minorities, etc.
Member states agree:

a. To submit disputes between them to "arbitration or judicial settlement or to inquiry by the Council" and in no case to resort to war within three months after the decision.

b. To take economic and perhaps military sanctions against any state which resorts to war contrary to this agreement.

c. To respect and preserve the territorial integrity and independence of member states.

5. Power.

The Council can only "advise" action, each state making its own decision.

Any state may withdraw from the League.

The Covenant is rather vague on the powers of the League, but in any case it has no way of enforcing its decisions.

Unanimity of decision preserves the sovereignty of the states.

" . . . the League of Nations of which the two fundamental principles are precisely the sovereignty of states and their equality of rights." (Briand.)
"But the League of Nations contains the very defect which destroyed the American Confederation of States. It leaves unimpaired the complete national sovereignty of its members." (Lord Lothian.)

B. Proposals for Reform.

For many years the weaknesses of the League have been talked about; many suggestions for improvement have been made. In general, there have been two points of view: (1) those who believed that the authority of the League should be strengthened and its standard of performance raised, even at the cost of losing members who were lukewarm or non-cooperative; (2) those who believed it so important that all nations be members of the League that they advocated reducing the requirements and performance to a base that all nations would accept. In other words, there was a fundamental difference of opinion as to whether the chance of growth and strength lay in a narrow though devoted membership, or in a wide though rather indifferent one. The question was never settled and the League was not reformed; now it has become so weak that there is a serious question as to its survival at all.

On the other hand, with all the weak spots in the Covenant of the League, it is probably true that none of these was fatal; that adequate provision was made for change within the League, but there was no will for change among the powerful pro-Ally, pro-victor states; that those states were leaders in the League whose interests were served by the League. However perfect the structure may be, without the will to cooperate to preserve peace and justice we shall not succeed.

1. The Bruce Report.

The Bruce Committee was appointed by the League to study the matter of dividing the economic and social work of the League more definitely from the political. This Committee, whose report was adopted by the League, recommended the setting up of a Central Committee for Economic and Social Questions. The Central Committee is to have the same sort of autonomy as has the I. L. O. It may have among its members nations not belonging to the League. The Committee is to be composed, at first, of representatives of twenty-four states (whether members of the League or not) and eight economic and social experts regardless of nationality. All questions of an economic or social nature are to be referred to this new body. Decisions shall be made by majority vote of those present.

This reform of the League has already been made, on paper at least. Whatever the fate of the League itself, and whatever the political situation after the war, it is possible that the I. L. O. and the new Central Committee may continue to work toward a world organization to control economic relations. Especially this may be true, if the post-war political organization is on the basis of regions. In that case, the non-political part of the League may be salvaged as a new framework for a world government in the economic sphere.

2. Swiss Committee of the International Peace Campaign.

This Committee declared, in 1939, for a new League of Nations, new in spirit and form, based on the following principles:

a. The League must have authority; international law must take the place of absolute sovereignty of states

b. Protection of small states; the policy of neutrality must be repudiated.

c. Justice; liberation of not only such countries as Austria, Poland, Abyssinia, but also of the people themselves.

d. General disarmament, accompanied by a League police force.

e. Re-orientation of economic life and justice in social conditions; the rights of man must be given first place.

f. The peoples — not the governments or their diplomats — must carry out the peace program, both the treaty-making and the subsequent organization.

3. British League of Nations Union.

This union is in favor of:

a. Some limitation of national sovereignty. "The supremacy of Law founded on Justice must be accepted as the fundamental principle of international relations." All differences must be settled by "judicial decision, arbitration, or authoritative mediation."

b. Reduction and limitation of armaments. This should be supervised by the international authority, which should also protect a state which has limited its armaments.

c. Means for dealing pacifically with international disputes, whether of a justiciable nature or not.

d. Economic prosperity and social justice, to be furthered by freeing of international commerce, maintaining standards of labor, increasing consumption and bettering distribution of world's resources.

e. Protection of minorities.

4. Oscar Newfang's World Federation.

Newfang points out that the basic conditions of permanent peace are (1) political unity and (2) economic freedom. The achievement of permanent peace within nations has come along with their attaining these two conditions. Compare with histories of Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy. The number of states in this world has been constantly reduced, and this reduction has been accompanied by wider areas of peace. In the world today there is international anarchy and international economic chaos. When these are replaced by political unity and economic freedom, peace will follow. The same history as that of individual states will characterize the world as a whole. The League of Nations is in this line of development.

Lesson VIII. Pan-Europa. Regional Pacts.

1. Briand's "European Federal Union".

In 1929 Briand made a proposal to the Assembly of the League which was later sent as a memorandum from the French Government to member states. Replies were received but no important action was ever undertaken.

The proposal was for "a federation built not upon the idea of unity but of union" to be composed of all the European states which were members of the League. This federation — a development of the Locarno agreements "which initiated the true policy of European cooperation"— was to further the cause of peace by solving special European problems. It must not (a) be in opposition to any other group (b) weaken the League in any way (c) interfere with the "absolute sovereignty and entire independence" of its members. The organization of the union was to include:

a. European Conference (all members of the Union).

b. Permanent Political Committee, an "organ of research and instrument of action" (some selected members of the Union).

c. Secretariat (at first not permanent).

Briand believed that political problems must be settled before the economic, and that it was necessary for European political problems to be solved before the League could succeed. The Union would give European states an opportunity for regular contacts and meetings for discussion of their common problems. After security and political union were secured, questions of economic development, tariffs, etc., could be undertaken.

Under the economic organization of Europe, which was to be effected under the political responsibility of the governments working in unison, were the establishment of a common market to raise the standard of living in Europe, "rational organization of production and of European exchanges, by means of the progressive liberation and simplification of the circulation of goods, capital, and individuals, due account being taken of the requirements of each state as regards national defense."

2. Pan-Europa of Coudenhove-Kalergi.

Count Coudenhove-Kalergi founded the **L'Union Pan-Europeene** in 1922, and was its president. He advocated a "Pan-Europe" which would use the United States of America as its economic model and the Pan-American Union as its political model.

Pan-Europe would be achieved in stages, as follows:

a. Assembling of Pan-European Conference, which would

(1) appoint committees on arbitration, guarantees, disarmament, minorities, communications, currency, debts, and culture;

(2) provide for periodical conferences;

(3) establish a Pan-European Bureau as a central organ for the unification movement.

b. Conclusion of the bi-lateral or multi-lateral compulsory arbitration treaties and security pacts.

c. Formation of Pan-European customs union, possibly preceded by customs or monetary unions of smaller groups.

d. Adoption of Constitution of the United States of Europe

(1) House of Representatives with 300 members, each representing one million people.

(2) House of States, each state having one representative.

Coudenhove-Kalergi advocated the development of four other similar supernational continental groups, thus organizing the whole world into (1) Pan-American, (2) Pan-European, (3) British, (4) Russian (which was not to be included in Pan-Europa) and (5) Mongolian regional units.

Briand, who proposed the European Union to the League of Nations, was a member and honorary president of Coudenhove-Kalergi's association.

In October, 1940, this association under the name Pan-European Union, moved its headquarters to New York City.

3. Alfred Bingham's United States of Europe.

Bingham would have the world organized into five or six regions: The United States of Europe, the British Empire (England would belong to both of these), the Americas, Asia, the U. S. S. R. (Russia being excluded from U. S. of Europe) and, possibly, the Mediterranean desert countries. Colonies would be either brought to self-government or mandated.

There would be no "democratic bill of rights" as the U. S. of Europe would contain both democratic and dictator countries. But minorities would be guaranteed the right to migrate with their property. There would be cultural and administrative autonomy within the Union.

Structure of United States of Europe: In the legislative branch there would be a **Council of States** (representation according to importance of country, and majority decision), a **Council of Nationalities** (representing cultures, with little legislative power), and an **Assembly** (elected by the people according to population).

There would be an executive elected by the legislature; there would be a judiciary similar to the present World Court, which would eventually form a supreme court for Europe; and there would be administrative organs under the executive controlling the army and navy, commercial aviation, etc.

States would retain their armies temporarily, but disarmament would be achieved as fast as possible under a European Arms Control Commission. States would give up their navies. The Federal Army and Navy would protect the union from an outside power or from a rebellious member.

In the political realm world organization may be postponed in favor of regional organization. But in the economic realm it is necessary at once. The following are advocated:

a. World Investment Commission
including European Reconstruction Commission and World Investment Bank.

b. World Trade Commission (1) Cartels Division, (2) Raw Materials Division, (3) Tariff Division. (Bingham is opposed to a customs union or a free trade area because he believes the trend of the times is toward controlled cartels and monopolies, and it would be useless to struggle against this trend.)

c. I. L. O.

d. Bank for International Settlements.

4. **The "New Republic" (January 8, 1940) advocates:**

a. A European organization (as more feasible than a world organization).

b. Logical sub-units, as, perhaps, a Danubian Federation, a Scandinavian Federation.

c. Some authority given to the Federation over such matters as: enforcement of disarmament, changes in tariffs, changes in the mandates system, enforcement of a bill of rights, currency uniformity, labor standards,

raw materials, migrations, international programs for agriculture, public works, education, news and travel. There should be a police force of the Federation and a court with compulsory jurisdiction in certain matters.

5. **The "United States News" (October 23, 1939):**

Makes a suggestion for a peace conference and an economic federation of European states. The Economic Federation is to be governed by a council of nine representatives chosen according to ability, not nationality. The Federation shall have power to arrange trade agreements for itself and with outside states; it shall consider plans for international loans to facilitate resumption of peace-time life, and financial consortiums for economic development; it shall arrange for repatriation of populations or protection of minorities.

Lesson IX. Federation of Nations (The Campaign for World Government).

The Campaign for World Government has been carried on for some years under the leadership of Lola Maverick Lloyd and Rosika Schwimmer. Their ideal is an "all-inclusive, non-military, democratic federation of nations."

1. **Structure.**

Basis of Membership: Inclusive. All are invited to join. The preliminary Constitutional Convention, which is to draw up the detailed plan, may begin with delegates from any six countries.

Preliminary Organization:

a. Committee of Experts — to devise rules for democratic elections, to be used in all countries in electing delegates to the Constitutional Convention and to the Federation.

b. Constitutional Convention — temporary organization — to draw up Constitution for Federation of Nations.

Federation of Nations — the permanent organization.

a. World Parliament. 10 delegates from each state, elected by people.
Delegates shall vote as individuals.
World Parliament elects president, vice-president, executive board.

b. Executive Board: shall reside at the seat of world government and carry on its work.

c. Permanent Secretary.

d. Commissions (see below).

2. Purpose.

To Maintain World Peace.

Principles:

a. All-inclusive. Only one form of membership.

b. Non-military. No troops. No enforcement of decisions on States.

c. Democratic. Representatives elected by the people. " . . . their (member States) national sovereignty being unlimited except where their interdependence requires federal regulation." Lloyd.

3. Functions **Through Commissions:**

a. To plan work to take care of unemployed.

b. To plan control of production and distribution of raw materials of world.

c. To plan abolition of all tariffs.

d. To control transportation and communication between States.

e. To plan regulation of world finance and uniform monetary system.

f. To prepare code of international law, and plan machinery for its administration.

g. To reorganize diplomatic machinery of interstate intercourse.

h. To plan for arbitration of internal disputes.

i. To solve population problems
(1) by voluntary transfer of populations.
(2) by legislation of birth control.

j. To regulate rights and duties of world citizenship.

k. To plan education of unbiased sort for all children.

l. To plan adequate health service.

m. To prepare legislation to safeguard news and its use.

Lesson X. Federal Union (Union Now).

The basis for this proposal was laid by Clarence Streit in his book, **Union Now.** The Inter-Democracy Federal Unionists is the organization advocating this plan. Their idea is for a union operating in all fields where it can increase the freedom for the individual. They emphasize equality of men rather than equality of states.

1. **Structure.**

Membership.

a. All democracies, i.e., those States which guarantee to their citizens the Union's Bill of Rights.

b. Original members — 15 democracies, chiefly North Atlantic, (or part of these, e.g., Great Britain, France and U. S.)

Framework.

a. Legislative:

(1) House of Deputies — one representative for every half-million, or one million, population, by popular election.

(2) Senate — two representatives for every country of 25 millions or less population, and two additional for every additional 25 or 50 millions.

b. Executive:

(1) Executive Board — 5 persons (3 by popular vote of all citizens, 1 by House, 1 by Senate). Duties: Appoints premier, names judges, makes treaties, heads army, has some veto power, and can dissolve legislature.

(2) Premier and Cabinet — subject to confidence of both houses.

c. Judiciary:

(1) A Supreme Court.
No interstate questions excluded from its jurisdiction.

2. **Purpose, Functions, Power, etc.**

a. To further democracy. To preserve peace within the area of the democracies to this end.

b. Function in fields in which Union will have authority:
a. citizenship (in addition to state citizenship)
b. defense
c. customs (free trade within Union)
d. money (international currency)
e. postal and communicative system
In fields committed to Union, States give up their own sovereignty.

c. Union has its own forces for enforcing its law and for protecting Union from outside powers. It can raise its troops directly, and can tax its citizens directly.

3. **Present Program.**

Mr. Streit, who was for some years the New York Times correspondent in Geneva, wrote **Union Now** as his solution of the problem presented by the failures of the League of Nations, which he had been studying at first hand. His proposal was made the year before the war broke out, and the fifteen democracies which were the nucleus of his organization were: The United States, Great Britain, France, Finland, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Holland, Belgium, Switzerland, Ireland, Union of South Africa, Australia, New Zealand, and Canada.

As most of these countries have now been conquered by Germany, Mr. Streit proposes that those remaining — really the United States and the British Empire — join in a union, and await the time when the organization can be made more inclusive.

Many feel that, whatever the merits of the original plan, such a union of the United States and the British Empire now would be little more than a military alliance. The question is whether any beginning of a world government could be made while the war is in progress.

Lesson XI. A Plan for World Government.

In this lesson there is set forth a plan for world government which takes into account some of the issues discussed in Part II. In parts it is fragmentary, almost omitting the judicial phase, and giving fewer details in the political than in the economic program.

In order to institute this form of world government at the end of the present war, the following preliminary steps might be taken:

1. Scrap the Covenant of the League (and the name, if you wish)—but not the organizations and facilities which have value.
2. Appoint a Committee of Experts I to draw up a new structure of government based on the principles and organization set forth below.
3. Appoint a Committee II to draw up a program of international economic cooperation, based on the principles set forth below.
4. Have a first and second peace conference (see proposal of Harold Nicholson), the first to be restricted to the immediate military settlement, and the second — not really a

peace conference, but a world conference of nations to construct the foundation for a peaceful world — made up of neutrals as well as belligerents. All nations willing to accept the principles laid down in the reports of the Committees of Experts will be members of this conference. The first Committee will determine the method of appointment or election of delegates, but in no case may more than one-third of any nation's delegates be official or/and military representatives. The reports of the Committees of Experts (made public as soon as possible, and long before this conference) will form the basis upon which the details of the government are to be worked out.

The Committees of Experts shall be appointed by the governments of those nations which are now members of the League of Nations, but in no case shall any official of the government or any representative of the military forces of the nation be appointed. Experts and world-minded citizens, in sympathy with the principles and plans set forth below, should be appointed.

A Reconstituted League of Nations

The following proposal is made for a government which would be a drastic revision of the League of Nations, preceded by a scrapping of the present Covenant. The present equipment, knowledge, committee organization, etc., of the present League would be used as much as possible. But the new structure would be set up without regard in advance to how much that might be.

The organization will definitely be a federation with limitation of the sovereignty of member states. The federation, or League of Nations, will have authority in designated interstate matters. Interstate in this connection does not mean only matters between States (i.e., Governments) but between individuals or organizations when these fall within the fields of international concern handed over to the League of Nations.

The elections, mentioned below, should be free elections with general adult suffrage. Whether the League should enforce the same standards immediately upon all nations is a question of practicality as well as of principle. Should France be barred because she does not permit women to vote? Should the U. S. be barred because Negroes are often prevented from voting?

The League shall have a police force to maintain its authority. This force shall be under the exclusive jurisdiction of the League.

1. **Structure: (two Houses, a Board, the World Court).**

Congress — with jurisdiction over economic matters. The members will be elected within States to represent economic groups, the basis of representation being the relative weights of various economic groups in member states. Among such groups are: agriculture, capital goods industries, consumer goods industries, transportation, financial institutions, professions. In each case the representatives will be divided between workers and owners or managers. In addition there will be members elected to represent consumers — or the people — and experts at large.

Assembly — with jurisdiction over political matters.

Two-thirds of the members will be elected by the people and one-third appointed by the government, in each case, to represent each member state.

a. Voting in each house will be by individuals. Measures will require a two-thirds vote to pass, unless an exception is made under the Constitution.

b. Each house acts in its appropriate sphere, and its actions are not subject to the approval of the other house, except that a measure may be vetoed by the combined negative votes of the other house (by a two-thirds majority) and the Board (by a majority).

c. The World Court (or a special court set up by it) will decide questions of jurisdiction between the two houses.

d. Each house will have standing committees on various matters, particularly on those mentioned in the sections below. In the case of the Congress, there will be much coordination with the I. L. O.
The work and facilities of the I. L. O. should be used to the fullest extent possible.

Board.

a. The Board will consist of five members, named as individuals and not representatives of any particular State or group. Two of these will be elected by the Congress, two by the Assembly, and one by these four.

b. The Board will form a convenient organization through which the League can act, will be the administrative body, but will have little independent power. The police force will be under the direct jurisdiction of the Board but its use will be under the authority of the two houses.

2. **Functions of the Congress.**

Principles — to guide actions in economic field:
a. Maintenance of international economic stability.
b. A rising standard of living.

Program — to control to whatever extent is agreed upon, and on the principles stated in each case, the following economic matters: (There will be one or more standing committees on each of these, with experts and advisers and research personnel attached to it. These committees will work out a definite plan for the control of the matter in question. This plan may be put into operation gradually.)

a. Raw materials — their availability and exploitation.
Principle of equal availability.
b. International trade:
(1) Barriers
Principle of reduction and freedom.
(2) Markets (Cartels, dumping, etc.)
Principle of equal rights.
c. International finance:
(1) Currency
Principle of a common standard.
(2) International banking, loans, etc.
Principle of international stability and prosperity.
(If possible, use the Bank for International Settlements by expanding its functions.)
d. Labor standards:
(Extend the work of the I. L. O. and add authority where possible.)
Principle of equalization.
e. Social security:
Principle of economic stability and security.
f. Populations and migrations:
(1) Problems of population pressures.
(2) Immigration and emigration policies, (including refugees).
(3) Principle of freedom and equality.
g. Transportation and communication.
Principle of freedom from frictions, equality.

Extent of Activity.

a. The Congress will have to decide how far to go, how fast to go; but the direction is determined by the principles, which will have been set down by the Committee of Experts or the Conference organizing the League, and will have been accepted by members.
b. It may be possible to include the cooperation of non-members in many of these fields.
c. It may be advisable to develop regions (based on geography or interest) within the League, which will carry farther than the League as a whole some of this program (e.g., customs unions, monetary unions).

3. Functions of the Assembly.

Principle — to guide action in political field:

International cooperation for the maintenance of peace, based on justice between nations and justice and freedom within nations.

Correlative Principles and Program:

a. A bill of rights for citizens, to be accepted by all member states.
b. A common citizenship under the League.
c. Limitation of sovereignty of member states, as far as is required by the economic and political principles upon which League action is based.
d. Disarmament, to be achieved gradually as confidence and security grow. There should be a standing committee of the Assembly on Disarmament.
e. Control over the amount of production and the transportation of munitions.
f. Provision for protection of *minorities*.
g. Colonies to be mandated to the League.
h. An independent news agency of the League uncensored in all member states.

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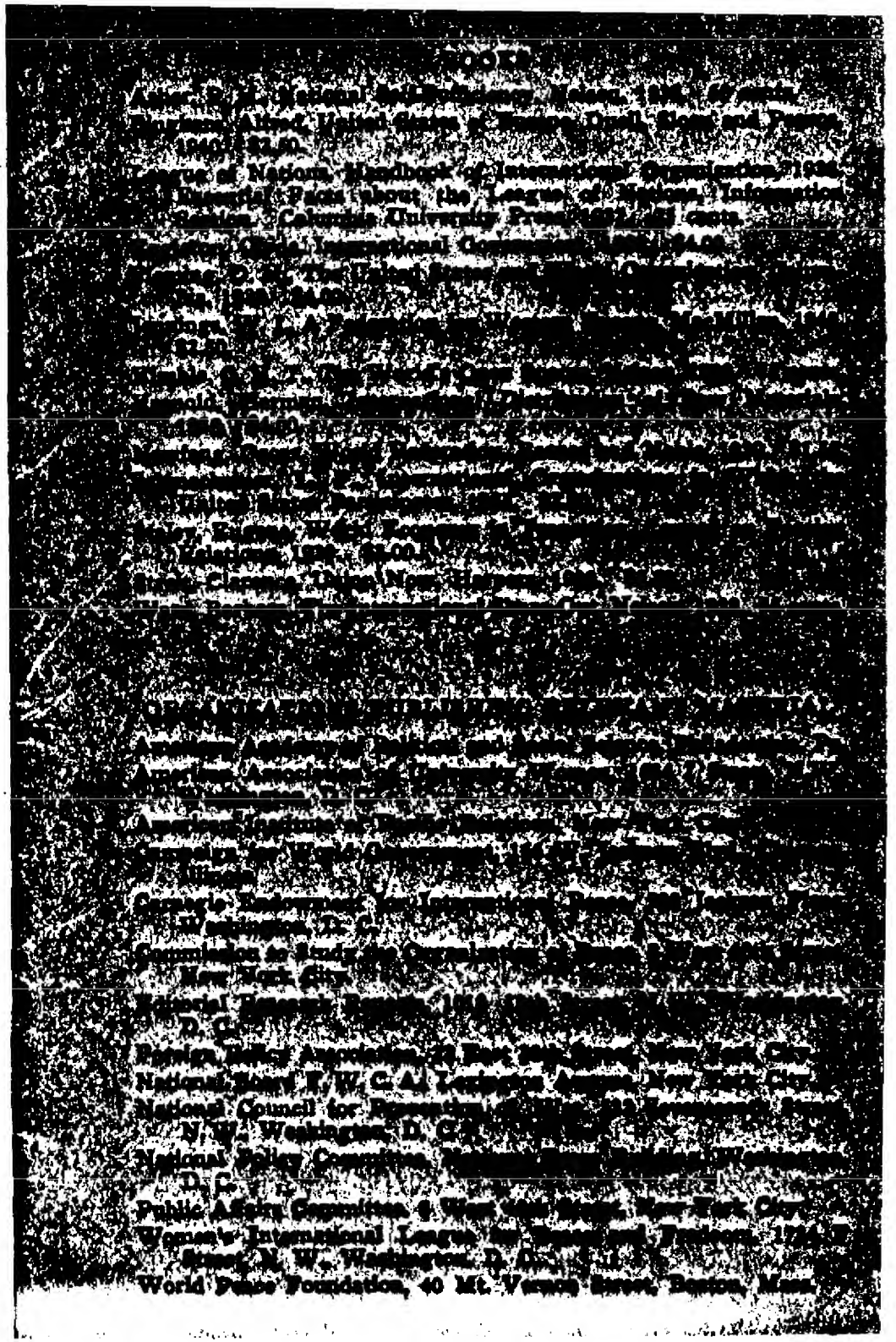

1 THE GENTILE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE 1
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7 JEW DICTATORSHIP - JEW WAR MONGERS - JEW MONOPOLISTS 4
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JEW "SECRET CONTROLS" in the United States
★ Gentile Protocols ★

I PLEDGE MYSELF to do all in my power to VOTE OUT and help keep ALL JEWS out of Political Offices and Positions of Authority.

I PLEDGE MYSELF to EXPOSE the JEWS who change their names to conceal their JEWISH RACIAL IDENTITY in order to gain FAVORS and TRUSTS which would not otherwise be granted.

I PLEDGE MYSELF to EXPOSE the fact that COMMUNISM is nothing more than a scheme for JEW CONTROL, originated by JEWS and PROMOTED and INTRODUCED into the United States by JEWS.

I PLEDGE MYSELF to AVOID purchasing foodstuffs or any kind of merchandise manufactured or sold by JEWS as a PRECAUTION against being POISONED or CHEATED.

I PLEDGE MYSELF to KEEP AWAY from JEW Doctors, JEW Dentists, JEW Druggists, or JEWISH-CONTROLLED HOSPITALS or INSTITUTIONS.

I PLEDGE MYSELF to AVOID any JEW Judge, JEW Jury or JEW Lawyer in any litigation wherein GENTILE INTERESTS are involved.

I PLEDGE MYSELF to HELP PROSECUTE and EXPOSE JEW murderers, Thieves and Criminals along with their PAID ASSASSINS.

I PLEDGE MYSELF to EXPOSE and BOYCOTT all those concerns who hire JEW REFUGEES, thereby ROBBING the GENTILE Americans of THEIR JOBS.

I PLEDGE MYSELF to SUPPORT MEASURES to take from the JEWS and INTERNATIONALISTS their CONTROL of OUR MONETARY SYSTEM.

I PLEDGE MYSELF not to be MISLED by propaganda dispensed by the JEW - CONTROLLED press, radio and movies.

I PLEDGE MYSELF to OPPOSE any JEW ACTIVITY in our Churches, Schools, Universities, Clubs, Labor Unions and all other organizations.

I PLEDGE MYSELF not to DIVULGE any SECRET to any J E W which could be used in any way DETRIMENTAL to the welfare of a GENTILE.

I PLEDGE MYSELF to EXPOSE the JEW SLACKERS for the army who AVOID service for any cause, whether by "PHONY" EXAMINATION by a JEW Doctor, graft, fraud, cowardice, or otherwise.

I PLEDGE MYSELF to REPORT to the Proper Officials or some recognized Patriotic Organization ANY JEW who lives in, or entered the United States ILLEGALLY.

I PLEDGE MYSELF to OPPOSE allowing our GENTILE AMERICANS to fight other GENTILES and DIE for some JEW CAUSE, whether HERE or in some FOREIGN COUNTRY.

I PLEDGE MYSELF to OPPOSE and EXPOSE any GENTILE who "FRONTS FOR," "CONNIVES WITH" or who "CARRIES THE BANNER" for a JEW CAUSE detrimental to GENTILES.

I PLEDGE MYSELF to go to the AID and ASSISTANCE of any GENTILE who has been cheated, mistreated or discriminated against by JEWS.

I PLEDGE MYSELF to READ and DISCUSS these "GENTILE PROTOCOLS" with my Friends, Neighbors and Fellow Workers.

I PLEDGE MYSELF to help DISTRIBUTE or REPRODUCE this literature and make distribution — typewritten carbon copies, mimeograph copies, planograph, printed or hand written copies.

WHEN ALL OTHER GENTILES KEEP THESE PLEDGES AS I DO, IT WILL BE THE MEANS OF BRINGING ABOUT AN IMMEDIATE "GENTILE PROSPERITY" IN THE UNITED STATES THAT WILL AMAZE THE MOST SKEPTICAL.

YES! WE ARE IN THE WAR!

The Jews Have Waged Some Kind of An Undeclared War Against The Gentile All Over The World For The Past 2,500 Years!

PLEASE HELP DISTRIBUTE THIS LITERATURE — SEND A QUANTITY TO YOUR FRIENDS -

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★ GET THE JEWS OUT OR THEY WILL GET YOU ★

WARN MAKERS OF WAR: RELIGION IS ON THE MARCH!

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Archbishop, Editor Join in Neutrality Crusade.

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BY THE REV. JOHN EVANS.

Religion went "on the march" last night against administration war makers when Archbishop Francis J. L. Beckman of Dubuque and the Rev. Dr. Charles Clayton Morrison of the Disciples denomination, editor of the undenominational Protestant journal, Christian Century, joined in demands against repeal of the neutrality law over the nation-wide Mutual network.

Rev. Dr. Charles Clayton Morrison.

The broadcast, originating from KDTH, Dubuque, where the archbishop was detained in his home by illness, and W-G-N, Chicago, in combination with yesterday's publication of a Catholic-Protestant demand that congress continue the neutrality legislation in Archbishop Beckman's official archdiocesan journal, the Catholic Witness, marks a new moment in civil and religious history of the country. Both speakers directed their addresses to congress, which had been notified of the broadcast.

Calling a Halt.

"And let no man cry, 'religion in politics,'" the archbishop challenged. "Moral issues are involved. When corruption, deceit, and communism entrench themselves in government it is time that religion steps in and calls a halt."

The archbishop praised those congressmen who "have fought heroically against power, pressure, patronage, and abuse," and have remained "true to their pledge of peace." He released from blame those congressmen who in the past voted for war measures "because they sincerely believed them peace measures of strict defense."

"Those can yet redeem themselves with their people. It is to those faithless politicians who have listened to the voice of Caesar instead of the people that we sound our warning. If you vote to send American ships into war zones you will be voting the deliberate murder of our boys.

"If you dare to repudiate your people you, in turn, will be repudiated. I am satisfied now that religion will furnish that leadership. As a proof of that point you are getting a foretaste of it now. Religion is on the march."

"Let the People Heal."

Dr. Morrison declared that the most important thing to tell congress on the eve of the vote on repeal of neutrality is "how the people feel about their government."

"They feel," said Dr. Morrison, "that congress no longer represents them, but that it represents the President. This impression is widespread that the President has tied congress to his war chariot so that it no longer listens to the people, but listens only to the President.

"The people see their congress setting the ribs of Hitler's reichstag, which meets when he calls it together to rubber stamp the dictator's decrees. A poignant sense of helplessness has therefore seized the people. His majesty the American citizen has had his proud sense of authority broken. His will is being frustrated. He is no longer the arbiter of the nation's destiny.

"Not America's War."

"Our people, in their heart of hearts, do not believe that this is their war. Neither their national interest nor any high, unselfish duty dictates that they fight in it. They can serve America best and humanity best by staying out.

"The President knows that this is the deepest conviction of the overwhelming majority of the people. Otherwise congress would be asked to declare war in the constitutional way. The people desire to trust their President. But our leaders have not trusted the people. For two years the people have been deceived. The leaders have exploited the people's trust.

"The American people are being forced by subterfuge, by a cumulative sequence of executive events to take part in a war which they do not believe is America's war.

Poses Some Questions.

"Why should America pledge her destiny to a cause which cannot be defined? Why should she enter into an alliance with nations whose collaboration cannot be predicted beyond the segment of military victory?

"Up to date, congress has granted all the President's demands. If now it refuses to repeal the neutrality law it will say to the President: Thus far, but no farther! We have already gone as far as our commitments require. We do not propose to go farther along this road.

"Only congress stands between the American people and a war which is not America's war. Congress must not let the people down!"

Box X 6-81

YOU CAN SAVE OUR BOYS!

(These leaflets are being distributed to the public. Please contact Me and help distribute them everywhere.)

There are almost 200,000 Clergymen in America. **More than enough to stop the war.** Each of them are ordained to obey the commandments of God. The word of God teaches to forgive, enlighten and save—not to hate, darken nor destroy.

The present war is a materialistic one. None of the fighting leaders are fighting for God. All are doing the works of the devil and America, itself, will become destroyed if we allow our boys to be ordered into foreign battles. America **will not be** attacked from without. There is no nation, nor combination of nations, that can invade us. We will be destroyed from within by New Deal despotism and bungling which is sending our defenses and money abroad. With the Lend-Lease Program the New Dealers will make us, taxpayers, bear the burden of the European war unless we do something effective to curb and reverse their plans. Our democracy, under the conditions they have planned for us, cannot survive. The New Deal Dictators already are beginning to undermine our churches by suggesting what our Clergymen should preach.

You workers and parents are the "salt of the earth". There is a way to prevent New Dealers in Washington from sending our boys across the seas to war. Those New Dealers are only a materialistically minded minority, who, with false pre-election promises, have deceived us. Because they are only a minority they can easily be diverted from their plans by our combined American Clergymen, who are a great majority, with a still greater public majority supporting them. If an army of 150,000 American Clergymen and laymen would make a mass pilgrimage to Washington, and there, at mass meetings, summon the President, his cabinet, Senators and Representatives before them, and demand pre-election promises be kept—then our democratic institutions and our boys will be saved.

It is not too late but there is no time to lose. Is not the saving of the lives of millions of our boys worth everything to you?

Following is what you must do: (1) Write to your Priest, Preacher or Rabbi and offer to **help pay his expenses** to make a trip to Washington to attend protesting Clergymen's mass meetings. (2) Get all your friends and have them get their friends to also write to their Priest, Preacher or Rabbi offering to **help pay for his expenses** to make the trip. Every church member and friend can easily afford to help contribute money so the Priest's, Preacher's or Rabbi's expenses will be paid. This will help save the lives of our boys, will greatly reduce taxes and enrich our future. In addition it will save the "democracy and independence" our forefathers gave us.

Neither Britain nor Russia are democracies. Britain is a monarchy and Russia is a dictatorship. How can we expect to win their battles for them over there after they have lost their strength and themselves are too weak to take care of themselves? Perhaps they are doing their **fighting the wrong way** and have enticed our New Dealers into the **same errors.** We must save ourselves from their errors. We must also save the lives of our boys and our democratic way of life here—not elsewhere. Would our future be happy if through our negligence our boys are sunk in the sea or killed in action? No! Then we better make up our minds to do something about it **NOW.**

Last Monday, **Nov.10, 1941,** I mailed enclosed leaflets entitled **"Clergymen To Stop War"** to every Clergymen in Chicago. Every one of them has been informed of the Washington Pilgrimage.

Now I repeat: (1) Write to your Priest, Preacher or Rabbi and offer to **help pay his** expenses to make a trip to Washington to

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attend protesting Clergymen's mass meetings. (2) Get all your friends and have them get their friends to also write to their Priest, Preacher or Rabbi offering to help pay for expense to make the trip.

I am only a poor worker with a family and a $2000 unpaid mortgage on my humble home, but, I have already spent over $250 in postage and printing to help keep America out of war. In addition I have written my friend, the Preacher, and sent him a $20.00 check for his Washington trip. I will personally request of my friends to help contribute toward the Preacher's trip. If they refuse then they are not my friends, nor Christians, and I will have lost nothing by losing their friendship. I will make them read this message. I cannot expect to save the life of my boy nor that of all the others unless I do something about it. So I am doing all I can. If you fail to help—then you are our enemy destroying both yourself and us. Help your Priest, Preacher or Rabbi and he will help us save our independence and the lives of our boys.

Also the Jews should help prevent America's entry into war. They have had a good home here and have enjoyed equal opportunities with the rest of us. What can the rank and file of them gain by America's entry into war. Nothing—but they will lose much if we go to war. America is threatened with a bloody revolution if we become deeply involved—and the Jews will then be persecuted here the same as they were elsewhere. The Jews and Christians are all of the same earth, air and Creator. We should not hate nor kill each other because of material possessions. In the final analysis none of them belong to us because we cannot take anything into the Beyond except the love and friendships we have made on earth. In the Beyond we will not want our enemies to be enemies—so why not make friends of them here. We may not be able to make friends with Hitler (?) but it is not impossible to make friends with the German rank and file if we reason in long term friendships and fair dealings instead of materialistic greedy gain (like the last time). I have met domineering Britishers, Frenchmen, Irishmen, Mexicans, Italians, Jews, and Americans—as well as Germans. But why should we of the rank and file kill and make life miserable for each other because of their short sighted foolishness? All wars are the result of greed and it was the wealthy of Britain, France, Germany and America who re-armed Germany after she was disarmed. The wealthy internationalists are continually playing international financial games with national currencies, national aggressions and the lives of the rank and file.

We, the people of America, demand that the foolishness of war be banished from our life. War will not come to us unless we go out to get into it. Let us send our Priests, Preachers and Rabbis to Washington to demand America's withdrawal from war involvement. (1) They can take the time—(2) they have the education and qualifications—(3) they are a majority over the New Dealers—(4) as denominations they are united—(5) they are the leaders over the New Dealers because they represent the God of Peace, not the error of war—(6) it is their duty to prevent war—(7) they owe it to us because we pay them their salaries—(8) we can pay their expenses to Washington and they can get there before it is too late. If you fail the clergy and the clergy fails us—then **AMERICA AND ALL OF US ARE DOOMED.** Now get busy. Do all I have requested in order to save your own future as well as ours. United we stand and divided, in error, we fall.

RICHARD EVANS
P. O. BOX 5324 CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Nov. 11, 1941

Immediately send for more copies of this. Distribute them to friends everywhere. The law prevents me from soliciting money but nevertheless I need it to carry on this work. Thank you.

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BULLETIN NO. 291 B#58 "MARCH on WASHINGTON to IMPEACH Pres. Roosevelt". Nov. 18, 1941.

AID FOR AID! Appeal in AID! B#289 resulted in number of faithful sending in their remittances - for which I am most thankful. However, there are many who have been getting this bulletin service for some time who have not responded. Some promised to remit - but have not done so. To them I appeal again for their help.

Until supply exhausted: $3. remittance entitles you to free copy of 50¢ book, TNT; $5. for year's subscription entitles you to free copy of 60¢ book, THE OCTOPUS (2 for $1; 7 for $3), the 256-p. book with 2,300 names in index, which put so much fear into NUDEAL and its "control" (Organized Jewry-Intl.Finance), that the P.O.Dept. denied it the book post rate of 1½¢ per lb., forcing me to pay 7¢ to 14¢ parcelpost zone rates, all designed to hinder wide distribution of THE OCTOPUS. (I also sell: EDUCATION FOR DESTRUCTION - $1.50; THE DICTATE-APER - 25¢; and PLANNED ECONOMY with its 3 famous Charts - $1).

THE INDIVIDUALIST (P.O.Box 373, Lincoln, Nebr.- 10 issues $1), No.146, develops generally unconsidered angles on FDR's gift of one billion dollars for Communism (with no repayment until after this war, if ever, and with no interest, whereas Americans not only must pay interest but undoubtedly will be holding the sack for the billion). This bulletin, worth sending your dime for, climaxes with: "A Pacific War In The Making - The combination which includes the repeal of the Neutrality Act, arming our merchant marine, delivering supplies to Russia thru the Japanese zone and deliberately fomenting ill-will between Japan and ourselves, will insure the International New Dealers of the perpetuation of the wartime emergency even tho England and Germany sign an armistice this coming year. It will also please Stalin if we help him to defeat his enemies in Asia; it will please the reds who are looking after his interests in the USA; it will please Churchill if we have to get busy in the Far East leaving more of our trade to English manufacturer and the English merchant marine; it will please Hitler if Russia is forced to open up a another front. In fact, it will please everyone except the overwhelming majority of Ame icans who have been trying to preserve their country, avoid dictatorship and keep out of war."

HISTORY. In debates re repealing Neutrality Act, Repr.Landis (CONGR.RECORD 11-12-41), relying on figures obtained from embassies, War Dept. and Library of Congress, said: ".. Before we condemn our own boys to agony and death, let us examine the record of the killed, wounded, and captured: Britain(2 yrs.) - 134,000; Poland - 1,675,000; France - 2,365,000; Russia (3 mos.) - 2,565,000; Belgium - 230,000; Yugoslavia - 225,000; Holland - 160,000; Greece - 95,000; Norway - 5,000..." B#290 gives British field forces deaths the past 2 years at less than 20,000. Consider, too, that the Institute of London Underwriters 11-11-41 announced a 25% reduction in the war-risk marine insurance rate between British ports east of Southampton and the Americas.

From such official figures it is plain that this "fake" war is not punishing Brita the instigator (and financier, along with USA, of Hitler's war machine from its start). For being Organized Jewry-Intl.Finance's chief tool for imposing military-economic dict torships upon the world (thru war scares and "defense programs"), Britain is being rewarded, not only with such slight death losses, but with increases to its Empire, to it shipping, and its foreign trade. Also, on the Continent, where an awakening to the "con trol's" plan and purposes was taking place, death and destruction of property on a hellish scale materializes largely outside of Germany, exactly as in WorldWarI. I.e., Germany is being saved, as England, from wholesale death and destruction (for property lar ly in hands of Organized Jewry-Intl.Finance), for doing its part in consolidating the Continent under a single dictatorship.

Slaughter now in White Russia conveniently destroys millions of essentially white Christians - those of central and eastern Europe. Thus when the armistice comes, those who might have offered resistance to the imposing of the final phases of slavery-dictat ship by Organized Jewry-Intl.Finance, will have been conveniently liquidated. The same

net result of the over 40 0,000 liquidation by torture, [illegible]rvation and murder the past 24 years in Russia (in order to consolidate Organized Jewry, Intl.Finance's dictatorship in Russia), is being achieved thru the present war (continuation of WorldWarI), in Europe proper. Thus is the Satanic Plot being achieved as envisioned by Rabbi David Cohen of Temple Beth Abraham in the rabbinical magazine EMANU-EL & THE JEWISH JOURNAL of San Francisco, NewYear's issue 9-8-1939: ".. A war in Europe will be of some good if the reactionary elements (Christians) in all countries kill each other off or wear each other out. This is a gruesome hope. But what other alternative is there?..."

I.e., only hope Organized Jewry-Intl.Finance has of completing its Satanic world-wide dictatorship, is to see to it that Christians "in all countries kill each other off or wear each other out". That's why Jewish FDR is illegally sending American boys to their deaths, at same time wearing us out with one emergency after another - 44 emergencies in last 9 years according to 11-12-41 CONGR.RECORD - with resulting debts, taxes, and chaos to come, all serving to clamp said military-economic dictatorship onto USA.

Following item purporting to be UP dispatch 10-3-1938 throws light on Jewishness of the Roosevelts: "The Gerhard Von Koschembahr family, refugees from Germany, planned today to leave for Hyde Park to visit a relative - Mrs.Roosevelt, mother of the Pres... Von Koschembahr's father was a Jew. Mrs. Von Koschembahr resembles the Roosevelts. She said her mother was Cornelia Kernochan Roosevelt, daughter of Charles Yates Roosevelt."

Col.McShane's 5-p. bulletin sums up the above technique and suggests what the near future holds in store for those of us who so far have not been liquidated or intimidated:

".. In many well informed quarters we hear the underlying objective is to 'spend' vast sums of our money and to exhaust American resources, to regiment the people and all their activities to the end - complete Socialization, followed by international dictatorship by International Financiers. With Americans broke and bankrupt, the people and their enterprises destroyed or regimented, what could stop this international gang from foreclosing their mortgage and dispossessing the occupants?

"Defense of America - by 'lend-leasing' and giving to Britain, Russia and China (all in the Red Circle) 85% of our defense materials, billions of our money and more in recources; depleting even our own meager defensive weapons, while COURTING a war in the Far East and in the Atlantic and in Europe and in Africa?

"Defend America by calling great nations and their leaders vile names, accusing them of unprovable offenses against humanity; when these nations are at war to accuse them of 'piracy', of unspeakable crimes when, in self-defense they sink merchant and war ships actually attacking theirs? Such is an unknown 'defense' by Americans, until the reign of Emperor Franklin the First. At the same time building vast 'concentration camps' reportedly for 'aliens'? One just completed at Yaphank, L.I. At the same time erecting great hospital facilities in far away locations - reportedly for 'psychotherapy sanitoriums?

"Anyone, any group, daring to oppose Emperor Franklin's personal policies, or edicts, is called 'unpatriotic', 'unAmerican', 'pro-Hitler', a 'Nazi', 'rattlesnake', 'copperhead', 'obstructionist', etc. Are these 'camps' and 'sanitoriums' for them? History records this procedure, all of it, as main items of Communist-Jew-Socialist 'legal' liquidations of enemy 'aliens'.

"Any of you with eyes to see with and a brain that is functioning can see all of these things around you. (CBH- the Colonel had used about 4 pages to itemize NUDEAL moves uptodate). And many more. How long will you just walk by and not do anything about them? Prompt impeachment of the whole mess is our surest DEFENSE, if it is not the only DEFENSE left for Americans."

Erratum. P.1 of B#290 had typographical error: the Intl.Labor Organization conference of 33 nations at the WhiteHouse, with FDR as speaker, was on 11-6-41, not 7-6-4 Incidentally, the official Communist DAILY WORKER played up that League of Nations ILO conference in big style, and praised FDR's speech, giving it 11-7-41 caption 4-columns-wide on front page: "BOOST PRODUCTION TO CRUSH HITLER, FDR URGES IN ADDRESS TO NATION".

Illustrating further that the NUDEAL program, with FDR as der Fuhrer, is identical with that of Judeo-Communism, a dodger advertising the 24th Anniversary (for which FDR gave $1,000,000,000, and sent cabled felicitations to Moscow) Celebration of the Soviet Union on Sunday (what sacrilege - desecrating Christ's Day!), 11-9-41, at Los Angeles,

(Communist dodger) says in part: ".. Without the uninterrupted production of war materials to aid the Soviet Union and Britain, Hitler cannot be defeated. That is why Pres. Roosevelt in his message to Labor declared: 'Every aspect of our national defense hinges on greater industrial production' and 'workers in bondage thruout the world look to you as producers of the weapons of freedom to release them from slavery.' Both the AFofL and the CIO wholeheartedly endorsed such a stand. Hitlerism can be entombed on the eastern front, if you and your fellow workers, together with your neighbors exert every ounce of effort now to SUPPORT THE POLICIES OF PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT FOR FULL CO-OPERATION WITH GREAT BRITAIN AND THE SOVIET UNION. DEFEAT THE AGENTS OF HITLER HERE! -- THE LINDBERGHS, WHEELERS, NYES, AND THE AMERICA FIRST QUISLINGS..."

How sincere the protestations of AFofL and CIO, when not only defense but industry generally being frustrated by millions of lost man-hours, not to mention murders, injuries, sabotage, property damage, etc.? As to sincerity of Sen.Wheeler's opposition to NUDEAL's "foreign policy", AID! some time back held that Wheeler is just another Willkie. Since "domestic" and "foreign"policies of NUDEAL are inseparable, the continued failure of Wheeler to do something with his opportunities and about material placed in his care confirms my stand. E.g., the "open letter" that ex-spy in Communist Party, Edwin P. Banta sent to Central Com. of said CP on 11-5-41 (see B#290), was also sent to Wheeler, and on 11-13-41 he acknowledged thusly: ".. I have your letter of November 5th together with its enclosures. I do not believe I can use this material and am therefore returning it to you..."

Note that this alleged compatriot of Col.Chas.Lindbergh, passes up opportunity after opportunity that would put the NUDEAL on the defensive, verifying the Colonel's claims, at same time creating the offset to the terrific "smear" that is rolling against Lindy from coast to coast. As yet, Sen.Wheeler has not announced the firing of the two male and one female Jewish secretaries (spies) on his staff. Also understand that his son, John Wheeler, is sabotaging the AMERICA FIRST groups around Los Angeles.

The "smear" campaign against Lindbergh (designed to destroy AMERICA FIRST also), as it simultaneously emanates from press, radio, rostrum, etc., proves the very "control" that Lindbergh claims exists. Westbrook Pegler, "FAIR ENOUGH" columnist, who recently built a reputation for fearlessly exposing some labor rackets and racketeers, now prostitutes his "FAIR ENOUGH" 11-15-41 to an unfair attack on Lindbergh. He, who heretofore had been attacking Reds, now gloats about Judeo-Red Russia's successes, and ridicules Lindbergh as having earned "the title of the wrongest man of our time". History will prove Pegler as the "wrongest".

Even the American Flag that Lindbergh had carried on his famous flight to Paris in 1927, which had been the proud possession of NewYorkCity Hotel Lafayette owner, the late Raymond Orteig, has been removed by Orteig's son, from the hotel restaurant lobby. He is quoted: NY WORLD-TELEGRAM 11-15-41, as having had to remove that Flag "to keep peace among his customers after Lindbergh started making political speeches". Note that clever tactic - that Lindbergh's "truth-telling" is merely "political speeches", which reference, significantly, occupies a low estate ever since FDR has proven the Talmudic injunction of telling lies to Gentiles (they're so dumb they wont know lies from truth), and since Willkie testified before Congress that his promises to keep American boys from foreign wars were mere "campaign oratory".

The Judeo-Red NewYork Daily PM 9-22-41, under caption "RUSSIANS TAKE 32 VILLAGES", devotes almost all of front page to a cartoon depicting Uncle Sam as a revolting buzzard in stocks, with a card hanging from his beak "I AM PART JEWISH", and with a placard in front of the stocks reading: "PUBLIK NOTICE: THIS BIRD IS POSSESSED OF AN EVIL DEMON! SHERIFFS: C.A.Lindbergh, Gerald P.Nye". I.e., Lindbergh and Nye are portrayed as bigotted witch-hunters of the early Colonial days, when victims were punished by being clamped in stocks on the Public Square, subject to jibes of passersbye.

Today, it is Lindbergh who is pilloried in the stocks - that cartoonist's Judeo-Red conception twists the facts. Observe that the Judeo-Red THE PROTESTANT DIGEST, magazine which even Jew columnist Geo.E.Sokolsky 11-13-41 bemoans is being promoted by former staff members of leading Jewish weekly in USA, THE AMERICAN HEBREW, and is full of "pro-Jewish-anti-Catholic" propaganda, secured and published the names of 700 Protestant churchmen from all parts of the USA, who "smeared" Lindbergh, accusing him of being an "anti-Semite", "following identically the Hitler technique", and an "anti-Christian".

Glancing over that list of clergy I note a number of those whose resolution and signatures were made much of in the Communist papers, when they supported the Judeo-Red civil war in Spain 1936-39, taking the side of the Loyalists (Judeo-Reds) as against the Christians. It appears when these Gentile clerics continually fall in line at behest of Organized Jewry-Intl.Finance, such false prophets must be spending so much time in extra-clerical activities that they fail to read St.John, who quotes Christ's condemnations of that "control".

These false prophets are guilty of the greatest blasphemy and sacrilege when they sign their names to these lies: ".. Catholic and Protestant alike will tremble to read these words of the Lindbergh they loved (re Lindy's DesMoines speech); for these words strike down not the Jew, but a Jew, Jesus of Nazareth, whom they have been taught to revere. The past decade has written large what we Christians have long known, that anti-Semitism is anti-Christianity.." Christ, the Divine Son of God, was not a Jew. According to Jewish definitions, Christ was the greatest Anti-Semite of all time. And, Lindbergh's speech, by the farthest stretch of imagination, never "struck down" Christ!

You could expect that the Pres. of the Anti-Christ Federal Council of Churches (also Dean of Yale Uni. Divinity School), C.A.Weigle, signed that blasphemy full of lies! It is but part and parcel of the "smear" campaign that leads up to last Sunday night radio broadcast by hate-monger Jew Winchell, wherein he gloats over the oft-demanded investigation of AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE and its leaders, claiming that the Administration and the Dies Com. are now at it. (see proof of Dies Com. treason in AIDJ B#290). A climax wherein Jew "key" Congr.Sabath 11-12-41 in speech says its time to start it.

With Rev.Leon Birkhead, Natl.Dir. of FRIENDS OF DEMOCRACY, INC., claiming that less than $10,000 given him by the Motion Picture division of that Judeo-Red "paper" organization, enabled him to get Father Coughlin off the air, and that another $10,000 will enable him to "halt the political career" of Lindbergh, it is interesting to note that Birkhead now comes out with a 27-p. brochure "IS LINDBERGH A NAZI?" This expensively gotten-up "smear" is somewhat along the same lines of the one put out against Henry Ford.

Birkhead boasts that he "halted the political career" of Dr.Gerald B.Winrod (editor of 50¢-a-year monthly magazine THE DEFENDER, Wichita, Kas.), who sought the Republican nomination as candidate for U.S.Senator from Kansas. Actually, Birkhead is nothing but a Gentile "stooge" for Organized Jewry-Intl.Finance, and the measure of such a liar can be gauged when he takes credit, and avers that such small sums did the jobs. Read THE OCTOPUS and you will learn much about the Birkheads, the vast sums used, and tactics.

Foregoing reminds that what the editor of THE PATRIOT (London) 10-9-41 says with reference to a meeting held in London (to put OK on Jewish dictators FDR & Churchill Atlantic Pact - understand Jew head of Bank of England there to, and possibly Stalin as he was reported absent from Moscow), applies with equal force to above false prophets:

".. for the Bolshevik danger to civilisation has existed ever since 1917 without the scientists ever having taken the trouble to draw up a charter recognising that there must be 'liberty to learn, opportunity to teach and power to understand' and so on. In their treatment of the evil thing which is in power in the world today there was not one of these so-called scientists who apparently had the least idea that the disease from which all the nations are suffering arises from the loss of spirituality. They were as physicians who had not only failed to take a proper diagnosis, but were worse infected with the disease than those whom they professed to be able to cure..."

That English magazine under "RELIGION IN RUSSIA" comments: ".. The Russians still practise their religion in secret at their own risk... 'The ideology of Bolshevism is twofold. The slogans of the State must allow freedom of all Creeds, whilst the Communi Party decrees the stamping out of any religion, and as it is the Communist Party which actually rules Russia it brings its theories into force.' ... It has to be noted that M.Maisky (Jew, just as Litvinov, new ambassador to USA is a Jew) has announced that the are over 8,000 churches in the Soviet Union (of 170,000,000 people) but he did not stat to what use they were being put, and SOVIET WAR NEWS, the daily bulletin issued by the Press department of the Soviet Embassy in London, has mentioned that there are 1,011 synagogues, included presumably in these 8,000 churches. Obviously, the religious need of the Jews receive vastly more consideration at the hands of the government than do those of the Russians." Yes, the Jews are the ruling Communist Party in USSR.

We've had our "Founding Fathers" - Christ & Country now needs their "Salvaging Sons

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World Federation -- Now

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE CAMPAIGN FOR WORLD GOVERNMENT (Organized 1937)
166 W. JACKSON BLVD., CHICAGO, ILL., WABASH 2725
Wm. B. Lloyd Jr., Editor

Vol. III | June 1941 | No. 1

UNITY FOR AMERICA - AND FOR HUMANITY

Campaign by Plane Pushes Move for a Neutral Peace

The Campaign for World Government took to the air in May with a "barnstorming" tour of several Wisconsin cities in a plane piloted by American Director William B. Lloyd, Jr. With his sister Georgia Lloyd, he later flew to Washington to present the idea of a neutral negotiated peace and a United States of the World to the Memorial Day week-end meeting of the Keep America Out of War Congress.

Copies of the petition enclosed with this bulletin were circulated, local supporters seen or telephoned, and stories given to the newspapers. Many pilots and airport officials were glad to support a constructive peace move. Two senior pilots of one of the major airlines were particularly enthusiastic.

An extended air tour of the West, starting not later than July 7, is being planned. The plane, a two-place, cabin ship, was purchased especially for use in an emergency campaign to arouse America to the need for a non-belligerent peace move.

Represented at American Academy

The Campaign has been continuously active in conferences, public hearings, legislative work, etc., during the unfortunately long period since the last bulletin was sent to supporters.

Former Congressman John G. Alexander of Minneapolis, author of the Alexander "Prepare for Peace" bill of the last session, was listed as a delegate of the Campaign to the session of the American Academy of Political and Social Science in Philadelphia this spring. Edith Wynner, New York Campaign secretary, attended and took an active part. Her questions to Freda Utley of England brought out remarks on a possible peace move which were quoted throughout the country.

Miss Wynner, Miss Lloyd, Mr. Lloyd and Mrs. Lola Maverick Lloyd, Campaign chairman, spent many weeks during the winter in legislative work in Washington, holding personal conferences with members of the Senate and particularly non-interventionists.

The message of a neutral negotiated peace and a United States of the World was carried to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee February 8 by Mr. Lloyd.

Leaders of 40 national organizations in the peace and international field heard the program of the Campaign as presented by Mr. Lloyd, March 17, to the Conference on World Organization of the National Peace Conference in New York City. A good resume of this talk and others of the Conference is available for 20 cents from the National Peace Conference, 8 W. 40th St., New York, N. Y.

Mrs. Mabel S. Ring of Seattle and Mrs. Catherine Rumball of Santa Barbara, Cal., have been pushing the Campaign

(Continued on page 3)

When armed men get to fighting in the hold of a ship and the ship is loaded with nitroglycerin, the passengers don't choose up sides and join battle. Of course not. They combine and use their best "non-belligerent" efforts to stop the row. In the same way when war is spreading and obliterating civilization, before all is lost the nations that are not at war ought to have sense enough to band together in order to stop the slaughter and put a little law and order into international affairs.

Whether we American citizens descend from the many European nationalities or from Asians or from Africans, we have the same rights and duties and we have attained a spiritual unity that only foreign war can shatter. War, it is true, compels external unity, but it must leave our mixed population bitterly torn. While our country has been a haven for the oppressed from the old world and a beacon of liberty to those not yet free, it has not developed clear thinking or unity in international affairs. Just now our leaders are rallying the Latin-Americas to promote the worthy end of mutual trust and security. But it is hardly realistic to expect this valuable sense of unity to be strengthened by a campaign to drag all the Americas with us into war. War won't do the trick—we need a better foreign policy than that.

Opposed to Appeasement

While the Western Hemisphere is the economic rival of the Eastern, neither the Latin-Americas nor the U. S. A. can afford to let Europe destroy itself, and moreover our own safety compels us to try to end the war. A just peace is the one and only policy that can now unite public opinion in both American continents. All of us reject an appeasement peace and a dictated military peace, whether dictated by Churchill or Hitler—even one dictated by ourselves. But when the problems are so complicated, how can we advance toward a truly just peace?

Modern methods without limit are being used to get America re-armed, "all dressed up and no place to go"—except to war! But we have not scientifically studied the problem of turning our lucky temporary peace into lasting peace. Modern methods and money have not yet been used on a real peace offensive safe from degeneration into the appeasement or the dictated variety of peace. It is never too late to begin. At last we have a measure before the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives which advocates just such modern methods.

The Bill (House Joint Resolution 181) was introduced March 8 by Dr. Rudolph G. Tenerowicz of Michigan. It would have us start realistically from where we are—in the status of a near-belligerent. Because President Roosevelt has repudiated all hope of peace, HJR 181 does not ask him to act. It sets up instead a JOINT CONGRESSIONAL PEACE COMMISSION with an appropriation of fifty millions. Perhaps the President cannot take the first step toward peace now, nor the head of any other non-warring nation

Certainly neither belligerent will suggest peace until already defeated or completely victorious. But our bankrupt world cannot afford wholesale destruction much longer. Action by a third party is deseperately needed. Congress, in close touch with the people and less inclined to war than the present Executive, is the proper democratic agent to originate it. Only a bold act such as the T bill can restore to Congress some control of national and international affairs and bring it out of its present eclipse.

Dr. Tenerowicz, author of H. J. R. 131, is a surgeon, a war veteran and a member of the American Legion since its inception. He is a Democrat.

HJR 131 proposes that the Congressional Peace Commission invite the legislatures of all the non-belligerents to join in a demand for an immediate end of hostilities, and in an offer of a new organization for World Union,—this demand and offer to be publicly expressed to the belligerents through a Joint Neutral Peace Board. Our peacetime participation in the Interparliamentary Union establishes the precedent for Congress to deal formally with parliaments of other countries. All the more necessary in humanity's desperate crisis that Congress take the lead now in effective steps toward peace.

Even though legislative bodies in certain countries are rubber stamps, wherever the radio is heard the impact of an appeal from the Congressional Commission will raise the prestige of the organs of popular government and give democracy new life. The American invitation will go by cable and radio to legislative bodies and by short wave directly to the people of non-belligerents and belligerents. Of course, listening to the radio is forbidden in many countries, but we also had our Prohibition law. And news, passed in a whisper behind the hand to eager listeners, is 100 times easier to smuggle than a bottle.

When Congress takes the lead and world public opinion gets itself organized for peace, no government can persist in war-mongering. The regular agents of government: kings, presidents, senates, and so forth, will then complete the necessary measures of binding legality to secure world peace. What's lacking now is the initiative. American citizens are the only ones to take it.

No Justice Without Impartial Body

Third party action for peace will be more realistic, more representative of world public opinion, and much more acceptable to the belligerents if it is a joint effort. Neither the German people nor the British can trust mediation by openly partisan non-belligerents, but they must listen to a peace offer from a balanced group. And when their people listen even dictators must grow reasonable.

This non-belligerent peace plan offers what neither belligerent has yet promised: that all countries shall be represented at the peace table, including those countries occupied for long or short periods by foreign military forces. Nor will the joint neutral message be confined to a plea for a stop to the war with an offer to negotiate its temporary terms. It will also provide for a call to a World Convention. No permanent recognition of military conquest will be conferred by the armistice, final territorial questions being referred to the World Convention,—or if necessary to the permanent body constituted by it. Finally, the Convention will prolong the truce indefinitely by drafting a constitution for the permanent United States of the World.

All this is outlined in the Tenerowicz Peace Bill, which contains a program of five points to be worked out by the proposed Joint Neutral Peace Board with, of course, sufficient expert aid:

1. **The establishment of temporary demarcation lines between belligerents.**
2. **The orderly and scientific planning of the relief of straving populations.**
3. **The demobilization of millions of soldiers—shifting them into reconstruction work.**
4. **The reopening of channels of international communications, trade and distribution, and**
5. **The calling and preparation of a World Convention which will set up the framework under which these and correlated world-wide tasks can be carried out effectively.**

Our bottleneck is the press and, to a lesser degree, the radio. These so-called organs of publicity are the real "opium of the people," keeping up eternally the false and fatal impression that war is inevitable. They hide or defame all decent moves toward peace abroad and at home. Only when a startling new peace move like the Tenerowicz Bill gets a little of the publicity it deserves can we believe again in the "freedom of the press." Supporters of a Neutral Negotiated Peace have to break into the hostile press somehow and draw public attention forcibly to the neglected third choice before us, namely, **Intervention for Peace**—our choice being positively not confined to: "Get into the War" or "Stay Out." We can also choose to "Stop the War,"and H. J. R. 131 is the best available means to that end.

Most of the isolationists who bravely re-iterate "Stay Out" have lacked a foreign policy. But how much longer can we hope to keep out of constantly developing war without a positive program of peace action? Among the real isolationists a few may now be ready to support peace action by Congress. Let their front-page leaders once advocate in public a neutrally negotiated peace and a practical world union and the newspaper silence will be punctured. Then at last we shall have discussion of a real solution. For some men still possess the magic power to "crash the press." Let them support H. J. R. 131 and we're off to a good start. Write to them! Call them up! See them on this point!

Congressmen Will Listen

Also put pressure on your own Congressman and Senators and especially on the Hon. Sol Bloom, chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, for a public hearing on the Tenerowicz Bill. He does not call his committee into session any more, it is said, unless he gets orders from the White House. Let's be democratic and give him the orders of American voters.

If the Foreign Affairs Committee remains unresponsive, a petition in the House of Representatives can discharge the Committee from further consideration of the Tenerowicz Bill and bring it to the floor. Remember we still have a Congress and it is still legal to discuss peace there. Write to your own Representative and ask him to sign the discharge petition. Let's put the machinery of democracy into use and organize as quickly as we can mankind's universal but inarticulate abhorrence of war.

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ADDITIONAL SPONSORS LISTED

Miss Sarah Cleghorn of Arlington, Vt., Mrs. Jessie Overholt of Wooster, O., and Mrs. Esther Fiske Hammond of Santa Barbara, Cal., have recently become sponsors of the Campaign for World Government.

Congress Eyes Five Bills on Topics Pioneered by C. W. G.

The leadership launched by your Campaign in 1938 with the introduction of a *memorial* to the New York State Constitutional Convention, urging the calling of a world constitutional convention, is bearing more fruit with every month that passes.

Supporters will recall that with the outbreak of war we campaigned for joint neutral mediation, and that in the 76th Congress we were the spearhead of support for Hon. John G. Alexander's "Prepare for Peace" resolution with an appropriation of *$50,000,000*.

Now there are five resolutions pending in Congress which deal with objectives of our Campaign, and another has been passed by a state legislature. They are: the Wagner-Voorhis Resolution (S. J. Res. 16 and H. J. Res. 76) which would prepare for peace by setting up a Post-Emergency Advisory Commission; the Kennedy Resolution (H. J. Res. 64), which would establish a Peace Committee in the House; the Voorhis Resolution (*H. J. Res. 188*), *for calling* a parliamentary conference on peace in September; and the Ludlow peace resolution (H. C. Res. 20), urging the nations of the Western *Hemisphere* jointly to offer mediation.

Congressmen Urge U. S. Peace Move

Congressman Karl E. Mundt, Republican member of the *Foreign Affairs Committee* from South Dakota, has just come out strongly in two recent radio talks for joint mediation by non-belligerent nations, and *Congressman John* Vorys, of Ohio, member of the same party and committee, has declared for a peace move by the United States.

The Legislature of *North Carolina* has passed, with the backing of the Governor and President F. P. Graham of the State University, a stirring resolution (No. 24, H. R. 338), declaring *for* world federation. Robert Lee Humber is the leading spirit in this campaign. The drawback of this resolution is that it bases the world federation *on* a dictated peace.

A better resolution has been introduced in the Connecticut legislature through the *efforts of* Frederick C. Smedley, attorney, leader in the Connecticut Peace Council and enthusiastic supporter of our Campaign.

The *Campaign for* World Government throws complete and wholehearted support to H. J. R. 131 rather than any other bills in Congress because it links immediate peace action with the development of world organization.

Where we have willing support in state legislatures resolutions can be introduced *supporting* world federation by direct memorials urging Congress to pass the Tenerowicz Peace Bill.

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EXCERPTS FROM CALL BY FRIENDS

Issued for the American Friends Service Committee by its Board of Directors: *Rufus M. Jones*, chairman; Clarence E. Pickett, executive secretary.

The proposal of an immeditate cessation of hostilities in order to permit consideration of some such process as this is very different from proposing an armistice because of weariness of war or fear of war's consequences. *It introduces a new element* into the situation. It raises a standard to which men and women of high principles in all nations can repair. It opens a way to escape the logical absurdity of war against dictatorship, which must be carried on by dictators and so establish the very principles against which it fights. The remedy for aggressive war is not war, but dynamic peace.

Is there no one in any government at the moment sufficiently detached and above the issues of strife to call for cessation and mediation? If not, then we at least should cry aloud to those who are still sensitive to the spiritual currents of life and who see steadily the fundamental claims of humanity to discover some way *in* the wisdom of God to stop this tide of destruction.

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Endorsements for HJR 131

Delegates to the Keep America Out of War Congress, representing five of the oldest peace organizations in the country, endorsed H. J. R. 131, on June 1, 1941, in Washington, D. C. The *Congress* was urged to send a copy of the bill to each member, "and work out other plans for promoting its passage."

In May the Annual Meeting of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom endorsed this measure on behalf of the entire national *organization*, and W. I. L. branches in many cities have passed local endorsements. The United Pacifist Committee of New York City, approved the bill by an overwhelming vite.

The Eastern and Mid-Western sections of the Fellowship of Reconciliation also registered approval backed up with active *support*. The American Friends' Service Committee has sent out thousands of copies of the resolution.

—●—

FOR A BIGGER CAMPAIGN

Contributions by friends of the Campaign have kept our office in operation continuously since *November* 1939, but our financial support has never been sufficient to present our cause to the public adequately. Recently many organizations have come around to the point of view favoring either a non-belligerent peace move or the idea of a United States of the World. We advocate both. War is very likely to cost you your fortune, whatever it is. Why not give a fraction of it now for waging peace? What better place to put your money can find you than a *frontier outpost of* the peace movement, in an organization that has led the way ever since it was launched?

—●—

NOTES ON CAMPAIGNERS

Our international co-chairman and real founder, Mme. Rosika Schwimmer, *is living* in the Adirondacks this summer and has temporarily ceased to be active in the Campaign.

Lola Maverick Lloyd, international chairman, returned in April from the south, where she addressed audiences in San Antonio and Austin. Later she made a trip to Washington and New York.

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RETURN OF PAMPHLETS REQUESTED

UNION NOW for Peace or War? the penetrating analysis of the plan proposed by Clarence Streit, written by Mme. Rosika Schwimmer, our international co-chairman, is now out of print. If you have a copy which you are no longer using or do not need, please send it to her at 105 West 73rd Street, New York, N. Y. 10c will be paid.

—●—

CAMPAIGN BY PLANE—

(Continued from page 1)

on the West Coast. Mrs. Ring has taken the lead in organizing a regular discussion group on World Federation, and Mrs. Rumball has won whole-hearted support for H. J. R. 131 by the local Women's International League.

In New York Miss Tracy Mygatt, in Springfield, Mass., Mrs. Elaine G. Eastman, and in Washington, Edwin S. Potter, have rendered invaluable service.

English and Irish Women Favor Mediation of War

In England peace meetings can still be held, though our newspapers make light of such sentiment but indirectly admit the existence of a minority favoring peace in the Labor Party.

Important talks from the Peace Aims Conference, held in Oxford last January, are obtainable in pamphlet form.

On March 22 the Women's Section of the Peace Pledge Union held a Conference of about 1,000 on peace possibilities in Friends' House, London. Sybil Morrison summoned it, notifying many Americans beforehand. Visas, however, are not given us for peace conferences. Our co-chairmen cabled adhesion and encouragement to Miss Morrison and their message was read to the conference, which agreed on the desirability of a joint deputation of women to the American republics in search of a mediator. All this is reported in the invaluable weekly "Peace News." (3 Blackstock Rd., London, N. 4.)

Women of the Irish Labor Movement early in the year sent Mr. DeValera a letter urging steps toward mediation. They asked him to draft his own peace program and present it to all the governments, neutral as well as belligerent.

If Americans took the lead surely Ireland would cooperate.

—●—

NEWS OF TENEROWICZ BILL GETS THROUGH TO FOREIGN LANDS

In spite of censorship, news of the introduction of HJR 181 has been gratefully and enthusiastically acknowledged by many individuals, peace organizations, and editors abroad. Australia, Sweden, Netherlands, Hungary, England, and others, responded. The Swedish section of the Women's International League has endorsed the program for a democratic, non-military, universal federation of nations, following cessation of hostilities.

—●—

British Lord Holds Peace Move More Important Than War Aims Statement

"I am still doubtful about urging the present government to state its peace terms. I am inclined to think that in their present mood they will be more desirous of adding fuel to the flames rather than calling out the fire engines. Bombs are more in favour at the moment than the hose. I think they had better be silent." * * *

"Let me say finally that, in spite of gloomy prognostications about a four or five years' war, I am not without hope that a representative of a powerful non-belligerent nation may not come forward with an endeavour in the conflict between the two undefeated belligerents to cry a halt to the policy of what Maxton called 'Nothing but slaughter, nothing but killing,' and suggest an approach to the council table. A conference has to be called sooner or later. Let any reasonable man ask himself whether the result would not be better for the world now than in four years' time."

Lord Ponsonby in "Autarchy, Internationalism and Common Sense," War Resisters' International, Middlesex, England, 1941.

* * *

If you want a long war with social chaos at its end, do nothing but arm; if you stand for orderly, civilized progress, support neutral conference now.

ONE HUNDRED LEADERS CALL FOR ACTION ON H. J. R. 131

We the undersigned, favor immediate hearings and passage of HJR 181 because:

—It would authorize the appropriation of fifty million dollars—a tiny fraction of our war preparations—to prepare for peace.

—It would offer to the people of all belligerent countries a positive program for cessation of hostilities. The people of belligerent Europe now have virtually but two choices: to strain every nerve to make their own nation's war program of destruction as efficient as possible; or to aid the enemy through blind opposition. By enacting this resolution America will hearten the opposition to dictatorial rule everywhere by giving it a program to be for.

This resolution would recognize our position of world-wide leadership and would have us use this position in the light of constructive world statesmanship rather than in the darkness of old world diplomacy.

Ackerly, Rev. Geo. A.
Templeton, Mass.
Alexander, Hon. J. G.
Minneapolis, Minn.
Armstrong, Mrs. E. B.
Scarborough, N. Y.
Atkins, Rev. E. M.
Flint, Mich.
Aydelotte, Mrs. M. E.
Dixon, Ill.
Aydelotte, Walter F.
Dixon, Ill.
Babcock, Caroline L.
Washington, D. C.
Baber, Zonia
Chicago, Ill.
Baker, Adelaide N.
Westport, Conn.
Baker, Earle A.
New York, N. Y.
Barnes, Dr. Harry E.
Cooperstown, N. Y.
Barr, Rev. Norman B.
Chicago, Ill.
Bell, Edward Price
Gulfport, Miss.
Blount, Ralph E.
Oak Park, Ill.
Boehm, Albert C.
Chicago, Ill.
Bollinger, H. D.
Nashville, Tenn.
Boss, Dr. Chas. F., Jr.
Chicago, Ill.
Boyer, Prof. E. E.
Decatur, Ill.
Carner, Lucy P.
Chicago, Ill.
Carpenter, Marion J.
Rockaway, N. J.
Champney, Mary
Santa Barbara, Cal.
Cheney, Fanny
Santa Barbara, Cal.
Chubb, Rev. James S.
Baldwin, Kansas
Clary, George, Jr.
Emory University, Ga.
Clausen, Rev. Bern. C.
Pittsburgh, Pa.
Coffin, J. Herschel
Whittier, Cal.
Collins, Rev. G. L.
Madison, Wis.
Conover, Rev. E. M.
New York, N. Y.
Curran, Mae P.
Santa Barbara, Cal.
Eastman, Elaine G.
Northampton, Mass.
Ellwood, Prof. C. A.
Durham, N. C.
Felsenthal, Julia I.
Chicago, Ill.
Fry, Elizabeth D.
Grady, Rev. Robert C.
Cleveland, Ohio.
Gray, Mrs. Annie E.
Summit Co., Colo.
Gregg, Richard B.
South Natick, Mass.
Hamlin, C. H.
Wilson, N. C.
Hammond, Esther F.
Santa Barbara, Cal.
Hancox, Herbert F.
Chicago, Ill.
Harkness, Dr. Georgia
Evanston, Ill.
Harrington, Rev. A. E.
Long Beach, Cal.
Harris, Paul, Jr.
Washington, D. C.
Hartman, Prof. Geo. W.
New York, N. Y.
Hatt, Prof. John H.
Granville Center, Mass.
Heinzler, Henriette M.
Pasadena, Cal.
Howell, Clarence V.
New York, N. Y.
Howell, Ida Ostley
New York, N. Y.
Jackson, Margaret
Santa Barbara, Cal.
Kalven, Janet
Chicago, Ill.
Kaufman, Abraham
Brooklyn, N. Y.
Lloyd, Lola M.
Winnetka, Ill.
Lyford, Philip
Westport, Conn.
Macbeth, Hugh E.
Los Angeles, Cal.
Mayer, Milton S.
Chicago, Ill.
Moore, Rev. Arthur N.
Houlton, Me.
Munson, Aileen
Chicago, Ill.
Munson, Paul L.
Chicago, Ill.
Nash, Vernon
Armonk, N. Y.
Newell, Rev. J. Pierce
Superior, Wis.
Nichols, John R.
Pocatello, Idaho
Noland, Dr. C. A.
Long Beach, Cal.
Noyes, Adelaide N.
Gittings, Md.
Nye, Helena M.
Palo Alto, Cal.
Olmsted, Frank
New York, N. Y.
Palmer, Dr. Albert W.
Chicago, Ill.
Paschel, Emma
Glendale, Cal.
Ray, Ann
Santa Barbara, Cal.
Ring, Mabel S.
Seattle, Wash.
Rumbell, Catherine
Santa Barbara, Cal.
Russell, Perf. Elbert
Durham, N. C.
Scholz, Prof. Karl
Philadelphia, Pa.
Scott, Lucille R.
New York, N. Y.
Senior, Clarence
Kansas City, Mo.
Shelden, James Gail
Palo Alto, Cal.
Siebel, Ella J.
New York, N. Y.
Sight, Carolyn A.
New York, N. Y.
Smith, Anna C.
Santa Barbara, Cal.
Stagner, Ross
Hanover, N. H.
Steinberger, Doris H.
Berea, Ky.
Stardevant, Arthur A.
Minneapolis, Minn.
Thomas, Norman
New York, N. Y.
(Qualified)
Toness, Erling
Corpus Christi, Tex.
Toness, Mrs. Erling
Corpus Christi, Tex.
Turner, Rev. Robert S.
Chicago, Ill.
Tuttle, Prof. Harold S.
New York, N. Y.
Tyler, Rev. William A.
Orden, Utah
Urban, Rev. Leigh R.
Springfield, Mass.
Frary, William
Boston, Mass.
Wagenknecht, Prof. E.
Seattle, Wash.
Waltmire, Rev. W. B.
Omaha, Neb.
Washburne, Carleton
Winnetka, Ill.
Weller, Charles F.
Boston, Mass.
Wheeler, Anne K.
Evanston, Ill.
Whitacre, J. H.
Chicago, Ill.
Will, Herman, Jr.
Chicago, Ill.
Williams, Dr. Mary W.
Palo Alto, Cal.
Williams, Mrs. R. J.
Austin, Tex.
Woods, Amy
Brookline, Mass.
Woody, Thomas
Philadelphia, Pa.
Wotherspoon, Marion F.
Altadena, Cal.

Jour 6-68

"I HATE WAR"

#215238

Franklin Delano Roosevelt said
at Chautauqua, N. Y., August 14, 1936

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9/31/84 BY SP8 Stafford

83%

of the American People

HATE WAR

264.350
914556 loc/cl 4-23-96
318.519 SP8 BT,31 CL 10-18-90

(2 of)

Principles
of
The America First Committee

1. Our first duty is to keep America out of foreign wars. Our entry would only destroy democracy, not save it. "The path to war is a false path to freedom."
2. Not by acts of war abroad but by preserving and extending democracy at home can we aid democracy and freedom in other lands.
3. In 1917 we sent our American ships into the war zone and this led us to war. In 1941 we must keep our naval convoys and merchant vessels on this side of the Atlantic.
4. We must build a defense, for our own shores, so strong that no foreign power or combination of powers can invade our country, by sea, air or land.
5. Humanitarian aid is the duty of a strong, free country at peace. With proper safeguard for the distribution of supplies, we should feed and clothe the suffering and needy people of the democracies of Europe.

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
141 WEST JACKSON BOULEVARD
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Please enroll me as a member of

THE AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

I am a patriotic American citizen, I am not affiliated in any way with any foreign power. I believe in the principles of the America First Committee:

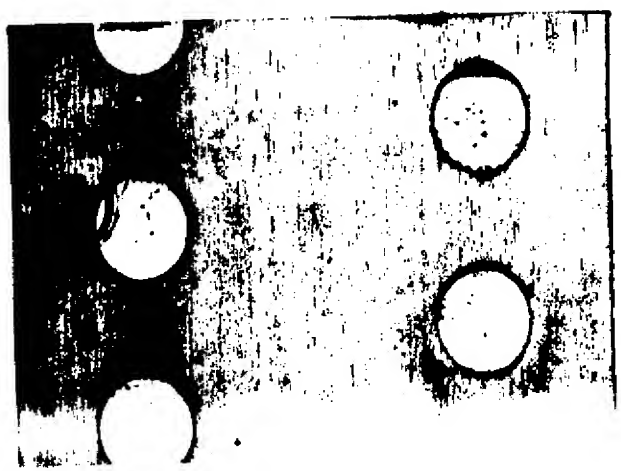
Name.....

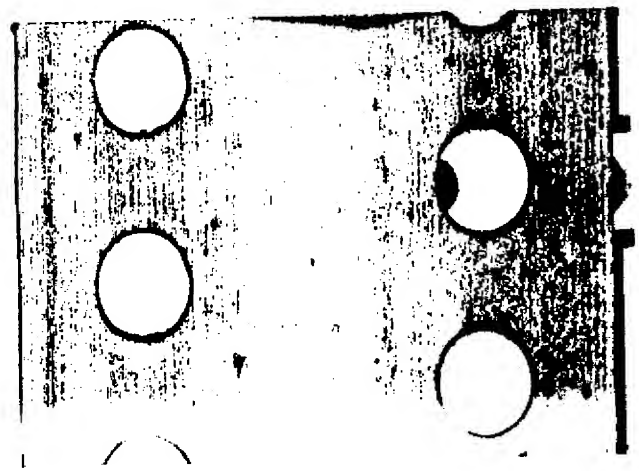
Address.....City.....

I enclose $.....to be used in furthering the cause for which the America First Committee is fighting.

(The America First Committee is supported entirely by voluntary contributions of time and money, but you need not contribute to become a member.)

Send or bring this card to
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE, 141 West Jackson Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois





THESE ARE THE SOLEMN AND SACRED PLEDGES

Made by

THE PRESIDENT DURING THE 1940 ELECTION CAMPAIGN

We Will Not Participate Nor Intervene In Foreign Wars.

"We are arming ourselves not for any purpose of conflict or *intervention in foreign disputes.* I repeat again that I stand on the platform of our party; we will not participate in foreign wars and will *not* send our *Army, Naval* or *Air Forces* to fight in foreign lands outside of the Americas except in case of attack."

"It is for peace that I have labored; and it is for peace that I shall labor all the days of my life."

Philadelphia, Oct. 23, 1940.

The First Purpose of Our Foreign Policy Is to Keep Out of War.

"We look at the old world of Europe today. It is an ugly world, poisoned by hatred, and greed and fear. We can see what has been the inevitable consequence of that poison—it has been war.

"And we look at this country, built by generations of peaceable, friendly men and women who had in their hearts faith—faith that the good life can be obtained by those who work for it.

"We know that we are determined to defend our country and with our neighbors to defend this hemisphere. We are strong in our defense.

"The first purpose of our foreign policy is to keep our country out of war."

Your Boys Are Not Going to Be Sent Into Any Foreign Wars.

"And while I am talking to you, *fathers* and *mothers,* I give you one more assurance. *I have said this before,* but I shall say it *again,* and *again,* and *again, your boys are not going to be sent into any foreign wars.*

"They are going into training to form a force so strong that, by its very existence, it will keep the threat of war far away from our shores. Yes, the purpose of our defense is defense."

Boston, Oct. 30, 1940.

Ships Flying the American Flag Must Stay Out of the War Zones.

"In 1935 in the face of growing dangers throughout the world, your government undertook to eliminate the hazards which in the past had led to war. *We made it clear that ships flying the American flag could not carry munitions to a belligerent; and that they must stay out of war zones."*

New York City, Oct. 28, 1940.

I Am Fighting to Keep Out of Foreign Wars.

"I am fighting to keep this nation prosperous and at peace. I am fighting to keep our people out of foreign wars and to keep foreign conceptions of government out of our own United States."

Brooklyn, Nov. 1, 1940.

The

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

Leads the Fight to Keep the United States Out of War

●

HELP US SAVE THE NATION

from

THE HORRORS OF WAR

●

DEMAND FAITHFUL FULFILLMENT

of the President's

SOLEMN and SACRED PROMISES

●

Write — Wire — Telephone

President Roosevelt

Your Senators

Your Congressmen

●

JOIN WITH US NOW

and

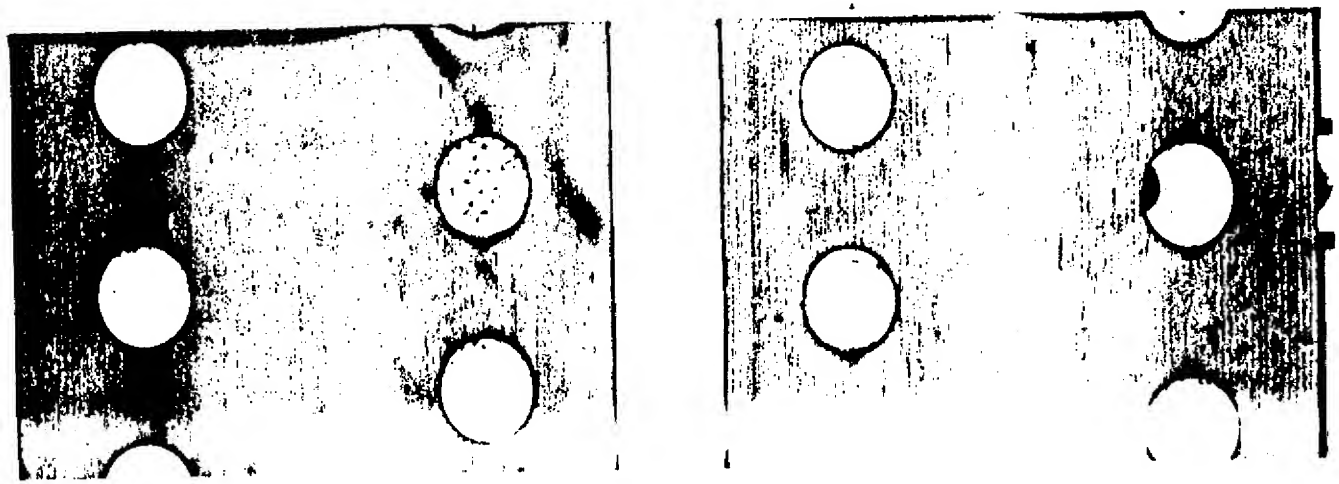
ENROLL YOUR NEIGHBORS

in the

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

141 West Jackson Boulevard

Chicago, Illinois



Mrs. H. C. Olson, President

Mrs. D. H. O'Toole, Secretary

HE. 2478

GPO f 5-194

Parents of America

2176 Carroll Avenue

St. Paul, Minn.

318,519
SP8 BTJ/cal
10-18-90

#24523B

September 23, 1941

4/29/85 SP8 BTJ/cal

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 8/31/84 BY SP8-BTJ/cal

United States Senators
Representatives in the Congress
National Capitol
Washington, D. C.

PETITION

264.850 9/45 JTS/MC/cal 4-238; Cal# 242, 942

Honored Sirs:-

We, the Parents of America, individually and collectively, PETITION the Congress of the United States to carry into effect Its Sacred Pledge to preserve the Constitution. This means that even extreme war measures must be directed toward saving the Constitution.

We have witnessed the Congress silently accepting rebuff, mandate, discredit and the usurpation of Its Sole Authority. We have witnessed a minion of the Administration defy the authority of the United States Senate.

We have witnessed the repudiation of solemn pledges.

We have witnessed the Constitution ignored, Laws no longer faithfully executed, and Despotic powers assumed:

1.-Bombers to France
2.-Destroyers to Briton
3.-Occupation of Iceland
4.-A clandestine meeting on the Atlantic
5.-An unauthorized declaration of War
6.-Convoys-violating Neutrality Law, and
7.-Delivery of munitions - violating Lease-Lend Act.

We are witnessing a program of propaganda designed to encourage involving this Nation in a Foreign war. The program is predicated on instilling FEAR in our citizens. We take the liberty of directing your attention to the fact that the defense and security of a Republican Democracy lies in the truth and integrity of Its Magistrates. FEAR is the defense of the DESPOT. It is also his tool.

Regardless of involvment or non-involvment in a solicited war, we the Parents of America, INSIST that the CONGRESS shall be the sole arbiter, and to insure that consummation we respectfully PETITION the Congress of the United States to exercise Its authority under the Constitution TO COMPELL OBEDIENCE TO THE CONSTITUTION. NO PERSON IN THIS NATION IS ABOVE THE LAW and there is no Constitutional provision that the President can do no wrong.

We urge the Congress to carefully and fairly consider this petition.

WE URGE THE CONGRESS TO RESTORE THE DIGNITY OF THE AMERICAN CITIZEN BY ACCEPTING ITS OBLIGATIONS UNDER THE CONSTITUTION AND BY MEETING THESE OBLIGATIONS. WE URGE THE CONGRESS TO RESTORE THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE, BY THE PEOPLE, TO THE PEOPLE. We thank you in anticipation of your performing a Noble Task.

Faithfully yours

_____

Address _____

1 Oct 4 5-193

PARENTS OF AMERICA BEWARE!

Facts you should know about conscription.

Neither the War or Navy Department asked for, or recommended conscription. Both Departments informed the Congress that they had never had any trouble filling their quotas with enlisted men. In fact the Navy had always had a waiting list of thousands.

Secretary of War Harry H. Woodring opposed conscription, and he was replaced by Henry L. Stimson, at the instigation of the war-mongering Plattsburg crowd, by an interventionist from Wall Street who had a record for 23 years of favoring conscription in the United States.

A group of militarists met in the Harvard Club in New York City on May 22nd, 1940, and planned conscription. Most of them were the same men who met in the same room in 1916 to plan our first peacetime-conscription. Among those present were Henry L. Stimson, Robert P. Patterson, General O'Ryan, Benediot Crowell, Lewis W. Douglas, Julius O. Adler, General Pershing, General Palmer and Grenville Clark.

Grenville Clark, a leading New York corporation lawyer, with other colleagues, drafted the Burke-Wadsworth Bill, and members of the Platts burg group brought the bill to the Senate Military Affairs Committee.

On June 27th, a private meeting was held in a Wall Street Club to raise a fund of $275,000, and on Aug. 5, a letter was addressed to every member of the New York Stock Exchange, asking for $100,000. Both funds to be used in a campaign "to help enact into law the Burke-Wadsworth Bill."

For 20 years our law provided for a 1-year enlistment period. Our Army evaded the law and refused to accept nearly all 1-year enlistments.

In Canada, Australia and New Zealand, conscription for military service outside the limits of their own countries has not been tolerated.

This my fellow Americans is your conscription bill conceived in sin.

British duplicity is exposed again in Pearson & Allen's column of 7-18-41 Star-Journal, quote "The British left Rumania without blowing up Rumanian oil wells because British pounds sterling were invested in them.

How many plants etc. in Germany do you suppose the British are sparing from bombs "because English pounds sterling are invested in them?"

Are we willing to spill American blood in Europe for this?

WRITE CONGRESS AND DEMAND THAT THE PLEDGE TO THE BOYS BE KEPT, AND PROTEST GIVING THE PRESIDENT POWER TO SEND OUR BOYS ANY PLACE IN THE WORLD.

WRITE WRITE WRITE WRITE WRITE WRITE

COMMUNISM.

We are now witnessing one of the most disgraceful episodes in U. S. history. We have been supporting Dictator Chiang Kai-Shek, who gained power, with Soviet backing, by killing off the opposition, in the name of "Democracy." Did you ever hear of an election in China?

We Christians are asked to sacrifice our sons, our money and our property, to aid Atheist Russia, a country four Presidents and four Secretaries of State, beginning with Woodrow Wilson, refused to recognize on the grounds of morals and democratic ideals. Russia who broke her solemn treaty of 1933 with the U. S. We are to be buddies of Joe Stalin, who has murdered more people and done more to destroy Christianity than any man. Moscow has spent millions in this country to destroy our form of Government.

IS STALIN'S WORD ANY BETTER THAN HITLER'S?

WHERE ARE THE LEADERS OF OUR CHURCHES TODAY, who are pledged to carry the banner of Christ? Why are they silent? Do they not realize they owe a serious obligation to their flocks? Are we Christians going to allow ourselves to be regimented behind the RED flag of bloody Russia?

Let us remember the words of Pope Pius XI on ATHEISTIC Communism, "See to it venerable brethern that the faithful do not allow themselves to be deceived! Communism is intrinsically wrong, and no one who would save Christian Civilization may collaborate with it in any manner whatsoever."

CHRISTIANS ARISE! Carry the banner of CHRIST, let your voices be heard.

PARENTS OF AMERICA,
2176 Carroll Ave.
St. Paul, Minn.

We are supported by contributions.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 1-23-81 BY 9/45 sp/sac/CAC

USURY (No. 4) - DEBT - WAR: THE BILLION DOLLAR LOAN TO "BROTHER" STALIN
DEEDS WITHOUT NAMES
Frank A. Parker,
5553 Post Road,
Riverdale on Hudson, N. Y. City
An independent pamphlet series, 2½¢ per page-$1 each 40 pp. Full sets on file, at their solicitation, in Library of Congress, N.Y.Public Library, Harvard College Library, and others on request.
*Vol. II, No. 46, November 7, 1941 Pages 177/178

MOSAIC COMMANDS AND LITERAL EXECUTION IN AMERICA - 1941

At the peril of being called blasphemous by the ultra trustful but silly-informed Christian, certain parables in today's events are too apparent to pass unnoticed.

COMMANDS:

DEUTERONOMY Ch. 15(6) ".....; and thou shalt lend unto many nations, but thou shalt not borrow; and thou shalt reign over many nations, but they shall not reign over thee".

* * * * * * * *

Ch. 23 (See page 173; also 165 hereof)

(19) "Thou shalt not lend upon interest to thy brother; interest of money, interest of victuals, interest of anything that is lent upon interest".

(2) "Unto a foreigner thou mayest lend upon interest, but unto thy brother thou shalt not lend upon interest".

Under those commands, Christians, and/or all Gentiles, are foreigners. The "Union of Soviet Socialist Republics"(Russia - Stalin), having renounced Christianity and gone back under the Mosaic system, are necessarily "brothers", as further revealed.

EXECUTION

A few quotations from America's leading international language NEW YORK TIMES of Nov. 7, 1941 is all that is necessary for average intelligence to see "relativity":

(Headlines page 1) "SOVIET GETS CREDIT ROOSEVELT PLEDGES HELP TO STALIN WITH GRANT OF LEASE-LEND FUND LOAN WITHOUT INTEREST TEN YEAR PAYMENT REPAYMENT PROVIDED" (Washington, Nov. 6, special to The New York Times)

ROOSEVELT- STALIN LETTERS (P. 13): "The following is the paraphrase of a text of a letter addressed by the President under date of Oct. 30, 1941 to Mr. Joseph Stalin

"I have examined the record of the Moscow conference and the members of the Commission have discussed the details with me. All of the munition items have been approved and I have ordered that as far as possible the delivery of raw materials be expedited.

".....In an effort to obviate any financial difficulties, immediate arrangements are to be made so that supplies up to $1,000,000,000 in value may be effected under the lease-lend act.

"If approved by the government of the U.S.S.R, I propose that the indebtedness thus incurred be subject to no interest and that the payments by the government of the U.S.S.R. do not commence until five years after the war's conclusion and be completed over a ten-year period thereafter".

* * * * * * *

PREMIER STALIN'S REPLY ".....Your decision, Mr. President, to grant to the Soviet Union a loan in the amount of $1,000,000,000 subject to no interest charges and for the purpose of paying for armaments and raw materials for the Soviet Union is accepted with sincere gratitude by the Soviet Government as unusually substantial aid in its difficult and great struggle against our common enemy, bloodthirsty Hitlerism". "I agree completely.....(to foregoing conditions of loan Etc.)..."

(All underscoring and parenthesis mine-FAP)

COMMENT

The "record" does not state that the "loan" was requested by the U.S.S.R. In fact, a recent Congressional floor statement was to the effect that this same U.S.S.R had, over a period of nearly 7 years, shipped us some $3,400,000,000 of the $35 per ounce gold, which they had produced with their slave labor. The D/C and T/D records do not disclose this very probable fact. But the amount of gold coming from Japan, Holland, and England, seems to confirm this fact, as a result of transshipment.

This sum (about $2.6 billion) "sold here as a commodity" by "brothers" of Russia, is a credit in America against such purchases of exports to Russia, as they have not paid for "in kind" of exports from Russia to the United States.

The Department of Commerce reports over this entire period indicate that in "the trade of property in kind" (not gold or silver) that Russia also has a credit here.

The Russian credit here, for the purpose of buying and paying for war material (which will probably fall into German hands to perpetuate the war anyway) from here, is at least three times this unsolicited loan. No legitimate reason exists.

Payments do not begin for 5 years after the end of the war, and then extend 10 years, which is more or less like a note payable after death.

"No interest for Russia" over this indefinite period; but what about us ? We of course being "foreigners" in this transaction; our Government, run by the "brothers", will borrow the sum $1 billion from themselves at interest rates of presently about 2.5 percent interest, collectible (this interest) from we Christian "foreigners". This is the part of the "command" in DEUT. 23 (20) as to the collection of interest from "we foreigners", but not (19) charging it to "Brother" Stalin's personal benefactors from the vast quantities of our property (material) which this billion dollar gift will buy, and which they in turn will sell at fabulous profits to the entire world.

→ Has any one ever seen a "blueprint" of any plan for crushing this international financial ring's actor - Hitler ? England seems to have no plan !

→ But the obvious plan is clear as the noon-day Sun, that by using our men, material and instrumentalities over quite a period of time, on the pretext of international defense all over the world, and impoverishing our own country accordingly, these international gangsters will have accomplished through their "Hitler ruse" far greater tangible wealth, than could have ever been accomplished by any other means.

Can they get away with it ? It all depends upon whether true Christianity revives itself sufficiently to recognise its real enemy - usury - interest taking in any form.

Investigation will reveal that this (usury-interest) was the cause of the effect of the downfall of all nations of the past. True progress can only be found during periods of its total suppression, as a "crime comparable with murder".

"Preposterous to believe that money, which is barren, can reproduce itself"(Aristo) If Aristotle had drawn the comparison with the idea that a mule can reproduce mules it would have been a similitude.

But it is a peculiar thing how Gentile stupidness, in its greed for "selling God's time" (see page 167 hereof), will, when anything is said about the abolishing of interest, spring desperately in defense of the very thing (interest taking) which has brought about their present woes.

I will lay them however, this one question (see No. 45 hereof) that with a present debt of $204 billion plus, against a property support of $141 billion (probably minus) just how can that debt ever be halted by any other means than abolishment of interest; and if that debt is not high enough to suit, just where will be the limit - and even then - how will it be halted without the abolishment of interest ?

A friend of mine is offering a reward for the answer to the above ?

USURY (No. 4) - DEBT - WAR
DEEDS WITHOUT NAMES
Frank A. Parker,
5653 Post Road,
Riverdale on Hudson, N. Y. City
*Vol. II, No. 46, November 7, 1941

THE BILLION DOLLAR LOAN TO "BROTHER" STALIN

An independent pamphlet series. 3¢ per page—$1 each 40 pages. Full sets on file, at their solicitation, in Library of Congress, N.Y. Public Library, Harvard College Library, and others on request.
Pages 177/178

MOSAIC COMMANDS AND LITERAL EXECUTION IN AMERICA - 1941

At the peril of being called blasphemous by the ultra trustful but illy-informed Christian, certain parables in today's events are too apparent to pass unnoticed.

C O M M A N D S:

DEUTERONOMY Ch. 15(6) ".....) and thou shalt lend unto many nations, but thou shalt not borrow; and thou shalt reign over many nations, but they shall not reign over thee".

* * * * * * * *

Ch. 23

(See page 173; also 165 hereof)

(19) "Thou shalt not lend upon interest to thy brother; interest of money, interest of victuals, interest of anything that is lent upon interest".

(2) "Unto a foreigner thou mayest lend upon interest, but unto thy brother thou shalt not lend upon interest".

Under those commands, Christians, and/or all Gentiles, are foreigners. The "Union of Soviet Socialist Republics" (Russia - Stalin), having renounced Christianity and gone back under the Mosaic system, are necessarily "brothers", as further revealed.

E X E C U T I O N

A few quotations from America's leading international language NEW YORK TIMES of Nov. 7, 1941 is all that is necessary for average intelligence to see "relativity":

(Headlines page 1) "SOVIET GETS CREDIT ROOSEVELT PLEDGES HELP TO STALIN WITH GRANT OF LEASE-LEND FUND LOAN WITHOUT INTEREST TEN YEAR PAYMENT REPAYMENT PROVIDED" (Washington, Nov. 6, special to The New York Times)

ROOSEVELT-STALIN LETTERS (P. 13): "The following is the paraphrase of a text of a letter addressed by the President under date of Oct. 30, 1941 to Mr. Joseph Stalin

"I have examined the record of the Moscow conference and the members of the Commission have discussed the details with me. All of the munition items have been approved and I have ordered that as far as possible the delivery of raw materials be expedited.

".....in an effort to obviate any financial difficulties, immediate arrangements are to be made so that supplies up to $2,000,000,000 in value may be effected under the lease-lend act.

"If approved by the government of the U.S.S.R. I propose that the indebtedness thus incurred be subject to no interest and that the payments by the government of the U.S.S.R. do not commence until five years after the war's conclusion and be completed over a ten-year period thereafter".

* * * * * * * *

PREMIER STALIN'S REPLY ".....Your decision, Mr. President, to grant to the Soviet Union a loan in the amount of $1,000,000,000 subject to no interest charges and for the purpose of paying for armaments and raw materials for the Soviet Union is accepted with sincere gratitude by the Soviet Government as unusually substantial aid in its difficult and great struggle against our common enemy, bloodthirsty Hitlerism". "I agree completely.....(to foregoing conditions of loan Etc.)..."

(All underscoring and parenthesis mine-PAP)

C O M M E N T

The "record" does not state that the "loan" was requested by the U.S.S.R. In fact, a recent Congressional floor statement was to the effect that this same U.S.S.R had, over a period of nearly 7 years, shipped us some $2,000,000,000 of the $35 per ounce gold, which they had produced with their slave labor. The D/C and T/D records do not disclose this very probable fact. But the amount of gold coming from Japan, Holland, and England, seems to confirm this fact, as a result of transshipment.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 4-23-76 BY SP4 350

This sum (about $[illegible] billion) "sold here as a commodity" "brothers" of Russia, is a credit in America against such purchases of exports to Russia, as they have not paid for "in kind" of exports from Russia to the United States.

The Department of Commerce reports over this entire period indicate that in the trade of property in kind" (not gold or silver) that Russia also has a credit here.

The Russian credit here, for the purpose of buying and paying for war material (which will probably fall into German hands to perpetuate the war anyway) from here, is at least three times this unsolicited loan. No legitimate reason exists.

Payments do not begin for 5 years after the end of the war, and then extend 10 years, which is more or less like a note payable after death.

"No interest for Russia" over this indefinite period; but what about us ? We of course being "foreigners" in this transaction; our Government, run by the "brothers", will borrow the sum $1 billion from themselves at interest rates of presently about 2,5 percent interest, collectible (this interest) from we Christian "foreigners". This is the part of the "command" in DEUT. 23 (20) as to the collection of interest from "we foreigners", but not (19) charging it to "Brother" Stalin's personal benefactors from the vast quantities of our property (material) which this billion dollar gift will buy, and which they in turn will sell at fabulous profits to the entire world.

Has any one ever seen a "blueprint" of any plan for crushing this international financial ring's actor - Hitler ? England seems to have no plan !

But the obvious plan is clear as the noon-day Sun; that by using our men, material and instrumentalities over quite a period of time, on the pretext of international defense all over the world, and impoverishing our own country accordingly, these international gangsters will have accomplished through their "Hitler ruse" far greater tangible wealth, than could have ever been accomplished by any other means.

Can they get away with it ? It all depends upon whether true Christianity revives itself sufficiently to recognise its real enemy - usury - interest taking in any form.

Investigation will reveal that this (usury-interest) was the cause of the effect of the downfall of all nations of the past. True progress can only be found during periods of its total suppression, as a "crime comparable with murder".

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"DEALS WITH IT NAMES" MEMORANDUM SUPPLEMENT

BRIEF OUTLINE OF AUTHOR

Born in 1876 in Western New York on farm; trained in engineering and law; with various railroads in official capacities until 1917; officer on general staff AEF Transportation Corps 1917/1919; private business Barcelona, Spain, 1919/1921; general traffic manager American industrial 1922/1929; private commerce counsel practice since 1929; member I.C.C. Bar Practitioners.

GENERAL SOURCES OF INFORMATION GIVEN

Symbol	Description
[1]	This is a 12" X 15½", 1405 pages, weight 15½ lbs. Title Page reads: "76th Congress, 3d Session, Senate, Document No. 172 parts 1&2 FINANCIAL STATEMENT OF CERTAIN GOVERNMENT AGENCIES LETTER FROM The Secretary of The Treasury transmitting in further response to Senate Resolution No. 150, certain information relative to financial statements concerning certain Government Agencies---Feb. 15, 1940 - Referred to the Select Committee (mine-FAP) on investigation of executive agencies of the Government". (I do not think it is for sale, but is one of the most informative and "justifying" documents ever issued - FAP)
[2]	U.S. Treasury Consolidated 1933/1940 Annual Report.
[3]	U.S. Treasury monthly Bulletin which supplements "(2)".
[4]	U.S. Treasury Daily Statement which supplements "(2 and 3)".
[5]	U.S. Treasury Monthly Circulation Report (form 1028 Bur. of Pub. Debt.)
[6]	U.S. Treasury Monthly Statement of Paper Currency (form 5702).
[7]	Congressional Record.
[8]	Federal Register (Daily-contains all orders in lieu of laws - notices)
[9]	Federal Reserve System publications and financial statements.
[10]	Department of Commerce Monthly Summary Foreign Commerce.
[11]	Federal Deposit Insurance Corp. required reports, and "current education".
[12]	Federal Surplus Commodities Corp., and current "apologias".
[13]	Commodity Credit Corp., and current "apologias".
[14]	Department of Agriculture general releases of instruction to the press.
[15]	Import - Export Bank Statements and instruction to the press.
[16]	Official Hearings of 1940 on Extension Reciprocal Trade Act.
[17]	Official Hearings of 1939, extension gold, silver, stabilization Fund acts.
	VARIOUS OTHERS AS NOTED IN TEXTS.

MACBETH: "HOW NOW, YE SECRET, BLACK, AND MIDNIGHT HAGS! WHAT IS'T YOU DO?"
WITCHES: "A DEED WITHOUT A NAME!"

An independent private issue from time to time (as noted below) at a cost of 2½¢ per page - $1 each 40 pages, with no charge for frequent supplements or appendixes, except as may be noted if given a page numeral - not letter.

Remittances in advance of future issues are not solicited, but will be accepted on faith and unearned portion returned if future issues may be suspended for any cause.

Complete sets are on file, by their request, in NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY; HARVARD COLLEGE LIBRARY; UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA; and other places, which speaks for itself as to the esteem of qualified politico economic librarians and educators, a point to bear in mind in recommending this series to friends seeking the truth.

FRANK A. PARKER,
5653 Post Road,
RIVERDALE ON HUDSON, N. Y. CITY.

Number	Dated	Pages	General outline	Price
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XXVII	4/26/41	113/114	"Convoys"	5
XXVIII	4/30/41	115/118	"Copperhead" Lindberg defended	10
XXIX	5/15/41	119/120	Imported Sugar continued	5
XXX	5/16/41	121/122	Defense of Lindberg again	5
XXXI	5/20/41	123/126	Foreign trade letter to Hon. Geo. N. Peek	10
XXXII	6/4/41	127/130	Wage-Hour Act exposed; Imported Sugar	10
XXXIII	6/10/41	131/134	Imported Sugar	10
XXXIV	6/10/41	135/136	Wage-Hour Act exposures continued	5
XXXV	6/24/41	137/138	"Mailcerts" an export tax on us for Britain; Detroit	10
XXXVI	6/26/41	139/142	Gold Purchase Act extended	10
XXXVII	7/14/41	143/144	same continued with voting list of who did it	5
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A CHALLENGE

›men of America:

The gravest responsibility, the greatest opportunity ever offered to a generation of women is in your hands.

YOU CAN STOP WAR! !

Too long have women like the patient beast of the field, borne the burden of woe laid on them by the arrogant war lords of the world. For the free women of America to submit to this same old tyranny is unthinkable.

Here in this land of ours, men and women of all races and creeds have lived together in peace for generations, while we built up the greatest measure of freedom and prosperity ever attained by men. We are the living proof that wars are not made by peoples; that as Emerson has said: "All men are capable of living by reason."

Women want peace. A reliable nationwide poll recently made shows 96% of American women opposed to war. For the first time in history we have the power of the ballot to make that will effective.

Women's rights are but an empty travesty the priceless right to have her son live and enjoy his God given heritage of freedom is denied; if that son can be torn from her arms and sent to an untimely death far from home and country, a cheap pawn in an unholy struggle for power and profit.

WOMEN CAN STOP WAR — WILL THEY?

AN ANSWER

For months past increasing numbers of intelligent women, outraged at the very thought of again sending the flower of American manhood to the slaughter pens of the old world, have been rallying their forces to defeat such madness.

Many of us went to Washington to plead directly with our representatives. There in the legislative halls of Congress we were shocked to see but a handful of the peoples' representatives present when legislation affecting the lives of millions of men, the destiny of a mighty nation was being decided. We learned that of the 535 representatives in Congress, only 7 were women. Disillusioned but not discouraged we returned home determined to arouse and inform the women of America.

Today we are organizing by Congressional Districts throughout the nation in order to focus attention on the men we send to Congress. It is through them this nation must be led back to the paths of peace and prosperity. We have learned a bitter lesson, and paid a terrible price for our indifference.

Through our program of education and action, the voice of the mothers will be heard and heeded in the legislative councils of the nation. **WE CAN AND WILL STOP WAR.** that antiquated system of militarism and mass murder that devours the fruits of progress and keeps humanity in perpetual bondage.

Ignorance permits war.

A VISION

It will take every bit of sanity and courage, faith and wisdom we possess to guide this nation safely through the years that lie ahead. We have drifted far from the path of Constitutional Government. We have substituted for the vision of "Liberty Enlightening the World" the nightmare of an "arsenal" to terrorize the world.

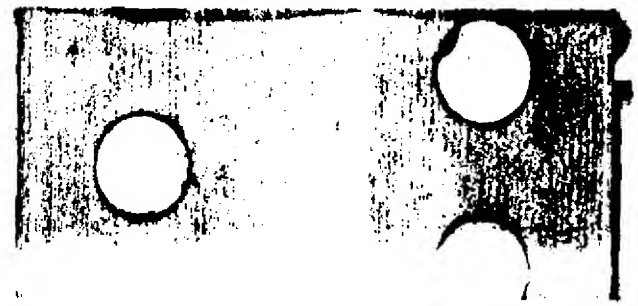
It is for the women of America to restore that vision, for "Where there is no vision the people perish." This nation freed from economic injustice, the root of all wars; relieved of the crushing burden of armaments imposed by the international warmakers; its unrivalled productive capacity released to provide the abundance available, for the benefit of humanity, rather than for its destruction, will be once more a haven of refuge, a shining beacon of hope for a storm tossed despairing humanity.

Not an easy task, we have set ourselves, but we have truth and reason and justice on our side, and the hopes of humanity go with us, beautifully expressed in Angela Morgan's poem:

"O mothers with little sons who stand with lifted faces
All of earths helpless ones cry from the lonely places
And the dead men plead their cause, and the crippled men implore:
Go fashion the future's laws, that war shall be no more.

For war is a knave's design and a coward's brutal scheme,
And men whose courage is divine shall foster a nobler dream.
O mothers with little sons, the years lie in your hands,
You are the chosen ones; Men wait for your commands."

"Give the people light and they will find their own way." Abraham Lincoln.



OBJECTIVES

educate women to exercise the power of
llot effectively and to understand clearly
ghts under the Constitution.

conduct forums where mothers may as-
e for general discussion and summon
elected representatives for consideration
tters of public importance and for an ac-
ng of their activities in the business and
s of the people.

educate the people in ways and means
serving peace, and eliminating the crush-
urde; taxation for armaments and pre-
ng the insane destruction of human life
property in war.

recall to the minds of the people that our
thers established a representative form of
nment in the United States and placed the
r in the hands of the people as principals
that their representatives are their agents
nswerable to the people for their conduct.

work for the establishment of a national
rtment of Defense in lieu of a Department
'ar, which would include as the most effect-
lefense of the people, a non-military institu-
of research and education devoted to the
ervation of peace. Education to preserve
e being without doubt as necessary as
cation to conduct war. As Longfellow puts it:

re halt the power that fills the world with
terror.
Were half the wealth that's spent on camps
and courts.
ven to redeem the human mind from error,
There were no need of arsenals or forts."

Expressions from a Few of Our Friends

"Let me say that I can most heartily endorse the splendid effort and purposes enunciated by your organization."

(Signed) Gerald B. Nye.

"Thank you for your support and the many fine things you are doing to help arouse and educate the people of the country."

(Signed) C. Wayland Brooks.

"I am in thorough accord with the work of your fine organization and wish you continued success."

(Signed) John A. O'Brien, Ph.D.

"My best wishes are with you for your splendid work."

(Signed) Jeanette Rankin.

"I think you are rendering a patriotic service of the highest importance and I wish you the utmost possible success.

(Signed) Louis Ludlow.

"I accept the honorary membership in your organization with pride on the spot. Of course I would love to speak for you in Chicago."

(Signed) Laura Ingalls.

* * *

The hour has struck for the free women of America to unite and use the power which lies in their hands to save their country and its manhood; **TO STOP WAR!**

Every intelligent woman with the courage to stand for principal, is asked to join this organization TODAY. Sign the application card and send it in **NOW,** with whatever you wish to contribute to aid in this great cause. Membership 25c with year's subscription to our weekly publication $1.00.

WE, THE MOTHERS, MOBILIZE FOR AMERICA, Inc.
37 W. Van Buren St., Chicago, Ill.

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318.519
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A MESSAGE TO THE INTELLIGENT WOMANHOOD OF AMERICA

from

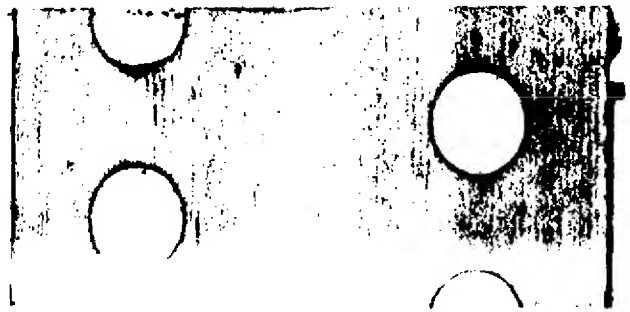
WE, THE MOTHERS, MOBILIZE FOR AMERICA,

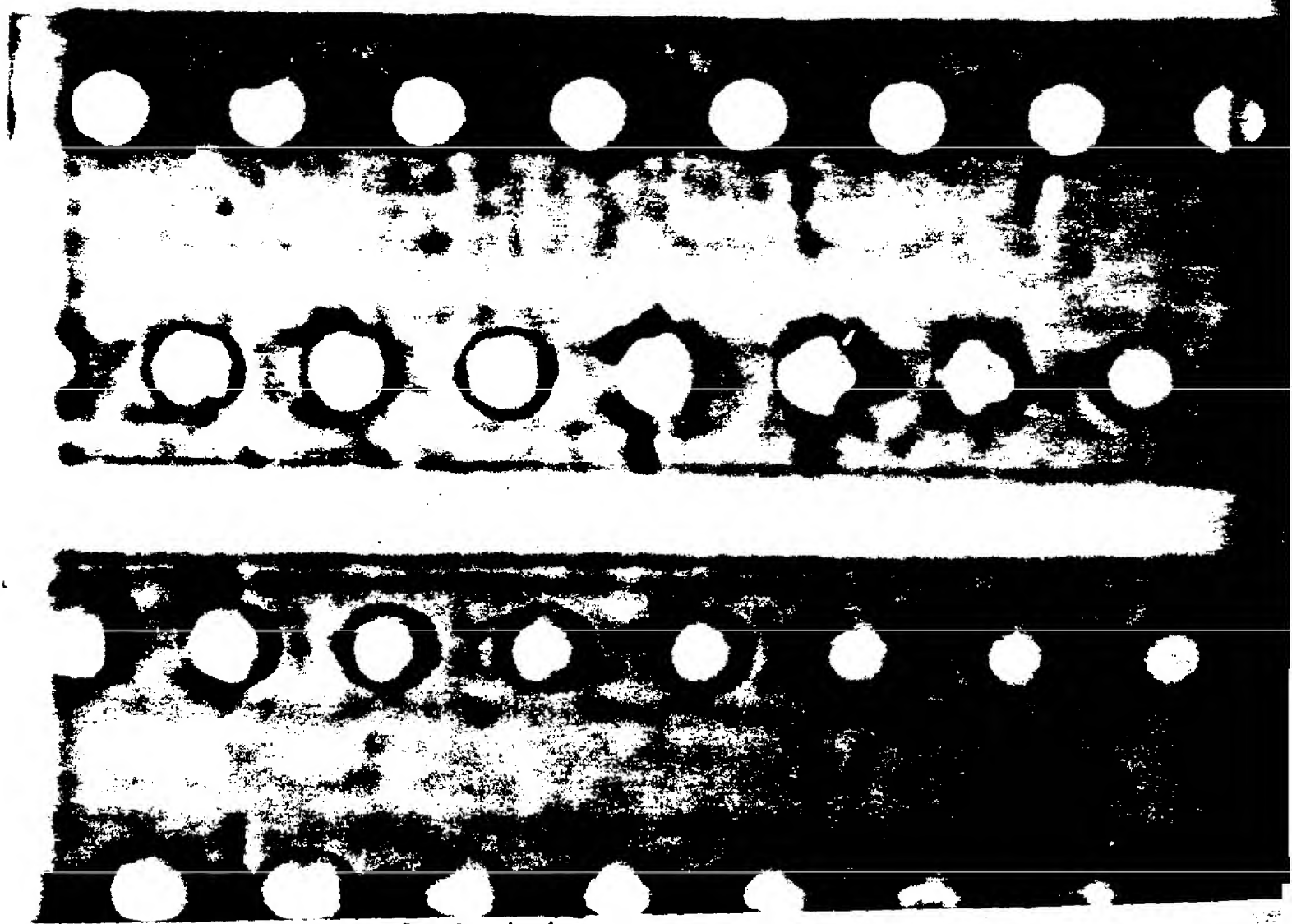
Inc.

An organization dedicated to
The preservation of our Republic and its manhood, and
The building of a better world for a war weary humanity.

A sane, sound program of
EDUCATION and ACTION

National Headquarters
37 W. Van Buren St., Chicago, Ill.





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Miss Ingalls:

4/24/85 SMB/CJS
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264.350 9143 Ste(AG)/COL 8-28-84

Upon later consideration, owing to the uncertainty of your address, also whether the "briefs" would be useful to you, I will hold same until you say. You can get them at any time at my office 100 East 42nd St., room 1605; Telephone LExington 2--9130, between 1030AM and 4Pm

F.A.Parker

Lindbergh's Des Moines speech Sept 11, had at least one good effect in that it immediately gave the line of demarkation of who the enemies of AMERICA FIRST within their own directorships, were.

But if Lindbergh had wanted to put the "real blood test" on these enemies "within" he could have done it just as effectively, if not more so, by making the foregoing hypothetical remarks.

You would have seen the rats leaving the ship (AMERICA FIRST) in droves if their foreign trade swindle had been thus attacked.

I make this remark with the thought in mind, that your use of, or absence of use of, will show me just where yourself and management really stand on this foreign trade swindle.

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Just as a "drop test" of mercenary instincts, you go to one or 100 Jewish - and even illiterate merchants and say:

"How's business ?"

He will probably say that it is lousy. Then you say, if he does complain in anyway:

"Well don't you think that our good friend Mr. Roosevelt ought to shut off all imports for a while?"

And he will fly in your face quick with this:

"Oh no. If we stop foreign trade 'we' perish ! "

So I repeat: that if you want to "isolate" the internationalists in your groups - I don't care where you talk - old ladies or mixed gatherings, just say nothing to your management, but make a "bomb dive" with something of the foregoing hypothetical comment.

SECRET 10-19-80

If may be a "suicide dive" (politically for you), but you will have at least a clear consience that you have pointed out one of the things which AMERICA FIRST must do to ever gain respect of the 31,000,000 voters who are disgusted with politics.

The first act of our first Congress in 1789, after installing officers to execute laws, was to set up a tariff wall.

We will never have peace or prosperity in our fair land until we embargo the exportation and/or importation of all capital and/or property. *

Why should we have it ? We have only 44.2 persons per square mile and in our 3,000,000 square miles plus some undesireable insular possessions which we would be better off without, we have everything on earth we need for prosperity and happiness.

Yours truly Frank A. Parker.
Frank A. Parker.

In hoc signo vinces ! By protection of home industries you may conquer. No other way.

If you approve of this letter, will you put copies in the hands of friends and, in particular, men and women of influence, asking them to help in its distribution.

We want to create a fund for printing and mailing this and other letters. The actual cost of printing and mailing, first class, is just under $.05. To help create the fund the price of these letters to you is $.10 apiece up to 100 copies. All copies over 100 will be $.08.

Address Miss Doll, America First Committee, 515 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y. Send cash, stamps, or checks, making the latter payable to the New York Chapter of the America First Committee.

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Editor--FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

AMOS R. E. PINCHOT
COUNSELLOR AT LAW
101 PARK AVENUE NEW YORK
TELEPHONE ASHLAND 4-8226

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October 24, 1941.

4/29/83 SP8BT/LCS
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Copy #142 94

The Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt,
The White House,
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. President:

In July 1870, just prior to the outbreak of the Franco-German war, at a moment when relations between the two countries were exceedingly strained, Chancellor Bismarck, who wanted war for his own political reasons, falsified and gave to the press the text of a telegram he had received from the King of Prussia, describing the progress of the international negotiations at Ems. This garbled text, generally referred to as the "Ems Telegram," making it seem that negotiations had been abruptly broken off, which was not the case, and that the French Ambassador and Prussian King had been grossly insulted, inflamed the press and enraged both the German and French peoples.

Instantly excitement spread through France, already tense over the German proposal to place a protestant Hohenzollern on the catholic throne of Spain. Newspapers blazed with inflammatory headlines. The voice of the advocates of peace was drowned in the clamor. While politicians, hoping to further their interests through war, seized the reins of power and cries of "On to Berlin" resounded through the streets of Paris.

On July 15th war was declared and credits voted by the Chamber of Deputies. And on that day an unprepared, yet confident, France entered the valley of the shadow, where, in a short but terrible conflict, an empire fell, and the blood of young Frenchmen flowed in streams. In less than three-quarters of a century, thrice have foreign intrigue and cynical ambition at home deceived the people of France and plunged them into war and sorrow.

Mr. President, the American people are being deceived. They are not being told the truth. They are being led, by false representations, toward repeal of the neutrality act, which is war, much as the French were led seventy-one years ago. [redacted]. Partly by politicians with an axe to grind, partly by foreign and domestic interests with a stake in war, and also by well-meaning citizens who are victims of propaganda, we are being told half-truths and monstrous untruths in order to win our support for your war program.

For instance, we are being told the cowardly untruth that this resourceful nation, with its hundred and thirty million

people and matchless industrial power, cannot defend itself and will be enslaved by Adolf Hitler unless, as the British and Russians ask, we go forth to fight on foreign battlefields thousands of miles from home bases and under conditions of grave, if not fatal, disadvantage. We are being told this in spite of the fact that the highest military experts unanimously testify that, with the huge, modern air force which we can assemble long before any foreign power, or powers, could strike, this country will be as safe as though it were on the moon. "The bomber has made the American coast impregnable to invasion. This is the most important military fact that can be deduced from the European war," writes Lieutenant Colonel Phillips of the Army General Staff. Almost every responsible authority writing in the United States on military matters takes this view. None has questioned it.

We are told that, if Hitler wins the war, we will be overwhelmed by nazi economic competition. Therefore, we must choose endure the certain horrors of war in order to escape future competition that may or may not ever exist. Mr. Bernard Baruch, Professor Sumner Slichter, Lamont Professor of Economics at Harvard, and President of the American Economic Association, and authorities of equal standing, flatly assure you that, considering the efficiency of our system of private, competitive mass production, it will be the totalitarian nations and not the United States that will be on the spot.

We are also told that no negotiated peace should be made while Hitler is in power. In other words, peace must be outlawed until a military victory has been won, however long it may take, and whether or not a drawn out conflict to the death will destroy the rising generation in Europe and civilization itself, including England's, while the children in the conquered areas starve by millions. Yet men and women of common sense know that no peace treaties are binding because good men are in power. They are binding and lasting only when the negotiations have achieved a compromise which is to the interest of the contracting parties to preserve.

Finally, in order to harrow up the people and ride them, on a wave of indignation, into repeal of the neutrality act and war, we are being told that Germany is attacking us on the ocean and, as Mr. Hull puts it, is "attempting to create a reign of terror, frightfulness and absolute lawlessness on the high seas and on the Atlantic." He charges the German navy with acts that are "contrary to all law and in harmony with all the definitions of piracy and assassination,." And you, Mr. President, have gone as far, or farther than Mr. Hull in drawing a picture of frightfulness on the high seas which, in its essentials, I regret to say is not in accordance with the record.

Consequently, notwithstanding the fact that the administration is fast reaching a state of mind where it considers any-

one pro-nazi and "a comfort to Hitler," if he uses the common sense God gave him and speaks the truth about the war, I will, with your permission, discuss very briefly the description of the so-called Greer incident, which you incorporated in your broadcast of September 11th, made from the White House to a hushed and tense audience estimated at fifty million people. And let it be borne in mind that, according to the press, that description so generally inflamed the country, and Congress in particular, that the advocates of war, up to that hour downcast and even desperate, suddenly became happy and confident. You said:

> "My fellow Americans:
>
> The Navy Department of the United States has reported to me that on the morning of September 4 the United States destroyer Greer, proceeding in full daylight towards Iceland, had reached a point southeast of Greenland. She was carrying mail to Iceland. She was flying the American flag. Her identity as an American ship was unmistakable.
>
> "She was then and there attacked by a submarine. Germany admits that it was a German submarine. The submarine deliberately fired a torpedo at the Greer, followed later by another torpedo attack. In spite of what Hitler's propaganda bureau has invented, and in spite of what any American obstructionist organization may prefer to believe, I tell you the blunt fact that the German submarine fired first upon this American destroyer without warning, and with deliberate design to sink her."

You also said: "The United States destroyer, when attacked, was proceeding on a legitimate mission." You said the attack was "piracy, legally and morally," and the act of a "rattlesnake of the Atlantic." You assured your audience that our part in the matter was "solely defense." And, as further justification for your "shoot-first" order, which you announced in that broadcast, you likewise described certain sinkings of cargo vessels in the Atlantic, the Robin Moor, the Steel Seafarer, et cetera, failing to mention that every one of them was carrying contraband of war to the British, in violation of international law, of the neutrality act, which you signed, and of your promises to Congress during the Lend-Lease debate, that this country would not be responsible for the delivery of lend-lease goods.

Returning to the Greer case, let us now see what were the real facts, the facts which would never have seen the light of day had not Senator David Walsh, Chairman of the Naval Affairs Committee, succeeded, after long delay and much difficulty, in obtaining a report on the subject from Admiral Stark, Chief of Naval Operations.

The Stark report revealed: (a) that, at 8:40 on the morning of September 4th, the Greer, being about 175 miles from Iceland, was "informed by a British plane of the presence of a submerged submarine" ten miles away; (b) that the Greer thereupon increased speed, zig-zagging to pick up the submarine's trail by sound detectors; (c) that at 9:20 she found the trail and followed the submarine for three hours and twenty-eight minutes, meanwhile broadcasting its position so that British planes or destroyers could approach and make the kill; (d) that, at the end of that time, the submarine, having failed to elude the Greer, launched two torpedoes which missed their mark, the Greer replying by discharging eleven depth bombs; (e) that, shortly afterward, contact with the submarine was lost, it being uncertain whether or not she had been sunk or disabled; (f) that the Greer's action was "in accordance with existing orders."

In a word, Mr. President, the story of the Greer, as carried to the people in your September 11th broadcast, was not factual. It was in direct conflict with the facts. The Greer was not proceeding on a "legitimate mission" of carrying mail to Iceland when the torpedoes were launched. She was, and for hours had been, tracking the U-boat with intent either to destroy it herself or cooperate with the British in doing so. Nor in any honest sense can it be said that "the blunt fact" was that the submarine fired first, "without warning."

In a way, your ~~incendiary~~ broadcast about the Greer incident was perhaps worse than the Ems Telegram. For, while Bismarck acted on the spur of the moment, altering and publishing it in its changed form the same day he received it, you made your broadcast a week after the Greer's brush with the submarine, and had ample time to digest the facts.

Another case where, it seems to me, unforgivable deception has been practiced on the bewildered, long-suffering public, in order to break down resistance to war, is the tragic torpedoing of the U.S. destroyer Kearny on October 17th, in which eleven men were killed and ten wounded. This incident your administration is ~~still~~ interpreting to the country as another piece of German frightfulness. But, Mr. President, you cannot broadcast to the world that the American navy, or perhaps it should be called your navy, will open fire on sight and blow any German naval vessels it encounters to kingdom come, and expect the commanders of such vessels not to try to get in the first crack.

You cannot cast yourself as a deadly, gun-toting aggressor and then rage to high heaven if you are last on the draw. Nor, having issued your shoot first order in September - thereby starting, without authority of Congress and in defiance of the Constitution, your own naval war - can you in October shift from your own shoulders responsibility for the death of the sailors killed in an attack which you certainly invited. As a matter of cold, hard fact, horrible as has been Hitler's record in Europe, he has on the whole, for his own reasons, refrained from aggressive or illegal acts on the seas against America. And this is the more true when

we remember the numerous and various acts of war committed by your administration against Germany.

No American, whose thinking has not been bent by nazi or communist influence, can have anything but disgust for the unspeakable Hitler, the equally unspeakable Stalin, and their inhuman philosophies. I hold no brief for them. But I do hold a brief for the people of the United States, who do not want this war, which is utterly needless for defense, any more than you did before election day, and who are gradually being hornswaggled by your administration and a half puppet Congress, into the feeling that, somehow or other, war is inevitable, and that we have gone so far and committed ourselves so deeply that we cannot draw back. That, of course, is nonsense. War is not inevitable, nor has anyone committed us to it but yourself, who have no legal or moral right to do so, as the statesmen of Europe should know by now.

Before his great post-election awakening, Wendell Willkie put it in a nutshell:

> "It is the duty of the President of the United States to recognize the determination of the people to stay out of war and to do nothing by word or deed that will undermine that determination. No man has the right to use the great powers of the Presidency to lead the people, indirectly, into war; only the people through their elected representatives can make that awful decision, and there is no question as to their decision."

War is a grim and terrible thing. And it is a grim and terrible thing for a man in your position to get a nation into war by high-pressure salesmanship, misrepresentation, or concealment of essential facts, or by any means whatever except presenting the truth to the people and letting them decide. That, by the way, is democracy. It is also common decency. And the young men of our country and their fathers and mothers, who, if war comes, must bear its pain and sorrow, deserve no less.

Sincerely,

Gifford Pinchot

AP:gh

Bulletin #653
September 27, 1941

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

ASKS BRITISH PROPAGANDA

Briton Would Fight U. S. Isolationism

(The following United Press dispatch is taken from the Omaha World Herald, September 11th)

London, Sept. 11 (U.P.) — Capt. Alex Stratford Cunningham-Reid, conservative, told an almost deserted house of commons just before adjournment late today that British propaganda in the United States should be intensified to combat isolationism.

"The America First Committee," he said, "last month increased its membership from 10,450,000 to something just over 15 million. Even for a country with a population as large as that of America the organization is extremely large."

"Using all means at our disposal, we should spend much more money and energy in concentrating on the enlightenment of the American people.

"By so doing," he said, "we should be forestalling dangerous isolationist propaganda and helping the best friend this country ever had — Roosevelt."

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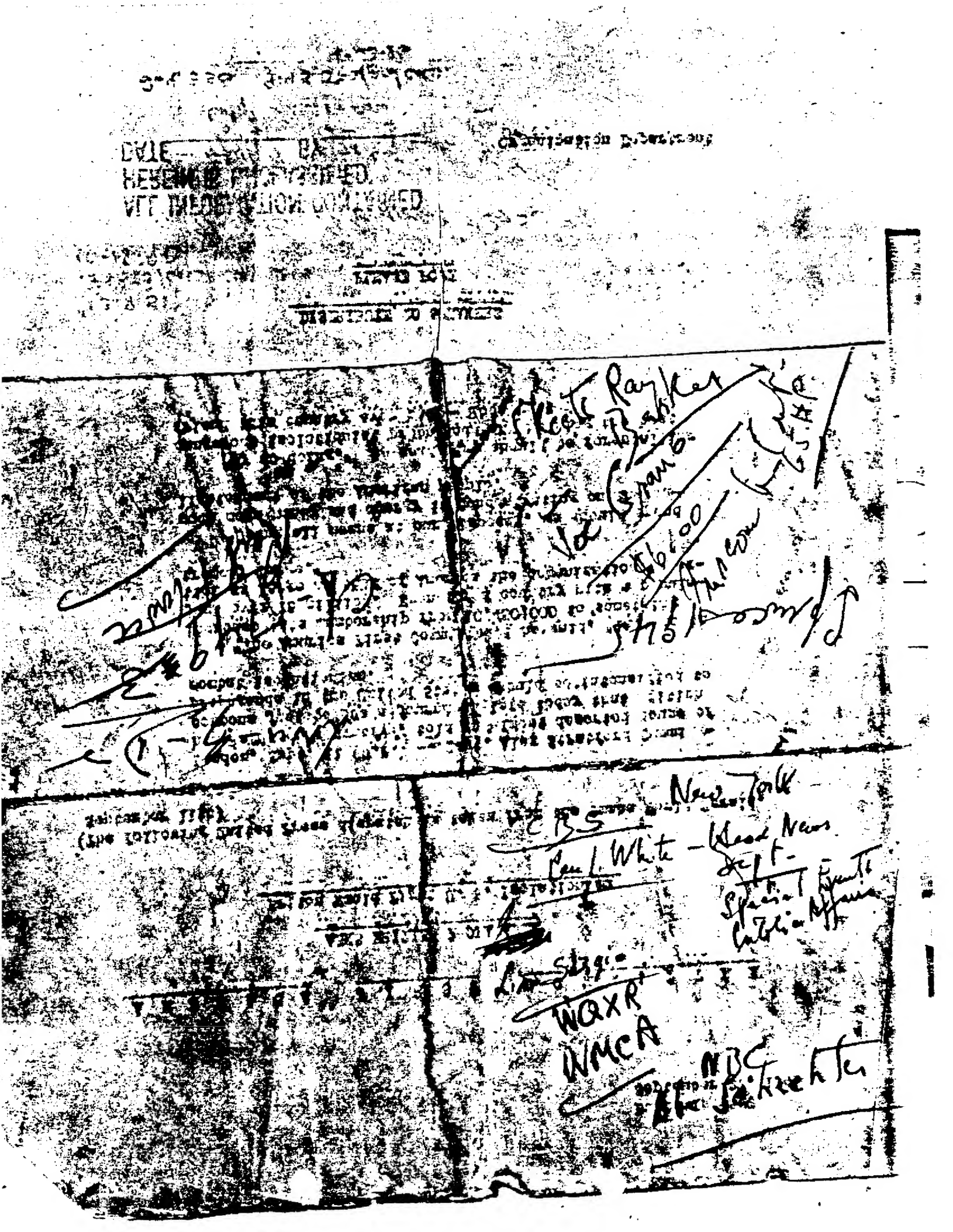
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unknown" and the cheque bounced back with a charge of $1.40 for bank fees! A New York friend, who investigated, reported a colored maid by that name at this Park Avenue address but whether her name was used with her knowledge or not, we do not know.

This is the Time to Go On!

For several years, since I became unable financially to carry the expense in addition to donating my time to the work, five self-sacrificing patriots have made it possible for me to carry on factual research which, according to both patriots and Reds, was responsible for formation of the Dies Committee, and which has been felt, as one Red writer put it "in every town and hamlet in the United States." Present New Deal efforts to hector me indicate some "nuisance" value on my part.

At the same time we have built up and are continuing (short handed) to keep records of priceless value to the entire Nation. It is safe to say that there is no one active in the anti-Red fight today who has not used my material. The American Legion National Americanism Committee is only one of countless groups who have thanked me for my assistance.

If I were "smart" and did not cringe from personal begging more than from being hung and were not so tied down day and night at the work, I rightfully should be able to beg, from the thousands of people who have received my aid gratis, enough to get us increased instead of decreased office space and help.

When a second of the five kind "overworked" contributors had to discontinue last week, reducing our budget $50 more, we started measuring and figuring how we could crowd everything into one of our two office spaces to save on rent. But, even by stacking everything in aisles like a warehouse and storing some elsewhere, the problem would be how to be able to work without poking our elbows in each other's eyes!

One thinks, if only someone would donate office space, or if a number of people would only pledge small regular monthly amounts on which we could depend, we might not only make up this deficit but extend our efforts!

Never have so many people been writing in and expressing interest. But most of these real workers are "common people" with slender funds, the kind of whom Lincoln spoke when he said, "God must have loved the common people, he made so many of them!"

From a Few of Many Nice Letters

From Redmond, Oregon: "I write to let you know of my uneasiness and anxiety. I have not heard from you since the August news letter. Has the enemy stopped your great work? All hopes and prayers are for the continuance of your patriotic and Christian work."

From Brooklyn: "Many thanks for your efforts and hope you will be able to continue on."

From Wapato, Wash.: "I enjoy your bulletins and I pass them on to friends to read. May God give you wisdom, strength and protection."

From Denver, Colo.: "I wish that the necessity for making a living did not so completely engross my time and efforts. For every true patriot should be in business with you saving our country, our free government and institutions and our

Bulletin #687
November 14, 1941

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

WE ARE AT OUR GREATEST STRENGTH

Thursday, Nov. 13, 1941 the House of Representatives voted to repeal the Neutrality Act 212 to 194.

It was the greatest division of Congressional opinion on a war involvement question that this country has ever seen.

The switch of ten men would have meant repudiation of the Administration's foreign policy.

Actually the number of Representatives who opposed this war measure was 200. There were 6 paired against the repeal. (The entire vote against the Lend-Lease Bill, including pairs, was 167. We have gained 33 Congressmen.)

For the first time in this fight the solid south has cast votes against a war measure. Votes from eight southern states were recorded.

The Democratic Chairmen of three important House Committees broke with the Administration and voted against repeal. They are Hatton Sumners, Chairman of Judiciary Committee, Robert L. Doughton, Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee and Joseph Mansfield Chairman of the Rivers and Harbors Committee.

According to reliable Washington sources the pressure exerted on wavering Congressmen by the Administration Wednesday night and Thursday was terrific. The statement of Representative Tinkham, Mass., given out before the vote, was typical of the thought and conversation circulating about the Capitol: "They may be able to persuade enough members to vote against their honest convictions. They are using every kind of White House pressure. We hear they are promising judgeships, postermasterships and all sorts of things to win votes."

Still by your letters, wires and phone calls 200 men voted with us.

The day preceding the vote the volume of mail delivered to Congress was reported to be a nine year high. The day of the vote the number of telegrams received smashed all records.

We are now at our greatest strength both among the people and in Congress!

The fight for American freedom has just begun!

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AMERICA FIRST

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE DEFENDED

BY NEW YORK DAILY NEWS

(The following is a portion of an editorial from the largest newspaper in America, The New York DAILY NEWS, October 22, 1941.)

"Mr. Ickes (speaking in Chicago night before last) also aimed some wordage at the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE. His innuendoes added up to a charge that the America First Committee is financed at least partially by Nazi money, and he feels that Congress should investigate.

"We can add a bit to this discussion. The editor of this newspaper has contributed to the America First Committee a sum comparable to the amount he contributed to Mr. Roosevelt's Presidential campaign fund last Fall. He was certainly a sucker on one of these two occasions.

"During the 1940 campaign, however, he was perhaps only misled; because he made those contributions to the Roosevelt fund on the strength of such promises as these, which Mr. Roosevelt was then strewing around like Ferdinand the Bull scattering flowers:

"'We will not participate in foreign wars, and will not send our Army, naval or air forces to fight in foreign lands, except in case of attack.' (Oct. 23, 1940). . . 'Your President is following the road to peace. . . We are arming ourselves not for any conquest or intervention in foreign disputes.' (Oct. 23, 1940).

"Reverting to America First — we do not believe any Nazi or other anti-Semitic money has been contributed to the organization. Indeed, from the seal with which the America First fund solicitors make their appeal, the bottom of their barrel seems to be in sight.

"We don't belong to America First. From our observation of it, we believe that its members have but one common aim, whatever their individual differences; and that this single common aim is to keep American boys from being drafted and sent to die in foreign countries in a war which does not concern the United States.

"We second Mr. Ickes' motion that Congress investigate America First. And if Congress finds that America First has ever taken any 'funny' money, we'll not only be much surprised but will make public recantation for our mistake."

Page Hufty
Director of Organization

HERE IS YOUR FIGHT: - DELUGE YOUR FRIENDLY AND WOBBLY SENATOR WITH MAIL ASKING FOR BUT ONE THING ——A FULL AND COMPLETE DEBATE ON THE NEUTRALITY ACT REVISIONS.

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Bulletin #690
November 18, 1941

A M E R I C A F I R S T C O M M I T T E E

*** JUST 30 DAYS LEFT ***
until the Christmas Season

CHRISTMAS — THE SEASON OF PEACE — IS NOT FAR OFF

YOUR COLUMBUS DAY EFFORTS WERE GRATIFYING.

MEETINGS, RALLIES, SERMONS, AND RADIO BROADCASTS DURING ARMISTICE WEEK ENABLED THE AMERICA FIRST CAUSE TO BE HEARD BY MILLIONS IN EVERY SECTION OF THE COUNTRY.

OUR CHRISTMAS WEEK ACTIVITIES SHOULD BE EVEN MORE TREMENDOUS.

SO

START PLANNING NOW TO HAVE A RALLY
SOME TIME DURING THE WEEK OF DECEMBER 15TH.

INVITE YOUR LOCAL MINISTERS AND PRIESTS (per attached sample) TO JOIN IN A CRUSADE FOR A PEACE OFFENSIVE.

APPLY NOW TO YOUR LOCAL RADIO STATIONS FOR TIME DURING THAT WEEK AND HAVE OUTSTANDING LOCAL MEMBERS BROADCAST SPECIAL CHRISTMAS MESSAGES.

URGE TWO OR THREE CLERGYMEN, WHO ARE EITHER MEMBERS OF YOUR CHAPTER OR ARE SYMPATHETIC TO OUR AIMS, TO APPLY FOR TIME UNDER THEIR OWN NAMES, AND BROADCAST THEIR VIEWS DURING THIS — THE GREATEST OF ALL SEASONS.

*** JUST 30 DAYS LEFT ***
until the Christmas Season

THE TIME TO START IS NOW.

Wm. S. Youlis, Chairman
Speakers' Bureau

THE FOLLOWING IS A LETTER WE SUGGEST YOU SEND ONLY TO THE LEADING CLERGYMAN IN EACH CHURCH IN YOUR CITY OR DISTRICT. IT IS ONLY CONSISTENT WITH THE DIGNITY OF THESE MEN THAT YOU MAKE INDIVIDUAL COPIES OF THIS LETTER.

Dear Father, Reverend, or Mr._____:

In times of national confusion caused by calamitous social upheavals, it is necessary for the people more than ever to turn to their leaders for guidance. On all sides men in public office have been found guilty of wholesale betrayal of public confidence, of public trust, of public well-being. It is becoming increasingly evident that the people no longer know to whom they can turn. This grave situation occasions an obligation incumbent on the clergy of our nation - the leaders of our spiritual welfare who yet have the full confidence of the people. It is the obligation to speak out and tell the people what they must do in these times of national stress.

The world has gone far from the ideals of Christ. Therein lies the explanation for our present state of universal catastrophe - the greater has been the retreat from Christ, the greater has been the retreat from civilization, from culture, from the principles of goodness, of truth, and of justice. If there is to be salvation of mankind, it will be through a return to the principles of Christianity, and it is your responsibility as leaders to lead us back.

Soon the Christmas season will be here. There will be little significance in this event unless it is given real significance by you, our leaders. As true Americans, needing, begging guidance, we ask you to make a special effort during this time to instruct the people what they must do in these times. Reason has been lost, war hysteria has torn charity from men's hearts - our leaders must keep their heads and their hearts, guide them by example, show them the inherent fallacy of seeking peace by inviting destruction.

There is an old axiom which sums up well what people must be told: "Operatio sequitur esse." Unless we have preserved the principles of Christianity here, the principles of justice and charity, unless we forego destruction and wholesale mass slaughter, then we shall never be able to lead others back to peace, to Democracy, nor to Christ.

Sincerely yours,

Chairman, _____Chapter
America First Committee

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Bulletin #686
November 4, 1941

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE PRINCIPLE #7

At a meeting of the members of the National Committee on Monday, October 20, 1941, a seventh principle of the America First Committee was adopted which proposed that it was the duty of every citizen to express his views on war or peace until Congress votes a declaration of war.

The following is the complete text of the new principle. All chapters are advised to include this in future printings of the principles of the Committee. It is also suggested that each chapter officially inform local newspapers of this added principle.

> The Constitution of the United States vests the sole power to declare war in Congress. Until Congress has exercised that power, it is not only the privilege but the duty of every citizen to express to his Representatives his views on the question of peace or war - in order that this grave issue may be decided in accordance with the will of the people and the best traditions of American democracy.

Organization Department

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THE NEUTRALITY VOTE

The following is an editorial from the Chicago Tribune of November 14, 1941:

The house has concurred in the senate amendments of the neutrality act. Mr. Roosevelt is now empowered not only to arm our merchant ships but to send them, loaded with war supplies, into belligerent ports. If this is done it is not to be doubted that American ships will be torpedoed and American seamen will be drowned. The country must prepare itself for a succession of such incidents. The war party wants them and needs them to inflame the public to the point where it will approve a declaration of war.

The count in both houses, and particularly in the house of representatives, was very close. For the last few days and especially in the hours immediately preceding the vote, the President himself and his principal advisers turned on the heat. Even so, the administration was unable to hold many of its own men in line. The country will long remember with gratitude the names of those whose consciences could not be bought with patronage and pork.

The closeness of the vote is an evidence of how deeply the country is divided on the war issue. Competent observers are sure that the President could not have had his way if the members had been left free to follow their own judgments and the wishes of their constituents.

Never in the history of this country has a decision for involvement in war been taken by so narrow a majority. Always in the past the President has lagged behind congress and the people in demands for war. This time it is the President who is pushing congress and the people into the conflict. The difference is an ominous one, if only because it makes a mockery of the claim that we are engaging in a crusade for democracy. That democracy is being tricked and betrayed into war against the will of the majority of the people.

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The following is a statement of George [illegible] before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, October [illegible]

In appearing before your committee today, I do so to protest against the march toward war, either by the administration or by the Congress, without the express approval of the people.

The following partial list of steps in the last 2 years will suggest the kind of activities to which I refer:

1. The repeal of the arms embargo provision of the Neutrality Act in the fall of 1939.

2. The transfer of 50 destroyers to Great Britain for lease holds on naval bases, without the consent of Congress in the fall of 1940.

3. The adoption of peacetime conscription in the fall of 1940.

4. The lend-lease bill in March 1941.

5. The first lend-lease appropriation bill of $7,000,000,000 in March 1941.

6. The cancellation, by President Roosevelt, in April 1941 of the Red Sea as a combat area - an area in which an American-owned ship has been sunk after his action.

7. The occupation of Iceland in July 1941 jointly with British troops, and the placing of American soldiers there under British command, without the consent of Congress.

8. The extension of conscription in September 1941 from 1 year to 2½ years of service.

9. The initiation of "shooting" through instructions by President Roosevelt and without previous authority from Congress, to the Navy to shoot on sight in September 1941.

10. Appropriations by Congress for national defense since the outbreak of the war, of $56,000,000,000 a sum estimated large enough to equip a vast army for

service in foreign lands.

11. The request, now pending before Congress, for a second lend-lease appropriation [illegible] for a total of $12,985,000,000.

12. The recommendation, now pending before Congress, for a further repudiation of the Neutrality Act by asking for authority to arm merchant ships. Similar actions, in 1917, were followed by war within 1 month.

13. The transfer, in violation of the intent of the Neutrality Act, of American-owned ships to the flag of the Republic of Panama since the war began, and the arming by the United States of at least some of those ships.

14. The virtual establishment by President Roosevelt without previous authority from Congress, of a system of naval convoys upon the theory that the lend-lease bill committed us to deliver lend-lease aid - and this despite his quoted statement that "convoys mean shooting and shooting means war."

15. The building in North Ireland, a belligerent territory, by citizens of the United States, of harbors and sea or air bases - this by the authority of President Roosevelt and without the knowledge or consent of Congress.

Organization Department

FROM: Richard A. Moore
National Publicity Director
America First Committee
141 W. Jackson Blvd.
Chicago, Ill. Wabash 6996

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General Robert E. Wood made the following comment tonight on the Senate vote on repeal of neutrality:

"Although he persistently refuses to submit the question of peace or war to Congress in the only honorable way, the President is swiftly advancing to a point where he can no longer disguise the real issue. The showdown may come this week when the House of Representatives votes on the Administration's proposal to send American ships into war zones.

"Ten Senators who had previously supported the President's foreign policy broke with him on this issue in the Senate. If there is a corresponding reaction in the House - where non-interventionist strength has been gaining steadily - the President's proposal may be soundly defeated.

"In the Senate fight, the Administration was able to keep its majority in line only by repreated avowals that this was not a war measure. But this time five members of the President's own party recognized his policy as a policy of war and they were joined by five more Republicans. Apparently the Administration's contention that the way to avoid involvement is to begin a naval war in the combat zones, is not convincing even to Democrats.

"Senators Burton, Tydings, Smith, Bilbo, Byrd, Lodge, McNary, Maloney, Brewster & White are to be congratulated upon joining with those other courageous Senators who insist that constitutional government and the will of the people be honored by their elected Representatives.

"The laudable tendency to place the war issue above party consideration was further illustrated by the Republicans who roundly repudiated Wendell Willkie's

attempt to align the party behind the interventionists. The amendment which he urged on the Senators, calling for complete repeal of the neutrality act, was supported by only 4 Republican Senators out of 27 and was defeated 78 to 11.

"The House - much more responsive to the views of the voters - has been consistently less war-minded than the Senate as demonstrated by the close vote (203 to 202) on the draft extension bill.

"The American people have until Wednesday or Thursday to remind their Representatives of the President's statement that shooting means war and the people are against it. If the voters will use the next three days to write, wire or telephone their Representatives, advising them of their views, this latest attempt to push us into war by subterfuge will be defeated.

"The America First Committee will continue its fight to enforce the will of the people. In this connection, I am pleased to announce three new members of the National Committee: William H. (Alfalfa Bill) Murray, former Governor of Oklahoma; Gregory Mason, Professor of Journalism, New York University and Dr. John A. O'Brien, Notre Dame University. These additions serve to solidify the ranks of those who oppose our entry into the European war."

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Bulletin #678
November 8, 1941

A M E R I C A F I R S T C O M M I T T E E

URGE YOUR FRIENDLY NEWSPAPER TO

STRESS NEUTRALITY VOTE IN HOUSE

A great many people, who are not thoroughly informed on the subject, are under the impression that the fight against repeal of the Neutrality Act has ended with the vote in the Senate. This, of course, is far from true and must be brought to their attention in order that they have an opportunity to write, wire or phone their Congressmen urging its defeat in the House of Representatives.

The most effective way of bringing the legislative procedure to the people is through your local friendly newspaper.

1. Ask the editor to immediately begin running a box on the front page indicating that the House must still vote on the measure and that the mail received by the Congressmen will determine their vote.

2. Ask the editor to run simultaneously the names of the local Congressmen to whom mail, wires and phone calls should be directed.

3. Ask the editor to run this box or news story until the vote in the house has been taken

CAUTION

Representatives in Washington have advised us that some antagonism has been created by the tone of the letters being received by Senators and Congressmen. A letter berating and castigating a Congressman defeats our primary purpose which is to win him over to our side. Instead it drives him farther away. Advise your members to make an appeal rather than a defamation in their letters to Congress.

Organization Department

4/29/85 SPSBT/CLS #245238
318.519
SP8BT/CL
10-18-90
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9/4/84 BY SP8 BT/ltd
Camp #242, 942

Bulletin #676
November 8, 1941

344.830 9145-3Fa/aa/CoL 423-86

A M E R I C A F I R S T C O M M I T T E E

! ! ! WE HAVE INCREASED OUR STRENGTH ! ! !

Last night the Senate voted 50-37 to revise the Neutrality Act. In spite of the defeat this was a far from discouraging vote.

• • • •

The Lend-Lease Bill was passed early in March with 32 Senators on record as opposing it.

> After 8 months of the most vicious and suffocating war propaganda this country has ever seen the proposition to revise the Neutrality Act came up before Congress.

• The Bill to Revise the Neutrality Act was passed with 42 (FORTY TWO !!) Senators on record as opposing its contents ! ! !

THIS MEANS THAT THROUGH YOUR SPLENDID EFFORTS OUR FORCES IN CONGRESS HAVE BEEN INCREASED BY 10 SENATORS. OUR GREATEST STRENGTH ! ! !

THE FOLLOWING ARE THE MEN WHO VOTED FOR THE LEND-LEASE BILL AND AGAINST REVISION OF THE NEUTRALITY ACT:-

Theodore Bilbo, (DEMOCRAT), Mississippi
Harry Byrd, (DEMOCRAT), Virginia
Francis Maloney, (DEMOCRAT), Conn.
Millard Tydings, (DEMOCRAT), Maryland
Ed Smith, (DEMOCRAT), South Carolina
Ralph Brewster, (REPUB.) Maine
Henry Cabot Lodge, (REPUB.) Mass.
James Davis, (REPUB.) Penn.
Charles McNary, (REPUB.) Oregon
• Wallace White, (REPUB.), Maine

THE BILL CAN BE BEATEN IF THE HOUSE

The Neutrality revision bill is far from passed at this moment. Congressional leaders in Washington are fully confident that we have a fighting chance of beating it in the House. IT CAN BE DEFEATED. BUT IT IS YOU WHO MUST DEFEAT IT.

REMEMBER the famous "one vote victory" on the Draft Extension? On that bill your wires, letters and phone calls the last few crucial days brought a sufficient number of Congressmen over to make the vote 203-202.

ON THE DRAFT EXTENSION BILL WE HAD CONSIDERABLY LESS VOTING STRENGTH IN THE SENATE. NOW WE HAVE INCREASED THAT STRENGTH !!!

Vote in the House is expected Wednesday. Only your efforts can determine victory or defeat. Launch your avalanche of AIRMAIL LETTERS, WIRES AND PHONE CALLS TODAY. KEEP THEM ROLLING TO YOUR CONGRESSMEN UP TO THE VERY LAST MINUTE.

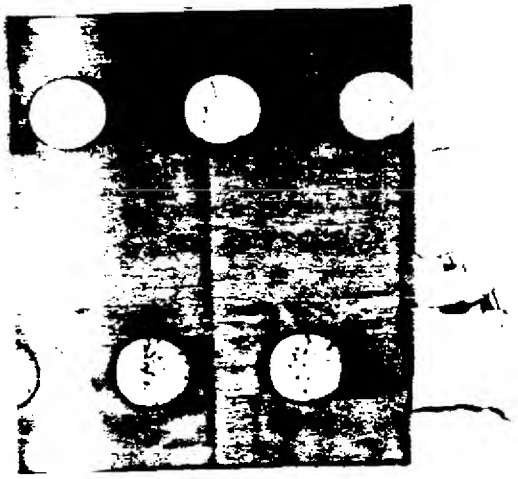
• Includes the vote of WHITE of Maine who opposed the sending of ships into the war zone.

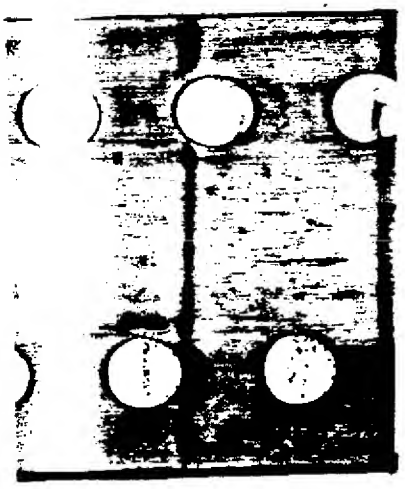
318.519
Sp8 Mss/cal
10-1940

4/29/85 SP8Bg/105 #245238
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 1/4/84 BY SP8-Bg/mk
Comp#242,942

945 Ms/Ac/cal 4-23-86 264,350

PENNYPACKER RESOLUTION





The following resolution, introduced by Isaac A. Pennypacker, Chairman of the Philadelphia Chapter and member of the National Committee, was unanimously adopted by the representatives of 119 chapters of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE attending the meeting in Washington on Saturday, November 1, 1941.

"Whereas the structure of American democracy is founded upon the principle of government of, by and for the people, through laws enacted by the Congress and executed by the President, under the Constitution of the United States; and

"Whereas the wilful, deliberate and persistent efforts of President Roosevelt to force this country to take full part in the present European War are in violation of the proven will of the majority of the American people, and do threaten to undermine the foundations of American Constitutional government; and

"Whereas the United States Senate and House of Representatives are charged by the Constitution and the people with the solemn duty of enforcing the will of the people through keeping this country out of unnecessary foreign war, by exercise of the legislative power; and

"Whereas repeal of provisions of the Neutrality Act, designed to prevent complete involvement in the European war, would permit further intentional provocation of incidents leading to war, and therefore such repeal may be a prelude to a vote for war;

"Now, therefore, be it resolved that we, the Chairmen and delegates of one hundred nineteen chapters of the America First Committee, representing millions of American citizens from coast to coast, and from north to south, do individually pledge ourselves to work and vote in the 1942 primaries and general election for every member of the Senate and House of Representatives, irrespective of Party, who votes retain provisions of the present Neutrality Act which prohibits the entry of American flag ships into combat areas or belligerent ports; and

"We do further pledge ourselves to work and vote against the renomination and re-election in 1942 of every member of the Senate and House of Representatives who votes to repeal the provisions of the present Neutrality Act, which prohibit the entry of American flag ships into combat areas or belligerent ports."

PATRIOTIC RESEARCH BUREAU

For the Defense of Christianity and American

DIRECTOR, ELIZABETH DILLING

Suite 733 - 53 W. Jackson Blvd.

Chicago

October 1941

4/29/85 SBBG/85
#245231
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 8/31/84 BY SP3 BG/Jude
Comp #248, 542
264,350 #-29-86 9145

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10-19-90

Dear Friends:

My skipping a September letter to you, which I regret, is only part of the "skipping" I have been doing. While I have had more personal cares and worries than a dog has fleas, the New Deal has not overlooked trying to add to them! They say:

"The big fleas all have little fleas
On 'am to bite 'em
And little fleas have smaller fleas
And so on ad infinitum."

In order to give the New Deal no excuse to move into my office or "borrow" my anti-Red records, every cent contributed to office expenses has been listed as an "anonymous" donation and income tax paid on it as though it were a personal fee to me - unjust as it seems to pay tax on what <u>should</u> be tax exempt and on what is paid to others to help carry on the patriotic work to which I <u>donate</u> my life and labor.

My husband has always made out all income tax reports; I only know when our office "cupboard" is bare of funds. This past July one Nathan Morris arrived at my husband's office with letters from the U. S. Commissioner of Internal Revenue at Washington, D. C., dated July 10, authorizing him to investigate both of our income tax returns for 1939-40. As the local Bureau had already investigated and okayed my husband's return this seemed fishy, we being small fry financially, as it is rare for the tax return of anyone outside of the millionaire or Al Capone class to be investigated <u>twice</u>.

So on inquiry, we were informed that Mr. Nathan Morris is not connected with either the local or Washington Income Tax Bureau but works right out of the Washington office of the Attorney General who heads the F.B.I. A "fishing expedition" was scented and his first question when he entered set the keynote: "What Fascist or Nazi or Communist organizations does Mrs. Dilling belong to?" The answer was a decided "Not one!" By chance I dropped into my husband's office while Mr. Morris was there and had a pleasant chat with him in which he told me of his long close association with Rabbi Stephen S. Wise (part of whose crimson record is listed in my books).

He inquired about the cost of our home way back in 1920, 21 years ago, "Aren't you going rather far afield for a 1939 income tax return?" he was asked. His significant reply was, "Well, perhaps I am but I have a job to do." I had a fair idea of what that "job" was. Added to my books and bulletins my recent opposition to Dictator-War Bill 1776 in Washington has keenly whetted the appetite of the New Deal and its warmongers to smear and silence me.

An $800 New Deal "Fishing Trip"

And so for three months Mr. Nathan Morris has been demanding such laborious detailed proof of every bottle of ink, as it were, used in my office since 1939, that the bill of the expert accountant, whom my husband hired to handle the matter, has run up to $800! It must be disappointing to have discovered no "love gifts" to our office from Benito Mussolini or Adolph Hitler. Of course bloody Joe Stalin couldn't be suspected of contributing since we are being taxed to send millions in gifts to him.

Our dog, fortunately, is a little cocker spaniel. Were he a dachshund I might ere this have been in a concentration camp where 80% of our people, George Washingtonian Americans, who also oppose entangling European alliances, should join me.

Congressman Knutson, to quote (A.P. 10/8/41), "offered the House a definition of the difference between a Nazi and a Communist during debate today on the lend-lease bill. Said Knutson: "The only difference between a Nazi and a Communist is that a Nazi can't get a job in the New Deal."

I Travel at New Deal Expense

With Mr. Nathan Morris still plodding at his assignment of snooping over the purchase and use of any "tooth pick" I might have "twittled" in past years, another New Deal "billet doux" ("love note" to you) arrived in the shape of a subpoena to come to Washington, D. C., bringing all correspondence data, mailing lists, etc., connected with my purchase and distribution last October and November of a booklet of Lord Lothian's previous speeches which were a George Washingtonian argument against Britain and the U. S. sacrificing lives to hold down "the anarchy of Europe" in the "status quo".

At this summons to more expense, I made up my mind not to budge until I had a round trip ticket to Washington in hand; since there are billions of government tax money for bloody Joe, there should be a ticket for me. And so I sat packed to go for three days until at last a round trip and lower berth ticket finally appeared about a half hour before train time. By collecting the rest legally due me, of $1.50 per day witness fees plus $3.00 maintenance per day for three days, plus 10¢ per mile one way, I extracted the cost of a "nice" trip to Washington which I utilized to interview friendly Congressmen and Senators, to build fires under the enemy, and came home via New York where I did some valuable work. "I am here," I said proudly to friends, "at the expense of my government."

A New York friend gave me a huge round celluloid badge the size of a tea cup with the words "I AM A SPY". I pinned this inside my coat and ever since have been flashing it on people. At a ticket window, for example, I asked, "Can you hurry up that berth ticket? You haven't seen my badge have you?" "No", the man said respectfully, expecting to see some official connection, until I flashed out the "I AM A SPY" badge and he laughed. Today a friend gave me a small red nose with whiskers which can be quickly plopped on as one shows the badge! I used it on the office elevator men with fine effect today.

Although my subpoena was illegally drawn and I could have ignored it, I was glad to go and testify. Significantly, I had been well smeared by the Pearson and Allen column and the press before my arrival but was unable to get any statement of mine in the press concerning the matter.

The subpoena had requested that I bring to Washington all mailing lists, correspondence, etc., in connection with my purchase of the Lothian books. The moment it was served I offered to cooperate and turned over to be photostated all correspondence concerning my purchase of the Lothian books, my one and only transaction with Flanders Hall Publishers, of Scotch Plains, New Jersey, no member of whom I have ever met. This correspondence included my initial inquiry concerning prices, my order, my letters of bitter complaint at the huge C.O.D. express bill on the prepaid order which should have arrived postpaid and, besides, came four hundred copies short with the statement that unordered cartons at a big price had been sent to make up the difference (!); then, our threat of legal action and, finally, their letter sending a refund. The purchase was a headache but the speeches were good.

The New Deal O.G.P.U. At Work

Picture a New Deal "O.G.P.U." scene in which an assistant to Roosevelt's Attorney General turns on all the sarcasm and spleen possible to convey the idea that he is addressing a convicted criminal about to be hung (for buying copies of a Britisher's speeches) as he demands of the victim: "Are you the author of THE RED NETWORK in which Mrs. Roosevelt is listed as a Red?"

Victim: "I am! Of course I have ten times as much on her now as I had then."

He: "Do you intend to publish this?"

Victim: "Yes, providing you don't throw me in a concentration camp."

He: "Certainly you do not think that I or anyone associated with me would ever wish to interfere with freedom of speech or of the press?"

Victim: "Well, I am sure you are carrying out your orders to the best of your ability but in view of what I have gone through since I opposed the Lend-Lease Dictator-War Bill I'd say it smells mighty peculiar. I think they are out to get and silence me."

He: (With sinister glower) "What do you mean by 'they'?"

Victim: "What would you think? The New Deal of course."

A long harangue of sarcastic questions concerning my "so-called" Patriotic Research Bureau. An attempt to get its mailing lists ending with my determined retort: "You can draw and quarter me and throw me in a concentration camp but you will never get out of me the name of one single person who has ever befriended me so that they may be persecuted as I have been."

Denials that this was intended. An attempt to dig into Bureau donations and expenditures and have me itemize these which I couldn't possibly do. I am too pushed to even keep track of the stamps we have to buy.

Victim: "Why don't you ask your own man right out of your own office who has been busy since July counting up every penny spent by the office since 1939? He knows far more about it than I do. He is still there. Ask him!"

My "crime" of distributing copies of the Lothian speeches is taken up. Would I admit they were "Nazi" propaganda?

Victim: "No. Do you consider Lord Lothian a 'Nazi'?"

He: "No, indeed."

Victim: "Well, they were Lord Lothian's speeches. I distributed them during his lifetime; Wm. Randolph Hearst devoted two whole columns to quoting them; the Saturday Evening Post devoted an editorial page to quoting them, all of which went from coast to coast. If he did not make them it is strange that neither Lord

Lothian, while British Ambassador here, nor the British Embassy since he died (Dec. 12, 1940) have ever denied that he made those speeches. They are carefully documented. Have you discovered any of them to be phoney?"

He: "That is not my business. You run a Research Bureau."

Victim: "Since you have been able to bring me all the way from Chicago to ask about those speeches, why didn't you look them up and disprove one of them first? You have the whole F.B.I. back of you!"

He: "You know that you are known by the public all over the country don't you? You think that you are a very important woman in public life, don't you?"

Victim: "No, I do not."

He: "Well, when your name is used on something you know that it carries weight, don't you?"

Victim: "I know that nothing I have ever printed or said has ever been refuted by anyone and that my books have won important court cases."

He: (With a "hang the criminal" tone) "Why didn't YOU investigate Flanders Hall Publishers before you distributed those books with your recommendation?"

Victim: "Have you investigated whether the tie you are wearing has any German thread in it?"

He: "My wife bought it. I am sure she investigated."

Victim: "Went right to the manufacturers and looked into their purchases to see that no embargoed German material went into it? How do you know that you are not wearing German shoes?"

He: "Well, it is more important that the foot inside of the shoe has a kick in it." (Which would also apply to the Lothian speeches.)

He: (Very melodramatically) "Do you know by personal first-hand knowledge that Lord Lothian ever saw those speeches?"

Victim: "No. I was not dere - I was in Chicago. They were delivered in England. How could I check them with the war on? He never denied them."

He: "You never tried to check them in the Library of Congress?"

Victim: "No. Are they there? That is a good tip. I will go right over and look them up when I leave here!"

He: "I will not say whether they are there or not. Have you registered as the agent of a foreign government?"

Victim: (With some heat) "Why on earth should an American-born citizen of all British and Scotch-Irish blood who has devoted ten years time to upholding Americanism do that? Can't one oppose foreign war involvement and be 100% pro-American without registering as a foreign agent?"

Then a long harangue in which he claimed that "James Burr Hamilton", the name signed to the short introduction to the booklet of the Lothian speeches, was the pen name of one "George Sylvester Viereck", a propagandist for Germany. Did I know that?

Victim: "No, I have never heard of Viereck until recently, in the press, but, even if what you say is true, I do not think the little introduction amounts to much one way or another. If the Devil himself wrote the introduction to Lord Lothian's speeches, it would not alter the speeches. If you can show me that Lothian did not make those speeches, I will humbly apologize to every person to whom I mailed a copy. If I prove he did, I will tell them that."

He: "But you should not wait. You should let me issue a statement to the press NOW telling them you have distributed Nazi propaganda!"

Victim: "No, I will issue my own statement and only after I check the speeches; those are what I bought. When I do issue a statement I will send you a copy." (I shall send him this.) "If I prove Lothian made those speeches, I will reproduce them under my own name and try to raise money to distribute a thousand times as many as I ever did before because every American citizen ought to read them! They exactly corroborate George Washington's ideas on the futility of the U.S.A. trying to maintain the anarchy of Europe and its perpetual entanglements in any status quo. Lothian says this is not worth the sacrifice of a million British lives; therefore it is not in my opinion worth one American life. I still am George Washingtonian even though he seems to have gone out of style with some people."

He: (Sarcastically) "So you have a movement called 'George Washingtonian'".

Victim: (A bit weary with the endless hectoring) "No, I have no movement. I merely have a picture of Washington on my office wall because I admire his principles."

He: "One little sentence or paragraph twisted from the context of those speeches could change their whole meaning."

Victim: "I will look into that also and reproduce the speeches in full. I have opposed dictatorship under any name, whether in Europe or in America, and upheld our American Republican form of government. If that be treason, make the most of it. If Flanders Hall Publishers is backed by any foreign propagandist, I certainly approve of your putting them out of business. At the same time I am also in favor of your putting out of business all other foreign agencies including the thousands of British propagandists who are overrunning our country, pushing us into war, to sacrifice our boys and our billions. Also the whole treasonable Communist press which is frankly committed to the overthrow of our government ought to be put out of business and the Bolsheviks ought to be put off the New Deal pay roll!"

Before I finally departed the gentleman began to exhibit a courteous change of manner - whether assumed or real. He even offered to do me the favor of searching for a mislaid paper! After all, he has to perform for his bosses.

Serving the F.B.I.

I have in the past given much data to Dies Committee investigators and, previous to my trip to Washington, had promised local F.B.I. men, free of charge, to let them put a man in my office to work on my unique files getting data for the F.B.I., which they want and need, even though this would require our assistance and we are pitifully short handed. On my return from Washington, when one of the F.B.I. boys came in for data, I looked up some things with him and then said:

"Listen: you and the rest of the F.B.I. men I know are a fine lot and I would do anything for you personally. But since your boss, the Attorney General's office, had me questioned as though I were a criminal for buying a bunch of Lord Lothian's speeches, I've made up my mind to charge you from now on for anything you get from this office. If they have billions for the dirty Reds, let them pay me for the use of my records which have cost thousands of dollars and ten years of my donated labor."

"Well, how much would you charge us?" he asked.

"Plenty - Lend-Lease style!", said I, jauntily.

"Wouldn't it be funny," Jean grinned, "if the New Deal helped support our office!"

At this moment one state and one local police department are waiting for me to compile reports for them.

The Lothian Speeches Check 100%

In Washington, after leaving my New Deal O.G.P.U. "boy friend", I hied myself over to the Library of Congress with a dear friend. We got every issue of the London Times and London Observer from which speeches in the Lothian book were quoted and they checked word for word. I had photostats made of the whole pages and speeches. International Affairs of London, Vol. 16, (cited on p.31 of the Lothian book) I secured and had photostated elsewhere. It checks 100%.

I have delayed issuing the Lothian material until I had photostats in hand of the sources of the last remaining four pages of speeches in the 53 page book.

You will get a copy of the speeches in their entirety just as printed in the British press, as soon as ready. The planographing will be expensive. The cheapest price I have secured so far is $150-plus for the first 1,000 copies or more than 15¢ each without postage or envelopes. The entire context is much "hotter" than the excerpts given in the Lothian booklet. I hope you will help to distribute many copies as soon as they are ready.

Have We Any "Freedoms"?

We shall see whether the fight to enforce the "four freedoms" - "everywhere in the world" - is to be completely extinguished at home!

"What a farce," I thought, as I saw a man in New York picking through a garbage can to get something to eat, just as I see them near my office in Chicago, to thunder about our taxing ourselves to death to fight and bleed abroad to secure for the rest of the globe the four freedoms, "freedom from want, freedom from fear, freedom of speech and press and freedom of worship", while we subsidize atheist religion-destroying Stalin and his murder gang, while there is want on every side at home, while American citizens are being denied halls, radio time, etc., and being razzed and grilled, as I have been, for opposing a dictator who has ignored our Constitutional checks and balances and has been pushing us into war against the will of 80% of the people without even bothering to consult Congress until after step after step had already been illegally taken! To quote him: "We planned it that way."

The End of Law

As a brilliant Washington, D. C., attorney told me in February: "As soon as we lose the right of Habeus Corpus, dictatorship will be complete and all rights under the law will be wiped out. Roosevelt's third term is now completing the packing of the courts with New Dealers so that justice by law is practically impossible for opponents of the New Deal, and Stimson", he said, "has already been talking about doing away with the right of Habeus Corpus."

England, its people paralysed by long years of degenerative Marxian, pacifist, Red propaganda poison, found itself, as I saw there in 1939, being shoved

into this world war much as we have been and by the same closely linked international crew operating between France, Wall Street, Washington and London. Since the war, British patriots have been thrown into jail without trial or formal charges, without means of self defense or liberation, deprived of the right of Habeas Corpus under a special measure known as "18B". The following from the London Patriot of Sept. 4, 1941, gives one an idea of the "freedoms" in England under the rule of the international warmongers with whom our New Deal has aligned us. To quote:

"18B

"I wonder whether any of the members of Parliament who sat complacently on their benches whilst this astounding law was being passed realised that they were forging a weapon which might one day be turned against themselves with deadly effect?

"Men in power are apt to imagine that power will last forever, ignoring the immortal maxim quoted by Mirabeau after his fall: 'It is but a step from the Capitol to the Tarpeian Rock'.

"Habeas Corpus could, of course, be revoked in times of national emergency, when the guilt of the victim was obvious or suspected on good grounds WHICH WERE MADE KNOWN TO HIM, thus giving him a chance to defend himself without formal trial. It did not keep him for years in prison, not knowing what he was there for. 18B is thus not merely a revocation of Habeas Corpus but a return to the methods of the French Revolution, of which we are now told to admire 'the glorious principles.' But for the absence of the death penalty, its nearest counterpart may be found in the Loi du 22 Priarial, which deprived its victims of the right of trial and of witnesses for the defense, and heralded that bloodiest period of the Revolution known as 'The Great Terror.' Little did Robespierre, in framing this law when at the height of his power, dream that the dripping blade of the guillotine would one day fall on his own head...

"With the keystone of British justice removed, those in power can use it as they please against their opponents. In vain may its authors cry for mercy, asking of what they are accused, demanding the right to defend themselves. No answer will be vouchsafed but 'You destroyed that right yourselves; now you must bear the consequences.'

"18B is, indeed, on one point even more unjust than the autocratic regimes of the past in that it acts on false pretexts. Under the former, when throwing a man into prison and treating him with the utmost cruelty, no secret was made of the reason, namely that he was an enemy of the political system in power, thus winning sympathy for him and often honour as a martyr in the eyes of those who shared his opinions. They did not publicly accuse him of being a traitor to his country and in league with enemies out to destroy it, which would have degraded him in the eyes of every patriot, even of his own party.

"And this is where another and important aspect of the matter comes in, to which hitherto little attention has been paid. It is not only arrest and imprisonment the victim of 18B has to fear, but other measures deriving from the French Revolution - the Loi des Suspects, the visite domiciliare - in those terrible days when it was said, 'Woe to him who has an enemy!' So today anyone who bears a grudge against another, or any jealous rival, can lodge an absolutely false allegation to the police against the object of his malice, with the result of a perquisition being made at his house. And then, even if officially proved to be the stoutest patriot, he receives no redress. The slanderer incurs no penalty, is at liberty to go on repeating the slander as

long as he pleases, whilst the innocent victim is given no means for making his vindication public. For the rest of his life he will be followed by the whisper that he is 'the man who was suspect during the war.' His life has been spared but all that makes it worth living has been taken from him.

"Unless this unprecedented law is revoked soon...and British justice is restored to her honoured place, no man or woman in England can be sure of their liberty, and perhaps later of their life."

In America Also

Lindbergh, for telling our Nation the truth about European armaments, etc., is being smeared from coast to coast as a "Nazi". We read that Mr. Henry Ford is to be "investigated" after the radical and Jewish press has been printing the most fantastic libels against him and "reproducing" private correspondence from his plant. This was no surprise to me. I tried unsuccessfully over a year ago, as the result of bitter experience with the same source, to warn the Ford Company of the treachery on their own pay roll - but in vain.

The countless sound patriots in America First are being viciously smeared as "Nazis" and "Fascists". Only in case Reds inside America First are successful in taking it over will it be given a clean bill of health by our controlled press.

Just For a Laugh

Have you heard this story? "A German and an Englishman and a Russian were riding in the Clipper. In the middle of the ocean the pilot came back and said, 'I am sorry, gentlemen, we are running out of gas. One of you will have to go overboard.' The German stood up and saluted, 'Heil Hitler', and jumped overboard. An hour later the pilot came back and said, 'I am sorry, gentlemen, but another one of you will have to go overboard.' The Englishman stood up and saluted saying, 'There will always be an England', and threw the Russian overboard."

I also heard this one: A plane was brought down in the sea off Norway. The man who went out to investigate was asked if it were a German plane. He said it was and, on being asked whether the Germans on it were alive or dead, said: "Well, one of them said he was alive but you know what liars those Germans are!"

The Road Down

I wish American mothers with leisure would leave their bridge tables and clubs long enough to investigate conditions among school children as the result of years of Red materialistic "progressive education" and Freudian sex filth. A mother shocked me this morning by telling me why, among other similar reasons, she had taken her twelve year old daughter out of one of our most "select" local private schools for girls. When her little girl matured, eleven year old classmates of hers warned her: "Now you will have to be careful with the boys or you will have a baby. We are lucky we don't have to worry about that yet." She asked her mother what they meant!

One of our North Shore police officers said to me the other day: "If the parents only realized the wild life that most of their young people are living these days! Things are entirely different from what they were in your day and mine. My sixteen year old daughter has been going out to the ____ Club" (one of the joints which cater to North Shore High School and College youngsters)

"and they have been serving her booze. I went out and gave them warning that she is a minor and the next time they serve her a drink I will close the place!" What are the parents of other young folks, who go there and to similar "joints", doing?

My 21 year old son thinks he is engaged to a sweet little girl not yet 18 who enrolled this year in Wisconsin University which, for years, has been nicknamed "little Moscow".(See the chapter on Glenn Frank and "free love" in Wisconsin in my book THE RED NETWORK.) Son is now worrying over his girl like an old father because of things like these: he says her sorority went out the night she was pledged with a fraternity and "co-educationally" got drunk together. They tried to get her drunk too! The girls in her dormitory who go out at night are supposed to sign out and sign in at 12:30 at night but, he says, a side door is left open and those who stay out all night simply omit signing out and boldly come in the side door in the morning; many girls are in trouble. The boys make no secret of their "dishonorable intentions" and, as he puts it, "start working on a girl as soon as they meet her" and "the whole atmostphere is one of open acceptance of such standards. In fact, they make fun of a girl who 'holds out' - even her own sorority sisters - then after she has slipped once or twice she gets just like the rest! I don't want the girl I marry like that!"

Reports of wholesale immorality in parking places there, and my High School daughter and her friends report the same conditions near us, evoke sad and fearful thoughts over the future of America and its coming citizenry. The smut-filled popular novel mirrors the low ideals of the times. P.T.A.'s, instead of fighting religious education, should be fostering it.

Reds Fight Religion

A sound Christian minister writes me Oct. 15th as follows:

"Dear Mrs. Dilling:

"I am writing in behalf of the Council for Religious Education of _____. We have been giving Religious Education for three years on Thursdays at 2:30 P.M.

"The board of Education has granted the request of parents to have their children excused from classes for one hour on Thursdays. The parents state on the request to what Church they wish to send their children.

"For three years we have not had much opposition but now some people are beginning to object, and try to find some law to have this Education discontinued.

"At present one of the P.T.A. Organizations has taken it upon itself to put on a program to bring this matter of Religious Education to an open discussion which we believe will lead into a debate and ill feeling.

"Here is their PROGRAM:-'Religious Education in the Schools.'
(a) Possibilities for Good - by a local minister. (We refused)
(b) Possible Evils and Disadvantages - Mr. Ira Latimer, Executive Secretary, Chicago Civil Liberties Committee.

"What we would like to know is about this Mr. Ira Latimer. Where does he stand? Who is he? What does he believe? Let us know if you have any positive information about him. And then we would like to know about this 'Chicago Civil Liberties Committee.'

"We would appreciate an early reply, if possible. This P.T.A. meeting is to be held the 12th of November, and we would like to know before hand who this man is and what kind of Organization this Chicago Civil Liberties Committee is.

"We believe the school board is within their rights when they dismiss a child at the request of the parents.

"Thanking you I am yours,
(Signature)_____

I am writing him in part as follows:

"Dear Reverend_____:

"The Chicago Civil Liberties Committee is the Chicago branch of the Communist-aiding American Civil Liberties Union. The section on the American Civil Liberties Union (pp.111-123) in my book THE RED NETWORK was used by the San Diego School Board as a basis for barring the American Civil Liberties Union from using the school auditorium for meetings as a 'seditious and disloyal organization'. When not one fact in my book could be refuted by American Civil Liberties Union leaders, the book was admitted in evidence and the American Civil Liberties Union was barred (Judge Arthur L. Mundo; Dept. 6 of the Superior Court of San Diego; Case number 79805; decided 3/13/35).

"I can show you one American Civil Liberties Union pamphlet after another with their reports on how they continually uphold, in the Courts and otherwise, the 'right' of teachers to teach atheism, Communism, etc., in public schools. This they call 'academic freedom'.

"Their yearly report for 1932-1933 (p.25) under the heading 'Freedom In Schools and Colleges' lists among other cases 'affecting college teachers and students expressing pacifist, liberal or radical views': '(4) The dismissal of Prof. Ira Latimer from LeMoyne College (colored), Memphis, for his public activities' (radicalism).

"When the communist National Student Congress Against War (See p.228 of THE RED NETWORK), called by Moscow, was held at the University of Chicago, Dec. 27-29, 1932, the national committee sponsoring it included 'Ira Latimer, LeMoyne College, Memphis, Tenn.', Communists Earl Browder, Scott Nearing, etc., were Congress speakers.

"I can also show you American Civil Liberties Union pamphlets, issued from year to year, with maps designating those sections of the U.S.A. where Bible reading is still permitted in schools. They continually fight against this. They carried on the Court suit to bar Bible reading from New York public schools for the atheist Freethinkers of America (See p.160 of THE RED NETWORK).

"The American Civil Liberties Union militantly upholds and supplies legal aid for every phase of the Red movement: atheism, obscenity, Red crimes of all sorts, including murder. Lawyer Morris Ernst, now and for many years one of their two National Counsels, is author of a book in defense of obscenity entitled 'To the Pure - A Study in Obscenity and the Censor' (Viking Press).

"Ira Latimer was appointed executive secretary of the Chicago Civil Liberties Committee of the American Civil Liberties Union in the winter of 1936. In line with the intimate relations between the American Civil Liberties Union and the Communist Party is the report of a Communist Party functionary that at a special meeting of Party functionaries, held Sept. 27, 1938, Latimer was among the 'participants'.

"Ira Latimer was a member of the 'Civil Rights Commission' of Moscow's own American League for Peace and Democracy (1/39) organized for Red revolution and treason and forced under cover by Dies Committee publicity. When Moscow's world-wide M.O.P.R., whose U.S.A. branch is called the International Labor Defense, held two 'Scottsboro Rallies' in Chicago, Ira Latimer, along with local Communists, was a scheduled speaker (Communist Party's Midwest Daily Record 6/24/38) and was a member of their Chicago Scottsboro Defense Committee 1937-38.

"In 1937, a fund-raising campaign was put on for communistic Commonwealth College, a little training school for Red agitators at Mena, Arkansas, where nude bathing and atheism were 'part of the curriculum', according to Legislative Investigating Committee testimony. Ira Latimer, along with various Communists, was a member of the 'Finance Campaign Committee' to raise funds for Commonwealth College and its red affiliate, the Highlander Folk School at Monteagle, Tenn.

"In this connection you may recall the donations Mrs. Roosevelt has made to red Highlander Folk School and also the New Deal subsidy given red Commonwealth College. When Mrs. Roosevelt came to Chicago as speaker for the Chicago Civil Liberties Committee, March 14, 1940, she raised $2,000 for their Red work and was paid a fee of $1,500.

"The Red motion picture, 'Pastor Hall', sponsored by James Roosevelt, with Mrs. Roosevelt taking part, was written by Ernst Toller who was honored by world Jewry in 1937 as a representative Jew. He was a Communist who was imprisoned by the German Republic for leading the bloody Soviet Revolution in Germany in 1918-19, and later carried on his Communist activities in the U.S.A. and left his 'Last Testament' to the Communist Party's New Masses magazine before he committed suicide in 1939.

"When the 'Pastor Hall' film was banned in Chicago, Ira Latimer and the Chicago Civil Liberties Committee took the lead in fighting the ban.

"Of course, Latimer also led the protest against the Chicago ban on the Soviet film, 'The Oppenheim Family' (Chicago Examiner, 6/3/39). He was speaker for the convention of the communistic American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born Workers (3/40) held in Washington, D. C.

"'Quits Red Vote Hearing Ahead of Punch in Nose' is the heading of this recent news report:

"'Ira Latimer, executive secretary of the Chicago Civil Liberties union, was ordered from the house executive committee meeting late today. Latimer left when the chairman, Reed F. Cutler (R., Lewistown), threatened to throw him out if he didn't go voluntarily.

"'After the committee had approved, 18 to 1, bills to outlaw the communist party from the ballot in Illinois, Latimer took from his brief case a handful of pamphlets "explaining the bill of rights" and laid them near Representative Dean McGaughey (D., Mount Zion).

"'"You get out of here," Cutler yelled at Latimer. "You're not coming in to this committee and insult any of its members, or spread your propaganda."

"'Latimer stopped to pick up his brief case. Cutler apparently thought his ouster order was to be disobeyed, for he started toward Latimer, shouting:

"'"You get out of here or I'll punch you in the nose."

"'"All right, all right," Latimer replied, and left the room."'" (Chgo. Tribune, 5/22/41)

"To cover Latimer's radical activities would require a book.

"The radical American Jewish Congress headed by red Rabbi Stephen S. Wise (see my books) is also very active this year in fighting to prevent 'release time' in public schools for religious instruction of any sort. Their letter sent out April 29, 1941, asks friends 'to align yourselves with the democratic forces in your community in order to carry out a program of opposition... against release time.'

"Such organizations make a stench of 'democratic' by their misuse of the word.

"If I can be of further help please call on me. I hope and pray not only that you may triumph against the red forces of atheism pitted against you but also that sound spiritual leaders like yourself may ultimately succeed in extending release time for religious instruction to other schools until every child in America is reached. 'Man does not live by bread alone.' 'As the twig is bent the tree will grow.'

"Yours sincerely for a Christian America,

"(Mrs. A. W.) ELIZABETH DILLING"

America Will Pay

Of course every effort is being made by radicals to prevent any provision for school children to be excused during school hours to receive religious training from teachers of their parents' own faith. As self-indulgent parents golf or sleep Sunday mornings themselves, fewer and fewer children are sent to Sunday School or receive any spiritual training at all.

America is already paying for its present materialistic trend in youthful crime, disease and the debauchery of society and government and if this trend is not checked America will pay still more just like France and every other nation that has fallen. We are now living on the remains of unearned spiritual blessings left us by those pioneering ancestors who put "In God we Trust" on our coins.

To quote: "EIGHTY MILLION AMERICANS NOT CHURCH MEMBERS - A recent survey the results of which were published by the Yearbook of American Churches, showed that of the nearly 130-million inhabitants of the U.S.A. only 52,378,026 were members of a church." We are living in a time of broken faith in God and mankind, world-wide confusion, warfare, physical and mental suffering, broken homes, loosened morals and anti-Christian Marxian propaganda in schools, public thinking and government.

Red Labor Temple

While in New York I visited Labor Temple, long a Red Center for atheistic communistic propaganda, supported by Presbyterian Church Mission funds! On the bulletin board was a cartoon of Jesus Christ (reproduced in my book THE RED NETWORK) by Art Young, cartoonist for the atheist Communist press, which long ago appeared in the Communist Masses magazine and more recently in Norman Thomas' Socialist Call, 12/21/40, the title reading as follows:

"Reward - For Information Leading to the Apprehension of - Jesus Christ - Wanted-for Sedition, Criminal Anarchy - Vagrancy, and Conspiring to Overthrow the Established Government - Dresses poorly. Said to be a carpenter by trade, ill-nourished, has visionary ideas, associates with common working people the unemployed and bums. Alien-Believed to be a Jew. Alias 'Prince of Peace, Son of Man' - 'Light of the World' & & Professional Agitator Red Beard, Marks on hands and feet the Result of injuries inflicted by an angry mob led by respectable citizens and legal authorities."

Leaflets for distribution advertised "two courses of lectures" under "auspices, The Spinoza Institute of America" at Labor Temple by Harry Waton "author of the Philosophy of Marx, the Philosophy of Spinoza, etc." One lecture, for example, was to be on the "Managerial Revolution", and the footnote to the leaflet states: "We are facing a permanent historic and revolutionary transformation of private Capitalism into State Capitalism. State Capitalism will be the permanent social order of Society in this country as in all other countries until State Capitalism is transformed into Socialism."

That a "Spinoza Institute" should headquarter at a center supported by Christian mission funds is an appalling example of present day apostasy. Spinoza, idol of agnostics, was one of the only two Jews ever expelled from a Jewish synagogue according to B'nai B'rith. Spinoza's first biographer, Colerus, described Spinoza's philosophy as 'the most pernicious atheism that ever was seen in the world'. Bayle, a fellow philosopher, called him 'the systematizer of atheism'. Jewry generally proudly calls him 'blessed Spinoza!".

But this sort of thing is "old stuff" at Labor Temple. I have before me a New York Times clipping dated 2/16/25 headed "COMMUNISTS HISS RELIGION FOR PUPILS - Experiment at Public School 46 Called Entering Wedge for Churches. Freethinker Wants Fight - Rally of German Workmen and Their Families in Labor Temple Boos at Name of O'Shea." To quote the report: "Attacks by speakers on the experiment being made for the religious education of children attending Public School 46 were applauded yesterday at a mass meeting of German workmen and their families held at Labor Temple," (as in the past and at the present)". "The speakers were Ludwig Lore, editor of the Volkszeitung, a German Communist daily; Mrs. Lily Lore, Julia Stuart Poyntz of the Workers Party, Paul Schueler, a German Communist; Anna Louise Strong, author of a book on Soviet Russia, and Joseph Lewis, President of the New York Free Thinkers Society." (For whom the American Civil Liberties Union sued the school board.)

Bertie Russell Pipes Up

Another of my "cultural" activities, while in New York, was hearing Bertie Russell speak at the notorious red Rand School. Bertie is the little man who so long ago outgrew God Almighty and the Ten Commandments and has so fervently served the cause of raw carrots, unsulphured prunes, Marxism, "free love", the public flaunting of illegitimate sex affairs and children, and the training of the young along these lines. In his and Dora's (one of his wives) little school near London the children ran nude or dressed as they pleased.

Bertie's change, after posing as a radical pacifist and serving six months in an English prison for slurring the American armies, to now urging American armies and taxpayers to take over the burden of maintaining the British empire, is a mere bagatelle for this "great philosopher." He appeared to weigh about 90 pounds "over all" with diminutive unpressed pants flapping over short bony legs, thin deeply wrinkled chops, a receding chin like Andy Gump's and bright little circled eyes like a newly hatched sparrow's reaching for a worm, as he piped up in a voice like the rasp of a rusty hinge.

It was too funny see, on the platform, the slavish kowtowing to this "great philosopher" of anti-God drivel. I wish a moving picture could have been taken of this "rival" of the Almighty's so that others could share my chuckles. Afterward, I bought a copy of his booklet "Why I am Not a Christian". In it he says: "I have to tell you two different things: first, why I do not believe in God and in immortality; and, secondly, why I do not think that Christ was the best and the wisest of men."

What A Crew!

What a commentary on our educational system that a great ballyhoo was raised in 1940 in support of Bertie's appointment as instructor in the City College of New York by the following college presidents: Robert M. Hutchins of the Univ. of Chicago; Mildred H. McAfee of Wellesley; John Stewart Bryan of William and Mary College; Robert Sproul of the Univ. of California; W. B. Alexander, acting president of Antioch College; Frank Kingdon, former pres. Univ. of Newark; William Allan Neilson, Pres. Emeritus of Smith College, and, to quote the N. Y. Herald Tribune, 3/1/40: "Dr. Harry D. Gideonse, president of Brooklyn College, an advisory member of the board, said the appointment" (of Bertrand Russell) "in every way reflected credit on City College and New York City. 'He' (Bertrand Russell) 'quite obviously is one of the monuments of Anglo-American philosophy...'"

Professors from coast to coast took up the cry including: Lyman Bryson, Teachers College, Columbia Univ.; Richard B. Morris, City College; Philip Wiener, City College; William P. Montague, Barnard College; Karl Llewellyn, Columbia Law School; Robert Lynd, Columbia Univ.; Morris Cohen, City College; Hatcher Hughes, Columbia Univ.; John Childs, Teachers College; Henry Pratt Fairchild, New York Univ.; George Counts, Teachers College; David Hart, Brooklyn College; Marjorie Hope Nicolson, Smith College; Irwin Edman, Columbia Univ.; Walter Rautenstrauch, Columbia Univ.; Goodwin Watson, Teachers College; Hans Reichenbach, Univ. of Calif.; Hugh Miller, Univ. of California; Horace M. Kallen, New School for Social Research; Franz Boas, Columbia Univ.; Frederick S. Deibler, Northwestern Univ.; Ralph E. Himstead, American Assn. of Univ. Profs. at Washington, D. C.; Carl Becker, Cornell Univ.; Walter B. Cannon, Harvard Univ.; Bernard D. N. Grebanier, Brooklyn College; George W. Hartmann, Teachers College, Columbia Univ.; Edwin C. Kemble, Harvard Univ.; William H. Kilpatrick, Columbia Univ.; Arthur O. Lovejoy, Johns Hopkins Univ.; Kirtley F. Mather, Harvard Univ.; Wesley C. Mitchell, Columbia Univ.; Philip E. Mosely, Cornell Univ.; Ralph Barton Perry, Harvard Univ.; John Harman Randall, Jr., Columbia Univ.; Arthur M. Schlesinger, Harvard Univ.; Harold Saxe Tuttle, Edwin C. Roedder, W. L. Estabrooke, J. Salwyn Schapiro, John Hastings, Theodore Goodman, Alfred G. Panaroni, Alexander Lehrman, Cecil H. Kindle, Frank K. Shuttleworth, Frank Mankiewics, Oscar Janowsky, E. McClung Fleming and Walter Knittle of City College; Robert K. Speer, N. Y. Univ.; Harry A. Overstreet, City College; Alonzo Myers, N. Y. Univ.; John Bridge, City College; Lyman R. Bradley, N. Y. Univ.; Nelson P. Mead, City College; Morton Gottschall, City College; also Norman Robbins, pres. of the College Parents Assn., etc., etc.

Then "ministerial" radicals, including the Federal Council of Churches, spoke up for Bertie's appointment, such as: Rev. Robert E. Sandrus, Counselor to Protestant Students at Columbia; Rev. John Howland Lathrop, Church of Our Saviour, Brooklyn; Rev. A. J. Muste, Director Presbyterian Labor Temple; Rev. H. Norman Sibley, Univ. Heights Presbyterian Church, N. Y. City; Dr. John Haynes Holmes, Community Church, N. Y. City; Rev. Frederick Reustle; Rev. John Paul Jones; Dr. Henry Neumann, Brooklyn Soc. for Ethical Culture; Rev. Harley J. Hartman; Rabbi Jonah B. Wise; Rev. Charles L. Austin; Rabbi Michael Alper; Rev. James H. Robinson; J. S. Bixler, Harvard Divinity School; Halford E.

Luccock, Yale Divinity School; Dr. Samuel Schulman, rabbi emeritus of Temple Emanu-El; etc., etc.

Ordway Tead, chairman of the N. Y. C. Board of Higher Education, whose red activities would fill a book, sponsored a rally to uphold Bertrand Russell held under the auspices of communistic Franz Boas' American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom (Daily Worker, 4/5/40).

Of course red atheistic old John Dewey ballyhooed for Russell along with communistic Albert Einstein, who publicly opposes belief in God, and the long time and still active radical John T. Flynn. Flynn's erroneous twaddle in support of Russell included this: "'I voted for the appointment of Bertrand Russell. I know his work and believe him to be one of the foremost scholars in his field...He is a man of the highest character, whose morals will compare favorably with those of Bishop Manning. It is very unfair to him to lift a quotation out of his books to make it appear that he favors adultery.'"(N. Y. Herald Trib., 3/1/40)

Russell's Morals

The patriotic Military Order of the World War pamphlet of Dec., 1925, which is before me, sounded a warning. Its title is"Dangerous Doctrines Being Suggested To Youth". The subtitle is: "Bertrand Russell's Book, 'What I Believe', Which Sets Forth Immoral Ideas, Open to Severest Criticism - What One College President Thinks About Such Material." To quote in part:

"It is a well known fact that among the Youth Movement 'ideals' is the disregard of social laws, the establishment of a new social order, carrying with it the doctrine of 'freedom', coupled with 'revolt against home restraint' and what is worse, its idea regarding marriage, which was pretty well established by one Harry D. Gideonse who, after talking on the movement before an Ethical Culture School in New York on November 24, 1924, added that 'these were now being changed together with the ideas which the student had as to marriage.'

"...One of the most dangerous vehicles promulgating doctrines of 'free love' and sex perversion, and which is said to be circulated in colleges (the book is in its third edition), is called 'What I Believe', by one Bertrand Russell...Particularly dangerous is the third chapter of his book dealing with 'Moral Rules', quoted below, in part, and which needs no further comment as to its deadly doctrine. Dutton & Co., the publishers, are reported to have said that from one to six copies have gone to 125 schools and colleges." Among numerous quotations cited from Russell's book are these:

"'It is evident that a man with a scientific outlook on life cannot let himself be intimidated by texts of Scriptures or by the teachings of the Church... In all stages of education the influence of superstition is disastrous...For economic reasons, a woman-teacher must not be married; for moral reasons, she must not have extra-marital sexual relations. And yet everybody who has taken the trouble to study morbid psychology knows that prolonged virginity is, as a rule, extraordinary harmful to women...At middle-and-upper class schools the matter is even worse. There are chapel services and the care of morals is in the hands of clergymen...They all condemn sexual relations between unmarried people who are fond of each other...Boys and girls should be taught that nothing can justify sexual intercourse unless there is mutual inclination...They should also be taught methods of birth-control, so as to insure that children shall only come when they are wanted...It should be recognized that in the absence of children, sexual relations are a purely private matter, which does not concern either the state or the neighbors. Certain forms of sex relations which do

not lead to children are at present punished by the criminal law; that is purely superstitious, since the matter is one which affects no one except the parties directly concerned.'"

That is the sort of "education" from which we are now gathering the rotten fruits.

A leaflet before me announces: "LECTURE EXTRAORDINARY - Mrs. Bertrand Russell - The Christian War on Sex - Sunday, Feb. 26, 1928, 8 P.M. INGERSOLL FORUM - Anti-Religious Centre of New York - Guild Hall, Steinway Building, 113 West 57th Street, New York City."

Russell's Example To Youth

To quote one New York paper, beginning with Russell's divorce from Alys Smith: "He had asked her for a divorce and told her he was about to have a child by another woman. The other woman was Dora Black...Russell married her at once - because, he said, he wanted to legitimize their son to succeed to the earldom. During this time Russell had been expounding his views that men and women should indulge in 'marital infidelity to preserve their homes'.

"Men and women who wished to live together ought to do so, married or not. No man or woman should enter a permanent marriage relationship without having sexual experience first...Thereafter, the Russells practiced what he preached. They had a son and a daughter and determined to rear them by the same free standards. In 1927 they opened their Beacon Hill School in Hampshire, about two hours drive from London...Londoners nicknamed it 'The Paradise of Bad Children'. One story reported of the school was the visit of an adult who found the door opened by a 9-year-old girl completely nude. 'My God!' he exclaimed in consternation. 'There is no God,' the girl retorted coldly, and shut the door.

"During this time both Russell and his wife were experimenting with free love. Together they wrote 'Sex Freedom'. Russell made no effort to conceal his romantic affairs with other women. And his wife had her own. Finally, in 1933, London society, which had watched this with perturbation, was utterly aghast to read in the staid London Times the announcement of the birth of a child to 'Countess Russell and Mr. Griffin Barry'. Mr. Barry, it developed, was a journalist...

"But in the Spring of 1934 she filed suit for divorce...She asserted that Russell who was then 61, had misbehaved several times with a 20-year-old girl named Helen Spence. She went on to say that while she, the countess, had had affairs, Russell had had twice as many. The divorce was granted. Russell married Helen Spence - his third wife.

"Meanwhile, on the educational and philosophical fronts, all had not gone too well either. Back in 1924 Russell had made a number of speeches in China. When Bishop Birney of China arrived in this country to attend the Methodist Episcopal Quadrennial Conference, he labeled Russell's views as 'anti-Christian,' declaring: 'The youth movement in China includes a group which is assailing the Bible, and Bertrand Russell has lent his aid to this anti-Christian group by speaking at its meetings.'"

The Rand School Program

To return to the Rand School pro-war, pro-"Union Now" program, of Sept. 20th, on which Bertie spoke, I observed, while waiting to hear this "star", the plaque

of red Eugene V. Debs which decorates one wall of this Rand School auditorium, named in Deb's honor, and also other walls decorated with paintings of naked ladies, more yellowish in hue, less meaty and pink than old time saloon models, one being entitled "To-morrow - Hope of Man".

Algernon Speaks

"Milk-fed" Algernon Lee, head of red Rand School, a perfect "Algernon" with soft round face and toy moustache, lengthily and daintily held forth, upholding the League of Nations and urging that the U.S.A. join the British Empire and the "governments in exile" in warlike actions, quite unperturbed as shouts of "Louder!" kept resounding from lusty members of the audience unable to hear him. A few gentiles were present.

Wm. E. Bohn, Rand School instructor and editor of the socialist paper, the New Leader (free copies of which were on every seat as we entered), with painful grinning grimaces and groping for words, then introduced a man who, he said, is now "leading community thinking". This was the long-time radical Harry D. Gideonse (listed in THE RED NETWORK), president of Brooklyn College, who more recently has aided the Spanish Reds and various Red refugee committees, and was speaker for pro-Red, anti-Christian B'nai B'rith Day at the New York World's Fair along with B'nai B'rith's international president, Harry Monsky (Sentinel, 9/12/40). Gideonse' commendation of the rabid-for-war Jewish socialist Social Democratic Federation paper, The New Leader, distributed by Rand School, appears in its 11/23/40 issue.

Gideonse, the most effective speaker of the assortment, said that force is not bad; that the end justifies the means depending on the ends and means; — that law is anchored in force; that we must remember that the Dred Scott decision and interpretation of the Constitution was settled by General Grant's army; that we must "dismantle our ideas of national sovereignty"; that we "need entangling alliances".

Miller Speaks

Mr. Bohn, with more inimitable grimaces, then announced that Wm. Green, head of the American Federation of Labor had designated Matthew Woll as speaker on this program, to represent the A.F. of L., but that Mr. Woll, being unable to come, had sent, instead, his "dear friend" Spencer Miller, long-time director of the Workers Education Bureau. Radical "Miller" has served various Socialist Party committees, and his socialistic Workers Education Bureau has been endorsed jointly by the A. F. of L. and the socialist Cooperative League of U.S.A. which is a fellow member with the Soviet Government's Cooperatives in the International Cooperative Alliance. (See my books.)

Bull-jawed Miller held forth so long, and with so much repetition, and the seats were so hard, I felt he really owed me money for listening - even though it would be useless to attempt to collect! He insisted that labor is asking that we abandon "short of war" and that this war is a "world revolution" and this is "our world". He said he had followed the "Union Now" Streit movement for 25 years; that Bevin (the English Red) and his trade union movement intended to reorganize Britain and British society after the war, and that we must work closely with them and reorganize both countries, two British delegates being then on the way here, he said, to help this. His demand for reorganizing and reconstructing American life (along radical lines) was reiterated until the weariness of boredom overwhelmed one.

His reference to "my friend John Flynn" (of America First) and to himself

being denied, then admitted, to an America First rally, was significant to one in the know.

Bertie Speaks

At last came the "piece de resistance", the supreme of supremes of the program - Bertie Russell himself! Bohn, in introduction, humbly repeated how "proud and happy" he was to introduce Russell and how glad he would be if he were to "speak all night", this "really great philosopher", how "very, very proud" he was to introduce Mr. Russell.

Russell, beaming with pride, then piped up like a little sparrow, with broad British accent on words like "wah", "knaow", "suppaose", and informed us that British and U.S.A. interests are identical; that the U.S.A. by being neutral in peace time starts wars, as no country would dare fight if they knew the U.S.A. were against them; that the U.S.A. must guarantee in the future all small nations like Denmark by force; that "the United States must have all the responsibilities after the war"; "it cannot evade them"; that a world-wide Federation composed of the U.S.A. and British Empire must be set up and that other countries willing to assist should also be admitted as members but that this world Federation must not insist that member countries be democracies; "We must accept Stalin's Russia", he said; also the Federation must own all of the world's air force and arms; that the Federation's World Executive must have authority to define which country is, or is not, an aggressor, have power to declare war, command the world armed forces, tax goods on countries coming from outside the Federation, control all colonial possessions in the world, enforce every treaty; that the U.S.A. "must be willing as a member of the Federation to take part in disputes all over the world", as is its duty in China now.

He made one inadvertent admission, damaging to his war talk, that "everyone knew the Versailles Treaty was unjust" and since it could not be revised "armed force was necessary".

Why Pay for Such "Education"?

Visit university libraries and count the numbers of vicious, obscene, Communist books, the books by radicals like Goodwin B. Watson, Harold Rugg, John Dewey and a host of little "tin god" Marxist intellectuals who vaunt their anti-Christian, anti-American, anti-moral garbage in pompous verbiage. I have done this in several universities. Not one parent in a thousand, however, reading the names of their children's educators knows or bothers to find out what these men actually teach. Read what you are paying to have your children taught!

81 Freud Book Titles

My report on an incomplete survey I made of the University of Michigan in the Spring of 1939 includes this:

"Sigmund Freud, the Austrian Jewish exile who was a supporter of the Communist congress held in Amsterdam in 1932, has probably done more to break down moral decency and to spread sex filth under the guise of science than any other single man.

"When I visited the University of Michigan library there were counted 81 Sigmund Freud book titles. These well-thumbed volumes are evidence of University recommendations of this filth for student reading. A convinced disciple of Freud

might well become ashamed of decent family affection. Freudian 'scientific' analyses continually portray love for mother, father, sister, or brother as being based on some sordid sexual desire for them.

"Making Everything Sexual

"As an example, the following is from one of the much used copies of Freud's 'Interpretation of Dreams' in the University of Michigan Library (Library card number 616.8F9T-T138,1913), page 257: 'It is correct to say that there is no series of associations which cannot be adapted to the representation of sexual facts. I conclude with the dream of a chemist, a young man, who has been trying to give up his habit of masturbation by replacing it with intercourse with women. Preliminary statement...'

"(Page 242) 'If with my patients I emphasize the frequency of the Oedipus dream of having sexual intercourse with one's mother - I get the answer...I can assure the reader that veiled dreams of sexual intercourse with the mother are a great deal more frequent than open ones to the same effect. There are dreams about landscapes and localities in which emphasis is always laid upon the assurance 'I have been there before'. In this case the locality is always the genital organ of the mother; it can indeed be asserted with such certainty of no other locality that one 'has been there before'.

"(Page 241) 'We have already asserted elsewhere that dreams which are conspicuously innocent invariably embrace coarse erotic wishes, and we might confirm this by means of numerous fresh examples...'

"Moral Garbage

"Parents who are as revolted at reading such a characteristic excerpt from Freud as I am to insert it, should bear in mind that the pages and pages of degenerate, unprintable dream 'examples' given in connection with it, not cited here, are even more revolting, and that all of this is in print and in the University of Michigan and other college libraries in constant use by fine young people sent there by their parents to be dosed by such poison. It would be better if parents, instead of their children, read Freud until they became angry enough to clean such anti-Christian, moronic, moral garbage out of the educational institutions attended by our nation's children."

Freud was chosen in 1937 by the votes of Jewish communities all over the world from a list of 420 suggested names as one of the 120 living Jews most illustriously HOLDING UP "LIVING IDEALS TO JEWISH YOUTH".

"RUSSELL DENIES EXISTENCE OF DEITY BEFORE MORE THAN 2000 YESTERDAY

"This is the bold heading in the Feb. 19, 1939, issue of The Michigan Daily. Below it appears the picture showing Bertrand Russell, with 'Professor DeWitt Parker emerging from the Graduate Building after his morning lecture.'" And, typical of current apostasy was the admission that Russell "presenting the agnostic point of view" was "sponsored by the Student Religious Association."

"hat They Read at College

In addition, in the Univ. of Michigan library card index I counted cards on books by the following authors listed in the official catalogues of the Soviet Government's "International Publishers" and the Communist Party's "Workers Library Publishers", as follows: Henri Barbusse (French Communist) (16); Max Beer (16); Anthony Bimba, the Central Committeeman of the Communist Party who when

sued for blasphemy was defended by the American Association for Advancement of Atheism, the Garland Fund and the American Civil Liberties Union (2); Earl Browder's "What is Communism" (3); Emile Burns (5); Alan Calmer (2); Wm. Peyton Coates (1); Henry David (2 copies); Horace B. Davis (1); Jerome Davis (12); Paul De Kruif (1); Robt. W. Dunn (8); R. Palme Dutt (5); Karl Marx and Friederich Engels (41); also cards on books covering Marx and Engels (79); Ben Field (1); Vera Figner (1); Louis Fischer (3); Wm. Z. Foster (5); Ralph Winston Fox (6); Joseph Freeman (4); Harry Gannes (1); Michael F. Gold, columnist of the Daily Worker, (2); Maxim Gorky (2); Jack Hardy (2); Wm. D. Haywood (1); Granville Hicks (3); Leo Huberman (1); Grace Hutchins (1); Allen Hutt (1); Frank Jellinek (1); Susan-Myra Kingsbury (7); Peter A Kropotkin, Russian revolutionist, (15); Jurgen Kuczynski (6); Nadezhda Z. Krupskaya, Lenin's widow, (1); Joshua Kunitz (4); John Langdon-Davies (8); Joseph Lash with James Wechsler (1); V. I. Lenin (35); Gustav Mayer (1); Gustavus Myers (1); Wolf Abram Nodel (1); M. N. Pokrovsky (5); John Reed (1); Anna Rochester (8); F. L. Schuman (13); Sin Fu Seng (1); Agnes Smedley (1); John L. Spivak (1); Josef Stalin (20 cards including books about Stalin); John Strachey (7); Anna Louise Strong (16); D. Tanin (1); Charlotte Todes (1); Sidney and Beatrice Webb (32); Albert Rhys Williams (5); Walter Wilson (1); V. A. Yakhontoff (4); Samuel Yellen (1).

Cards on books by the following authors, members of the executive and national committee of the communist League of American Writers, in the Univ. of Michigan library included: Newton Arvin (2); Isador Schneider (2); James T. Farrell (20); Lewis Mumford (22); Richard Wright (4); Malcolm Cowley (3); Matthew Josephson (6); Alfred Kreymborg (4); John Howard Lawson (4); Edwin Seaver (1); Genevieve Taggard (1); Horace Gregory (2); Grace Lumpkin (1); Clifford Odets (5); Paul Peters (2); and Corliss Lamont, atheist head of the communist Friends of the Soviet Union and participant in the Congress of the above,(2); Erskine Caldwell (2); Jos. Freeman (4); and Mike Gold (2).

In a very incomplete survey, 189 were counted covering books on the subject of Communism, 76 cards for books on the subject of the Soviet Union, 656 cards listing books by radicals, 74 cards on Materialism (Atheism) and 81 cards on the filthy Sugmund Freud. But among the many Massachusetts House Reports in the Library, the one exposing and condemning Communist subversive activities was noticeable by its absence.

Winchell Again

While in New York, a lovely big dinner party was given for me. How I enjoyed meeting old friends! Warmongering Walter Winchell, who distributed Communist John L. Spivak's libelous book to every member of Congress, and who keeps the radio hot with lies concerning me and all other sincere patriots, suspected of disinclination to die for his co-racials abroad, reported (9/26/41): "Liz Dilling is in our midst. Had a party in her honor at the Griffin t'other night. Lizzy made a talk and called ye ed a warmonger and her persecutor. She said that her plans to get us boycotted out of business were 'proceeding according to plan'. Sounds like a D.N.B. announcement from Berlin."

But, Moscow's old trick of pinning a Nazi label on any and every opponent is becoming hackneyed since it has become necessary to pin it on 80% of our people. When every Jewish paper and commentator in the country yells for war this is called "patriotism" but, when Lindbergh says they yell for war this is called "anti-Semitism" or "Naziism".

Why Did Katherine Lewis Resign?

Supposedly, because of Lindbergh's reference to the current Jewish enthusiasm

for U.S.A. involvement in the present war, Katherine Lewis, daughter and assistant of John L. Lewis, a faithful "fellow-traveler" of the Communist Party line ever since the C.I.O. was organized, has resigned from the national board of America First. (Chicago Times, 10/23/41.) But, meantime, bear in mind that the Communist Party line changed from isolationism to intervention when the Nazi-Soviet pact was broken.

Red Methods

A most interesting and cultured European whom I met while in New York told me how he had been captured and imprisoned in Russia at the end of the World War and was shifted from prison to prison during and after the bloody Red revolution; how in 1918, an epidemic of typhoid and malaria broke out among the 40,000 prisoners in the Russian prison at Totskoylager where he was incarcerated. The Reds had no medicines and, becoming fearful of the epidemic spreading, they burned the whole prison, prisoners and all; he was one of a very few who succeeded in escaping.

They Are Crushing Opposition

I was shocked to discover, in New York, how thoroughly the enemy has bored from within or utterly shattered every anti-Red organization there.

The American Patriots, who formerly held fine meetings, have long since folded up, broken up from within. A. Cloyd Gill was with the American Patriots until their finish. Reports of his friendly relations with pro-Red, anti-Christian B'nai B'rith were current when I was there in 1938-9 just before the American Patriots' demise.

Last year, when I was in New York, my friend Jo Kamp who, through his Constitutional Educational League, has issued such excellent releases, was worried to death about paying his 'phone bill, etc. Cloyd Gill has been with Jo Kamp since Gill's unpleasant severance last fall from American Women Against Communism, directed by my friend Mrs. A. Cressy Morrison. Her organization, recently, was offered large financial help, for the use of its name, to be supplied from some unnamed source, by a person who gave Gill as his only reference. She has wisely refused this "aid", I understand.

Recently, when I 'phoned the Constitutional Educational League in New York, to speak to Jo Kamp, Mr. Gill, who answered, told me Kamp was honeymooning in the South. Although I cannot recall meeting Mr. Gill, he said very pleasantly that he had met me. So, I frankly questioned him about his policies and the reports I had heard. I had noted a change in the last Constitutional Educational League release, a change savouring of that so-familiar B'nai B'rith, Friends of Democracy propaganda "line", a crescendo which murmurs against "Communism" at the bottom rising to howling against "Nazis" and "Fascists" like Lindbergh (the label pinned on all opponents these days) up to bellowing against "anti-Semitism."

I had seen the letterhead of the Veterans Peace Temple of 1939 with Milton Solomon's name as chairman and A. Cloyd Gill's as executive vice-chairman. As Milton Solomon lists his connection with pro-Red, anti-Christian B'nai B'rith, in "Who's Who in American Jewry", I asked Gill about this. He readily admitted this association and expressed the highest admiration for Solomon and also for B'nai B'rith as an organization.

With sincerity, I complimented Gill on his former chart exposing the radicalism of the Federal Council of Churches, distributed by American Women Against

Communism. He chuckled and said that it had certainly surprised Federal Council leaders who asked, to quote, "'Can this be the same Gill who used to be so socially minded and who worked so closely with us?' But," said he, "It is the Federal Council that has changed, not I. When I helped them draw up their 1919-20 Steel Strike Report I used to meet with them every night". He seemed proud of the Report.

The Federal Council and the Steel Strike

Of course, anyone who has studied and kept records on the subject knows that the Federal Council has never changed since the day it was organized and adopted the Social Creed of the Churches praised by Lenin! Also, anyone familiar with the history of the 1919-20 Steel Strike, led by communist Wm. Z. Foster, and of the stench raised by the Report on it issued by radical Federal Council leaders, would be as shocked as I was to hear him admit this!

Red Bishop McConnell of the Federal Council of Churches, who headed the Commission in whose name this Report on the 1919 Steel Strike was issued, has been active in leading communist activities to date. In "Fight" magazine (6/37), the magazine of the Communist Party's American League for Peace and Democracy, is an article entitled "Steel - By Bishop Francis J. McConnell as told to Dorothy McConnell". (His daughter and a staff member then of this Communist magazine and organization.)

In this article McConnell mentions his conversations with Communist Wm. Z. Foster who agitated this revolutionary 1919 Steel Strike embracing 356,000 men and says: "At the very end Fitzpatrick and Foster came to us and asked us to try our hands at arbitration with the United States Steel Corporation...Mr. Gary refused to arbitrate. The men on strike, he declared, were 'Bolsheviki' and better out of the mill...With the publication of the Steel Report by our Commission, some time after the close of the strike, a howl went up from steel officials and their sympathizers all over the country..."

The Dept. of Justice on the Strike

A Dept. of Justice report, issued 5/6/20, which is before me, concerns this same Federal Council Steel Strike Report and states that investigators were sent to Pittsburgh, to quote, "for the purpose of investigating the steel strike and that all of these investigators were more or less radicals and that they were utilized by W. Z. Foster...in presenting his side of the strike." It also covers the records of various professional Red agitators, involved along with Federal Council reds like Harry Ward, recent head of the Communist Party's American League for Peace and Democracy in whose magazine Bishop McConnell's above article on the strike appeared.

Gill said that his next brochure would be entitled "The Jew is My Neighbor" and that he would send me a copy. He has since done so with the request for my comment. I asked him whom he considered the outstanding anti-Communist Jews. He mentioned Judge Jos. M. Proskauer and his American Jewish Committee and one Simon Lazarus of Columbus, a department store owner who, he said, "gave me $3200 for just one of my projects. In fact," Gill said, "the greatest support I have had through the years has been from the Jews!"

Gill's Pamphlet Razzing Lindbergh

The full title of Gill's booklet which he sent me is "The Jew is My Neighbor - An Open Letter to Uncle Sam's Problem Child - Charles A. Lindbergh". It reads like a B'nai B'rith harangue and is as full of inaccuracies. It berates Lindbergh

and his "mischief-making Quislings", denounces the current Senatorial inquiry into motion-picture war-propaganda, upholds "aliens" and, copying red Birkhead's Friends of Democracy line says: "For your information, Charles, a recent national survey of Fifth Column elements in the United States showed approximately 700 groups definitely listed as belonging to the Fifth Column...However, not one of the important and typically Jewish Organizations is in the Fifth Column Roster." (Baloney: Zionist collectives financed from America are as Marxian in practice in Palestine as Sovietism.)

In his booklet Gill upholds the Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (long officered by officials of Kuhn Loeb & Co. whose late head, Jacob Schiff, financed the Russian Revolution) which has poured millions of dollars into Soviet Russia in recent years and is interlocked with the American Jewish Committee. Gill also quotes in his booklet a speech by Judge Proskauer, executive committeeman of the American Jewish Committee.

Gill's Leading "Anti-Reds"

The American Jewish Committee is tied in with every radical project. The Associated Press, 6/18/38, announced the union for united action of the American Jewish Committee, the (Zionist)American Jewish Congress, headed by red Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, the pro-Red, anti-Christian B'nai B'rith and the socialist Jewish Labor Committee (of about a half million members, now financing the carrying on of Red underground work abroad).

Proskauer's fellow members of the executive committee of the American Jewish Committee include: Samuel I. Rosenman who writes F.D.R.'s speeches; Lewis L. Strauss, Kuhn Loeb & Co. partner; Frederick M. Warburg, another Kuhn Loeb & Co. partner; George Backer, executive of the Socialist-Communist American Labor Party and head of Ort Federation (affiliated with the Joint Distribution Committee), son-in-law of the Kuhn Loeb & Co. partner, Jacob Schiff, who financed the Russian Revolution, and owner of the New York Post; Maurice Wertheim, director of the red "Nation" and of the pro-Communist Freudian-filth center, the New School for Social Research, who married Alma Morgenthau, sister of Henry Morgenthau, Secy. of the Treasury; Louis E. Kirstein, vice-pres. of Wm. Filene Sons (whose late head Edw. A. Filene set aside not only a million dollars for socialist cooperative stores but set up the radical Twentieth Century Fund). Kirstein is director of F. & R. Lazarus & Co., of Columbus, signed propaganda appeals for Spanish Reds, is executive committeeman of the National Conference of Jews and Christians, sponsored by B'nai B'rith and the Federal Council of Churches, is a fellow member, with F.D.R. and Willkie, of the radical American Hebrew Medal Committee which has bemedaled such Red-aiders as LaGuardia, F.D.R., etc. Kirstein sat at the head table at the banquet at which alien-born Marxist-minded Felix Frankfurter, who has "master-minded" the Red movement through the American Civil Liberties Union, etc., for over 20 years, was presented with the Ford Hall Forum gold medal for 1939.

Proskauer is also one of the sponsoring board, along with leading Reds, of the American Guild for German Cultural Freedom, Alvin Johnson, head of the pro-Communist New School for Social Research being vice-president, and the chairman red Thomas Mann (See p.60 of my book THE ROOSEVELT RED RECORD AND ITS BACKGROUND for his Moscow-sponsored committee).

A letter bleating over the suicide of Ernst Toller, Jewish Communist and a former leader of the bloody Soviet revolution in Germany, which asked aid for the "many like him" who could carry on "just a little longer" with help, was sent out by the American Guild for German Cultural Freedom, in 1939, with Proskauer's name on it as sponsor.

The American Hebrew, 9/19/41, reported: "...The American Jewish Committee, the American Jewish Congress, the Jewish Labour Front, and the B'nai B'rith are combined in studies, although the Congress has established its separate bureau. They work in emulation, and not in conflict...American Jewry realizes that during the war - and probably for years after - it is the trustee of the destiny of our people in Palestine and of the remnant of our people in the continent of Europe."

Gill's Booklet Ranked With B'nai B'rith's Stuff

The Jewish Sentinel which, according to its masthead, is "A Weekly Newspaper Devoted to Jewish Interests", gives its entire editorial page, 10/23/41, to rhapsodizing over Gill's booklet, "The Jew Is My Neighbor", headlining it "A MOST PRAISEWORTHY REPLY TO LINDBERGH" and urging the "widest circulation" for it, "that it may take its place alongside the compilations by the Council Against Intolerance in America" (a radical Jewish front co-chairmaned by George Gordon Battle, Earl Browder's attorney friend), "the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith and others". Copious quotations from Gill's booklet, included these maudlin lines to Lindbergh: "My friends - at least some of them - insist that I should hate the Jews. But, I don't."

Why misrepresent Lindbergh as hating the Jews or wanting anyone else to hate them because he said truthfully that, as a whole, American Jewry is, understandably, urging U.S.A. involvement in the world war, and that in this campaign "their greatest danger to this country is their large ownership and influence in our motion pictures, our press, our radio and our government".

This very Jewish Sentinel which denounces Lindbergh as "anti-Semitic" for saying the above has been unceasingly yelling for U.S.A. war involvement. While it would certainly be un-American if Lindbergh opposed any loyal American citizen because of race or creed, it is also un-American for any citizen to give greater loyalty to any foreign country or to any racial element at home or abroad than he gives to America and its whole people.

The same Jewish Sentinel, 10/9/41, in an ecstatic editorial tribute to the Red-aiding, world-wide Zionist leader, Justice Brandeis says: "It is to the everlasting credit of Justice Brandeis that he remained loyally Jewish" and Brandeis' services to the international Zionist racial cause are extolled as an "inspiring record of loyalty to his people and his people's cause".

Brandeis held that every Jew must "Organize! Organize! Organize!", must "stand up and be counted" as a separate race. But that policy makes for ill-feeling when the interests of a country in which Jews enjoy citizenship conflict with the interests of such Jewish international racial solidarity as he advocated. This unfortunate racial blindness was foretold by Scripture and makes the study of Biblical Prophecy the only clear guide to current events.

Zionism is Marxist in Theory and Practice

Zionism, while frequently acting as a rival, is just as Marxist as Stalinism. The Zionist cooperatives in Palestine are carried on along socialist Soviet lines, as I observed in 1939, with religion of any kind largely omitted and 85% of the workers organized in the Histadrut Labor organization affiliated with the red Socialist International. As Scripture foretold, Jewry is returning to Palestine in unbelief.

From Palestine, recently, "leaders of all factions of Palestine Jewry" joined in broadcasting their praises to Moscow, according to the Jewish Examiner

(10/3/41) which stated: "Isaac Ben Zvi speaking on behalf of the Jewish National Council (of Palestine) said that 'Russian Jewry was and remained for us the cradle of Jewry's liberation'. Emphasizing that he voices the sentiments of a half million Jews, Ben Zvi stated: 'You brethren in Moscow...we follow with adoration the Russian heroic struggle..." (And so on) Ussishkin, "one of the fathers of the Zionist movement in Russia" praised Russia at length as the land of "full equality" for Jewry, where "the Jewish bent back has grown straight", etc.

The same issue of the Jewish Sentinel which editorially rhapsodizes over Gill's anti-Lindbergh pamphlet, reports (p.9): "A message of encouragement to the Jews of Soviet Russia was addressed this week by the American Jewish Congress" (ally of Proskauer's American Jewish Committee) "and the World Jewish Congress and transmitted through the Soviet Embassy in Washington".

A dear, kind, self-sacrificing patriotic woman friend of mine in New York told me how Gill, on the pretense that he needed to borrow a dollar from her (!), came to her apartment and pumped her at length concerning her anti-Red friends, associates and activities. Another patriot reported a similar experience.

The Conference at Nashville

Will Rogers always said, "All I know is what I read in the papers" but I am glad that that is not true in regard to all I read in the papers about myself! I spoke, Oct. 9th, for a great Christian Conference held in Nashville in the tabernacle of Rev. Sam Swain, where I have spoken before, and met many fine people afterwards. Rev. Love of Birmingham, who was present while newspaper reporters, hostile to the conference, interviewed me, with a twinkle in his eye remarked next day: "I keep thinking about the way you handled those reporters. They came determined to smear and discredit you but they came up against something they did not expect and went out looking so mild I have to laugh! The reporter most opposed to you told Rev. Swain afterwards 'I certainly disagree with everything Mrs. Dilling says but I have to give her credit for being one of the most sincere persons I have ever met.'" Aside from some personal jibes and some errors, you can see by the enclosed reproduction that these boys could have done worse by me. At any rate, accustomed as I am to being flayed, anything less appears almost as flattery.

Don't Worry - I Am Used To It!

Even in the patriotic camp, as in all others, there are always a few "kitty cats" who prefer gossiping and creating dissension to uniting in a common cause. Friends, the past week, have been writing me with kindly anguish over such imaginative bits circulated about me as: that I am "afraid" ever to go to Washington again; that I left the last time "weeping"; that I lecture for the Anglo-Saxon Federation (I have never even attended one of their meetings), etc., etc.

I have frequently heard the contradictory tales that I am a Catholic trying to disrupt the Methodist Church (when I expose a Red Methodist); that I am an anti-Catholic seeking to destroy the Catholic Church (when I expose a Red-aiding Catholic); and "Trigger" Norris, the preacher who killed an unarmed man and has been convicted recently of malicious libel, as he clipped over to England and back to do a "Willkie" for his B'nai B'rith friends, recently "placed" me in an insane asylum, in his own paper, that is.

After Norris printed the invention that my friend Dr. M. F. Ham, the great evangelist, had been maligned by me and other "Nazis" and had turned against us,

Dr. Ham to correct this 'phoned me long distance and has written two friendly letters denying that he had been maligned or had changed one iota from the stand he took in his conversation with me and in his letter which I quoted on page 5 of my "Trigger Norris" article.

Dr. Ham' letter to me, 9/29/41, closes with: "Trusting that you are still coming out victorious in your conflict against the anti-Christ..." His letter of 10/15/41 closes with: "The trick to discredit me is not new - I have had to fight it all in my entire ministry. The fact that you and I have the same convictions on this matter does not mean that either one of us is a tool of the other, or that we are tools of some alien powers, as some people would try to make it appear. Jesus had to fight the same subtle conspiracy...As far as I am concerned, there has been no change."

Changing "Line", Not Purpose

My unswerving course in support of Christianity and Americanism for the past ten years has been to labor to seek then make facts available to patriots to enable them to detect and combat subversive "boring from within" all churches and organizations. "It is later than you think."

The many Red Marxist parties keep confusing our best people with their changes of "line". The same Norman Thomas who, as director year after year of the communist Garland Fund which issued the communist New Masses magazine, has supplied every phase of the Red movement, the same Norman Thomas who split his party by insistence on Socialist Party united front with the Communist Party (for militancy, some feared, would illegalize the Party) now has become a "Saint" to many patriots because of his current opposition to U. S. involvement in the world war. But he is a Marxist just the same.

The Communist Party, which abruptly reversed its fight-the-axis "collective security" policy as soon as the Nazi-Soviet pact was signed, as quickly reversed to warmongering when it was broken.

The desertion of Stalin's Communist Party by flocks of Jewish intellectuals, following the Nazi-Soviet pact, indicates no change of heart but merely resentment at Stalin's temporary "betrayal" of Jewry and their intention to build Marxism along "local" lines here in the U.S.A. under their own, instead of Moscow's leadership.

Lyons Carves Up The Stalinists

It takes one Red intellectual to "artistically" carve up another Red former comrade. Eugene Lyons, Russian-born Jewish socialist, is one of the present luminaries of the Jewish-socialist "Social Democratic Federation" and a contributor to their paper, the New Leader, along with ex-Stalinist Benjamin Stolberg, Trotskyite Max Eastman, etc. I bought Lyon's book, "The Red Decade", after the Bertrand Russell lecture, in the red Rand School book store which is featuring it.

Of course, Lyons detests me and my anti-Marxist kind as much or more than he does the Stalinist rivals in the Socialist field. The article which he printed about me in American Mercury (July, 1939) by radical Milton Mayer was a frantic attempt to discredit me by ridicule. No one can accuse me, therefore, of being motivated by a desire to aid Lyons in the sale of his book by expressing the opinion that it is delightfully witty, brilliantly written and, with few exceptions, accurate. Nothing has ever amused me more. Page after page, he humorously relates what I have so laboriously catalogued, writing with a pen dipped

in the acid of ridicule and sarcasm, which must irk, no end, the Stalinist comrades he knows so well from the inside. But how few reading his knife-like expose of Stalinism would observe how carefully he shields Marxian socialism itself, as well as certain pet Marxist devotees who have now, like him, decided to shed Stalin or are workers in his own camp.

For example, in poking fun at former gin-drinking middle class Bohemians who became Stalinists, he says (p.129): "With the egocentric yowling of their species they rushed into intellectual slumming as heatedly as they had gone in for slummy intellectualism...A lot of budding and a few overripe novel writers suddenly became interested in the plain people and got all puffed up over their new virtue as though Upton Sinclair, Jack London and a lot of others had never written." (Marxist Jack London's appeal for revolution appears in my ROOSEVELT RED RECORD AND ITS BACKGROUND and if the Soviet-kissing Upton Sinclair has ever failed Moscow that is news!) On page 134, Sinclair Lewis, radical Thornton Wilder (see my books), are similarly shielded, etc.

Lyons' comments on proletarian Red Culture convulsed me as I have had to deal with so much of it. Anyone who has seen an exhibition of Red "art" must laugh at the truth in his description (p.128) of Stalinist artists "portraying in paint, words, stage characters or dance rhythms - the idealized 'workers' of their fond imaginations; tall men with immense biceps, and squat women with buttocks like mountains, robust and rough-hewn and chanting of sweat and blood, or revolution and dialectics."

Help 100% Americans!

How it hurt to have to "blow" $3.00 to buy Lyons' book! With his Socialist connections he will sell plenty of copies. I want to give time soon to finish reading, then reviewing, the fascinating book by Dr. Bessie Burchett, a real 100% sound American Christian who has suffered martyrdom in Philadelphia and been retired from her important teaching position because of her patriotic opposition to Red influences in the schools. You cannot afford not to read her new book, her own interesting, vital, first hand experiences! It is only $1.50. She knows whereof she speaks and writes on the subject of "Education for Destruction". You should send for it and get others to do so. Her address is 5200 Warren St., Philadelphia, Pa.

Get Lyons' book from the public library but pay Dr. Burchett for hers. No Reds of any brand will help distribute her book for she shields no phase of Marxism! Therefore, she can only expect to be smeared as a "Nazi".

Jan Valtin Not Anti-Marxist

Jan Valtin (Richard Krebs), the former Soviet O.G.P.U. agent who so luridly assails Stalinism and Naziism in his book "Out of the Night", is being featured and vociferously upheld by the Socialists of the Social Democratic Federation and the Socialist Party of Norman Thomas, in whose affairs and Conferences he participates. He is married to and has a daughter by "a Rabbi's granddaughter - Abigail Harris, whose father was Adriel Harris the son of the late Maurice H. Harris of Temple Israel." (Sentinel, 9/4/41)

U.S. Trys Stalin's Rivals

One of the silliest things going on now is the trial by the U.S. Government of 28 Trotskyite Communists because of their Red revolutionary designs on our government, while the Stalinist Communists, their more powerful rivals with identical aims, are being feted at the White House and given taxpayers' Lend-Lease millions!

The Russian War Relief Comedy

Perhaps you saw the full page newspaper advertisement in the New York Times (10/10/41) of the Russian War Relief Benefit to be given by Russian War Relief, Inc., 535 Fifth Ave., New York, at Madison Square Garden, Oct. 27, 1941, seat prices ranging from 28¢ to $10 each. To quote it: "Russia's men and women are revealing themselves to the world - brave, proud, stalwart!...The dollars you give in this cause are dollars given to freedom's cause. Our Government is providing all possible military supplies to the Government of Russia. The people of America will stretch out a helping hand to support the people of Russia..."

"THESE EMINENT AMERICANS ASK YOUR HELP ON BEHALF OF THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE" is the heading at the bottom of the page above a list of over 300 names. And what a pot pourri they are of Communists and "fellow travelers", Marxists of every shade and hue, radical educators, writers and churchmen, New Deal politicians, Jewish capitalists, stooges of the radio and motion picture industry, and representatives of the whole pack of Soviet-loving Socialists and "liberals", who so obediently reverse themselves on any policy whether from urging radical-pacifist disarmament of the U.S.A. to warmongering or anything else, when Moscow, the spiritual "Fatherland", pushes the button. These names include: Jay Allen, correspondent; Mischa Auer, actor; Dr. Frank Aydelotte, Princeton; Allan C. Balch, Calif. Inst. Tech.; Tallulah Bankhead, actress; Eugene E. Barnett, gen. secy. Y.M.C.A.; Alfred H. Barr, dir. Museum of Modern Art; Robert Benchley, actor; Aline Bernstein; Henri Bernstein, playwright; Chas. E. Beury, pres. Temple Univ.; Alice Stone Blackwell; Prof. Franz Boas, Columbia U.; Louis Bromfield, (Friends of Democracy); Edward E. Brown, pres. First Nat. Bank, Chgo.; Dr. Lewis Browne (ex-rabbi); Pearl S. Buck; Dean B. I. Burns, La. State U.; Dean C. Sidney Burwell, Harvard U.; Prof. Jos. P. Chamberlin, Columbia U.; Harry Chandler, pub. L. A. Times; Charles Chaplin; Michael Chekhov; Dr. Henry Sloan Coffin, Union Theo. Sem.; Dr. Frederick A. Coller, Mich. U.; Ronald Coleman, actor; Marc Connelly, playwright; Clark M. Eichelberger; Major George Fielding Eliot; John Lovejoy Elliott; Dr. Haven Emerson; Douglas Fairbanks (Ullman); Lion Feuchtwanger; Dorothy Canfield Fisher; Lewis Gannett; Norman Bel Geddes; Ira Gershwin; Morris Gest; Dean Virginia C. Gildersleeve, Barnard Coll.; Dr. Israel Goldstein; Dr. Frank P. Graham, U. of N. C.; Lillian Hellman; Maurice Hindus; Bishop H. W. Hobson, nat. chmn., Fight for Freedom Com.; B. W. Huebsch; Stanley M. Isaacs, pres. Borough Manhattan; Rufus M. Jones, Am. Friends Service Com.; Dean Hervey E. Jordan, Univ. Va.; Matthew Josephson; Geo. S. Kaufman; Dr. Foster Kennedy, Cornell U.; Sen. Robert Kenny, L. A., Calif.; Freda Kirchwey, Nation; Margaret I. Lamont (wife of Corliss) and Mrs. Thos. W. Lamont; Mr. & Mrs. Henry G. Leach; Gov. Herbert Lehman; Dr. Max Lerner, Williams Coll.; Rev. Thos. S. Logan (Epis.) of Phila.; Rev. Donald G. Lothrop, Boston; Robert Morss Lovett, Govt. Secy. Virgin Islands; Ernest Lubitsch; Prof. Robt. S. Lynd; Dr. J. A. McCallum, Phila.; Dr. John A. Mackay, Princeton Theol. Sem.; Judge Julian W. Mack; Maurice Macterlinck; Thos. Mann; Dr. Karl Menninger, Topeka; Yehudi Menuhin; Francis P. Miller, Coun. on For. Relations; Dr. Robt. A. Millikan, Calif. Inst. Tech.; Dr. Wesley Mitchell, Columbia U.; Edgar Ansel Mowrer, Chgo. Daily News; Wm. Allen Neilson, Smith Coll.; Msgr. O'Dwyer, L. A. Calif.; Bishop Edw. L. Parson (pres. of the red C.L.I.D.); Clarence Pickett, Am. Friends Service Com.; Elmer Rice; Mrs. Jacob Riis; Dr. Howard Chandler Robbins, Gen. Theol. Sem.; Col. Raymond Robins; Dr. Jos. Rosen; Chester Rowell, San F.; Dr. Florence Sabin, Rockefeller Inst.; Alex Sachs; Wm. Jay Schieffelin: Vida Scudder, Wellesley Coll.; Dr. Chas. Seymour, Pres. Yale U.; James T. Shotwell, Columbia U.; Herman Shumlin; Dr. Henry Sigerist, John Hopkins U.; Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, Cleveland; Mary M. Simkhovitch; Mrs. F. Louis Slade; Edgar Snow, writer; Vilhjalmur Stefanssen; Raymond Gram Swing; Myron G. Taylor (U.S. Steel Corp.); Edw. M. M. Warburg; Mrs. James P. Warburg; Allen Wardwell, chmn. Red Cross delgn. to Russia; Orson Welles; Dr. Henry Nelson Wie-

man, U. of Chgo. Divinity Sch.; Albert Rhys Williams; David Rhys Williams; Rabbi Stephen S. Wise; Mary E. Woolley, Mt. Holyoke Coll.; Efrem Zimbalist, and many more.

The inconsistency of these people calling butcher Stalin's cause "freedom's cause" equals the inconsistency of Eugene Lyons (in his "Red Decade") breathing only reverence for the "old Bolsheviks" including Trotsky who with Stalin gained power by slaughtering and torturing millions in the Red Russian Revolution which Lyons calls "the greatest single event in our epoch" (p.237 -) while he flays Stalin on the same pages as the greatest monster of the centuries for "purging" thousands of his fellow "old Bolsheviks" by the same murder and torture treatment.

Reds Razz Halifax

The news report of how things got out of hand at this Russian Benefit at Madison Square Garden is droll. To quote:

"Viscount Halifax, British ambassador to the United States, stood mutely before a throng of 22,000 persons at a Russian war relief rally in Madison Square Garden tonight while Soviet sympathizers shouted: 'Open up a western front!'

"Continuing against a rising storm of taunting cries of active British military aid for the Russians, the long, lean English diplomat declared that aid from the two governments - the United States and Britain - would be forthcoming. As the hubbub increased in volume, Halifax was forced to strike out the next to the last paragraph and final sentence in his prepared speech.

"New Party Line Slogan

"'Open up a western front!' is the new party line slogan of the local communist organization and supplants the policy of 'the Yanks aren't coming!' that was the policy when the Soviet-Nazi nonaggression pact was in force several months ago.

"Party workers hawked 'Open up a western front!' buttons on the street corners around the garden, while girl vendors sold the Daily Worker, official communist newspaper, at the entrance. A big banner with the words 'Knit for Russia - register here' hung in the outer lobby.

"Inside the huge sports arena, 11 huge red flags, with the golden hammer and sickle emblazoned on them, hung from the balconies. They were threaded in between the United States stars and stripes, British Union Jack, and the flags of the nations conquered by Hitler.

"Pictures on Background - of Pink

"Suspended from the ceiling and dangling 50 feet - right over the ring where a battery of lights usually glares down on perspiring fistic gladiators - was a gigantic, four-sided, hollow 'V', the British victory symbol, with photomontage pictures of grim soldires, sailors, starving children, grief-stricken mothers, plastered on a background of pastel pink.

"There was just a hint of the coming trouble when Joseph E. Davies former ambassador to the U.S.S.R. and chairman of the President's committee on war relief agencies, started to speak. There were scattered cries of 'open up a western front!' but they subsided when a stentorian voice from the gallery yelled, 'Save it for Halifax!'

"Davies pictured Russia as 'standing in the breach, on the frontier of

civilization, fighting for us'..Russia had built up her armies and 'cleansed her house of treason' while democracies slept, Davies declared. In fact, every one had slumbered except President Roosevelt, he remarked...

"Yells Delay Halifax's Start

"When Halifax was introduced by Edward C. Carter, national chairman of Russian War Relief, Inc., he had to wait several minutes, nervously fingering his script, while the yelling demonstration went on. The cries came from the upper reaches of the galleries, from the 25¢ seats (28¢ with federal tax) while the occupants of the $10 boxes in the arena looked up and glowered.

"There was applause when the British ambassador said that never before in all history had any nation shown 'a finer spirit of resistance' than had Russia, but someone in the gallery yelled: 'You didn't show it, but we did!'...

"Quoting Abraham Lincoln's words about the Civil war dead - 'The world will little note nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here' - Viscount Halifax stirred up some more noise when he said that in the present situation 'what counts now is not what we say but what we do.'

"'Hurray - Western front!' shrieked a heckler and the gallery began to chant: 'Western front!'

"Viscount Halifax hurried along and wound up with a declaration that altho there had been differences in the past, in the future the British and Russian would 'march side by side.' That touched off the chant from the balconies louder than ever and the ambassador stepped off the platform.

"Others who appeared on the program included: John Green, Scottish born president of the Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers of America; George W. Thompson, British trade union representative; Genevieve Tabouis, French political journalist; Benny Goodman, 'swing king'; Paul Muni, the actor; Richard Wright, Negro author of 'Native Son'" (a Communist best-seller); "Andrei A. Gromyko, soviet charge d'affaires; Clark M. Eichelberger, national chairman of the interventionist organization, Committee to Defend America, and Dr. Frank Kingdon, British born chairman of the New York City chapter of the prowar, Fight for Freedom, Inc." (Chicago Tribune, 10/28/41)

The only way to keep out of war now, it seems, is to join the British Army.

A Hoax

In my August letter I mentioned the tears Mary and I dripped when news came that one of our five regular contributors, upon whom I have, too long, depended to pay the girls and rent, was unable to continue and we lost $25 per month.

A little later, referring to this, a very "sweet" letter of encouragement arrived, signed by "Alice Haynes Jordan" of 1045 Park Ave., New York, enclosing a cheque for $250 drawn on the Harlem branch of the Corn Exchange Trust Co. She urged me to carry on and she would send the same every three months. On the strength of it, as prices were rising, I gave the girls a little raise and almost took on needed help.

We were elated with relief and surprise until my letter of thanks and literature sent to the "lady" was returned with 17¢ postage due and marked "party

very lives in this time of peril. May God strengthen and uphold you. Keep up the fight!"

From United Mothers of Cleveland whose wonderful group I addressed enroute home from Wash., D. C.: "Mrs. Stanley has just returned from Washington. A certain Senator said 'we need a few more Dilling's down here', and we want to assure you that we will stand 100% behind you if and when you go to Washington."

From a Colorado Springs, Editor: "Your letter and bulletins received, and I have enjoyed the same very much. Never read anything better, and hope you continue the good work, though it appears that opposition to the wild orgy of spending of the warmongers is almost useless. The charges are often made that it would be impossible to get together a more dangerous gang of political crooks than are now in control of the government. Roosevelt gets whatever he wants, and his bold and frightful demands are a plentiful as the sands of the sea. The war demagogues, those willing to slaughter American young men for gold, are in full control...If the Roosevelts - husband, wife and children - Knox, Stimson, Willkie, Pepper and their kind were put on the firing line the war moves would end. Some think old Carter Glass and old George Norris should be in a private institution, instead of Congress. Perhaps senility is the trouble."

From Baltimore: "Clouds are gathering! Wish you were again in Washington. Need you! And a million more. Turning point has not come. Question still remains - when? If not soon, will be too late! Only hope then - resurrection from the ashes. May He keep us and give us strength to carry on for God and Country."

From San Diego: "We 'Westerners' here on the Pacific Coast are wondering what has happened to your facile pen for we haven't had anything from it for all too long a time."

From Babson Park, Fla.: "I wish to tell you how glad I am to get in personal touch with your work. We have had a copy of the older edition of your Red Network for years and have read it and marked it up until it is a sight."

A Warren, Ohio, lady writes from Washington: "Somehow I can feel the spirit of your dear self as you and your group so bravely fought for a Cause but I am conscious of this mighty monster and now our boys to be sent over, I cannot help crying out 'Lord where art thou?'...I have a solace in thinking and sending this line...Sincere appreciation for all literature and your effort for Country and Religion."

From Muscatine, Iowa: "Things are breaking so fast now that it is difficult to keep up with the situation. I note that Winchell and his gang still try to discredit you and everyone else who is opposed to war. His favorite anthem seems to be, Onward Christian Soldiers. We hope you will be able to continue with your work."

How They Long To Shut Me Up!

As this bulletin is being finished a letter arrives from Wash., D. C., signed by Lawrence M. C. Smith, Chief, Special Defense Unit, Dept. of Justice, stating: "Upon receipt of this letter will you please advise the Department whether or not your organization falls within any of the types described in Section 2 (a) of the enclosed Act."

Section 2 (a) of the Voorhis Act reads as follows: "The following organizations shall be required to register with the Attorney General as hereinafter provided:

"(1) Every organization subject to foreign control which engages in political activity;
(2) Every organization which engages both in civilian military activity and in political activity;
(3) Every organization subject to foreign control which engages in civilian military activity, and
(4) Every organization, the purpose or aim of which, or one of the purposes or aims of which, is the establishment, control, conduct, seizure, or overthrow of a government or subdivision thereof by the use of force, violence, military measures, or threats of any one or more of the foregoing."

I am replying as follows:

Dear Mr. Smith:

In reply to your inquiry as to whether my "organization" falls within any of the types in Section 2 (a) of the Voorhis Act, I would say "No", unless the New Deal holds that my ten years effort to uphold the Republic and oppose Marxism and dictatorship now classifies me as the agent of the "foreign" Government-in-Exile-of-George-Washington.

While I have no "organization", in my research and writing which is purely for religious and educational purposes, I am assisted by three, sometimes more, lovely Christian women and girls. We would be glad to have you come in at any time and look us over to decide whether or not we should be registered as an army or military organization.

While we do not know how to shoot, wrestle or do Jiu Jitsu tricks, as yet, we are willing to learn whatever you care to teach us in that line; you might find the work agreeable as one of the girls is a pretty petite blonde and another a striking brunette.

Sincerely,

(Mrs. A. W.) ELIZABETH DILLING

ED:jl

A FEW CAN SAVE A NATION

Corrupt cities and nations have been saved by God if only a few persons in them showed themselves worthy of saving. "And the Lord said, If I find in Sodom fifty righteous, then I will spare all the place for their sakes." (Genesis 18:26)

And so, today, may the repentance and sincere love of God which inspired the immortal psalms of David regenerate enough Americans to save our nation.

"The fool hath said in his heart, There is no God. They are corrupt, they have done abominable works, There is none that doeth good." (Psalm 14)

"Save me, O God; for the waters are come in unto my soul. I sink in deep mire, where there is no standing: I am come into deep waters, where the floods overflow me. (Psalm 69)

"By terrible things in righteousness wilt thou answer us, O God of our salvation; who art the confidence of all the ends of the earth and of them that are afar off upon the sea:" (Psalm 65)

"Who will rise up for me against the evildoers? Or who will stand up for me against the workers of iniquity? Unless the Lord had been my help, my soul had almost dwelt in silence." (Psalm 94)

"Judge me, O God, and plead my cause against an ungodly nation: O deliver me from the deceitful and unjust man." (Psalm 43)

"The Lord bringeth the counsel of the heathen to nought: he maketh the devices of the people of none effect." (Psalm 33)

"I will say of the Lord, He is my refuge and my fortress: my God; in him will I trust...He shall cover thee with his feathers, and under his wings shall thou trust: his truth shall be thy shield and buckler...For he shall give his angels charge over thee, to keep thee in all thy ways." (Psalm 91)

"Blessed is he whose transgression is forgiven, whose sin is covered." (Psalm 32)

"Like as a father pitieth his children, so the Lord pitieth them that fear him. For he knoweth our frame; he remembereth that we are dust." (Psalm 103)

"Say among the heathen that the Lord reigneth;...he cometh to judge the earth: he shall judge the world with righteousness, and the people with his truth." (Psalm 96)

"For he is our God; and we are the people of his pasture, and the sheep of his hand. To day if ye will hear his voice, harden not your heart." (Psalm 95)

BY THE GRACE OF GOD AND YOUR HELP NEITHER MY OFFICE NOR OUR CAUSE SHALL FOLD UP!

Sincerely,

(Mrs. A. W.) ELIZABETH DILLING

ED:jl

Tabernacle Speaker Says New Deal Rule Worse Than Nazis'

Education, Government, Newspapers, Etc., Etc., Flayed by Mrs. Dilling, 'Red Network' Author

There is more dictatorship in the United States under the administration of the New Deal than there is in Nazi Germany, Mrs. Elizabeth Dilling of Chicago said last night after addressing a packed house at the Dixie Tabernacle on Fatherland Street.

Mrs. Dilling, fiery speaking redhead who is an outspoken critic of alleged U. S. Communists and author of "Red Network," made the charge of a dictatorship worse than Germany's in an interview. Earlier in her speech she had said that a Communist sits in "every key spot of the government."

Upon being questioned about her dictatorship statement, Mrs. Dilling said that it did not mean she was pro-Nazi.

"No, don't misquote me. I do not want a Nazi rule here," she insisted, "but I'm telling you that we have a dictatorship that regiments much more closely than Germany.

"If it were a choice of the lesser of two evils, I'd take the Nazi rather than Red Russia, though," she declared. During the interview she declared that Walter Winchell, who has accused her of Nazi leanings, was "a liar."

An isolationist who bitterly and outspokenly fought conscription and the Land-Lease Bill, Mrs. Dilling was asked how she condoned following Senators Nye and Wheeler after having branded them as *Reds*.

"I can't help it if radicals agree with me on some things," she shot back.

"Call me an isolationist if you must, I am saying that we have got to stay out of Europe."

Her closing remark in the speech was that "soon there will be confiscatory taxation in this country, there will be rioting. We must pull this country out and make a Christian nation of it. You aren't getting the truth, the press is controlled. But we will win this fight without losing a million lives."

Mrs. Dilling's speech was marked by gestures and mimicking sarcasm.

RELIES ON BOOK

Her verbal bolts at Communism were taken mainly from her book, "Red Network," and followed the course of a lecture she made in Nashville more than two years ago.

She deviated from her anti-Red harangue long enough to make severe charges of moral laxity at the University of Wisconsin where "the hospitals are full of girls who are in trouble."

The charge against the university, she said, was based on a report she got from her son after he visited his sweetheart at the school.

"But he told me things that aren't fit to print about what's going on at that school.

"You would be amazed at what is going on in colleges—your own Southern schools are full of it—they are polluted messes and for every child converted in your church, you have a thousand being rid of their faith in the colleges. They are ful lof atheism, Marxism and *free love*," she shouted.

ASSIGNS CAUSE

This condition, she said, was due to "progressive education" being taught by such men as John Dewey and Bertrand Russell.

"Education is wallowing in the mire," she said before returning to her vitriolic tirade against Communism.

She charged that the Labor Temple of New York was one of the "hotbeds" of Red activity and that the Y. W. C. A. was one of the great forces in the country for furthering Communism. Mrs. Dilling exhibited a Soviet newspaper which she said had half a page praising the joint program for Communism of the Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A.

what I did and did not say!

Author Labels Administration 'Communistic'

After blasting critical remarks at modern education in large American universities, Mrs. Elizabeth Dilling, author of the "Red Network," told several hundred persons at the Dixie Tabernacle last night that, "the Roosevelt administration has done more for Communists than any other administration in the history of this country."

The speaker said that Reds are infesting American institutions of higher learning and that many of the best known educators are teaching Communism to the present generation. She added that, "there is plenty of it here in the South."

"Everybody knows just how lousy this Tennessee Highlander Folk School (at Monteagle) is," she said, "for it is filled with members of the Communist Party."

As she kept her audience on edge with her sarcasm and mimicking of instructors in large American colleges who preach Communism, the speaker said, that "dark days have got to come to this country if we don't follow the teachings of the Bible." Following this she made her attack on the New Deal.

"Why there is bitter poverty within sight of the White House. Conditions are terrible in Washington and the administration continues to aid the Communists. Why you can't do much about it for this crowd in Washington. If you do anything against the New Deal, they'll crack down on you."

The speaker charged that Red organizers or their representatives "are in every key workshop of the Government," and then paid her respects to honest ministers who are misled by Red leaders.

"I'm against some of the preachers running around with these Communists and atheists sticking their necks out when these birds (Reds) would gladly cut their throats," she said.

Bitter attacks were also made on John Dewey of Columbia University and Bertrand Russell, of New York, both of whom Mrs. Dilling branded as "disciples of Communism."

"You would be amazed at some of the things that's going on in some of the college where Communist instructors are preaching the Red doctrines," she said. "My who *thinks he* is engaged to a l girl up at Wisconsin Univer has told me some things that going *on* in these colleges wouldn't be fit to print."

The speaker said that immor was running rampant in many the larger universities and t was nothing uncommon *for* dents to stay out all night, ing and visiting honky-tonks.

"These progressive educatio cators are preaching free lov no family life. Many of th lege hospitals are filled with in trouble. I know what I'm ing about and nothing that I ever said or written about *conditions* has been refuted," said.

Mrs. Dilling compared A to Sodom and Gomorrah wh flayed the American method ing Russia in the present wa Germany. "America is goi way of Sodom and Gom France, rotten as it was, f any nation that gets away the Bible and follows the C nist gang will do the same. on is not too far from this thing, especially when we a ing billions out to aid R sia."

The speaker said she was dictatorships of all kinds h

is plenty of it being practic here in the United States. I that Walter Winchell, th commentator who has been of Nazism, "has lied ru about me and I have call and told him so."

Mrs. Dilling said she l branded as an isolationis she is against the Ru and because she forgo lease bill.

Woman Flays New Deal in Talk Here

—Staff Photo by Campbell Bligh

Mrs. Elizabeth Dilling pictured speaking at the Dixie Tabernacle on Fatherland Street last night, where she charged that America is more regimented than Hitler's Germany today.

THE NASHVILLE BANNER, FRIDAY, OCTOBER 10, 1941

SEASON'S GREETINGS

THE DILLINGS

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P A T R I O T I C R E S E A R C H B U R E A U
For the Defense of Christianity and Americanism
DIRECTOR, ELIZABETH DILLING
Suite 733 - 53 W. Jackson Blvd.
CHICAGO

Christmas Round Table Letter, 1940

Dear Friends:

I cannot, with sincerity, wish you a Merry Christmas, nor, except as a prayer, echo the Angel chorus of old with "Peace on earth, good will towards men!" in a world in which there is no peace at home or abroad. We are told in Scripture of the hypocrits who cry "peace! peace! when there is no peace", and that "Where there is no vision, the people perish".

My sincerest prayer is that you, who have vision and knowledge of America's critical state, may "gird on the whole armour of righteousness" and, before it is too late, "bring light to them that sit in darkness and in the shadow of death".

Rather than carefree merriment we need, this Christmas season, to dedicate ourselves anew to the Divine Saviour, the Light of the world, whose birth we celebrate and whose teachings inspired our Constitution, form of government, and Christian schools and colleges now tottering under anti-Christian Marxism, while planned war dictatorship impends, ready to knock American liberty out of existence the first time, as proposed, that an American convoy is deliberately sent across mined European war areas for that purpose. Then through "emergency decrees" or the smears of the enemy, your mouth and mine will be nailed shut! I would ask, this Christmas, that He:

"Wake in our breast the living fires
The holy faith that warmed our sires,
Thy hand hath made this nation free,
Serving her is serving Thee!"

With 80,000,000 out of over 130,000,000 Americans listed by the Year Book of the Churches as belonging to no church, Christian spiritaul awakening is needed if Marxism and its Red Modernism is to be defeated. If ever Bible prophecies were fulfilled and the Book being proven, it is today.

At Denver

I just returned from Denver where I addressed, December 9th, a great Prayer and Prophecy Conference sponsored by some twenty nine sound anti-Marxist ministers. It was held in Rev. Harvey Springer's tabernacle which holds about 2400. It was crowded and people stood at the back. Long after I had finished, autographed so many Bibles my right had was going on strike, had spoken personally with over 100 people who gave me their names and addresses asking to be placed on my mailing list (I must find the postage!), still people were standing in groups, stirred and talking.

"Look at them! They won't go home", remarked dynamic Rev. Springer. I only hope it is true that, as one minister put it, "You have dropped a thunderbolt here!" One woman said, "I never really knew what Communism was before. I never heard so much in my life as I have

tonight". "There!", I remarked to an informed minister friend standing by, "Her kind are the hope of the nation! If everyone knew what you and I know and still refused to do anything the fight would be hopeless, but the man-in-the-street really does not know, and there seems no way to let him know through the general controlled press and radio". As Rev. Springer remarked from the platform, even an interested minister like himself lacks the time for laborious research like mine.

I had two memorable meals at the hospitable Springer home, and being the only woman seated at a long table full of ministers felt guilty to let dainty little Mrs. Springer and her girl helpers wait on me instead of my helping them.

"Termites" is an excellent new pamphlet written with a pen dipped in blood by Rev. Springer (25¢, obtainable from him, Englewood, Colo.).

The "Common" People

Truth has a power all its own. Nineteen hundred years ago "the common people heard Him gladly". Today I find it is the "common" people who hear truth gladly while the rich strive to remain undisturbed, unless they can rush for a war contract or make the social headlines.

A dear little old man in a well-worn coat, who came up on the platform at Denver, insisted on giving me a dollar bill to use for the work. I felt so touched at his spirit of self-sacrifice, with his own evident need, that I tried to hand it back to him saying, "Can you really afford this?" But he insisted. Of that spirit was pioneer America built! God bless him and his kind!

I recently heard from one of America's great billionaires who has used my data and received special reports from me for years. Brilliant in his own business, he is smug with worldly power, surrounded by kow-towing "Yes" men. I was surprised that he had missed, so he wrote, getting my irritating releases in recent months. I had decided to cease disturbing him with them. He had repeatedly written protesting that, while he found my data and factual material valuable and accurate, the language I use in my books, articles and letters is "too violent". (Of course, he would not sacrifice a discarded razor blade to keep my work going, any more than any other millionaire!)

We Hav'nt Time

That attitude reminds me of the Victorian father who sternly reproved his small son for exclaiming and gave him orders, no matter what the circumstances might be, to always first weigh his words carefully then slowly count ten before speaking. The boy came into the living room one day where his father was warming his back to the open fire and seeing that his coat tails were on fire started to warn him but his father sternly stopped him saying, "Count ten slowly before you speak". So the boy had to say, "One-two-three-four-five-six-seven-eight-nine-ten-Father, your coat tails are on fire!"

We cannot wait for the plutes to awaken. In every nation they awaken too late. Jesus Christ said it was harder for a rich man, trusting in his own material power, to see and hear the spiritual truths necessary to enter the Kingdom of Heaven than for a camel to go through the eye of a needle.

At the Office

I have only four girls for office work. One is kept busy typing on correspondence, stencils, etc., another, the little "Bruiser", on filing and indexing press clippings, mimeographing, wrapping literature, etc., another doing special listing that would take forever to catch up with, the fourth, with general filing, etc., to do, cannot possibly do the reading, marking and card-indexing of the tons of radical literature necessary to keep the records going and documented knowledge of changing movements available. I need at least five more girls. If I ever get them I believe they will have to be paid by the sacrifices of a large number of poor people to whom a dollar bill is more difficult to spare than $5000.00 would be to many.

We had to have steel cabinets, ten extra shelves, and two huge bookcases to the ceiling that cost, on special sale and secondhand, over $175. Last month the paper and supply bill alone was $93.60, plus ink, etc., rent and light - $77.50. An addressograph, with an allowance for an old useless donated one, cost with stencils over $100. It will save endless labor. The only thing in the office that costs nothing are my donated services. But, of course, many think "nothing" is more than I'm worth at that!

Our Peril

To quote the Chicago Tribune (12/13/40) report of the speech of Mr. James S. Kemper: "Should the United States enter the war, he warned, some 'closely regulated socialistic system' would be fastened onto the country permanently!", and he called "interventionist groups 'our greatest peril!'".

Feeling that the time might be very short under the Third Term in which we may speak or act freely in any way to preserve American freedom, I took a flier last month and bought and distributed copies of the excerpts from Lord Lothian's own speeches revealing the European power politics and incessant injustices on all sides which caused George Washington to sagely warn the U.S. to stay out of entangling alliances with any European power.

Although I had some disagreeable financial dealings with the publishing company, which my lawyer husband finally straightened out, the response to the book was marvelous. Mrs. Campbell, a dear Christian woman, brought volunteers to help stamp and address. Lettersof appreciation came in from coast to coast. Contributions almost met the cost of distribution and put hope in my heart.

Read Scribner's Commentator

After marveling at the November issue of Scribner's "Commentator", I intended to start this letter off with the plea: "Run, don't walk to the nearest news stand and buy a copy!" But when I went to buy some extra copies myself, I found none left. I was amazed that anything so good could be on public sale, knowing the way Left Wingers have taken over America's "leading" magazines.

Night before last, my capable, crusading friend, Catherine Curtis of Women Investors, Inc., 'phoning from New York for some data, said she had word from inside Washington that within the coming month F.D.R.

would attempt in some way to get more emergency dictatorial power for himself. She is evidently right. On the radio, driving down to the office this morning, a news commentator reported that Roosevelt is hurrying to meet Cordell Hull to discuss declaring a U.S.A. "full emergency, which would place all industry under government control". The commentator added that, of course, this would be just for "psychological effect" to speed up the "defense" program. (O, yeah!)

I am taking another gamble and have sent for a thousand copies of the November issue of Scribner's "Commentator". We will have to buy envelopes, stamp and address them. I hope anyone receiving a copy who can afford to pay for it (or to add anything extra for those who cannot) will do so and thus aid in getting out such needed facts. If you have already read this issue, put your copy to work by passing it on. If not, sit down and read Sen. Holt's article, also "Seat at the Cinema" about such Communist films as "Pastor H all" in which Mrs. F.D.R. "prologues". Pastor Hall was written by Communist Ernst Toller, leader of the bloody Bavarian Soviet in 1919 and imprisoned, 1919-25, by the German republic, and honored as one of the 120 leading Jews of the world by votes of world Jewry in 1937, and active in Communism until he committed suicide in the U.S.A. last year. Read, also, "Japan Our Commercial Prize", also "America in a Hostile World" and "British Propaganda - 1940 Version".

Propaganda in the Next War

I brought from England, in 1939, that amazing, daring book which revealingly, brilliantly analyzes the propaganda methods used to get the U.S.A. into the first World War and the methods to be used to get us into the next one. These are now in action! It is called "Propaganda in the N ext War", by Sidney Rogerson, edited by Liddell Hart, well-known military correspondent of the London Times. My copy is all marked up. I value it as I do my two front teeth and have refused to even loan it to anyone because, while it has been quoted in the Congressional Record, I thought copies were unavailable in America. Now I hear, by chance, from Mr. Seward Collins, who operates, probably, the only Right Wing book shop in New York (231 W. 58th St.). He says he has 30 copies ($1.75 each) but does not know whether they are still in print in England or could be brought here now if they were. I hope you are lucky enough to get one of his thirty copies.

He says: "It was Boake Carter who discovered the Rogerson book and devoted a column to it on New Year's day last year. The quotations were so magnificent that I feared it would be suppressed the moment word got back to London how Carter handled it, so I spent hours and a young fortune trying to telephone Carter or his home or his secretary, that holiday, to learn the name of the publisher. I finally located one of them and got a cable off for some copies..."

"I am delighted that you think as I do that the Rogerson book can do good in keeping our country out of the war. Everybody in the country should be made to read Chapter Four of that book. It was an awful indiscretion on Rogerson's part - and also the editor of the series Liddell Hart - but a great blessing to us". Mr. Collins adds that he believes no American firm would re-publish this book and tells why!

In England Now

An idea of English conditions and what we may expect under war measures can be gained by reading the long-established, anti-Red, weekly "Patriot" of London whose splendid editor, Mr. McDermott, I know personally. (The "Patriot's" address is 10 Essex St., W.C. 2, London, England; yearly price 15 shillings. A foreign Money Order for 15 shillings costs $3.04 at any Post Office at present exchange rates.)

The 10/31/40 issue cautiously reports Parliament's revolutionary act in voting itself power for another year without elections by the people and, under the title "The Hoax of Democracy" says: "Hardly ever does any Minister, though Mr. Bevin is easily one of the worst offenders, make a speech here without stating that this country in its Constitution is a Democracy when everyone knows that in reality we have a Constitutional Monarchy. Presumably it is supposed to be pleasing to the working classes to tell them that they form a Democracy, and if it is more especially a Socialist misstatement it is one that Conservatives never take the trouble to correct, and they do not recognize that it is a hoax. This same hoax of democracy is employed in the U.S.A. both by Republican and Democratic politicians..."

Our U.S.A. form of government is a Republic not a democracy, the difference being between government by checked and balanced Constitutional law and representatives, or government by direct "mobocracy" which, historically, has always been the forerunner of chaos and dictatorship. The "Patriot" in the same issue (p.411) points out: "When we have only 24 per cent of the electorate going to the poll, as was the case in Central Southwark at the beginning of the year, there is a clear indication of the voters' loss of faith in Parliament as constituted in those days..."

A letter appears in the same issue carefully protesting that denial of petitions for Writs of Habeas Corpus under the 1939 Emergency Powers (such as F.D.R. wants) to Admiral Sir Barry Domville and "in the latest case of Mr. George H. Stock, Liverpool solicitor...not to say clandestine imprisonment" as "contrary to law".

Will England Be Socialized?

The 11/21/40 issue points out that "If there is anything valid in the argument that we are a democracy and that in any real sense of the words we 'govern ourselves'" then the present suppression of comment is a disservice to the nation in preventing all exposure of war blunders. For "as never before in our recent history Parliament has been reduced to a mere dummy and is no longer in any sense representative, whilst the Press, for the most part, has ceased to function as an expression of independent views" and, concerning the Socialist Cabinet Ministers Herbert Morrison and Mr. Bevin, "there is an uneasy suspicion that... they are almost as eager to usher in the Socialist revolution, which they hope to be imminent, as to win the war. They make no disguise of the fact, and one cannot help admiring their candour, just as one regards with anything but admiration the dumb-dog attitude of the great Conservative Majority, which with scarcely a word of protest or dissent, allows them to prepare their revolutionary program".

While invitation to delegates to the Communist Party convention to be held in Manchester January 12, 1941, are being sent to 25,000 organizations, as reported in the same issue, meantime British Christian patriots, world war heroes like Capt. Ramsay, Conservative Member of Parliament, whom I heard speak in England with magnificent soundness and patriotism, who have attempted to protest alien Jewish control of the British press and war contracts, remain in jail as "anti-Semitics" without formal charges, trials, Habeas Corpus or "democratic" rights of any kind.

"Union Now"

Hore-Belisha, Jewish, Algerian-born Cabinet power, as spokesman for England, is joined by our eager American profiteers and itching Marxists in loudly urging "Union Now" and a joint U.S. and English citizenship, they being enthused with the idea of uniting in war efforts and permanent control our Marxist-run New Deal regime with one of the same sort running England, with all dissenting mouths firmly clamped shut for "national defense".

Were the Marxists to be thrown out of the saddle in England, the tune of the American pro-British press would change to hostility as quickly as it did toward France when the French Vichy government started cleaning out its Marxists and alien "refujews" from key positions.

Not only were the New Deal "works" put on Ambassadors Cudahy and Kennedy when they spilled some revealing truths, but the powers of Hell more and more are going to be turned loose on anyone who dares try to awaken the American public, before it is too late, with actual anti-Marxist facts. They will be smeared as Fifth Columnists and Nazis, pictured as writing to Hitler weekly, framed in any way possible, and imprisoned.

Who Really Controls the Catholic Pulpit?

Father Coughlin made the fatal "mistake" of exposing irrefutable facts on Kuhn Loeb and Company aid to the Russian Revolution and of asking religious Jews to join him in opposing the subversive activities of Reds and of atheistic radical Jews. (The latter, themselves, claim a million members organized in just two Red Marxist groups in the U.S.A., the Jewish Labor Committee, Socialist, and the Jewish People's Committee, Communist.)

So, I was told by an authentic Detroit source, recently, Father Coughlin not only is barred from the radio but forbidden to write a line for his paper "Social Justice", to preach a sermon in his own church or to talk to any group except the babies on threat of excommunication. Thus hamstrung, he is to take an indefinite leave of absence in January to go into the muzzled silence which was threatened him by pro-Red anti-Christian B'nai B'rith and by, so my informant said, Elisha Walker, partner in Kuhn Loeb and Company, when he visited Father Coughlin in his home and warned him that Kuhn Loeb and Company had loaned money not only to Archbishop Mooney (Father Coughlin's superior) but to the Pope!

Truth on the Scaffold! Wrong on the Throne!

Special magazines and pamphlets such as Friday's "Unbelievable",

"Treason Incorporated", etc., are being issued by Reds to smear every anti-Communist as a Hitlerite despite all evidence to the contrary. The time is ripe for Christian defense forces to organize legal aid to force these filthy sheets to retract their lies or take the legal consequences. Even dishonest methods are used to secure names of reputable people as supposed sponsors of these publications. One of the nation's great patriots, Mrs. Grace Brosseau, was horrified when I wrote her that her name was included in the "Wake Up America Committee" which issued "Treason Incorporated". She replied:

"Dear Mrs. Dilling:

"I am always glad to see your signature to any missive and so was glad to get your letter this morning but I nearly had heart failure as I read down the page for I don't know one blessed thing about any booklet called 'Treason Incorporated' or that my name is in any way attached thereto."

She explains how a former patriotic local committee she was on had disbanded and was told that Wythe Williams had arranged in a trip to Washington (to B'nai B'rith headquarters?) to have its work taken over and financed by some "proper government officials".

Mrs. Brosseau continues: "If some group has taken over the work and continued my name on the committee I know nothing about it...I have never seen or heard of the booklet to which you refer. Of course, you and some of the other fighters have been on the pan for so long and those of us who are in sympathy with your work have always had the one stock answer - 'Prove that they are wrong,' which has never been done. I heard Dorothy Thompson in a public lecture denounce you all as Nazi agents who received your instructions direct from Hitler!! That sort of thing I just laugh off for the more you do the worse the Reds and the Pinks hate you, which to my mind simply proves your effectiveness. So long as they refrain from taking you for a ride and dumping you in the lake I don't worry one bit what they say about you personally.

"Goodness knows, there was a time when I got mine but now I make the Daily Worker only about once a year which I don't feel is very complimentary! Evidently I am no longer regarded as harmful, and that rather hurts my pride!

"...I will try to get hold of one of those booklets and see what it is all about and when I get the facts will see that my name is removed from the rolo of any reconstructed organization, which I suspect this is.

"Always sincerely yours,
(Signed) Grace L. H. Brosseau"

The "Wake Up America Committee" listed in "Treason Incorporated" are a choice bunch which include Upton Close and Hendrik W. Van Loon of THE RED NETWORK, radical Raymond Gram Swing, W. L. White, son of Wm. Allen White of THE RED NETWORK, Emil Lengyel, active Red Hungarian "refujew", Eugene Lyons, Socialist Russian-born Jew, and numerous other Jews like Gabriel Heatter who look for Hitler on every Clipper plane to take over New York single handed, plus, possibly, some like Mrs. Brosseau who are unconscious of being listed as members and sponsors of libelous lies and rot.

Oklahoma City

I was delighted to get a letter from Oklahoma City authorities who, like police departments from coast to coast, use my books, and to whom I had sent some data, saying that they won their Criminal Syndicalism trial against the Communist Party organizers for whose defense Mrs. Roosevelt had sent a check for $25.00! This is a real victory and a precedent to hearten patriots of the entire country! It must have been a tough victory to win for Democratic officials in a Democratic community forewarned publicly that the Roosevelt regime was on the Red side. Hats off to them!

I spoke two nights, November 20 and 21, in the Oklahoma City Shrine Auditorium, for my friend Rev. Harry Clarke of Sioux City, Iowa, who was conducting services there, and met a number of the splendid citizens and authorities who attended both nights. More than 70 people asked to be placed on my mailing list there and I have since received a fine letter from a group planning to really study the subject of the "cancer" in America's body politic.

New Communist School

Dean E. N. Comfort ("comfort" to the Reds) of the School of Religion (!) of the University of Oklahoma has been making, as the Communist Party's Daily Worker, 4/23/40, put it, "vigorous defense of civil liberties for the Communists". Active also in their defense has been "Rev." Paul S. Wright, Oklahoma City Presbyterian minister, and "Rev." John Thompson of the First Presbyterian Church of Norman, Okla.

I have before me the announcement of the opening, October 21, 1940, at Mena, Arkansas, of a Southern New Theatre School, by the communist New Theatre League, the American section of Moscow's International Union of the Revolutionary Theatre (See p.162 of my book, THE ROOSEVELT RED RECORD AND ITS BACKGROUND). It states that its revolutionary plays put on "in every part of the country" reach "over one million people annually. New Theatre Schools, reaching over five hundred students every year, in Chicago, Cleveland, Philadelphia, and New York, train leaders for these and other community theatres. New Theatre League also operates the only publishing agency for progressive social plays in America; it has discovered, sponsored, and distributed the following important dramas: Waiting For Lefty by Clifford Odets; Bury The Dead by Irwin Shaw; Private Hicks, Black Pit and Rehearsal by Albert Maltz; Cradle Will Rock by Marc Blitzstein; Don't you Want To Be Free by Langston Hughes; Plant In The Sun by Ben Bengal; Day In The Life Of A Secretary by Kleinsinger and Hayes."

The list of sponsors of the communist New Theatre League and Southern New Theatre School on this leaflet includes the names of leading Communist agitators and writers of lewd blasphemous literature, also Rev. John Thompson, mentioned above, and two other "Reverends", Einar Oftedahl and Owen Whitfield, Orson Welles and the filthy-minded Negro Communist, Langston Hughes, etc.

One doughty local Justice, Clem Brown, finally "hooked" the little communistic Commonwealth College at Mena, Arkansas (see my books), on an anarchy charge and for displaying the Communist Soviet Russian hammer and sickle, fining them $2500. Now its affiliate,

Highlander Folk School at Mounteagle, Tennessee (See my ROOSEVELT RED RECORD AND ITS BACKGROUND), is also, at last, meeting with some patriotic opposition. William B. Spofford, Earl Browder's fellow-officer of the Communist Party's treasonable American League Against War and Fascism (See my books), complains of this opposition to Highlander Folk School in the Episcopalian weekly "Witness", 12/5/40, but, to quote, says hopefully "this Friday evening, December 6th, in Washington, a large number of people are gathering to give their support to Highlander. Among them will be Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, Mrs. Cordell Hull, Secretary and Mrs. Harold Ickes, Mrs. Francis Biddle, Mr. Archibald MacLeish and Mr. and Mrs. Gifford Pinchot. Both Horton and Dombrowski" (of Highlander) "will be on hand - will be, that is, unless the Grundy County Crusaders prevent it."

Wherever Red treason raises its head the Roosevelt crew are on hand to boost it! Archibald MacLeish is Roosevelt's Red appointee as Librarian of Congress. Records on the others are in my books.

E. A. Ross (See my RED NETWORK) as national representative of the Communist-aiding American Civil Liberties Union has been on the job in Oklahoma aiding the imprisoned Communists (Daily Oklahoman, 11/16/40) also the Red "Rev." (meaning Revolutionist?) Owen Knox, of the Detroit branch, who spends his time fighting for Communists there. His paper is sold at the Communist Party's book stores.

Mothers of the U.S.A.

I wish you could meet two sound, smart, crusading Detroit women who literally made the knees of the above "Rev." Knox knock before the crowded Detroit City Council with their plucky opposition to his activities. They are Mrs. Rosa Farber, a deceptively cool, mild appearing, blue-eyed blonde, and zippy, brown-eyed little Mrs. Beatrice Knowles. (Mrs. Knowles' husband reminds me of my own. He is so actively interested and whole-hearted in aiding their efforts.) I recently spent some delightful hours with these ladies. They organized the Mothers of the United States of America (535 Book Bldg., Detroit), the ones, you remember, who hung in effigy in Washington last summer the loud-mouthed, war-mongering Claude Pepper, darling of anti-Christian, pro-Red B'nai B'rith under whose auspices Pepper spoke in Chicago.

They have protested their children's rotten Red sex books in the Detroit schools. They hold meetings of 300 or more weekly. They are not only sound in purpose but soundly informed, not sound asleep like most Americans. I am for them 100% and I hope you can cooperate with them and send for their literature at the above address. I am ready to help them anywhere, any time. There are other "Mothers" anti-war outfits infiltrated with subversives. Theirs is not.

They brought out and showed me a copy of the "Chicago American" dated Nov. 11, 1918, the day the Armistice was signed. The very top headline read, "RED FLAG OVER KAISER'S PALACE". Below that is the headline, "FIGHTING HAS STOPPED", and below that, the headline, EVERYTHING FOR WHICH AMERICA FOUGHT HAS BEEN ACCOMPLISHED - PRESIDENT WILSON."

When we fought to make the world safe for Democracy (in its present sense used to mean Communism), the first fruit of our efforts

was the hoisting of the Red flag over the Kaiser's palace. What will it be next time?

Winston Churchill

Before Winston Churchill embarked on his present efforts to drag us into this world war, he said, as quoted in the Congressional Record 6/19/39: "America's entrance into the" (world) "war was disastrous not only for your country" (United States) "but for the Allies as well, because had you stayed at home and minded your own business we would have made peace with the Central Powers in the spring of 1917, and then there would have been no collapse in Russia, followed by Communism; no break-down in Italy, followed by Fascism; and Naziism would not at present be enthroned in Germany. If America had stayed out of the war and minded her own business, none of these 'Isms' would today be sweeping the continent of Europe and breaking down parliamentary government."

Think that over!

Letters pour in here showing that many people realize that the debt and dictatorship involved in our entering the war may end our American form of government forever. However, one has to be wary about joining organizations.

"Peace" Organizations

Active now, for example, are: the Communist's Peace Mobilization outfit, the Socialist's Keep America Out of War committees, the "speckled" America First Committee, and the, I believe, perfectly sound Citizens Keep America Out of War Committee, 77 West Washington Street, Chicago, William J. Grace, chairman. This last committee my husband has joined. All that I know of it is good. Its principles could not be improved and I see not a subversive on their committee.

America First Committee

Undoubtedly, many fine people have joined the America First Committee because of its laudable opposition to William Allen White's "America Second" war-mongering "Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies". For twenty years White's idea of defending America has been to nurse the scorpion Reds in her bosom. He boasted in the New Republic, 9/21/38, that he had always joined any organization looking toward closer relations with Russia. He headed the Communist-aiding American Civil Liberties Union conference held in New York City, 10/13-14/39, at which Earl Browder was a speaker. This scarlet conference was sponsored by several Republican politicians who know better but are willing to kiss any Red foot who might give them power, such as Thomas E. Dewey of New York.

Its Rosenwald Connections

Heading the "speckled" America First Committee is Gen. Robert E. Wood, general manager for Rosenwald's Sears Roebuck and Company and trustee of the Rosenwald Fund of which the chairman is Lessing J. Rosenwald (supporter of radical Survey Associates and national committeeman of the America First committee), and the president of the Rosenwald Fund is Edwin R. Embree, one of the committee (see the facsimile, p.174, THE RED NETWORK) that set up the treasonable American League Against War and Fascism, later called the American League for Peace and Democracy until recently driven under cover by publicity.

The indefatigable Red-aider Mrs. Roosevelt ... a trustee this year of the Rosenwald Fund. While Lessing Rosenwald remains the Fund's chairman year after year and radical Edwin R. Embree its president, the trustees, colored and white, always include as pretty a bunch of Red-aiders as one could find.

Glancing down the list one sees Pres. Robert M. Hutchins and Charles H. Judd of the Univ. of Chicago and Howard W. Odum of the Univ. of North Carolina, all sponsors (1935) of the Moscow State summer school set up in Russia to teach American students Communism, with atheism scheduled as the first course of the day in their catalogue; radical Alfred K. Stern, formerly married to Marian Rosenwald and now to Martha Dodd who is active in the Communist movement; Charles S. Johnson, active Negro radical; self-avowed Socialist W. W. Alexander; M. O. Bousfield, Negro medical director of the Rosenwald Fund, endorser of the Communist Party's National Negro Congress and board member of the Communist-aiding American Civil Liberties Union, Chicago branch, 1940, etc., etc.

Some America First National Committeemen

To return to the "speckled" national committee of the America First Committee, headed by Rosenwald's Robert E. Wood, one sees the names of Henry Ford, certainly a 100% American, also Hanford McNider, active Legionnaire, whom I have met and consider 100% also, and there are probably others like them, unknown to me, also on the national committee; then there is Gen. Hugh S. Johnson whom one can scarcely classify since he is a "humdinger" on the "Right" side Monday and working with "Left" groups, plenty of them, Tuesday.

Then there is Kathryn Lewis, daughter of and executive assistant to John L. Lewis, who is still a "fellow traveler" of the Communist Party line, as the Communist current press reveals, despite his fine American-sounding speech for Willkie, which I heard. Kathryn Lewis' photo seated between two Negro heads of the Communist Party's National Negro Congress at a dinner to honor them appears in the Daily Worker, 3/19/40; her defense of Spanish Reds appears in the Daily Worker, 3/22/40, etc., etc.

Another is John T. Flynn, past and present long-time Marxist despite the excellent flings he took at "Comrade" Roosevelt in his recent book. He is (1940) contributing editor of the revolutionary socialist "New Republic", classified by radical Benjamin Stolberg as "a Stalinoid weekly". As member of the administrative committee of the City College of New York, he stated that he voted for the appointment of the atheist, Red peddler of sex-filth, Bertrand Russell, and his praises of Russell appear in the New York Times, 3/1/40. He is sponsor of the American Association for Economic Freedom, headed by William Allen White and composed of the nation's leading Marxists, with a program calling for socialization of the U.S.A. and complete State control of every individual and article produced through a State licensing system. Flynn's radical activities could fill a book.

Another, Anton J. Carlson (listed in THE RED NETWORK) of the Univ. of Chicago, has a Red record a mile long. He was sponsor of the Communist Party's "Browder for President" club of the Univ. of Chicago (Daily Worker, 10/13/36); member of the medical advisory board of the Communist Party-backed Consumers Union (Daily Worker, 6/8/39); of course he has been active in support of Red Spain; sponsor of the communist American

Student Union; serves on the Chicago committee of the American Civil Liberties Union; spoke for the Communist Party's Jewish Peoples Committee (Communist Party's Daily Record,12/3/38) which claims a half million members in the U.S.A.; spoke in defense of the Communist Party's Chicago Workers School; backed the American Civil Liberties Union inter-racial concert featuring four Negroes at Rockefeller's International House at the Univ. of Chicago (inter-racial mixing is a Communist fetish used for revolutionary purposes); he is a national committeeman of Red Leon Birkhead's Friends of Democracy, 1940; he is Chicago sponsor of the Emergency Rescue Committee which announces it raised over $50,000 during October and November, 1940, to bring Red "refujews" and propagandists, unwanted in Europe; over to the U.S.A. (see back cover, New Republic,12/16/40). Pres. Hutchins, Dorothy Thompson, Elmer Davis, Wm. Allan Neilson, Raymond Gram Swing, George Shuster, etc., are helping with the glad work. (What Europe ousts, we get!) The Daily News, 12/10/40, reported that addressing the Emergency Rescue Committee meeting was "Miss Ingrid Warburg of the Hamburg branch of the noted Hamburg family" the international bankers united by marriage with the Kuhn Loeb & Company international banking partners who financed the Russian revolution.

The wife of Clay Judson, another national committeeman of the America First Committee, is a sponsor of the same radical Emergency Rescue Committee (12/9/40).

Edward L. Ryerson, Jr., a rich, Pink social "uplifter" is another. He is vice-chairman and director of the Inland Steel Company, headed by P. D. Block; a director of the radical socialistic Survey Associates, supported heavily by wealthy Jews; he was awarded the Rosenberger and Benj. J. Rosenthal medals; he is trustee of the Univ. of Chicago headed by Hutchins, a hot-bed of radicalism; he is president of Chicago Commons, another radical center; committeeman of the American Committee for Christian German (Jewish) Refugees along with leading Reds and Pinks; as executive committeeman of the National Conference of Jews and Christians sponsored jointly by pro-Red, anti-Christian B'nai B'rith and the radical Federal Council of Churches, he announced that their program was to be extended to six additional cities in 1941 and radio broadcasts increased from 377 to 454 (Chicago Daily News,12/13/40).

Another, Prof. Albert W. Palmer, supported Socialist Douglas Clyde Macintosh (see The Red Network) as a professional pacifist; in 1938 he welcomed the very red National Religion and Labor Foundation conference (see The Red Network for their atheist Soviet cartoons); praised the C.I.O. and assisted in conducting the memorial service, with Communist Party organizers on the platform, in honor of the Communist-led rioters at the Republic Steel plant (Communist Party's Midwest Daily Record, 5/31/38); board member of the Chicago branch of the Communist-aiding American Civil Liberties Union; is active in radical Negro and white inter-racial affairs; opposed teachers' oaths of loyalty to the constitution; etc.

More Leftists

Robert L. Bliss, promotion manager of the extremely Left "PM", and Sidney Hertzberg of very red "Uncensored", have been engaged for promotion and publicity work by the America First Committee and are now in Chicago preparing for the meeting tonight (December 18) at which John T. Flynn is to speak. Anton J. Carlson was a recent speaker.

Have Mercy!

If you do not get all of the personal reports and information requested of me, have mercy! I am so swamped with such demands, some of which would require more hours of labor than there are in a day or a week! Debonair, well-meaning patriots daily pen little notes asking me to look up and write for them the equivalent of the world's history and see that they get it not later than tomorrow morning. Rarely does anyone enclose anything, but a few estimate that $1 should be ample to pay for work equivalent to compiling a special dictionary, $5 a special encyclopedia set.

However, I do try, and want, as I have for years, to hit the high spots and aid everyone who is actively on the battle front, whether or not they can afford a stamp toward upkeep of the office. Who could resist the following?

"Dear Madam:

"I am a Presbyterian minister. Some time ago, I sent for your work 'The Red Network' (recent edition). I regard this as a work of very great value, and wish to thank you for it. It is most valuable for reference.

"I have a special purpose in writing at this time. On page 224, you give a blasphemous poem by Langston Hughes, beginning: 'Listen Christ, You did alright in your day, I reckon'. Hughes was educated in Lincoln University, a school supposed to be under the care of the Presbyterian Church, and where I served as a professor for years, both in the collegiate department and the theological seminary. I had Hughes in my class of Biblical instruction. I beg to inquire whether you can surely validate the vile quotation. No longer connected with Lincoln, I have served warning that if the institution honors him with a degree, I will publicly expose him. His portrait has just appeared in the 'Lincoln University Bulletin', and I suspect that more is in the offing. Should I show him up, however, my authority is pretty sure to be questioned by the worthless management.

"Greatly appreciating a reply, and being furnished with the facts, I am,

"Yours very gratefully,

"(Rev.) Edwin J. Reinke

"West Grove, Penna., December 10th, 1940"

I replied as follows:

"Dear Rev. Reinke:

"I am delighted that you are crusading for the right. I certainly can back up with documentary proof every statement that I have ever printed. I realize that you need documentary proof in hand for your assertions, therefore I am having a photostatic reproduction made of Langston Hughes' poem 'Goodbye Christ', printed in a Communist magazine 'The Negro Worker', November-December, 1932. Turning over the page next to his poem is the back page of that issue and as we have the monthly issues fastened together, the front page of the next issue is next to

it, with its anti-religious cartoon and plea to d..n the missionaries. I am having a photostat, therefore, made of those two pages also. If you are able to meet the cost of the photostats, I will appreciate it. Our funds are skinny and my services are donated.

"I am aghast as I look over the many cards and envelope files we have listing Langston Hughes' Communist activities. I shall select a few items which may be useful to you but could issue a comprehensive report, although this would require many hours of time. For example, he was a member of the editorial council of the communist magazine 'Soviet Russia Today', a magazine devoted to eulogizing Soviet Russia and Communism, in 1937, 1938, 1939, and his name still appears as a member of the editorial council in 1940. He is a member of the national advisory council of the New Theatre League, which puts on Communist revolutionary plays. He is a sponsor of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade (Communist Party's Daily Worker, 2/21/40, p.4), the Communists who fought in Red Spain. I, myself, took pictures of the ruined churches and blasphemous desecrations against Christianity that the Communists committed in every town they occupied in Spain. He writes plays for the Communists' Negro People's Theatre. One was given at the Abraham Lincoln Center in Chicago, according to the Communist Daily Record, 10/25/38. He is active in every branch of the Communist movement and was exposed by the Massachusetts House Report, No. 2100, 5/27/38, p.443, etc. He is author of the play, "Do You Want to Be Free? distributed by the communist New Theatre League, which is the American section of Moscow's International Union of the Revolutionary Theatre.

"In the Communist Party's western newspaper, the People's World, 8/28/40, p.5, appears the 'poem', 'Landing At Havana', a copy of which I am enclosing, with this statement: 'This poem was written by Mayakovsky' (of Soviet Russia) 'in 1926, after a trip to the United States, Mexico, Cuba. The trnaslation is by LANGSTON HUGHES, the noted Negro poet.' The filthy cast of the Communist mind, and of Hughes' mind in particular, is shown by Hughes' translation. I regret to even quote from it but believe that you will need it for your purpose.

"The congregation of Aimee Semple McPherson's temple recently picketed the hotel where Langston Hughes was scheduled to speak and insisted that they would stay on the job until he left, and according to the newspaper clipping, he escaped out the kitchen door.

"More power to you. It is an insult to Christian Americans to honor such a man in any way.

"Cordially,

"(Mrs.A.W.) ELIZABETH DILLING"

Honoring Blasphemy

The anti-religious cartoon, on the cover of the Communist magazine printing Hughes' blasphemous "Goodbye Christ" poem, pictures a Negro forced to his knees before the Cross by "imperialism". Below, are the words "DOWN WITH THE IMPERIALISTS AND THE MISSIONARIES!"

Nineteen hundred years ago an anti-Christian Sanhedrin stood ready with silver to dole out to any one of Christ's household willing to betray Him. The same system is in action today.

In case Negro Communist Langston Hughes (whose poetry is also strongly commended by the Y.W.C.A. National Program exchange!) gets his honorary degree from the Presbyterian Lincoln Univ. (a school for colored with a white faculty) you may wish to know how, in this age, Honors and degrees can be won from apostate "Christian" institutions! Therefore I am quoting from Langston Hughes' vile translation featured by the Communist Party's People's World of 8/28/40.

"Landing at Havana

"The steamboat approached, whinnied, blew -...
Having powdered their pimples and washed their good-looks,
Dragging themselves along, coquettishly,
The first class passengers passed the smiling doctor....
The first to pass in a diamond dawn was
The pig-king, Smith.
His pipe stinks a yard away.
Try to touch such a person -
Under the silk of his drawers, under the sheer cambric,
Try to make out his sickness.
'This island gives promise of abstinence. Order a halt!'
The captain saluted, and Smith, syphilitic, disembarked....
The temples of the Negro are throbbing, throbbing,
Tom is stretched out in the hold.
Tomorrow Tom will be vaccinated,
And Tom will go home.
Ashore Tom has a wife...
Meanwhile Tom was bumming around on jobs -...
How could she wait with a hungry mouth?
Tom forgot to love her. Tom left.
He divides his straw mat with the white girls.
She cannot earn anything. She cannot steal.
Everywhere, policemen under their umbrellas.
But Mr. Smith's waning passion is kindled by this exotic.
His body becomes sweaty under his underwear -
From black flesh.
He pushes dollars into her hands,...
She decides definitely, 'No,'
And murmurs, 'Yes.'
Already the decaying Mr. Smith
Is pushing the door with his shoulder.
And the obliging elevator winds them up into a room.
Tom appeared in two days,
Slept with her for a week without awakening,
And was glad there was bread and money,...
But the day came when on his dark skin
The incomprehensible pattern spread.
His children in mother's womb were dumb and blind....
Attention to Negroes became special.
When the flock was gathering, the lean priest
Pointed out this most obvious handbook of morals:
God punishes him and her, that she invited guests.
And the rottenness of black flesh fell from rotting Negro bones.
I did not intend to enter politics with this.
I intended simply to make a little picture.
Some call it - civilization.
Others - colonial policy."

We Are Many!

The cause might seem hopeless were it not for countless letters like the following that pour in from coast to coast:

Dr. Mel Morris, who carries a ton of equipment for his famous pictorial Cavalcade of Christianity which has converted countless people, writes December 15th from Denver: "I wish to assure you that it was indeed a distinguished pleasure to meet you and to know first hand of the vitally important work which you are doing at this critical time. The people are still talking about your wonderful message and I wish to assure you that it was the particular high point of this Western Conference thus far."

Mr. Henry Hewins of Redmond, Oregon, writes: "The discouraging thing is that the people generally appear to be so doped and blinded by enemy propaganda that they have lost all desire to know truth...But we believe there is a Power greater than money Who will save this nation for those who trust Him. May the Lord sustain you, Mrs. Dilling and make it possible for your patriotic and Christian work to continue."

Mr. Ross E. Bowman of Athens, Michigan, on beautiful Bible verse stationery, writes, "I am heartily in accord with your anti-New Deal, anti-Communistic program and truth findings and feel almost in the dark when I don't get them. Tell me, please, the cost of these letters to me per month and put me on the permanent list."

Some "System"!

I had to tell him that my unbusinesslike system is to send letters to anyone really interested, using whatever comes in from those who can afford to contribute for those who cannot and when the cash box is bare - and it frequently is, and things look dark, something, so far, has come along to save us.

The very poor people out of work or on W.P.A. relief, who have sent in their precious mites with sincere prayers for the cause, are what touch and keep me going to slave daily and to take more kicks!

A teacher from Dutton, Michigan, writes: "Please find enclosed one dollar and some stamps. I surely appreciate your letters. It encourages one to keep on fighting. It makes me feel that if you are willing to face the enemy with so much courage I should certainly be willing to help in some way. Many thanks for the book 'Lord Lothian vs. Lord Lothian'. I shall pass it on when I've finished reading it... How much I appreciate your 'Red Network'. I check on speakers at our teachers' institutes...The thing that makes one's heart ache is the fact that some fellow teachers won't even take the trouble to investigate into these subversive activities when the material is presented to them...But we all know we must fight on while there is still hope. I hope with all my heart that you shall keep health and strength to lead us in this fight. I'm sure no one else could fill your place."

Mr. F. C. Miller, a patriotic office worker who distributed 700 copies of my THE RED NETWORK in Akron, writes: "I am so grateful for the gift of the book you sent me by Lord Lothian that I must thank you at once...I am sending you one dollar...I feel sure if a million of these could be distributed it would assure peace in America. Capital-

ism could well pay you $200,000 per year for your valuable services... Our only hope is in awakening Congress."

A dear Christian woman, Mrs, J. A. Stretch of Minneapolis, writes sending 50¢, saying, "We are old people now. I am 70 years old and my husband 77. He is a semi-invalid having progressive palsy." She closes expressing joy in her faith in God's promised second coming and saying "God bless you".

Mrs. Henry B. Joy of Detroit sends $10 in memory of her husband's interest in my work. He died in 1936 after doing probably the greatest work in exposing the subversive activities of the Federal Council of Churches of anyone in America. I exchanged letters and data with him constantly yet never saw him until Albert and I attended his funeral. His passing, a loss to the nation and the entire cause, brought tears to our eyes.

Are There No American Bridge Designers?

November 7th you heard of the crash of the great $6,400,000 bridge at Tacoma, Washington, previously nicknamed "Galloping Gertie" because of its swaying. Built with Federal W.P.A. and R.F.C. funds it was, characteristically, built and designed by Russian-born Leon S. Moisseiff, listed in "Who's Who in American Jewry, 1938-9" as having been Soviet Commissar of Transportation in Russia, 1929-31.

The program of Marxist ruin is well under way, both here and in England, without clear explanation shown anyone as to why 66,000,000 nose-led Britishers whose government controls an Empire, of some 445,000,000 human beings, which embraces one-fourth of the earth's surface, owing American tax-payers billions borrowed before, during, and after the last "peculiar" World War, should, with assets of some five billion dollars available in the U.S.A. (Chgo.Tribune,12/18/40), now again be calling on the American tax-payers to foot the bill for the present war which was declared by a pressure-run English government; or why, with less than one fourth of its people self-governing, the British Empire should be called a "democracy".

Again the Buzzards Assemble

There may be truth in the general opinion expressed by English people that during the World War the U.S.A. sent them poorly made goods at profiteering prices. The crowd in power in Washington today is much like the old Baruch-Frankfurter War Industries Board crew. Again the buzzards eagerly await their killing on fat war contracts at taxpayers' expense. To quote "America Awake!", by Oscar Brumback (1936):

(p.108) "It is a matter of record, as Col. House, Woodrow Wilson's chief adviser, in his memoirs admits, that despite our professions of fighting 'to make the World safe for Democracy' President Wilson, five months before America entered the World War, had not decided on which side we should fight, stating to Colonel House that we had as many grievances against one side as we had against the other! This was during Wilson's second Presidential campaign with its famous slogan 'He kept us out of War.'...

"In connection with the investigations made by the Senate Munitions Committee, there was disclosed a cablegram to Woodrow Wilson, dated March 5, 1917, thirty days before America entered the war, from Walter Hines Page, the American Ambassador to Great Britain, which states in effect that if we were to protect our business interests, we

must join the war as soon as possible on the side of the Allies; that the Allies had lost the war; that it had become extremely unlikely that the United States would become involved; and that J. P. Morgan & Co., and the other international bankers had wagered on a losing horse and made loans to the Allies which would be lost. Ambassador Page urged therefore that the United States declare war to save and guarantee Allied credits...

"the United States with as many grievances against one side as the other, entered the Great War which cost us hundreds of thousands of lives, a billion dollars in interest annually ever since on non-productive bonds required to fight it; a war in which there were 22,000 new American millionaires created out of war profits alone in a conflict which necessitated our appropriating $42,000,000,000 to fight and win it; a war from which we asked nothing and got nothing in return...with thousands widowed, orphaned and bereaved, and countless thousands maimed and broken for life....

France

"Lest our children or our children's children may become involved in the quarrels of foreign nations, let them be taught the whole story of how in 1917-18 we fought 'to make the world safe for democracy.' Let them be told that...we were required by the French Govt. to pay a duty on every can of beans and on every kind of food and war supplies which we shipped into France to feed and equip American armies in France engaged in driving German armies out of France.

"We can recall that, not only did France require America to pay a duty on all food and war supplies shipped into France, but that when the war was over the French Govt. sought to impose a duty on the balance of these same supplies before allowing America to take them out of France. As a result, the United States Govt. 'sold' to the French Govt. these $2,000,000,000 worth of supplies for $407,000,000, which sum never has been paid; and yet France, after keeping what she wanted, sold more than enough of the balance of those supplies to pay for the whole lot. More than that, as a matter of actual fact, as Senator Johnson of California has shown, France realized in proceeds from the sale of these supplies which she did not want, more than enough to cover the sum total, interest and principal, of all she ever paid on her more than five billion dollar debt to this country, on which France welshed in 1932....

England

"Let them be told that for the use of English boats loaded to the gunwales with American soldiers, they charged us from $140 to $180 for every man landed in France to fight their battles. Let them be told that the United States paid France damages even for the ground over which American armies fought and for the damage done to French property by American shells used in driving the German armies out of France.

"Nor is that all. When the United States armies went into France, they dredged her harbors, and rebuilt her docks, in addition to erecting more than a thousand miles of telephone and telegraph lines. It was found necessary to build hundreds of miles of railroads...Today all these contributions to French industrial improvement and development are still in France, being used by the people of France, the first and last cost having been borne by the American people...

"Nor must it ever be forgotten that during the Great War, England borrowed money from Japan and THE JAPANESE GOT THEIR MONEY BACK, PAID

WITH MONEY BORROWED BY ENGLAND FROM THE UNITED STATES. We can also remember that for the $5,525,000,000 worth of additional American commodities bought from 1914-1917 by European belligerents while America was 'neutral,' not a dollar has been paid...

"Before those Allied nations were through, we loaned England $4,715,000,000; France over $5,000,000,000; Italy $2,150,000,000. Twelve nations owe the United States over $13,000,000,000--the principal of which war debts we cancelled--and those nations then refused to pay us even the interest on the money they 'borrowed' for rehabilitation purposes after the war.

"A NATION IN THE HANDS OF TRAITOROUS, TIME-SERVING, VENAL PROFESSIONAL POLITICIANS AND THEIR MASTERS MAY BE EXCUSED FOR BEING AN IDIOT ONCE, BUT UNDER NO CIRCUMSTANCES SHOULD SUCH TRAITOROUS VENALITY OR DRIVELLING IDIOCY BE TOLERATED A SECOND TIME." (pp.108-115.)

International Manipulations

Some day some of the world's international mysteries will be laid bare to millions of horrified dupes. An AP despatch, 12/14/40, reports that Flandin revealed "that the former British and French envoys to Germany, Sir Neville Henderson and Robert Coulondre, failed to let Poland know before the outbreak of the war about proposals by Germany for peace."

To quote the Chicago Tribune, 12/14/40: "Refugees are admitted as quota immigrants and also as visitors on business or pleasure for a limited period. Extensions of the period are readily granted, however, Mr. Roosevelt having stated that no refugee would be compelled to return home." (That is, if Red enough!)

Inform! Organize! Protest!

Christ set forth the threefold duties of a Christian: to God; to family; to government (then represented by "Caeser").

I think the time is at hand for the informed, not only to go out like crusaders, spread literature, speak and inform others, but to organize a Christian pressure party. The American Labor Party, the Commonwealth Political Federations of New York, Minnesota, Washington, and similar "Progressive" parties have concentrated for years on backing Marxist candidates for public office on both major party tickets until these forces now rule America.

We need a pressure party dedicated to supporting candidates on an old or, where necessary, on a new ticket, candidates who will uphold the Christian principles which inspired our Constitution and form of government; who will support a foreign trade policy for the benefit of Americans instead of for the purpose of international meddling with the governments of other nations at taxpayers' expense; who will stop importing farm commodities from the Argentine while taxing Americans to pay farmers not to raise these; who will ban all immigration until our own unemployed all have jobs; who will ban Marxists and Marxist teachings committed to the overthrow of our Christian institutions from public schools and pay-rolls.

We need a pressure party to push politicians as hard to the Christian Right as Marxists push them to the Atheist Left! We need to organize for the Congressional elections of 1942 and for 1944.

Meantime, in the bare hope of avoiding, through Congressional opposition, the fast approaching debacle, you can only get busy immediately and wire, deluge Congressmen to keep America out of war.

I have just talked with Mr. Earl Southard, Secy. of the Citizens Keep America Out of War Committee. He is a dandy and knows what it is all about and is sending me cards to enclose with this letter. Use them! Both he and Mr. William J. Grace, a lawyer, who is chairman of the Citizens Keep America Out of War Committee, are officials of the patriotic Veterans of Foreign Wars. My good friend Father Aubert is active on the Citizens Committee.

For the salvation and happiness of us all I wish you, not a "happy" but a concerned, actively sacrificial New Year!

Sincerely,

(Mrs.A.W.) ELIZABETH DILLING

ED/me

If you care to receive these monthly releases, will you let me know and, if possible, contribute something to the cost?

QUOTING LORD LOTHIAN

EDITED BY

ELIZABETH DILLING

4/29/85 SP8BJ/LS #245238
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DATE 8/31/84 BY SP8BJ/lmk
Comp #242,942
264,350 9145 JFE/AG/GL 4-23-86
318,519
SP8BJ/GL 10-18-90

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PUBLICATION FILE

Foreword

Nothing has raised the ire of American and British warmongers more than distribution of the articles and speeches on European affairs of the late Lord Lothian, British Ambassador to the U.S.A., written before he dutifully became chief war propagandist for his government. These, logically, lead one to the conclusion that George Washington's admonition against U.S.A. involvement in Europe's perpetual wars was the soundest advice ever given our Country for the good of our own people.

Last October, before Lord Lothian's death, 12/12/40, (and Washingtonians tell of his unhappiness over the war in his last days), I bought and distributed 4600 copies of a 53-page booklet composed of excerpts from seventeen of Lord Lothian's articles and speeches entitled "LORD LOTHIAN VERSUS LORD LOTHIAN". Afterwards, the Saturday Evening Post devoted an editorial page to these, Mr. William Randolph Hearst two editorials, etc., all of which went from coast to coast.

Since then there has been a determined attempt to smear these writings of Lord Lothian, even to infer that he never issued them.

So, in the Library of Congress, in the Library of International Relations, the University of Chicago Library, and the Chicago Public Library I have checked and secured reproductions of all of the seventeen Lothian articles from which excerpts appear in the booklet I distributed. I found these accurately quoted. The entire context amplifies the sense of the excerpts. Of course Lothian's ideas on the League of Nations, world federation, etc., would be rejected by most Americans.

There is much, in fact, constant duplication of thought and statement in these Lothian articles. Some are so many pages long as to make the cost of reproducing all of them in their entirety prohibitive. However, I am reproducing the entire nine page Lothian article "Germany and the Peace of Europe" from the 11/37 issue of International Affairs magazine (excerpts from which compose chapter 11 of the Lothian booklet), also the entire pages of the Times (London) of 9/17/37 and Observer (London) of 11/27/38 newspapers (excerpts from which form chapters 13 and 16 of the Lothian booklet).

In addition, we are mimeographing from the originals all excerpts in the rest of the Lothian booklet and adding some intervening matter. All page numbers of sources are cited in order to facilitate looking up and checking these.

What Now?

Eighty per cent of our people are opposed to the slaughter of the flower of our young manhood in foreign lands and waters in defiance of F.D.R.'s positive campaign promises to the contrary. Those informed are nauseated at the cant and hypocrisy of calling for the blood and resources of this nation to enforce the "four freedoms" - freedom from <u>want</u>, freedom from <u>fear</u>, freedom of <u>press</u> and speech and freedom of <u>worship</u> - "everywhere in the world" while one may see our own people in any big city searching garbage cans for food; while armies of New Deal "O.G.P.U." sleuths are questioning and snooping on patriots opposed to F.D.R.'s illegal war policies in order to instill <u>fear</u> into their hearts; while freedom of <u>worship</u> is menaced by the La Guardia "canned sermon" system and Col. Early F. W. Duncan, of Lowery Field near Denver, has already arrogantly forbidden 10,000 of our soldiers to attend any church whose pastor preaches against Roosevelt's war policies!

It remains to be seen whether the last freedom - freedom of press and speech - is now to be erased by dictatorship; whether every American is to be successfully smeared with the "Nazi" label who upholds the principles of George Washington or who, like me, dares support them by quoting words of British Ambassador Lord Lothian, distasteful to warmongers. If this last freedom, too, is ruthlessly suppressed, may such suppression act as a clarion call for American awakening!

With our boys, our resources, our liberties already slated for the sharks, what remains for us to fear? Only complacent servitude. Servitude cannot be avoided by submission to it.

A Christian lady writes from Georgia, 10/28/41: "I understand the book of Revelation and the martyring of the Saints better each daily paper that I read. I believe the Saints will be martyred as 'Isolationists' or 'Nazis'. May God richly bless you and yours."

* * *

Copies of "QUOTING LORD LOTHIAN," compiled by Elizabeth Dilling (Mrs. A. W.), author of THE RED NETWORK, THE ROOSEVELT RED RECORD AND ITS BACKGROUND, etc., may be secured at 35¢ each; copies of Mrs. Dilling's 34-page October Round Table Letter containing much vital up-to-date news plus highlights on New Deal opposition to these Lothian articles are available at 20¢ each.

Address: Patriotic Research Bureau
(Elizabeth Dilling, Director)
53 West Jackson Boulevard
Chicago

"THE PLACE OF BRITAIN IN THE COLLECTIVE SYSTEM"*#

The League

"Many people think that it has been the League which has kept the peace of Europe for the last fifteen years. This is not true at all. The League has done excellent work and has intervened successfully in various conflicts between minor Powers, especially in the Balkan peninsula. But the fundamental stability of Europe has been ensured not by the Covenant, but by the military preponderance of France and her allies over Germany and the ex-enemy nations." (1) "As soon as it became clear that the United States was going to reject the League, that the Anglo-American Treaty of Guarantee to France against unprovoked aggression from Germany was going to lapse, that even Article 16 was going to be emasculated because Great Britain could not make economic sanctions effective except at the risk of creating a grave crisis with the United States,"(1)

France

"France set to work not only to modernise her own army, but to organise and equip the armies of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Roumania and Yugoslavia, and to enter into military alliances with them, in order to give her overwhelming military preponderance as against any attempt to upset the Treaties of Versailles, of Trianon, and so on, by force." (2)"I think she would have been inclined to do this even if these things had not happened, for the United States would no more have accepted the French view of how peace had to be kept in Europe than the British have done, and France would have remained uncertain whether the Anglo-American Treaty of Guarantee and Article 16 meant real security or not."(2) "European realities were nakedly revealed when France, convinced that Germany intended to evade the Treaty of Versailles, entered the Ruhr in 1923, alone and contrary to the advice of Great Britain, in order to compel fulfilment. And it was, in fact, the experience in the Ruhr which put the party of fulfilment in power in Germany for some eight years, though it also convinced France that reparations could not be collected by bayonets.

"...the French have been attempting with perfect sincerity, to make the League of Nations the instrument for doing what their own alliance system had done, namely give security to themselves and peace to Europe by guaranteeing under military as well as economic sanctions what they call the 'integral' enforcement of the treaty settlement of 1918, except in so far as they themselves were willing voluntarily to make minor modifications in it. They have resisted disarmament by themselves or re-armament by Germany on the ground that the Treaties of Peace were the public law of Europe,...They have done this even though it implied indefinite 'inequality' and defencelessness for Germany in armaments and the forcible perpetuation of the whole treaty settlement, on the ground that the primary condition of peace is the enforcement of law..."

The British

(3)"The British, on the other hand, with equal sincerity, have felt themselves quite unable to accept the French thesis."(3) "They have felt that the Treaties of Peace were both dictated and severe, and required some, though not much, revision by agreement, if they were to become the generally accepted political foundations of a European policy. They have become more and more con-

*Source: INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS magazine, 9/34, pp. 626-8.
#Between the numbers 1-1, 2-2, 3-3, etc., etc., are intervening words not included in excerpts quoted in chapter 1 of the booklet "Lord Lothian vs. Lord Lothian".

vinced that there could be no lasting peace in Europe except on the basis of 'equality' in armaments for Germany. They have been unable to persuade themselves that peace could be ensured by permanent enforcement of arms inequality and the treaty 'status quo' on Germany, by any collective combination, however great..."

Defenceless Policy Resisted

"...they have felt that the Nazi revolution in itself has been largely caused by 'inequality' too long continued, and that to convert the League into a system for dragooning Germany into subservience would be to destroy the moral foundations of the League itself.

"The long latent crisis has now been precipitated because the Germans, having been promised 'equality' in December 1932 and having found that for one reason or other 'equality' was delayed and was apparently to be indefinitely postponed, refused to remain 'defenceless' any longer, left the Disarmament Conference and the League of Nations in October last, and have now begun to try to recover equality by re-arming.

"It is a dangerous crisis. The French, realising that it is impossible to get Great Britain to guarantee stability in a re-armed Europe are vigorously trying to strengthen their old system of security by military preponderance behind the Treaty of Versailles with the assistance of Russia and, in a measure of Italy. Failing that, they have been toying once more with the idea of a preventive war. Germany, caught between a stimulated public opinion at home and foreign danger, is trying to make up her mind how far and how fast she can safely go towards equality through re-armament..."

Leave Europe Alone

(4)"My own view is simple. I tried to express it a week or two ago in some letters to The Times. It is this."(4) "We shall never make any progress towards an effective collective system until we separate the world system of peace from the European, and recognise that our place is in the world system rather than the European system,...

"...Great Britain's international position has fundamentally changed. She is no longer the richest Power in the world. She no longer has a paramount navy, because she has conceded equality to the United States and something not very far short of it to Japan. And she is now vulnerable from the air...

"I come, finally, to my conclusions. My fundamental conclusion, as I have already indicated, is that the only way of avoiding a complete breakdown of the League system, the only way forward towards a really effective collective system, the only way of avoiding a return to the crude pre-War anarchy, is to separate the European regional security system from the world system, and that Great Britain should form part, primarily, of the world system..."

(5)"...If we are to make the League a true and effective world League, or to put 'teeth in the Kellogg Pact,' it will be because Europe is left to contrive a regional security system of its own, equivalent to that of the British Commonwealth or Pan-America, and the world League deals with those questions which transcend regional interests and are of world concern...

"...Any European security system will rest, as it has hitherto rested,

*Same source: pp. 628, 629, 630, 632, 636, 637.

despite the Covenant, on a set of obligations far more precise than Article 16 or a promise to use sea power. It will be based on an obligation to use prompt military action, if the casus foederis or the need for sanctions arises. And this is precisely the kind of obligation into which Great Britain cannot and should not enter by herself alone. She cannot do so because she will not give to any other Power the right to force her into a European war. She will not do so because the duty of her fleet must primarily be to defend the Commonwealth, and she cannot tie it to European waters in the interests of European stability (apart from British security), if it is needed, for instance, at Singapore. She will not do so, unless the obligation is counter-signed by the Dominions, because she can no longer commit the Dominions to war, and if she was drawn into a war for European stability, some of them might declare their neutrality as the only way of keeping out of the war, in which case the effectiveness of the Navy would pro tanto be reduced. And she will not do so because, unless the United States is also a party to the obligations, to plunge into war without a prior agreement with the United States might be to add to the evils of a European conflict the immeasurably great calamity of an Anglo-American war over the interference with neutral trade."(5)

"...If this is so, the sooner we make it clear that we reject any kind of automatic commitment the sooner will Europe make its own regional system,...My own view is that, if only we do not interfere, Europe will rapidly establish a regional security system of its own, which may well prevent war and lead both to appeasement and to some measure of limitation of armaments in a system of balance before many years are past..."

*Same source: pp. 637, 638 and 639.

"PACIFISM IS NOT ENOUGH"*#

The Anarchy of Europe

"For centuries before Bismarck Germany had been the cockpit of Europe. This was mainly due to the fact that Germany itself was divided into two or three hundred principalities. Napoleon reduced these states to about thirty. Bismarck saw that if Germany was to have peace, security, and prosperity she must have unity. But he found that the difficulty in obtaining united action in the old German confederation of sovereign states was insuperable. So he pronounced his famous dictum about blood and iron and by means of three wars united Germany, except for Austria, into a single federated state."

(1)"In doing so he ended what was left of the old concert of Europe. Europe became a mere anarchy of fifteen sovereign states. Inevitably in the interest of self-preservation these states formed groups and alliances. Gradually, after twenty years of dexterous diplomatic jugglery by Bismarck to prevent it, Europe settled down to the system whereby its destinies were controlled by two great alliances - the Triple Alliance of Germany, Austria-Hungary, and a rather doubtful partner Italy, and the Dual Alliance of France and Russia. Alterations in the political structure of Europe to meet the changing conditions of the times could thereafter only be made by agreement between these two groups and every such question came to be judged not mainly by considerations of reason or justice but according to whether a particular proposal increased or diminished the security or the prospect of victory of either of the groups or of the

*Source: "Pacifism is Not Enough" a Burge Memorial Lecture delivered at Oxford, 1935, pp. 17 and 18.
#Between the numbers 1-1, 2-2, 3-3, etc., etc., are intervening words not included in excerpts quoted in chapter 2 of the booklet "Lord Lothian vs. Lord Lothian."

particular states within it, in the event of war. Thereafter every local conflict tended to develop immediately into a general European war. As an inevitable corollary, might became the supreme element in European politics - for the ultimate question in every particular controversy was whether either side was prepared to throw the sword into the scale. This system was called macht-politik or power diplomacy, and arose not from the malignity of this nation or that, though some played it more readily than others, but inexorably from the anarchy of Europe."(1)

"By the end of the century Germany was no longer content with a purely European position. Her union had led to immense economic development. She had become interested in world trade. She became dissatisfied at finding that world politics were being decided by Britain and Japan, Britain and France, or the United States without bringing Germany into consultation. Hence the launching of the German navy Bills by the Kaiser. These Bills were not intended to give Germany supremacy, but, as their preamble stated, to ensure that no decision should be made without taking Germany's wishes into account. Germany, in the old phrase, demanded 'her place in the sun', a phrase which translated into post-war parlance is the word 'equality'. There was nothing wicked about this desire" (2)"in itself. What made it fatal was that European anarchy had led to an alliance system and to an intensity of competition in armaments which turned every international question into a conflict of interest between the groups, rendered it practically impossible to alter the status quo except by war, and made it almost inevitable that any local conflict in which any of the major powers became involved turned instantly into a general European war.

"...Anarchy, not national wickedness, was the villain of the tragic drama which ended in the World War. The most sinister fact to-day is that this timetable has begun to reappear, made immensely more dangerous by the air."(2)

Failure of the League of Nations

"But it requires no argument to show that in fundamentals it has so far failed. It has not been able to secure the adherence of all nations. It has not been able to abate economic nationalism and lower the tariffs and restrictions which have caused unemployment everywhere and destroyed democracy in many lands. It has not been able to bring about all-round disarmament. It has not been able to revise the treaties of peace except in ephemeral and minor particulars. It has not been able to mobilize the kind of strength which would enable it to compel one of the great Powers to conform to that public opinion.

"...Wilson in introducing the Covenant to the Peace Conference sadly expressed the hope that one of the central functions of the League would be to bring about peaceful revision of injustices which war passion made unavoidable at the time.

"But the League has never been able to do this, either under Article XIX or Article XI or Article XV. Reparations have disappeared - but through the pressure of facts, not of agreement. The unilateral disarmament of Germany has disappeared, not by agreement, despite three years of discussion, but by unilateral action. The only important agreed relaxation has been the evacuation of the Rhineland five years before the appointed day. It has never been possible seriously to discuss the Polish-German frontiers, the question whether Austria was to have a free choice as to her own destiny, the duration of the unilateral demilitarization of Germany's western frontiers, the colonial question,

*Same source: pp. 18, 19, 24, 25, 26 and 32.

the Hungarian frontiers. If there is to be real peace, agreed solutions for some of these questions are essential."

*Same source: p.32.

"GERMANY AND FRANCE"*#
"THE HEART OF THE PEACE PROBLEM"

"The Treaty of Versailles imposed two things upon her."(Germany) "First, a great reduction in territory, a loss of colonies, and heavy reparations. Second, 'defencelessness' against her neighbours through the unilateral disarmament clauses of Part V. of the Treaty. Since 1918 this 'inequality' for Germany has, in fact, been France's 'security'...

"It is, then, 'inequality' that Germany is absolutely determined to get rid of to-day. It involved liability to the Ruhr invasion and to incidents like the present Memel situation. It meant that, in practice, the neighbours of Germany could consult about European problems, while Germany was kept outside the door, and then ask her to 'sign on the dotted line.' They would afford to do this because Germany, normally one of the Great Powers of the world, could not, in the last resort, resist. National-Socialism, which among many other things is a movement of individual and national self-respect, came into being largely to end the abasement of Germany,"(1)"and convinced that she could not recover 'equality' - that is, her rightful place among the nations - except by recovering military power equivalent to that of her neighbours."(1) "That is why, at the first hesitation in October, 1933, to implement the undertaking of December, 1932, to give her 'equality' in a regime of security, she left the League and, after making the offer rejected by M. Barthou last April, proceeded to rearm. That, in her view, is now the only road to equality.

"What is the way out? The central fact in Europe to-day is that Germany does not want war and is prepared to renounce it absolutely as a method of settling her disputes with her neighbours, provided she is given real equality, because it is only equality which will enable her to test whether the pacific method of dealing with disputes can reasonably succeed...He" (Hitler) "goes farther and says that he will sign pacts of non-aggression with all Germany's neighbours, to prove the sincerity of his desire for peace, and that in armaments he asks for no more than 'equality' for Germany, and will accept international inspection if everybody else accepts it too.

"I have not the slightest doubt that this attitude is perfectly sincere. Hitler's Germany does not want war...So Germany does not want war, even about those matters in which she most dislikes what is left of the Treaty of Versailles, and which Europe fears she might try to remedy by war...

"If these are the facts, and I am convinced they are, how, amid the terrible fears and suspicions and hatreds which dominate Europe to-day, are they to be made the basis of an agreement which will convince Europe that they are really going to have settled peace for 10 years and that they can therefore get on with economic reconstruction and the restoration of international trade instead of preparing for an inevitable war? I think the answer rests with the British Government...There is no road, I am convinced, by the method so often pursued, and almost inevitable while Germany was erupting in the National Socialist revolution - namely, that of getting the neighbours of Germany together, agreeing

*Source: London Times, 1/31/35 and 2/1/35.
#Between the numbers 1-1, 2-2, 3-3, etc., are intervening words not included in excerpts quoted in chapter 3 of the booklet "Lord Lothian vs. Lord Lothian."

to something they can all accept and then presenting it to Germany on a plate, on the basis that if she refuses it proves her bad intentions and that if she signs she is once more back in a slightly relaxed strait-waistcoat of the Versailles Treaty. Germany has finished once and for all with that system. That was the method of the 'Diktat' of Versailles. And that method is largely what she means by 'inequality.' Equality means that she takes part from the outset in the discussions as to how Europe is to be stabilised on exactly the same terms as everybody else, and with the same kind of power and influence as her equals. Besides, the 'sign on the dotted line' method is the wrong method from the moral and psychological point of view. We are far more likely to interest Germany in the problem of European peace and reconstruction...by treating her as a friend and as one of the European community than as a dangerous animal which everybody approaches with loaded rifles shouting: 'Why don't you show that you are a good European by coming back into the cage?' - a League of Nations which hitherto, from the point of view of Germany, has been little more than an instrument for keeping her disarmed and impotent while evading fulfilment of Article XIX. - the article providing for the revision of Treaties by pacific means.

"...War comes far more frequently from inability to change out-of-date political arrangements in time than from direct aggression. Unless Article XIX. of the Covenant can be made effective the Covenant itself will disappear...

"Take again National Socialism itself. National Socialism is the outcome of a four years' war, the Ruhr, inflation, and two revolutions in 20 years." (2)"It is harsh, brutal, and ruthless. It has none of the Christian quality of mercy which power should show to its opponents when they are defenceless and weak."(2) "But it has been strong enough to give Germany unity where it was terribly divided, to produce a stable Government in place of weak and unstable Governments, and to restore to Germany national self-respect and international standing. One thing, too, about it is not generally understood. It is not imperialist in the old sense of the word..."

*Same Source.

"PROBLEMS FOR THE LEAGUE"*#
"LORD LOTHIAN AND THE REAL DANGERS"

(1)"Lord Lothian, speaking at a Liberal rally at Scarborough yesterday, said:

"I am afraid I take a rather unfashionable view about the Abyssinian crisis. So far as it goes, I am entirely in favour of Sir Samuel Hoare's speech at Geneva.

"But if the crisis is not to develop into something far more dangerous we must, I think, deal much more vigorously with the other side of the problem. Italy, I think, has a case against us and against the League - a much better case than she has against Abyssinia."(1) "Neither we nor the League have yet faced the consequences of the tremendous changes which have come over the world since the War.

"In the last century there was practically free migration all over the world, and at least 50,000,000 people left Europe for the New World. In the last century there was practically free migration all over the world, and at

*Source: Entire speech as quoted in the London Times, 9/18/35.
#Between the numbers 1-1, 2-2, 3-3, etc., are intervening words not included in excerpts quoted in chapter 4 of the booklet "Lord Lothian vs. Lord Lothian."

least 50,000,000 people left Europe for the New World. In the last century there was in substance free trade in goods, foodstuffs, and capital all over the world. In the last century the British Fleet, being the only large Fleet, was the policeman of the seas. In consequence there was no world war for nearly a century, and few revolutions and dictatorships.

"To-day the nations are living in watertight compartments, with no migration and no freedom for trade, with the result that many of them have got into such tremendous population and economic difficulties that they have resorted to dictatorship to maintain order at home, and most of them are adding to their armaments in order to try to solve their internal problems by action in a foreign field."

(2)"Unless the League can deal, and deal quickly and effectively, with these tremendous questions the Abyssinian issue will be swallowed up by a war about far wider issues, just as the Serbian crisis was swallowed up by a war about far greater issues in 1914."(2) "If the League merely becomes an institution for stabilizing the status quo under threat of sanctions our last state will be much worse than our first. There will be two consequences.

"In the first place, all the dissatisfied Powers - and many of them quite legitimately dissatisfied - will leave the League, will remain dictatorships, and we shall get back to the old fatal alliance system, though one side will call itself the League and the other a combination to compel the League members to share the wealth and opportunity of the world with them.

"In the second place, Great Britain will find itself bound under the Covenant to go to war in order to maintain the status quo for everybody else - because everybody wants to get the British Navy behind their security - but without being able to compel the revision of treaties she may think justly needed."

(3)"These are the real dangers which are inherent in the present situation unless we make it clear that we and the League are willing to consider world problems, including Italy's problems, in a far bigger way than hitherto, as well as deal with unprovoked aggression."(3)

*Same source.

"'OPEN DOOR' IN ALL COLONIES"*#
"LORD LOTHIAN ON ITALIAN NEEDS"

"...If the League is to prove to be no more than an instrument for expanding a local war into a general war between the great civilized Powers it is doomed...

"After the war we suddenly cut off almost all those forms of movement. We cramped the nations, many of them with rapidly expanding populations, into countries that were narrow, unproductive, and with few natural resources. Italy perhaps is the most conspicuous of those countries, Japan is another, and Germany will be to-morrow, and there will probably be others. It is no use pretending that the tremendous problems of the sudden stoppage of world movement do not exist. They are there, and unless we handle them firmly and wisely and in time they will explode in world war, whatever sanctions we create. It is the essential function of the League to deal with these questions, otherwise it

*Source: London Times, 9/30/35.
#Between the numbers 1-1, 2-2, 3-3, etc., are intervening words not included in excerpts quoted in chapter 5 of the booklet "Lord Lothian vs. Lord Lothian."

will die, because we have allowed it to become an instrument not for settling grievances but for perpetuating a status quo which is every year becoming more difficult to justify.

"...Sir S. Hoare opened the door a little way when he proposed the question of access to raw materials for all nations, but that does not go nearly far enough. We have to go much farther in dealing with both Italy and Germany if we are to have lasting peace. The real questions are a substantial reduction in the tariffs and embargoes which create unemployment everywhere, so as to make possible a development of international trade; the collective reconsideration of the problem of migration; the revision of the War-time mandates, and collective consideration whether there could not be an open door in the colonial territories of all nations." (1)"These are the fundamental post-War problems, and the sooner we begin to discuss them the sooner we shall get away from this narrow head-on collision over Abyssinia which is rapidly becoming one between Italy and Great Britain. The League can mobilize formidable forces against aggression, but it must cease to be an instrument for the maintenance of the status quo and become an instrument by which the interests of all nations can be satisfied by peaceful means."(1)

*Same source.

"GERMANY AND THE RHINELAND"*#

"The Locarno Treaty by which Germany accepted once more the demilitarisation of her Rhineland frontier zone was a treaty which she signed when reeling from a worse defeat than she had endured during the War, for the entry into the Ruhr probably did Germany more harm than her defeat in the War; it ruined the middle class, and raised the suicide rate to prodigious heights. Therefore, Germany feels that the Locarno Treaty, to a considerable extent, was also a dictated treaty, because it was the price she paid, and then willingly paid, as a guarantee against a second Ruhr occupation.

"It was inevitable that the signature of the recent Franco-Soviet military convention, together with the Czechoslovak-Soviet convention, should re-awaken in Germany all the old fears of encirclement - the fear that Germany might have to fight simultaneously a fully mobilised Russian army and a fully mobilised French army. The signature of that convention, inevitably as I think, made Germany feel that she could no longer keep open the back-door through which France had made the Ruhr invasion. A very distinguished British General, Sir Ian Hamilton, wrote to The Times only a few days ago, and said that Germany, from a military point of view, had escaped from a military embrace only just in time...

"Now a word about the immediate situation. My own view of it is that in the present crisis British public opinion says that Germany has essential justice on her side, that France has the law on her side, that we are in a particularly difficult position because we are guarantors of a one-sided treaty, and that above everything else we want to see negotiations started...

"In the long run Austria must be the judge of her own future. We cannot, and certainly will not go to war to perpetuate a system in which Austria is governed by the combination of Mussolini and the Pope. If Danzig, which is a German city, wants to rejoin Germany now that Poland has got Gdynia, it is not worth a war to prevent it. It would be wise for Poland to make some permanent

*Source: Special Supplement to International Affairs, London, 4/36, pp. 48 and 50.
#Between the numbers 1-1, 2-2, 3-3, etc., are intervening words not included in excerpts quoted in chapter 6 of the booklet "Lord Lothian vs. Lord Lothian."

arrangement for enabling Germany to have access to East Prussia while she has access to Gdynia. Something has got to be done about Memel." (1)"Colonies? They present a very difficult problem, because we are torn between two groups of which one says: 'Not an inch of British territory for anybody,' and the other says: 'I will never allow anybody for whom I am trustee to be under the control of repressive dictators like Mussolini or Hitler.' So you have a combination, right and left. Apart from that I think that most people would say that if you could find some corner of the earth that would satisfy the amour propre of Germany, which has no overseas possessions to-day, it would contribute towards peace if it were given to her. Our view would be, if we want to make peace let us first remove grievances. For if we remove grievances there would be some hope of Germany settling down and being a good neighbour, while there will be none if the grievances are not removed."(1)

"...We would not go to war about those questions in Eastern Europe concerning which the rest of Europe wants to build a sort of armed collective security system in order to maintain the status quo there.

"...I do not believe that we are prepared to go to war for questions in Eastern Europe, and therefore the sooner we make that clear to Europe the better for us, for Europe and for peace. Otherwise war will come and we shall be dragged into it exactly as we were in 1914. That is the real danger...

"But I am inclined to think that Europe will never make peace within herself until we leave her to do her own work. I am not sure that Europe might not come to peace if it were made quite clear that no group in Europe could hope for a military alliance with us, that we were not concerned in that aspect of the European game at all.

"...the United States has made up her mind, once and for all, that her intervention in Europe in 1917 was a waste of effort, that somehow or other Europe must solve her own problems and that she is not going to be associated, in any way, with European commitments..."

*Same source, pp. 50, 51, 53, 54, 56 and 60.

"FUTURE OF THE LEAGUE"*#

"Take the case of Germany. Now that Japan had found her outlet in China - an aggression which, he thought, would ultimately fail of its own weight - and that Italy had found her outlet in Abyssinia, there was only one question left which might disturb the peace of the world, the German question. If that could be solved peacefully he thought they could feel assured of 25 years' peace, during which those moral elements which were the real strength of the League might have time to grow. As Admiral Mahan once said, 'The function of force is to give moral ideas time to take root.'

"There was still, he thought, justice to be done to Germany, and by some readjustment in Eastern Europe - say in Austria and Danzig - and by giving her openings in the economic field oversea. But they had got to make concessions to Germany because they were just, and not because they were extorted at the point of the sword or the bomb." (1)"Could they get agreement with the other members of the League both about the concessions which ought to be made to Germany if she was to settle down in peace, and as to the point at which they should all say together: 'If you try to get more, by force or threat, it is war'? That was the

*Source: London Times, 6/27/36.
#Between the numbers 1-1, etc., are intervening words not included in excerpts quoted in chapter 7 of the booklet "Lord Lothian vs. Lord Lothian."

immediate issue before them.

"Finally, before they took up their position they had to be certain that if war came they could win it, and win it quickly. If the League was to continue the first thing it would need was a first-class General Staff to advise both on the military aspect of sanctions and on the military consequences of any policy the League might adopt. And, he was afraid, it would also have to contrive some new and better system of diplomacy."(1)

*Same source.

"ENGLAND AND GERMANY"*#

"But in practice the high hopes raised by those ideas were gradually nullfied by three things. The first was that, as was almost inevitable at the end of four years' war-time propaganda, the terms imposed upon Germany and her associates were too severe. They did not conform to that justice which must be the basis for lasting order and peace. Some penalty for defeat was inevitable. But some of the new national frontiers, especially in Eastern Europe, did not conform to majority lines. A fantastic burden of reparations was placed upon Germany. Her colonies, conquered during the war, were not restored. Germany was permanently disarmed and her western frontier was permanently demilitarised, while her late enemies were left in possession of their full rights both to arm and to organise their defence. It was clear, even in 1919, as Woodrow Wilson said, that the future tranquillity of Europe depended on whether the League of Nations could remodel the Peace Treaty in the interests of reason and justice as the effect of war-time propaganda wore off. But this, for reasons to be given later, it was unable to do.

"The second main reason for the failure of the settlement of 1919 was an almost total disregard of economics. Just as the Vienna Congress in 1815 ignored nationality which eventually blew their settlement to pieces, so the Paris Conference ignored the effect on the world of the increase in the number of sovereign States in Europe, each with full power to put tariffs round themselves, and of war debts and reparations. It has been the division of the world into watertight economic compartments burdened by heavy international debt obligations, both public and private, which has been the main cause of the high tariffs, quotas, and exchange restrictions which have produced the chronic unemployment, the social distress, the revolutionary movements, either from the right or from the left, the overthrow of democracy, and the return to authoritarian government, in so many countries, since 1920.

"The third and perhaps most serious tragedy since 1920 has been the failure of the League of Nations..."

(1)"Finally, the mandate system fell short of what was originally planned. The ex-German and Turkish colonial possessions were the only ones brought under the system."(1)

"What is to happen now? That is the central question which confronts the statesmanship of the nations. The greatest danger of the moment is that we shall drift back to a new rival alliance system. The dangers of this were very visible to Bismarck, who successfully managed to prevent Europe becoming imprisoned within it from 1870 to 1890. The danger arises from the fact that once the double alliance system has become formed the control of policy tends to pass out of the hands both of individual members of the alliance and of each alliance

*Source: Nineteenth Century and After, Vol. CXXI, Jan. - June, 1937, pp. 578-581.
#Between the numbers 1-1, 2-2, 3-3, etc., are intervening words not included in excerpts quoted in chapter 8 of the booklet "Lord Lothian vs. Lord Lothian."

itself. Thus in the crisis of 1914 Germany was largely at the mercy of the diplomacy of Austria-Hungary, and France and England at the mercy of Russia...

"For some time a large number of people in both Germany and England believed that a free discussion between our two countries would fairly easily find a basis of agreement. They welcomed the idea because an agreement between Germany and England would mean the peace of the world. But such a discussion has never taken place. Why? Some people think it is because of the opposition of France and Russia. I do not think so. I think there is a more substantial reason. It is because there does not at present seem to be a sufficient agreement as to the fundamentals of a solution to make a discussion possible or fruitful...

"There are a great many people in England who think that the easiest solution of the economic problem for Germany would be special economic arrangements in Central Europe. Germany and the smaller countries to the east and south are largely economically correlative, and the present excessive economic sub-division of Eastern Europe cannot be permanent...

"If Germany and her eastern neighbours would create an association on the British or American model, the main economic problem of the day would be far on the way to solution. Germany would have an economic zone not unlike that of the other great Powers. She would, too, move towards the Anglo-American group. Encirclement would end. The security both of Germany and France would be assured. The colonial question would be soluble..."

*Same source: pp. 581, 583, 584 and 588.

"PREVENTING A WORLD WAR"*#

(1)"Speaking at the Reform Club, Manchester, last night, Lord Lothian said that there was grave danger both to the League of Nations and to peace if either became identified with the theory of collective security. The fundamental idea of the League of Nations was that it should endeavour, by peaceful means, to solve international disputes and remove the causes of war. But to-day the League had no power to revise out-of-date treaties, to limit economic nationalism, or to lower armaments, the three main causes of war.

"Automatic sanctions, therefore," said Lord Lothian, "are simply an obligation to go to war to maintain the status quo. Moreover"(1)"until the League is once more universal in membership the theory of collective security combines all the most dangerous features of the old alliance system. It inevitably means the gradual organization of all the nations of Europe and Asia into two great military alliances, one of which seeks to break through the strait-waistcoat, economic and political, in which the world has been since 1920, and the other of which is committed to go to war to prevent any change to which any one of its members does not agree."

(2)"That system may postpone a war for a little, but means that when it does break out it must instantly become a world war of the most ferocious and totalitarian kind."(2) "By far the most serious problem which confronts the statesmanship of the world to-day is to find the method whereby a local war or crisis of power politics does not inexorably spread until it becomes another universal war - by far the greatest calamity that can befall mankind. If you cannot prevent a war it is far better to isolate it than to spread it into a world war, which is precisely what the system of collective security,

*Source: London times, 2/24/37.
#Between the numbers 1-1, 2-2, 3-3, etc., are intervening words not included in excerpts quoted in chapter 9 of the booklet "Lord Lothian vs. Lord Lothian."

if adopted, is bound to do.

"...If the theory of collective security got us into another European war, what should we be fighting for? We should be fighting to maintain the anarchy of Europe, which is Europe's fundamental bane. I do not think that is a cause which was worth 1,000,000 British lives.

"...In great measure it" (Fascism) "was rebellion against the discriminations of the Treaty of Versailles and the economic barriers which since the War had shut all nations, except Russia, the United States, and ourselves, who had immense areas under our control, from the markets of the rest of the world and especially from colonial markets..."

*Same source.

"SPEECH IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS"*#

"...I venture to think that if Europe could become normal the chances of world war would be extremely small. It is Europe which is the main focus, the main centre from which the threat of war throughout the world now springs; and the fundamental reason for that is not the ambition or the malignity of any particular race or people, it is the fact that to-day it is divided into twenty-six sovereign States. The difficulties of Europe are far greater to-day than they were in 1914. Then there were seventeen sovereign States, now there are twenty-six, and I do not think in considering the problem of Europe you should ever lose sight of the fact that anarchy lies at the root of its troubles...

"It seems to me that the recent argument for collective security - that is, the argument that the nations who are satisfied with the status quo, the nations which want to prevent any alterations, should enter into something like a military alliance in order that they may be overwhelmingly and collectively stronger than any nation that seeks to alter the status quo - is nothing else than the modernisation of what in my view has been the fatal policy which has been maintained by the French Government ever since 1920. That is a policy which in the first fifteen years of peace concentrated on keeping Germany without arms and encircled, and which is now concerned in building up a system of armed alliances about it, a policy, I may add, for which we and the United States of America must bear our full share of blame,...This new alliance system, now ennobled by the phrase 'collective security,' began with the military alliances between France and the Little Entente and Poland. It has now been extended to Russia by the Treaty of Mutual Assistance between France and Russia, a Treaty which has its duplicate or its parallel in the Treaty between Czechoslovakia and Russia. That is one side of the alliance system. Inevitably, as has always happened in the past and as under any system in which alliances are involved between sovereign States always will happen in the future, that system has begun to produce an alliance system on the other side. It produced what is called the Rome-Berlin axis, it produced the Anti-Comintern Agreement between Germany and Japan.

"...and in the end we go from one crisis to another, like the Algeciras crisis, the Agadir crisis, the Bosnia-Herzegovina crisis, the Balkan crisis until finally we get to a state of tension in a world knit by alliances, so that by accident a fool or a knave presses the button which lets off a world war in its most violent, totalitarian and savage form...

"Really if you took sides in that ideological conflict, as it is called,

*Source: Parliamentary Debates, House of Lords, Vol. 104, London, 1937, pp. 392-5.
#Between the numbers 1-1, 2-2, 3-3, etc., are intervening words not included in excerpts quoted in chapter 10 of the booklet "Lord Lothian vs. Lord Lothian."

which is rising in Europe, the only result would be that if we ever did become involved in such a conflict we should be split inside this country from top to bottom. I think that argument for collective security can only produce as the inevitable result both war and confusion at home.

"Finally, there are those people whose ideas are based upon fear of Germany. There are people, old diplomats, high officials, public men, who seem to be convinced that because Germany is largely isolated, with a population of more than 70,000,000 people, because it has a totalitarian Government - that Government itself the product of the policy of its neighbours, including ourselves, in great measure - with a country to the East whose armaments are at least three times as great as those of Germany, Germany is considering an attack on the peace of Europe and the liberty of its neighbours. I confess that when you consider that Germany occupies the most dangerous position in Europe, that she has no natural frontiers, that modern air services mean that she is more liable to be destroyed than any other nation, indefinitely more liable than ourselves, I think the German fear is to a large extent a bogey. I do not say that Germany is easy to deal with - I do not think she is - but that we should drift into a policy which, in effect, says that the only way of dealing with Germany is to surround her in such a way, both economically and politically, that an internal explosion is inevitable, is to condemn ourselves and the world to world war. It is the most fatal policy of all.

"While that policy is seldom publicly avowed, you have not to go very far before you find that it exists in the minds of a considerable number of people in this country...

"And if we did get embroiled, what should we be fighting for, generally speaking? The only possible cause we could be fighting for would be to insist on the maintenance of the anarchy of Europe; that Europe should remain divided into twenty-six States each with tariffs to the skies and armed to the teeth. I venture to think that that is not a cause for which it is worth laying down the lives of British men...

"I do not think pacifism can solve the problem, for the reason that it does not create the conditions upon which alone peace is possible, which is the maintenance of government.

"I venture to ask whether there is not a third policy, directed, I confess, mainly to the supreme question of deciding whether it is not possible to create a system which, in the conditions of to-day, may not end all war but can prevent local wars spreading into world wars - which is the real calamity which besets mankind; whether it is not possible to do more than we are now thinking of doing to isolate wars instead of spreading them into universal wars, as I think the system of collective security would inevitably do...The question is whether you cannot apply the system which we have adopted with considerable success in the case of Spain to Europe and if necessary to the Far East - non-commitment to either side, and non-intervention.

"But there is more also to be said for the American attitude to Europe. I spent some time there, and I found that the fundamental problem is this. The root of the trouble in Europe is the fact that in an area no larger than the United States it is trying still to live as twenty-six States. We found in this country that until we united the Crowns and the Parliaments there was no order,

*Same source: pp. 395, 396, 399, 400 and 401.

no prosperity, no peace. Canada found that, until it united its ten Provinces, it could get no order and no peace. So did Australia, so did South Africa, and so of course - in the greatest instance of all - did the great American Commonwealth. All the English peoples have realised in practice as well as in theory that until we overcame the boundary created by sovereignty we could have neither order, prosperity nor peace, and they say in America that that is the fundamental problem which confronts Europe. They say: 'Did our intervention solve the European problem last time? No. We may have been to some extent to blame for not joining the League of Nations, but the League of Nations itself could not solve Europe's problems. They can only be solved by Europe itself.' The United States will only intervene if Europe breaks out into the rest of the world so as to threaten the interests at any rate of the Monroe system.

"...What matters is that we should not be drawn into any form of alliance system or counter-alliance system. I venture to think that if we withdraw from Europe, it is the best contribution we can possibly make to the peace of Europe to-day. Anybody who has any familiarity with what is going on in Europe knows that the central question in European diplomacy to-day is whether Great Britain can be drawn in on either side. I think the day we make it perfectly clear that in no circumstances will we be drawn into the conflict between Fascism and Communism, or any of the other domestic conflicts of Europe, we shall take the greatest step we can take to induce the nations of Europe to come to terms, to reduce their tariffs, and to make a lasting peace.

"...democracy itself will not be able to stand another world war. To fight it you will have to abandon your Parliamentary system and the financial needs could not be met by ordinary democratic methods. I venture most earnestly to suggest to the Government that they should give more attention to this method of preventing world war than perhaps they have hitherto done."

*Same source: pp. 401 and 403.

"THE LEAGUE CONTRACT"*#

"I am not against collective action by the League against an international wrong. Quite the contrary. But such action must be subject to two conditions. The first is that we do not direct it to the maintenance of a status quo which is out of date, but recognize that changes are both just and necessary and that unless the League can bring about these changes by its own action they will inevitably and rightly be brought about in other ways. That may seem a hard saying, but I believe it is common sense because otherwise we shall find ourselves pledged to go to war to prevent change everywhere...

"If we consider the three great failures of the League, the reasons are clear. In the case of Europe it has been because the League was utterly unable to do justice to Germany while she was a Republic...It is perfectly obvious that considerable adjustments will be necessary in the world if it is to enjoy stable peace. I believe that if we get away from legalism, are strong, are willing to be just and to face realities, and relate our policy to our strength and our willingness to make sacrifices for it, there is a good chance that these adjustments can be made without war and without international injustice, whereas to stand by the letter of the Covenant will be as likely to drive us to that calamity of world war which every nation wishes to avoid, as the policy of the 'left' coalition."

*Source: London Times, 9/10/37.

"THE ISSUES IN BRITISH FOREIGN POLICY"*#

"The Treaty of Versailles, as you all remember, was based on the thesis of the sole guilt of Germany. There was a clause in that Treaty which compelled Germany to admit her guilt, and it was from that admission of guilt that the legalistic French mind justified a great many of the decisions which have since been operating in Europe. I am not going to argue the War-guilt case here and now, except to express my own conviction, having read a great many books about the origins of the War, that the doctrine of the sole guilt will not hold water at all. If anyone wants to study that question in the briefest possible compass I commend them to an extraordinarily interesting report published in the American Historical Review, of January last," (1)"which is to be found in this Institute. The report was compiled by a committee of four German historians and four French historians, who for some years have been engaged, partly by correspondence and partly by direct meetings, in trying to reach as many agreed conclusions as possible as to the diplomatic quarrels which have divided France and Germany for the last hundred years, with the object of getting the history books of both countries freed from the grosser perversions of fact and nearer to something like a common view of what actually happened. You may have very different opinions as to the degree of responsibility, but if you read this report you will see that the simple view upon which the Versailles Treaty was juridically founded, and which most people still believe, does not now hold water."(1)

"Of course the War was just an episode, a very important episode, in the collision of forces which go to make up human history. It was partly the result of a conflict which has reappeared since the War, the conflict between what are called the late comers and the early comers, the Haves and the Have-Nots. Germany then, as now, was a late comer." (2)"It was partly the outcome of the historic conflict between Slav and Teuton for control over or predominant influence in the Balkans. It was partly the result of anarchy in Europe, the division of Europe into seventeen sovereign States, a division which the League of Nations was intended to overcome, because the fundamental thesis underlying the League of Nations is that it is impossible to end war unless we begin to get unity and some collective reign of law in the world. Finally, the most immediately decisive cause of the War was the military time-table. The reason why, following the ultimatum which Austria sent to Serbia after the assassination of Franz Ferdinand, to the surprise of everybody and without anybody deliberately pressing the button for it, the whole world was plunged into war in less than fourteen days is to be found in the military time-table which anarchy imposed on Europe in the unsettled conditions of that time. There is no option, therefore, but to dismiss the doctrine of the sole guilt of Germany for the War.

"Coming now to the Versailles period, you will find that what happened at Paris was two fundamentally contradictory things. On the one hand,"(2) "there was the peace settlement made by the victorious democracies, and believe me democracies can get as wrong-headed about foreign affairs as anybody else, especially after having been influenced for four years by war-time propaganda. As a result of the beliefs we all had at that time about the origins of the War there was a very stiff Peace Treaty. I do not think anybody disputes that now. Germany lost all her colonies and all her foreign investments, one seventh of her European territory was taken away, she was unilaterally disarmed, the Rhineland was demilitarised and quite fantastic reparations were placed upon

*Source: International Affairs, Vol. XVII, 1938, pp. 360, 361 and 362.
#Between the numbers 1-1, 2-2, 3-3, etc., are intervening words not included in excerpts quoted in chapter 14 of the booklet "Lord Lothian vs. Lord Lothian."

her back. There are few people who to-day think the Treaty was a perfectly fair and balanced interpretation of the Fourteeen Wilsonian Points upon which the Armistice was signed." (3)"That was one side of what happened in 1919, a stiff treaty of peace. The other was the aspect of the settlement which has mostly filled the mind of Great Britain, the attempt to bring into being a new international order represented by the League of Nations, whereby we were to substitute pacific means for the solution of international disputes for warlike means, to create a system of orderly investigation before nations would be justified in resorting to war, and to create a system of economic sanctions to compel use of these pacific methods for investigating and settling international disputes, before there was resort to war.

"Those were the two main results of the War."(3) "But what is not, I think, generally realised is that what followed the War was far more fatal, at any rate in its consequences for Europe, than what was actually done at Versailles. Because, whatever you may say about the Big Three, Lloyd George, Wilson and Clemenceau, they were wiser men than perhaps most people would now admit, and they knew quite well that they were imposing upon Germany terms of peace which would have to be revised. It was impossible in their view to be more moderate at that time because the Peace Conference consisted of some twenty nations excited by four years of fighting and bitter losses, misled, if you like, by war-time propaganda, and there was no possibility of re-educating the democracies in the six months which lay between the Armistice and the signing of the Peace Treaties. But they did provide means which they believed would bring about a revision of the Versailles terms in our time. Indeed, in recommending the Covenant to the plenary session of the Peace Conference, Woodrow Wilson made it quite clear that in his view one of the first duties of the League would be to undertake the revision of the work then being done at Paris.

"...Clemenceau came to Lloyd George and Wilson and said: 'You Anglo-Saxons believe in allowing Germany to recover. You believe in this new-fangled institution the League of Nations which we Frenchmen have not much confidence in as security. We believe that the Germans are much safer people dead than alive, and that the best way of securing the peace of the world against a renewal of war by Prussia is to divide it up, at any rate to separate the Rhineland from the rest of Prussia.' That was the thesis put to the Anglo-Saxon Powers by M. Tardieu at the beginning of the Conference when he was acting for M. Clemenceau...

"So she" (France) "built up her system of alliances in Eastern Europe, the main purpose of which was to enforce the Treaty of Versailles, especially by the unilateral disarmament of Germany and the demilitarisation of the Rhineland, which left Germany militarily at her mercy and was the real basis of European peace during all the years when the League was at its zenith.

"...You then had Sir Austen Chamberlain's great effort to bring about an appeasement which culminated in the Locarno Treaty. But the Locarno Treaty was never followed up. And it could never have been a lasting basis of peace because it rested on the assumption that Germany would be willing indefinitely to accept a position in which she was disarmed while her neighbours were armed and her frontier was to be left open so that at any moment she might have to endure, without being able to resist it, a new invasion of the Ruhr. Whatever you may think about subsequent events, no sensible people can believe that such an arrangement was voluntarily accepted by Germany as part of a permanent and normal international system. You can imagine what we would have said had we been put in that position...Finally, you had the disastrous action, as I think

(3)Same source: pp. 362, 363, 365 and 366.

it, of Sir John Simon in revising the preliminary agreement about disarmament made in the spring of 1933 between Germany and the allies, when he went to Geneva in October and proposed that effective movement towards disarmament should be postponed for four years in order to give Germany a period of what was then called trial, and M. Paul-Boncour jumped up and said: 'Yes, and at the end of four years what we do must depend on the political circumstances of the time.' This it was which precipitated the final withdrawal of Germany from the League of Nations and gave her an excuse for rearmament contrary to the Treaty..."

(4)"Nobody who had contacts with Stresemann during those years, still more with Bruning, will forget the way in which they came and said: 'Unless you make some concession to the Republic now, nothing can prevent Germany yielding to those who say that you can get nothing from the Allies by appeals to justice. You can only get your freedom by strength and violence.' Bruning came over and over again, but for various reasons, quite easy to understand, nothing was done. And therefore there eventually came into being a regime which believes that the method of attaining not only internal unity and strength, but also all international ends, is force. Yet the hideous internal persecution and repression of all who will not bow to the regime is, in great measure, only the outcome of the presecution and repression which were inflicted on Germany for fifteen years from outside."(4)

"...I have felt for the last three years that the most imperative thing was to go and to have a real talk with the Germans as to what the basis of a lasting peace should be. Perhaps it was because I felt that they had legitimate grievances which had to be removed before there could be peace. But I felt also that the time to negotiate with Germany was when Hitler was offering to be content with an army of two hundred or three hundred thousand men or an Air Force half that of France or one third of the neighbouring Air Forces, whichever was the smaller. That was the time to negotiate. But what stood in the way? That Great Britain was committed to the support of the reign of law and the sanctity of the Paris system of treaties through the League of Nations." (5)"It was therefore quite impossible for any British Government to go to Hitler and to say: 'We are prepared to agree to this fundamental change, in rearmament or the Rhineland or Austria, or to stand aside if you force the issue,' because they were committed to defend the status quo under Article XVI of the Covenant of the League of Nations and because to agree to such changes would have involved them in quarrels with the other members of the League. If you consider it you will see that that is what made any discussion so difficult.

"Then there is another aspect of the present situation which we have got to recognise."(5) "The whole post-War attitude of the Allies, of the small nations and France and the Great Powers, has been an attempt to stem one of the vital forces of history." (6)"Nationalism is probably the most potent political force of the modern world. It has been immensely stimulated in recent years by the challenge of Communism. It is proving itself much more powerful than class. I think that if you put the two in rivalry, nationalism will always defeat class, which is one of the reasons, though not the only reason, why Fascism, I think, does in practice beat Communism. Fascism is not, as the Marxists say, merely the final incarnation of capitalism. It is something far more dynamic. It is nationalism protesting against an inadequate status quo."(6)

"And now Hitler, by methods which we cannot help deploring because of the shock they give elsewhere, has at last realised the dream of the German people - the dream they have dreamed for three hundred years, to be a united people, as Italy is a united people, and France is a united people and England is a united people and every other race in Europe is a united people except the Germans.

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*Same source: pp. 366, 368 and 369.

Thus the whole Versailles Settlement was not only 'stiff,' but was turned against what is, I think, the most powerful political movement of the time, the urge towards racial and national unity." (7)"You saw evidence of this underlying tendency in 1921, when a plebiscite was held in the Tyrol in which a hundred and forty-four thousand voted for union with Germany and seventeen hundred against it. In another plebiscite in Salzburg a hundred and three thousand voted for union with Germany and eight hundred against it. Almost the last act of Chancellor Bruning was to say: 'Give me the Anschluss and I may be able to save my country from yielding to the National Socialists.' And that was denied because of a manoeuvred political decision by the International Court at the Hague. So that I cannot help feeling that we (by we I mean the dominant Allied Powers) are largely responsible for the situation that confronts us to-day."(7) "If another war comes and the history of it is ever written, the dispassionate historian a hundred years hence will say not that Germany alone was responsible for it, even if she strikes the first blow, but that those who mismanaged the world between 1918 and 1937 had a large share of responsibility for it. I say this unpalatable thing because I think it is necessary to a balanced view and is a corrective to the natural instinct of hatred and indignation which springs up when we see what is going on."

(8)"Now I come to what really interests everybody to-day: What are we going to do now? Personally I think that a fundamentally new situation has been created by the incorporation of Austria in National Socialist Germany. I have long thought it was inevitable, especially as the only alternative, a Danubian federation, was blocked, thought I did not think it was inevitable that it should be done in the violent way in which it has been done. I do not think it is worth discussing who was responsible for recent events."(8) "There is no doubt that Hitler and his party were determined sooner or later to absorb the Germans of Austria and whether, if Schuschnigg had played his cards better, it might have been possible to arrive at a slower and gentler method I will leave the historian to decide. But you can now say that the fundamentals of the German case, the unity of the German people in a strong independent state, fundamentals which it was extraordinarily difficult to get recognised by consent, have now been won by rapid and unilateral action...

"I think we have squandered the authority of the League by trying to use collective security for purposes which were fundamentally unjust, for denying its natural rights to Germany. While we were doing this five of the Great Powers have gone outside the League, and a good many more members, while still members of it, are clearly going to remain neutral if they can if war comes..." -

*Same source: pp. 369- 371.

"THE REIGN OF LAW"*#

"...To talk about going to war to enforce international law illustrates the confusion of thought which now exists, for the very first object of the 'reign of law' is to substitute police action against the individual for war as the sanction behind law. We have had experience of one vast war fought by a collection of democracies from 1914 to 1918 to defend freedom against autocracy and to maintain the sanctity of treaties. Most people now feel that while the cause was just the remedy was almost as fatal as the disease, and that a war for the principle of the League of Nations is not likely to produce ultimately more satisfactory results than a war for Woodrow Wilson's 14 points, which included

*Source: London Times, 7/18/38.
#Between the numbers 1-1, 2-2, etc., are intervening words not included in excerpts quoted in chapter 15 of the booklet "Lord Lothian vs. Lord Lothian."

the League of Nations."

(1)"Moreover, in the present anarchy of sovereignties, which the Covenant does not touch"(1) "the diplomatic card which Great Britain, by reason of its worldwide position, so often is asked to play, if it is always to be faithful to principle, is a card which if it is taken up spells world war. To throw down the gage may prevent war or international injustice, but it also, as often before in history, may let loose world war. Yet it is quite certain that morality does not require us to call upon our own countrymen or other people to pay the price of world war to prevent relatively minor injustices, atrocities, or breaches of justice. Mankind is not going to be benefited by multiplying carnage and destruction a thousandfold for the sake of questions which will immediately be swallowed up in the vast and catastrophic issues which will be raised by general war..."

(2)"It is only necessary to look at Europe with its 25 States, 25 armies, 25 frontiers, and 25 foreign policies to see what is the main fountain of international unrest, unemployment, and the ideological conflict in the world."(2)

*Same source.

"AMERICA AFTER MUNICH"*#

"...On the one hand we have the title to Mr. Quincy Howe's now famous book, 'England expects every American to do his duty.' This represents the inveterate suspicion in the United States that every British proposal is designed to induce the United States to underwrite British interests - a suspicion which rests on the fact that Anglo-American co-operation obviously operates to the benefit of the British Commonwealth and not so obviously to the benefit of the United States." (1)"On the other hand is the statement attributed to the 'Montreal Gazette' during the Munich crisis that 'The United States will fight for democracy to the blood of the last Englishman.' This represents very well the instinctive reaction of the average Briton the combination of moral censure with a national policy of neutrality.

"But it is well for us to remember that the present American attitude is exactly that of Great Britain herself during her own period of 'splendid isolation.' We always insisted on standing uncommitted on the side lines of the European conflict, until a menace to our own interests compelled us to intervene."(1) "We long ago realised that the best and cheapest way of assuring our own security was to encourage other nations to fight for their own security, and when there was doubt as to their ability to do so by themselves to assist them with finance and, if necessary, with arms."

*Source: The Observer, 2/26/39.
#Between the numbers 1-1 are intervening words not included in excerpts quoted in chapter 17 of the booklet "Lord Lothian vs. Lord Lothian."

GERMANY AND THE PEACE OF EUROPE[1]

THE MOST HON. THE MARQUESS OF LOTHIAN, C.H.

I DO not think it open to dispute that there is only one question which threatens world peace or which might lead to world war, and that is the German question. If Germany were not in her present frame of mind, if she had not got, as I think still, certain legitimate complaints against the Treaty of Versailles, there would be no risk of world war. There would be risks of local wars, but they I think could be managed. But for this German question there would be no risk of the world becoming divided into two great alliances, each of them being, at any rate in theory, relatively as strong as the other. Is Germany fundamentally responsible for the situation in which we find ourselves to-day? Or is the Versailles settlement still at the root of the trouble? Has Germany, in other words, still a case against the rest of the world on the basis of justice, leaving out of account for the moment the question of the policy of the Nazi régime and whether it is possible to deal with Germany so long as she is under that régime?

Now the Versailles settlement was based on the theory of the sole responsiblity of Germany for the Great War. I do not think anybody who has made a serious study of pre-War history, or even of the events which immediately preceded the War, can hold that view to-day. The pre-War history is a long one. It goes back to the Morocco-Egyptian settlement between England and France, and to the French advance on Fez which precipitated that series of German moves which did so much to divide the world. In my view Germany had more responsibility for the War than anybody else, for two reasons: first of all because of her challenge to the British fleet—at one time she put down a programme of building ultimately involving a fleet greater than the then British fleet; secondly because of her belief in and practice of what are called her politics by force, diplomacy by force. On the other hand, nobody has ever yet suggested that Germany was responsible for the assassination of Franz Ferdinand, which precipitated the crisis. Further, what finally made war inevitable, according to the strategic facts known to every one at that time, was the

[1] Address given at Chatham House on June 29th, 1937: Major-General Sir Neill Malcolm, K.C.B., D.S.O., in the chair.

mobilisation of the Russian armies, which inevitably brought into play the Schlieffen Plan. Moreover, I do not think that anybody who is a believer in the general thesis underlying the establishment of the League of Nations can fail to recognise that the fact that Europe was divided into seventeen sovereign States, and the rest of the world into a great many more without any form of international organisation, created a constant predisposition, a constant provocation, towards war. Therefore, I do not think it is possible to say that Germany was alone responsible for the War.

By the end of the War, however, as a result of the opinions which we formed during the War, on very inadequate material, supplemented by war-time propaganda (which is largely directed to maintaining the unity and morale of one's own countrymen by proving that we are wholly right and the enemy wholly wrong), we had convinced ourselves that Germany was solely responsible for the disaster, and the Treaty of Versailles was based on that principle. On the strength of it Germany was deprived of one-seventh of her European territory; she was deprived of her colonies; she was unilaterally disarmed, and she was compelled to demilitarise the Rhineland, which meant, in effect, that at any time a French army could march into the vital Rhineland region and reduce Germany to paralysis. In addition, there was placed upon her a burden of reparations for which I do not suppose to-day there is a single advocate; impossible reparations leading in their turn to impossible claims for war debts.

Even so, what actually happened to Germany after 1918 was a great deal worse than what had been planned by the Big Four, Lloyd George, Clemenceau, Orlando, and Wilson, at the meetings of the Council of Four in Paris. Two vital features of the Versailles settlement were never carried out. The first was that the United States should be a member of the League of Nations and a member of the Reparations Commission. The second was that the United States and Great Britain should give to France a joint guarantee against unprovoked aggression by Germany. We can all estimate to-day the tragic consequences of the refusal of the United States to accept membership of the League of Nations. The abstention of the United States from the Reparations Commission was much more serious, because the appointment of the Reparations Commission was the method finally adopted by Lloyd George and Clemenceau (after they had made up their minds that in the then temper of British and French opinion it was not possible to reduce the reparations claim against Germany to anything like a moderate

figure) for achieving sanity later on. While the bill against Germany was almost unlimited a Reparations Commission was appointed, of which the United States was to be chairman, to determine, as one of its duties, Germany's capacity to pay. Mr. Lloyd George has always declared, and I think with justice, that had the United States remained a party to the Versailles Treaty, had her nominee been chairman of the Reparations Commission, it would have been possible as the war-time temper lessened, on the one hand, to scale down the claims against Germany to moderate figures on the basis of her capacity to pay and to make transfers, and, on the other hand, to relate war debts to reparations. But the withdrawal of the United States led to the Reparations Commission being dominated by France, who held not only the chairmanship, but a double vote, a first vote and a casting vote, so that the Reparations question went from one tragedy to another, until it was finally wiped out by the depression, as was later the case with war debts.

The failure of the Anglo-American Treaty of guarantee to France was in my view even more tragic. That treaty would not only have given security to France, who had, in effect, been defeated by Germany twice in fifty years, but would have enabled the United States and Great Britain to insist on a reasonable revision of the Versailles settlement in the interests of the German Republic, since it would have made it possible for them to say that they could not maintain that guarantee unless the French in return were willing to adopt revisions which might have led to a final settlement in Europe. The result of the breakdown of the Anglo-American Treaty of Guarantee was that France fell back upon an almost inevitable alternative, the alternative of insisting in the first place on the maintenance for as long as possible of all the unilateral discriminations against Germany, notably disarmament and the demilitarization of the Rhineland, and, secondly, of building up overwhelming military preponderance behind the Treaty of Versailles, by her own armaments and by alliances with the countries of the Little Entente and with Poland; with the result that the post-War stability of Europe was based not upon the League of Nations, but on the possession by France and her allies of overwhelming military superiority over an unilaterally disarmed Germany. Great Britain shares that tragic responsibility, for we did not offer our own guarantee to France until her alternative alliances were made, and because, on the strength of France's armaments and the armaments of her allies in the East of Europe, [illegible] seeking to disarm ourselves,

and to live the easy, or relatively easy, life until the advent of the Hitler regime forced us to look at realities once more. But the principal victim of the withdrawal of the United States and of the lapse of the Treaty of Guarantee to France was Germany.

Yet Germany had to endure another series of tragic events. In 1922 there took place the invasion of the Ruhr, declared by the British Government at the time to be contrary to the Treaty of Versailles and an illegal act, which was inaugurated ostensibly on the grounds of a technical default by Germany in the delivery of certain categories of timber, but really because Poincaré had made up his mind that Germany would not fulfil the Treaty of Versailles except by violent compulsion. Yet the invasion of the Ruhr resulted in the increase in inflation which had been begun by the excessive demand for Reparations, and which finally wiped out the whole middle class in Germany and produced the National-Socialist Party. It created the body of men called the Ruhr fighters, who, instead of acquiescing, as the German government did, in the military occupation, began to fight the French among the slag heaps of the Ruhr. It was in the occupation of the Ruhr that the spirit of the National-Socialist movement, that is, the view that the way to liberty was not through negotiation but through strength, became established in Germany. Finally, came the depression which ended the hopes of the German Republic and brought Hitler to power. Had it not been for the depression, the Republic might have struggled through. But, in this case also, Germany was the principal victim of the Ruhr policy.

Then began another series, as I see it, of tragic events. In January 1933, Germany was promised equality in a régime of security. But after many negotiations to this end, Sir John Simon, after consultation with his French friends who were terrified by the advent of Hitler to power, announced at Geneva in October 1933 that, in effect, no practical steps in the direction of conceding equality to Germany could be taken for four more years, and M. Paul Boncour added in his speech that, even at the end of four years, it would be necessary to take the political situation into account. That statement was taken by Germany as a default on our promises, and as conclusive proof that the League was completely dominated by the victors of Versailles. So she left the League; and I have no doubt that if we had been treated in the same way we should have taken the same action. The episode led, none the less, to tragic results: on the one hand, it led to the unlimited rearmament by Germany and, on the other, to the conviction that what counts in international affairs is not

the force of your case, but the strength of your armaments. If any nation has had that conviction borne in on her it has been Germany, by everything that has happened to her from 1918 to 1933. She received nothing substantial in response to reason. She only began to recover her position in the world when she had begun to acquire the strength which enabled her to take her natural rights by unilateral action in defiance of the treaties. On the principle that any government that fails to remedy the serious grievances of its people in time must face revolution at home, I think it is true in international affairs that, unless a situation which causes a deep sense of injustice, resentment and grievance can be remedied by agreement, it will inevitably be remedied by unilateral action, or in the last resort by power diplomacy or war. There is no use in talking about the sanctity of treaties unless they are just treaties. That is why, when Germany violated the Treaty of Versailles by the unilateral re-militarisation of the Rhineland, the bulk of public opinion in Great Britain supported her on the not wholly unintelligent ground that, in a re-arming world, it was no use going to war to prevent a nation re-assuming the natural right, accorded to every other sovereign State, to defend its own frontiers.

Is there any doubt that if we put ourselves in the position of the Germans, leaving entirely out of account the existence of the Nazi régime, we should feel bitterly that we had been unjustly and badly treated ever since 1918, that we had just claims against the rest of the world, and that if we could not get our just rights by agreement we were entitled to take them back by force if we could do so? The first thesis upon which I want to found my argument, therefore, is that the fundamental cause of the German question, which lies at the root of the world's trouble to-day, is the Versailles settlement, and, still more, the train of events which followed the Versailles settlement.

The second and more difficult part of the problem is the fact that there is in Germany to-day a totalitarian government of a most formidable kind, produced, as I think, essentially by the treatment which Germany has received from her neighbours in the last fifteen or sixteen years. It is very easy to describe its defects from our point of view. It is ultra-nationalist. It is a nationalism based on belief in race as the product of blood and earth; a form of nationalism which we in Great Britain find it very difficult to understand or attach much importance to, in view of the complexity of our own human origin. It is based on the

complete and compulsory discipline of the whole population under the orders of a single leader for the avowed purpose of generating national strength. In order to increase national strength it indulges in forms of persecution, which are highly repellant to people in Great Britain, in order to eliminate those elements in Germany—Jews, Christians, pacifists and so on—which, in the view of the dominant party, seem to compromise or undermine national strength in time of stress. It relies, primarily, not on persuasion, but on violence as its method of dealing with its opponents, and on propaganda rather than free controversy as the method of forming the opinions of its people. In consequence it is subject to the same weaknesses and difficulties as every other totalitarian government of which history tells us and of which we have recently seen a most conspicuous example in Russia. The difficulty of totalitarian government as opposed either to traditional monarchy or democracy is this: under the democratic system the government can be changed whenever the majority of the people like to vote it out of power, and the use of police power to repress opinion is unnecessary. There is no need either for revolution or for violent expression. The old monarchical system had something of the same merit because when the hereditary monarch found he was becoming unpopular he dropped his prime minister into the *oubliette*, saying that everything was entirely his fault, and put a new prime minister in office. The régime itself was not challenged. The very essence of dictatorship, however, is that everything is done by the man at the top. He gets all the credit for everything that goes well, and therefore he cannot escape the blame for everything that goes badly. When any dictator is in power for any length of time and discontent begins to arise as it invariably does against any government which is long in office, he is faced with the necessity of suppressing every form of opinion which seems to challenge his authority, and as opinion becomes more vehement and especially as opposition appears among his own supporters he is driven back inevitably to killing and violence. It is inherent in the system, as is well described by Aristotle two thousand years ago. Now, these are the weaknesses, the defects and, what is important from our point of view, the dangers of the totalitarian system, which is not only based on violence and propaganda, and prone to use it, but is often under pressure to lessen internal difficulties by foreign adventure. As the ordinary man says: "Can you deal with a government based upon such principles? If you do deal with it, can you expect it to live up to the undertakings into which it has entered?"

On the other hand, I think it must be admitted that National-Socialism has done a great deal for Germany. It has undoubtedly cleaned up Germany in the ordinary moral sense of the word. The defeatism, the corruption so manifest a characteristic in the days after the War has disappeared, at any rate from public view. It has given discipline and order and a sense of purpose to the great majority of young people who in earlier days did not know where to go or what they were living for. It has got rid of open Communism. I do not think that Communism was a menace in the sense that it was ever in a position to seize power in Germany, but I think there is some truth in Hitler's view that once real Communism is established in a community it will either destroy the traditional form of government or must itself be destroyed, because you cannot reason with Communism. Communism is a religious movement which admittedly adopts violence as its technique, so that it can only be met by violence. National-Socialists say that at least they have given Germany peace, and have stopped the constant street fights and continual unrest arising out of the conflict between two violent movements raging up and down Germany. Communist violence may be considered preferable to Fascist violence, but once either gets really rooted in a country there will be no peace until either both are suppressed or one eats up the other. Unfortunately, too, Germany was afflicted by a disease from which Great Britain has never yet suffered, a multiplicity of parties in the Reichstag which could not be remedied by the ordinary electoral process. Election after election was fought, but the parties always came back substantially as numerous as before. I do not think it is possible for any country to have a strong government, a government which is capable of dealing either with international problems or with domestic problems, if it has to be based on the shifting sands of a multiplicity of parties. So, however much people may dislike National-Socialism, the fact must be faced that, in the eyes of the great majority of Germans, Hitler is a saviour, who has given them back international security and standing and internal order, employment and purpose.

Now how is one to deal with a Germany which, in my view, has claims against the rest of the world on the grounds of justice, claims which are the main cause of re-armament and international unrest, but which has a government which many people so respect that they feel that, if concessions are made to it which [illegible] will run that power as the

basis for fresh and unreasonable demands, backed, I do not say by war but by force, and so lead Europe from one difficulty to another? In order to answer that question I must first examine what I may call Germany's claims, or where, after as dispassionate an examination of the problem as possible, I think that revision of the *status quo* should be made in favour of Germany.

Let me deal first with Eastern Europe. Speaking very broadly, the German thesis of to-day is that she is entitled to self-determination in Central Europe. The War was fought for self-determination, and at the end of the War not only were certain groups of Germans like the Austrians forbidden to unite with Germany, but considerable numbers of Germans just outside the German frontiers were united with other countries. The Polish Corridor, though then largely peopled by Germans, was created, and severed Germany's connection with East Prussia. Cities like Danzig, which had always been German since the beginning of history, were cut away from Germany. Now, if the principle of self-determination were applied on behalf of Germany in the way in which it was applied against her, it would mean the re-entry of Austria into Germany, the union of the Sudetendeutsch, Danzig, and possibly Memel with Germany, and certain adjustments with Poland in Silesia and the Corridor. If that solution were adopted, especially if it were effected as a result of force, I think that most people would feel that the last state of Europe would be more serious and more difficult than the first. Yet the demand, in itself, is not wicked or absurd. Is there any alternative?

I do not propose to argue at the moment whether the alternative is practicable or not, but to consider what might be a soluti if everybody were reasonable. Is not the right basis for the solution of the situation in Eastern Europe—which obviously cannot continue indefinitely as fifteen or sixteen mutually suspicious sovereign States—the same kind of solution as that we have chosen in the British Commonwealth? Supposing, on the one hand, that Germany finally and irrevocably recognised the independence of all the nations of Eastern Europe, and, on the other, that the nations of Eastern Europe, in return for such recognition, came into what may be called the political and economic orbit of Germany, might not Europe settle down? Let me give an illustration from South Africa. The reason why the South African situation is tolerable to-day is not because the British in South Africa are highly delighted at being a minority, for they continually complain that the Dutch majority gets most

of the jobs and has a perpetual preponderance in the legislature. What makes the situation tolerable is that the Dutch majority has accepted, and now I think without serious reservation, membership of the British Commonwealth of Nations. In other words, South Africa is now in the general British orbit, and on the strength of that the British South Africans are loyal South Africans and accept a situation in which so far as one can see they will be permanently in the minority so far as political power is concerned, while the Dutch treat them fairly and without suspicion because they are loyal citizens. But supposing our Dutch friends, for whatever reason, decided to move into some other orbit, let us say the Japanese or the German orbit, the situation in South Africa, and the situation as between Great Britain and South Africa, would become almost impossible. The local British would say that they would not be used in support of an anti-British system, and the Dutch would begin to suspect their loyalty. Great Britain, on the other hand, would become extremely suspicious of every act of policy of the South African Government. Now that, as I see it, is the root of the difficulty in a country like Czechoslovakia. Czechoslovakia, because she is afraid of the future of her own independence, leans first on France and secondly on Moscow, and that means that the Germans in Czechoslovakia are unwilling to form part, wholeheartedly, of a State which is pursuing, in their view, an anti-German policy. The Czechs, therefore, are frightened to give to the Germans in Czechoslovakia the position in the State which the Dutch feel no difficulty at all in giving to the British in South Africa. If the German-Czechoslovak question could be solved in this way the whole European problem would change for the better. Similarly with other minority neighbours.

Then on the economic side there is a certain natural balance between the various countries of South-Eastern Europe and Germany. If political antagonism could be eliminated, economic arrangements could be made between the various States which would give to all of them a higher standard of living and far greater economic stability. And, provided it was done by agreement, I cannot see that vast Russia to the east or the satisfied colonial powers to the west ought to object. On the contrary, their greatest need is that Central Europe should settle down, and that is only possible, in my view, under German leadership.

The other main aspect of the German question is the colonial economic problem. When Dr. Schacht is presented with the usual British contention that colonies are not much use, that

really we get almost nothing from them, that they are a burden and a liability, and that we will do everything with them except give them up to anybody else, he replies that these considerations may have been true in pre-War days when the development of any colony depended on whether free capitalists thought that they could make a profit on using their capital for the purpose, but that the situation is very different to-day in a world of economic nationalism and universal governmental intervention in economic affairs. Unless the policy of Mr. Cordell Hull prevails, and I hope it will, unless Great Britain goes in much more vigorously than she has yet done for a reduction of international barriers to trade and for the "open door" in the colonies, we are faced with a world in which most countries are still moving in the direction of self-sufficiency. In such circumstances it is very difficult for any country, especially a manufacturing country, to acquire the foreign exchange with which it may buy raw materials or foodstuffs from other countries by the process of selling manufactured goods abroad, because no country is willing to receive manufactured articles in any considerable quantity; since it is the first principle of high protectionism to refuse to accept from abroad anything which can be manufactured at home. Dr. Schacht accordingly declares that, in these circumstances, the colonial problem becomes an entirely different matter. If a colonial area is included in the tariff zone of the mother country, and if the latter assumes the control of the trade of that colony with other countries, then the mother country can develop whatever natural resources the colony has with its own currency without first having to obtain foreign exchange. If the mother country wants to produce rubber or fats, or whatever it is, provided it can control the ingress and egress of trade with the colony concerned, it can provide for development with marks or pounds or francs, or whatever its national currency is; no doubt more expensively than the material could be bought elsewhere if foreign exchange could be obtained in the open market, but it can be done, so to speak, with the mother country's own money. Rubber plantations, or plantations that produce fat, can be developed with the national manufactures, local workers can be paid with the national currency, and they can be required to buy with that currency the produce of the mother country. Therefore, in these days, colonies have, economically, an entirely different significance from what they had in the freer conditions of the earlier capitalist age. Dr. Schacht goes on to say that, inasmuch as Germany is singularly deficient in raw materials and is not in a position even to

produce all her own foodstuffs, and since the greater part of the world has become economically highly nationalist, the colonial question is now very important, not only as a symbol of the restoration of German self-respect and the withdrawal of the accusation that she was unfit to have colonies, but as a vital element in her own economic system if she is to attain the standard of living which the rest of us think necessary for a civilised country. I think there is a great deal in Dr. Schacht's case. Colonies become important in proportion as economic nationalism dominates the world. If we cannot get back to freer trade, and even if we can, I would try to find, by mutual concession among colonial Powers, areas, say in Central West Africa or in the Pacific, where Germany could develop sources of supply of certain raw materials or tropical foodstuffs which she cannot produce at home.

Finally, there is the question of Germany's "place in the sun." It is a difficult question. It is largely concerned, I think, with the future of the League of Nations. The League, in Germany's view, is in effect a combination of the beneficiaries of the Treaty of Versailles who are mainly concerned with maintaining what is left of that Treaty, and with "putting a ring round Germany." I think that that is not an unfair description of the League and its attitude to Germany since 1920, and I do not believe that the League can come into its own until justice has been done to Germany. Directly a solution of the German problem can be found, the dangerous alliance system will begin to disappear, and the League, with Germany as a central member of it, will begin to revive.

I venture to think that if it were not for the anxieties felt about the policy and intentions of the National-Socialist régime, there is hardly anybody who would not say that, if a solution of the German problem could be found on the three bases I have mentioned, it ought to be done. If the situation created in 1918 could be remedied by bringing about in Eastern Europe the kind of Mittel Europa on the model of the British Empire which I have described; if by some such means as I have suggested, and on the basis of Article 22 of the League of Nations Covenant so far as the treatment of the natives is concerned, there could be found for Germany areas overseas in which she could produce those special raw materials or minerals necessary to supplement her own economy; and if Germany could be convinced that the League of Nations is not a combination of her enemies, but a group of European nations in which a satisfied Germany would have as much influence as anybody else, I think the peace of the world would be secure. My own view is that there will be no lasting peace until some such solution is found.

Admittedly, I think, the present régime in Germany has been created by the policy of her neighbours, and mainly by the policy of keeping Germany down and "encircled," which has been relentlessly pursued by France since 1920. But when I say French policy, I do not mean to hold France alone responsible for that policy, because I think the United States and Great Britain are equally responsible. I have already described how we both defaulted on the original Treaty of Guarantee to France. France was deserted in 1920. Few of us realise how terrible a thing that was for France, for the reason that equality for Germany in itself means inequality for France. France has a population of about forty millions, as against Germany's sixty-five or seventy millions. She does not possess the same industrial resources, nor the same organising power. Further, the psychological situation left over by the last war is not always understood. There were two defeated nations. On the one hand Germany was defeated by the world combination against her, and had imposed upon her the severe and drastic punishment the general character of which I have tried to describe. On the other hand, if you look at the War as the last of the historic struggles between France and Germany, it was France who was defeated. In other words, France by herself could never have got Germany off French soil in 1918, any more than she was able to do so in 1870. Therefore, in looking at the policy of France, it must be recognised that without some addition of strength from outside it is impossible for France to face Germany alone. That is why France made the alliances in Eastern Europe, why she insisted on the unilateral disarmament of Germany, why she insisted as long as she could on the demilitarisation of the Rhineland, why she has always refused to give any concession to Germany which she has not been forced to give, and why M. Barthou refused to entertain Hitler's offers, on the one hand, of an army of three hundred thousand men, and, on the other, of an air force half the size of the French air force or one-third that of all neighbouring air forces, whichever was the smaller. France would not let go of the smallest fragment of the Versailles settlement until she was given an alternative security from some other source.

That situation is changed to-day. While Great Britain took advantage of France's armaments or alliances to disarm, and left France to deal with Europe in her own way, one of the most

important consequences of British rearmament and of the new Locarno guarantees which we gave in April 1936 is that, at long last, we have not only entered into a joint defensive entente with France, but for the first time are in a position to mobilise behind it, or shall be in a position to do so, really effective strength. It is that reason which makes me believe that we can eliminate from our minds the fears and hates which are the subject matter of propaganda in all countries to-day, and not least in our own, and that we are in a better position to make a serious attempt to see whether it is not possible to come to terms with Germany before Europe and the world become rigidly embraced in the two great hostile alliance systems of which everyone is talking at present. We shall be able to enter those discussions from strength and not from weakness.

How is it possible to enter into such discussions? Can the League of Nations do it? I doubt it. I think it is true to say that League policy in relation to Germany has always been a policy of dictation by the beneficiaries of Versailles. It has been the failure of the League to attempt in any serious way to do justice to Germany, either when she was a Republic or since, which is the fundamental reason for the moral decline of the League to-day. Why did we fail in connection with Abyssinia? No doubt there are many reasons. For instance, I have always thought that the most fatal policy any government ever adopted was to allow Sir Samuel Hoare to make his speech at Geneva in September 1935 without first being sure that it could be followed by action. I was, at the time, very doubtful whether he should have made that speech at all but, having made it, I thought we should have seen it through, and I did not hesitate to say during the general election of November 1935 that, if necessary, we ought to have closed the Suez Canal or taken some equivalent action. But the fundamental reason why the League failed in regard to Abyssinia was because everybody was mainly concerned to maintain those unilateral discriminations against Germany which ought to have been removed many years ago. That was why nobody saw it through. Supposing the League had done justice to Germany in earlier years, and Germany had been a member of the League, I do not think there would have been any trouble at all. Instead, everybody was looking at Germany to see whether she proposed to take advantage of the situation in order to remilitarise the Rhineland, which from every moral point of view, seventeen years after the Armistice, she was entitled to do.

So, for the time being, I rule out the League of Nations as the instrument for making a settlement with Germany. Is there any alternative way? There are in my view two possibilities. The first is that a commission should be set up, under the chairmanship of someone appointed by the President of the United States, on which should sit no beneficiary of the Treaty of Versailles—neither Great Britain nor France, nor Czechoslovakia, nor Poland, nor any other country which benefitted—and ask it to investigate what alterations in the *status quo* are, in its opinion, advisable or necessary to bring about a relationship between Germany and her neighbours which could justly be regarded as a basis for peace. No government could promise beforehand to endorse the decision of such a body. But I venture to think that, if it were possible to set up such a tribunal and to obtain a report from really eminent people with political experience, not one of whom belonged to a country which in any direct way could be said to be a beneficiary under the Treaty of Versailles, a set of recommendations might result which would pave the way to real discussions which might lead towards a final settlement.

Failing that, I see no alternative at the moment but a British initiative. As I have said, we have at last given to France the guarantee which we promised in 1918 and we are in a position, or in a far better position than before, to make that guarantee good. We are thus in a position to talk with Germany without incurring the charge that we are deserting France, for I would reaffirm in the strongest terms the defensive Locarno guarantee, while reaffirming also that we are in no way bound by France's understandings with other Powers; therefore the great stumbling-block to negotiation in the past has been removed.

I do not think that the Spanish situation is fundamental to the problem which I have been describing, although it may lead to an international temper which will make the solution of that problem very difficult. In my view, Hitler's interest in the Spanish question is mainly what is not very euphoniously called ideological. I do not think that Germany has any territorial or colonial aspirations in Spain. I think, on the other hand, that Hitler, with his well-known antagonism to Communism, feels that the possibility of what he would call a Red Spain is so serious for Europe, and consequently for National-Socialist Germany, that he will go to very great lengths to prevent the success of what he regards as a Red Government. That, I believe, is the root of the problem in Spain as far as Hitler is concerned. But it involves an inevitable collision with Great Britain for the reason

that we do not take that view. In our view the Spanish problem is fundamentally a civil war. I do not think the majority of British people want to see either side win outright. They want something to come out of Spain which will be a more temperate form of government than a victory for either of the two extreme parties to-day. But in any case they feel that this is a matter which should be left to the Spaniards, and that it is wrong for anybody else to interfere, in order to bring about a solution according to their particular point of view. On the other hand, I think that while the attitude of Italy is in some ways similar to that of Germany, it is also strategic. She is concerned with the future of peace in the Mediterranean and her policy may therefore be a challenge to British strategic interests in that historic sea. That is why the Spanish problem is dangerous. There is a conflict of principle between Germany and ourselves, and a conflict of national strategic interest between Italy and ourselves. It will be difficult to come to grips with the main German question until the Spanish question is out of the way.

The root of the German problem to-day, therefore, is that at the back of our minds we feel that there is still justice to be done to Germany, and in the front of our minds we have grave doubts as to the consequences of trying to do justice to Germany as long as the National-Socialist Party is in office.

On that problem I would only make one comment. The removal of legitimate grievances removes the basis of discontent and feelings which the advocates of forcible expansion can exploit for their own ends, even though it may also improve a nation's strategic position for aggression. To refuse to do justice lest the concessions involved may be abused, is to make explosion eventually inevitable. An old saying "Fiat justicia ruat coelum," is the only basis for peace even if it involves risks, and in the long run it is cheaper and safer to prepare to defend yourself against unjust aggression, than to do injustice in the hope of preventing it altogether, as the history of Germany since 1920 abundantly proves. A first step towards solving the problem of Germany and the dilemma involved is a firm but friendly exploration by the British Government of the whole position in Berlin. It is impossible to make final judgments till that has been done.

May I, in conclusion, say a word about diplomatic methods in the contemporary world? We have now passed out of a world in which the power and prestige of the Allied Powers was so overwhelming that international questions could be dealt with by discussions in which we had the power of decision in our own hands. We are now once more in the traditional world in which successful diplomacy is inseparably connected with the strength that can be brought to bear behind one's case. That situation is almost inevitable under conditions of international anarchy, and the League of Nations, in my view, cannot alter the position, because it is based upon the sovereignty of its member States. The League will work as long as the principal nations of the world are fundamentally satisfied with the *status quo*. If we can solve the German problem, we shall recreate the conditions in which the League can function. But unless the League can find a method of altering the *status quo*, which it has not yet done, I do not think the League system, as originally conceived, can work when a number of important States are profoundly dissatisfied with the *status quo*. The League then, inevitably, degenerates into a combination which, on the one hand, mainly seeks to maintain the *status quo*, and, on the other, seeks to alter it.

I would strongly urge that under the conditions of to-day our international policy must be based on a clear appreciation of where real strength lies. It is not enough to be convinced of the rightness of our case. Before taking action we must be sure that there is strength behind it also. As I have already indicated, the fatal mistake made about Abyssinia was that we did not really estimate beforehand whether in issuing the challenge to Mussolini we either had the strength or the will to see it through. One of the difficulties of the democratic system is that we are so accustomed to free controversy, so accustomed to the view that resolutions can eventually be turned into votes, and so, after a general election to political power, that we are inclined to think that our democratic methods can be applied to international affairs also. But we cannot do this. To begin with, our arguments do not reach the other countries, and, if they do, they will have no more influence than have the arguments of other countries upon us. And there is no general election to decide the case. In diplomacy you have to agree or resort to force. So in every crisis you have first to face the question of whether you, and such friends as you may have in the League of Nations and elsewhere, are really in a position to win in the case of war, because if you are certain, and the other person is certain, that you are going to win, and your case is reasonably sound, you will probably win, and without war. But bluff, which was fundamentally what happened in September 1935, is the most fatal policy, especially for a democracy to-day.

Therefore, to-day the important thing is for us to consider our political ideals in the light of the power which we can actually bring to bear behind them, and not to take decisions on the policy we propose to pursue until we know what physical power we can rely upon, and what countries are willing to act with us. Because, in the last resort, whether you are talking in terms of the League of Nations or not, in a world which consists of sovereign national States and which is, therefore, fundamentally an anarchy, the ultimate thing behind policy is force, just as the ultimate power behind law inside the State is force. Therefore I venture to think that the two most important things we have to do to-day are, on the one hand to consider whether there is any way of removing those root causes of the German problem that still spring from the Versailles settlement and, secondly, how far any action we may wish to take in foreign affairs is supported by a really superior strength which we, and any allies we may have, are in a position to bring to bear in a crisis.

Summary of Discussion.

MR. WICKHAM STEED said that he had the unexpected pleasure of expressing a considerable measure of agreement with one or two of the things the lecturer had said. He had expected to find himself in total disagreement on every single point. He agreed that nothing would be more fatal than a policy of bluff, and that Great Britain should contemplate no policy without considering the power that lay behind it, although he would qualify that statement by saying "the power which belief in her ideals would enable her to put behind it." With regard to all other points, especially the historical arguments, he was in complete disagreement. All these arguments could be traversed. What was mistakenly called German "War Guilt" had been mentioned. In 1919, when the Germans protested against the text of the draft treaty of Versailles, a very able and penetrating reply had been written putting the case very cogently. Mr. Philip Kerr (now Lord Lothian) had been the author. Was his judgment unsound then, and if so was it sound to-day?

The speaker had said Germany, Germany, Germany where he ought to have said Hitler, Hitler, Hitler. Was he aware that to-day 70 per cent. of the German people were in sullen revolt against Hitler, that animosity between Catholics and Protestants had disappeared, that peasants and large landowners alike were straining at the leash to get away from the present ruinous system? When German trade unionists had been asked, not long ago, by their own people, why they could not do anything, they replied that it was because "they" had got all the machine guns. In what language had the lecturer spoken with Herr Hitler which the power and prestige of the Allied Powers was so over-

even Germans who had spoken German with Hitler had never been able to trust his word. The present speaker had been invited to visit Hitler, but after the murderous "clean up" of 30th June 1934 he did not care to meet such a man.

The real issue was: how were the German people to be saved for Europe? South Africa had been mentioned. There two White minorities lived under the pressure of a great Black majority, and one of those White minorities lived in fear of German strategic designs. In 1911 Botha had warned Winston Churchill that Germany meant ill to Great Britain, and said that when the time came he would clear them out of German South-West Africa.

There remained the great question of how to deal with Germany at the present time. Great Britain should show her ideals plainly to the German people, and uphold their right to live, even if she had to break with Hitler.

LORD ARNOLD said that there would be unanimous appreciation of the able address given by Lord Lothian. If the views of the last speaker prevailed, he was afraid peace in Europe would not last long. Also he felt sceptical about statistics to the effect that about 70 per cent. of the German people were against Hitler. He had been hearing that sort of thing about Italy for years, and also each autumn it had been said that Hitler could not survive another winter. We must recognise that Hitler was in power in Germany, and the only alternative to negotiating with Germany, and that meant with Hitler, was—sooner or later—war. It was ridiculous to speak of standing behind the German people against Hitler.

He had been very impressed by Lord Lothian's closing remarks concerning British initiative. This had been lacking for a long time. Mr. Lansbury had quoted an eminent German who said that there would never be peace in Europe until Germany's economic position was altered. What had Great Britain done in that direction? Everyone knew that the Ottawa Agreements, for instance, were an offence to a country like Germany. The British Empire comprised a quarter of the world's territory and population, and more than a quarter of the world's wealth. Out of twenty-five essential commodities and minerals there were adequate supplies in the British Empire of eighteen. Germany had adequate supplies of only four, and she had no colonies whatever. Great Britain had not only done nothing in regard to Germany's demand for colonies, but had indicated that nothing would be done. It was impossible that Germany should continue to have no overseas territory, while Great Britain, with her smaller population which would soon be declining, should retain in the British Empire a quarter of the world's territory. If Great Britain were in the position of Germany she would feel exactly as Germany does. British statesmen were not good at putting themselves in the position of other peoples

1935, is the most fatal policy, especially for a democracy to-day.

PATRIOTIC RESEARCH BUREAU

For the Defense of Christianity and Americanism

DIRECTOR, ELIZABETH DILLING
Suite 733 - 53 W. Jackson Blvd.
Chicago

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October 1941

Dear Friends:

My skipping a September letter to you, which I regret, is only part of the "skipping" I have been doing. While I have had more personal cares and worries than a dog has fleas, the New Deal has not overlooked trying to add to them! They say:

"The big fleas all have little fleas
On 'em to bite 'em
And little fleas have smaller fleas
And so on ad infinitum."

In order to give the New Deal no excuse to move into my office or "borrow" my anti-Red records, every cent contributed to office expenses has been listed as an "anonymous" donation and income tax paid on it as though it were a personal fee to me - unjust as it seems to pay tax on what <u>should</u> be tax exempt and on what is paid to others to help carry on the patriotic work to which I <u>donate</u> my life and labor.

My husband has always made out all income tax reports; I only know when our office "cupboard" is bare of funds. This past July one Nathan Morris arrived at my husband's office with letters from the U. S. Commissioner of Internal Revenue at Washington, D. C., dated July 10, authorizing him to investigate both of our income tax returns for 1939-40. As the local Bureau had already investigated and okayed my husband's return this seemed fishy, we being small fry financially, as it is rare for the tax return of anyone outside of the millionaire or Al Capone class to be investigated <u>twice</u>.

So on inquiry, we were informed that Mr. Nathan Morris is not connected with either the local or Washington Income Tax Bureau but works right out of the Washington office of the Attorney General who heads the F.B.I. A "fishing expedition" was scented and his first question when he entered set the keynote: "What Fascist or Nazi or Communist organizations does Mrs. Dilling belong to?" The answer was a decided "Not one!" By chance I dropped into my husband's office while Mr. Morris was there and had a pleasant chat with him in which he told me of his long close association with Rabbi Stephen S. Wise (part of whose crimson record is listed in my books).

He inquired about the cost of our home way back in 1920, 21 years ago. "Aren't you going rather far afield for a 1939 income tax return?", he was asked. His significant reply was, "Well, perhaps I am but I have a job to do." I had a fair idea of what that "job" was. Added to my books and bulletins my recent opposition to Dictator-War Bill 1776 in Washington has keenly whetted the appetite of the New Deal and its warmongers to smear and silence [illegible]

An $800 New Deal "Fishing Trip"

And so for three months Mr. Nathan Morris has been demanding such laborious detailed proof of every bottle of ink, as it were, used in my office since 1939, that the bill of the expert accountant, whom my husband hired to handle the matter, has run up to $800! It must be disappointing to have discovered no "love gifts" to our office from Benito Mussolini or Adolph Hitler. Of course bloody Joe Stalin couldn't be suspected of contributing since we are being taxed to send millions in gifts to him.

Our dog, fortunately, is a little cocker spaniel. Were he a dachshund I might ere this have been in a concentration camp where 80% of our people, George Washingtonian Americans, who also oppose entangling European alliances, should join me.

Congressman Knutson, to quote (A.P. 10/8/41), "offered the House a definition of the difference between a Nazi and a Communist during debate today on the lend-lease bill. Said Knutson: "The only difference between a Nazi and a Communist is that a Nazi can't get a job in the New Deal."

I Travel at New Deal Expense

With Mr. Nathan Morris still plodding at his assignment of snooping over the purchase and use of any "tooth pick" I might have "twittled" in past years, another New Deal "billet doux" ("love note" to you) arrived in the shape of a subpoena to come to Washington, D. C., bringing all correspondence data, mailing lists, etc., connected with my purchase and distribution last October and November of a booklet of Lord Lothian's previous speeches which were a George Washingtonian argument against Britain and the U. S. sacrificing lives to hold down "the anarchy of Europe" in the "status quo".

At this summons to more expense, I made up my mind not to budge until I had a round trip ticket to Washington in hand; since there are billions of government tax money for bloody Joe, there should be a ticket for me. And so I sat packed to go for three days until at last a round trip and lower berth ticket finally appeared about a half hour before train time. By collecting the rest legally due me, of $1.50 per day witness fees plus $3.00 maintenance per day for three days, plus 10¢ per mile one way, I extracted the cost of a "nice" trip to Washington which I utilized to interview friendly Congressmen and Senators, to build fires under the enemy, and came home via New York where I did some valuable work. "I am here," I said proudly to friends, "at the expense of my government."

A New York friend gave me a huge round celluloid badge the size of a tea cup with the words "I AM A SPY". I pinned this inside my coat and ever since have been flashing it on people. At a ticket window, for example, I asked, "Can you hurry up that berth ticket? You haven't seen my badge have you?" "No", the man said respectfully, expecting to see some official connection, until I flashed out the "I AM A SPY" badge and he laughed. Today a friend gave me a small red nose with whiskers which can be quickly plopped on as one shows the badge! I used it on the office elevator men with fine effect today.

Although my subpoena was illegally drawn and I could have ignored it, I was glad to go and testify. Significantly, I had been well smeared by the Pearson and Allen column and the press before my arrival but was unable to get any statement of mine in the press concerning the matter.

The subpoena had requested that I bring to Washington all mailing lists, correspondence, etc., in connection with my purchase of the Lothian books. The moment it was served I offered to cooperate and turned over to be photostated all correspondence concerning my purchase of the Lothian books, my one and only transaction with Flanders Hall Publishers, of Scotch Plains, New Jersey, no member of whom I have ever met. This correspondence included my initial inquiry concerning prices, my order, my letters of bitter complaint at the huge C.O.D. express bill on the prepaid order which should have arrived postpaid and, besides, came four hundred copies short with the statement that unordered cartons at a big price had been sent to make up the difference (!); then, our threat of legal action and, finally, their letter sending a refund. The purchase was a headache but the speeches were good.

The New Deal O.G.P.U. At Work

Picture a New Deal "O.G.P.U." scene in which an assistant to Roosevelt's Attorney General turns on all the sarcasm and spleen possible to convey the idea that he is addressing a convicted criminal about to be hung (for buying copies of a Britisher's speeches) as he demands of the victim: "Are you the author of THE RED NETWORK in which Mrs. Roosevelt is listed as a Red?"

Victim: "I am! Of course I have ten times as much on her now as I had then."

He: "Do you intend to publish this?"

Victim: "Yes, providing you don't throw me in a concentration camp."

He: "Certainly you do not think that I or anyone associated with me would ever wish to interfere with freedom of speech or of the press?"

Victim: "Well, I am sure you are carrying out your orders to the best of your ability but in view of what I have gone through since I opposed the Lend-Lease Dictator-War Bill I'd say it smells mighty peculiar. I think they are out to get and silence me."

He: (With sinister glower) "What do you mean by 'they'?"

Victim: "What would you think? The New Deal of course."

A long harangue of sarcastic questions concerning my "so-called" Patriotic Research Bureau. An attempt to get its mailing lists ending with my determined retort: "You can draw and quarter me and throw me in a concentration camp but you will never get out of me the name of one single person who has ever befriended me so that they may be persecuted as I have been."

Denials that this was intended. An attempt to dig into Bureau donations and expenditures and have me itemize these which I couldn't possibly do. I am too pushed to even keep track of the stamps we have to buy.

Victim: "Why don't you ask your own man right out of your own office who has been busy since July counting up every penny spent by the office since 1939? He knows far more about it than I do. He is still there. Ask him!"

My "crime" of distributing copies of the Lothian speeches is taken up. Would I admit they were "Nazi" propaganda?

Victim: "No. Do you consider Lord Lothian a 'Nazi'?"

He: "No, indeed."

Victim: "Well, they were Lord Lothian's speeches. I distributed them during his lifetime; Wm. Randolph Hearst devoted two whole columns to quoting them; the Saturday Evening Post devoted an editorial page to quoting them, all of which went from coast to coast. If he did not make them it is strange that neither Lord

Lothian, while British Ambassador here, nor the British Embassy since he died (Dec. 12, 1940) have ever denied that he made those speeches. They are carefully documented. Have you discovered any of them to be phoney?"

He: "That is not my business. You run a Research Bureau."

Victim: "Since you have been able to bring me all the way from Chicago to ask about those speeches, why didn't you look them up and disprove one of them first? You have the whole F.B.I. back of you!"

He: "You know that you are known by the public all over the country don't you? You think that you are a very important woman in public life, don't you?"

Victim: "No, I do not."

He: "Well, when your name is used on something you know that it carries weight, don't you?"

Victim: "I know that nothing I have ever printed or said has ever been refuted by anyone and that my books have won important court cases."

He: (With a "hang the criminal" tone) "Why didn't YOU investigate Flanders Hall Publishers before you distributed those books with your recommendation?"

Victim: "Have you investigated whether the tie you are wearing has any German thread in it?"

He: "My wife bought it. I am sure she investigated."

Victim: "Went right to the manufacturers and looked into their purchases to see that no embargoed German material went into it? How do you know that you are not wearing German shoes?"

He: "Well, it is more important that the foot inside of the shoe has a kick in it." (Which would also apply to the Lothian speeches.)

He: (Very melodramatically) "Do you know by personal first-hand knowledge that Lord Lothian ever saw those speeches?"

Victim: "No. I vas not dere - I was in Chicago. They were delivered in England. How could I check them with the war on? He never denied them."

He: "You never tried to check them in the Library of Congress?"

Victim: "No. Are they there? That is a good tip. I will go right over and look them up when I leave here!"

He: "I will not say whether they are there or not. Have you registered as the agent of a foreign government?"

Victim: (With some heat) "Why on earth should an American-born citizen of all British and Scotch-Irish blood who has devoted ten years time to upholding Americanism do that? Can't one oppose foreign war involvement and be 100% pro-American without registering as a foreign agent?"

Then a long harangue in which he claimed that "James Burr Hamilton", the name signed to the short introduction to the booklet of the Lothian speeches, was the pen name of one "George Sylvester Viereck", a propagandist for Germany. Did I know that?

Victim: "No, I have never heard of Viereck until recently, in the press, but, even if what you say is true, I do not think the little introduction amounts to much one way or another. If the Devil himself wrote the introduction to Lord Lothian's speeches, it would not alter the speeches. If you can show me that Lothian did not make those speeches, I will humbly apologize to every person to whom I mailed a copy. If I prove he did, I will tell them that."

He: "But you should not wait. You should let me issue a statement to the press NOW telling them you have distributed Nazi propaganda!"

Victim: "No, I will issue my own statement and only after I check the speeches; those are what I bought. When I do issue a statement I will send you a copy." (I shall send him this.) "If I prove Lothian made those speeches, I will reproduce them under my own name and try to raise money to distribute a thousand times as many as I ever did before because every American citizen ought to read them! They exactly corroborate George Washington's ideas on the futility of the U.S.A. trying to maintain the anarchy of Europe and its perpetual entanglements in any status quo. Lothian says this is not worth the sacrifice of a million British lives; therefore it is not in my opinion worth one American life. I still am George Washingtonian even though he seems to have gone out of style with some people."

He: (Sarcastically) "So you have a movement called 'George Washingtonian'".

Victim: (A bit weary with the endless hectoring) "No, I have no movement. I merely have a picture of Washington on my office wall because I admire his principles."

He: "One little sentence or paragraph twisted from the context of those speeches could change their whole meaning."

Victim: "I will look into that also and reproduce the speeches in full. I have opposed dictatorship under any name, whether in Europe or in America, and upheld our American Republican form of government. If that be treason, make the most of it. If Flanders Hall Publishers is backed by any foreign propagandist, I certainly approve of your putting them out of business. At the same time I am also in favor of your putting out of business all other foreign agencies including the thousands of British propagandists who are overrunning our country, pushing us into war, to sacrifice our boys and our billions. Also the whole treasonable Communist press which is frankly committed to the overthrow of our government ought to be put out of business and the Bolsheviks ought to be put off the New Deal pay roll!"

Before I finally departed the gentleman began to exhibit a courteous change of manner - whether assumed or real. He even offered to do me the favor of searching for a mislaid paper! After all, he has to perform for his bosses.

Serving the F.B.I.

I have in the past given much data to Dies Committee investigators and, previous to my trip to Washington, had promised local F.B.I. men, free of charge, to let them put a man in my office to work on my unique files getting data for the F.B.I., which they want and need, even though this would require our assistance and we are pitifully short handed. On my return from Washington, when one of the F.B.I. boys came in for data, I looked up some things with him and then said:

"Listen: you and the rest of the F.B.I. men I know are a fine lot and I would do anything for you personally. But since your boss, the Attorney General's office, had me questioned as though I were a criminal for buying a bunch of Lord Lothian's speeches, I've made up my mind to charge you from now on for anything you get from this office. If they have billions for the dirty Reds, let them pay me for the use of my records which have cost thousands of dollars and ten years of my donated labor."

"Well, how much would you charge us?" he asked.

"Plenty - Lend-Lease style!", said I, jauntily.

"Wouldn't it be funny," Jean grinned, "if the New Deal helped support our office!"

At this moment one state and one local police department are waiting for me to compile reports for them.

The Lothian Speeches Check 100%

In Washington, after leaving my New Deal O.G.P.U. "boy friend", I hied myself over to the Library of Congress with a dear friend. We got every issue of the London Times and London Observer from which speeches in the Lothian book were quoted and they checked word for word. I had photostats made of the whole pages and speeches. International Affairs of London, Vol. 16, (cited on p.31 of the Lothian book) I secured and had photostated elsewhere. It checks 100%.

I have delayed issuing the Lothian material until I had photostats in hand of the sources of the last remaining four pages of speeches in the 53 page book.

You will get a copy of the speeches in their entirety just as printed in the British press, as soon as ready. The planographing will be expensive. The cheapest price I have secured so far is $150-plus for the first 1,000 copies or more than 15¢ each without postage or envelopes. The entire context is much "hotter" than the excerpts given in the Lothian booklet. I hope you will help to distribute many copies as soon as they are ready.

Have We Any "Freedoms"?

We shall see whether the fight to enforce the "four freedoms" - "everywhere in the world" - is to be completely extinguished at home!

"What a farce," I thought, as I saw a man in New York picking through a garbage can to get something to eat, just as I see them near my office in Chicago, to thunder about our taxing ourselves to death to fight and bleed abroad to secure for the rest of the globe the four freedoms, "freedom from want, freedom from fear, freedom of speech and press and freedom of worship", while we subsidize atheist religion-destroying Stalin and his murder gang, while there is want on every side at home, while American citizens are being denied halls, radio time, etc., and being razzed and grilled, as I have been, for opposing a dictator who has ignored our Constitutional checks and balances and has been pushing us into war against the will of 80% of the people without even bothering to consult Congress until after step after step had already been illegally taken! To quote him: "We planned it that way."

The End of Law

As a brilliant Washington, D. C., attorney told me in February: "As soon as we lose the right of Habeus Corpus, dictatorship will be complete and all rights under the law will be wiped out. Roosevelt's third term is now completing the packing of the courts with New Dealers so that justice by law is practically impossible for opponents of the New Deal, and Stimson", he said, "has already been talking about doing away with the right of Habeus Corpus."

England, its people paralyzed by long years of degenerative Marxian, pacifist, Red propaganda poison, found itself, as I saw there in 1939, being shoved

into this world war much as we have been and by the same closely linked international crew operating between France, Wall Street, Washington and London. Since the war, British patriots have been thrown into jail without trial or formal charges, without means of self defense or liberation, deprived of the right of Habeas Corpus under a special measure known as "18B". The following from the London Patriot of Sept. 4, 1941, gives one an idea of the "freedoms" in England under the rule of the international warmongers with whom our New Deal has aligned us. To quote:

"18B

"I wonder whether any of the members of Parliament who sat complacently on their benches whilst this astounding law was being passed realised that they were forging a weapon which might one day be turned against themselves with deadly effect?

"Men in power are apt to imagine that power will last forever, ignoring the immortal maxim quoted by Mirabeau after his fall: 'It is but a step from the Capitol to the Tarpeian Rock'.

"Habeas Corpus could, of course, be revoked in times of national emergency, when the guilt of the victim was obvious or suspected on good grounds WHICH WERE MADE KNOWN TO HIM, thus giving him a chance to defend himself without formal trial. It did not keep him for years in prison, not knowing what he was there for. 18B is thus not merely a revocation of Habeas Corpus but a return to the methods of the French Revolution, of which we are now told to admire 'the glorious principles.' But for the absence of the death penalty, its nearest counterpart may be found in the Loi du 22 Priarial, which deprived its victims of the right of trial and of witnesses for the defense, and heralded that bloodiest period of the Revolution known as 'The Great Terror.' Little did Robespierre, in framing this law when at the height of his power, dream that the dripping blade of the guillotine would one day fall on his own head...

"With the keystone of British justice removed, those in power can use it as they please against their opponents. In vain may its authors cry for mercy, asking of what they are accused, demanding the right to defend themselves. No answer will be vouchsafed but 'You destroyed that right yourselves; now you must bear the consequences.'

"18B is, indeed, on one point even more unjust than the autocratic regimes of the past in that it acts on false pretexts. Under the former, when throwing a man into prison and treating him with the utmost cruelty, no secret was made of the reason, namely that he was an enemy of the political system in power, thus winning sympathy for him and often honour as a martyr in the eyes of those who shared his opinions. They did not publicly accuse him of being a traitor to his country and in league with enemies out to destroy it, which would have degraded him in the eyes of every patriot, even of his own party.

"And this is where another and important aspect of the matter comes in, to which hitherto little attention has been paid. It is not only arrest and imprisonment the victim of 18B has to fear, but other measures deriving from the French Revolution - the Loi des Suspects, the visite domiciliere - in those terrible days when it was said, 'Woe to him who has an enemy!' So today anyone who bears a grudge against another, or any jealous rival, can lodge an absolutely false allegation to the police against the object of his malice, with the result of a perquisition being made at his house. And then, even if officially proved to be the stoutest patriot, he receives no redress. The slanderer incurs no penalty, is at liberty to go on repeating the slander as

long as he pleases, whilst the innocent victim is given no means for making his vindication public. For the rest of his life he will be followed by the whisper that he is 'the man who was suspect during the war.' His life has been spared but all that makes it worth living has been taken from him.

"Unless this unprecedented law is revoked soon...and British justice is restored to her honoured place, no man or woman in England can be sure of their liberty, and perhaps later of their life."

In America Also

Lindbergh, for telling our Nation the truth about European armaments, etc., is being smeared from coast to coast as a "Nazi". We read that Mr. Henry Ford is to be "investigated" after the radical and Jewish press has been printing the most fantastic libels against him and "reproducing" private correspondence from his plant. This was no surprise to me. I tried unsuccessfully over a year ago, as the result of bitter experience with the same source, to warn the Ford Company of the treachery on their own pay roll - but in vain.

The countless sound patriots in America First are being viciously smeared as "Nazis" and "Fascists". Only in case Reds inside America First are successful in taking it over will it be given a clean bill of health by our controlled press.

Just For a Laugh

Have you heard this story? "A German and an Englishman and a Russian were riding in the Clipper. In the middle of the ocean the pilot came back and said, 'I am sorry, gentlemen, we are running out of gas. One of you will have to go overboard.' The German stood up and saluted, 'Heil Hitler', and jumped overboard. An hour later the pilot came back and said, 'I am sorry, gentlemen, but another one of you will have to go overboard.' The Englishman stood up and saluted saying, 'There will always be an England', and threw the Russian overboard."

I also heard this one: A plane was brought down in the sea off Norway. The man who went out to investigate was asked if it were a German plane. He said it was and, on being asked whether the Germans on it were alive or dead, said: "Well, one of them <u>said</u> he was alive but you know what liars those Germans are!"

The Road Down

I wish American mothers with leisure would leave their bridge tables and clubs long enough to investigate conditions among school children as the result of <u>years</u> of Red materialistic "progressive education" and Freudian sex filth. A mother shocked me this morning by telling me why, among other similar reasons, she had taken her twelve year old daughter out of one of our most "select" local private schools for girls. When her little girl matured, eleven year old classmates of hers warned her: "Now you will have to be careful with the boys or you will have a baby. We are lucky we don't have to worry about that yet." She asked her mother what they meant!

One of our North Shore police officers said to me the other day: "If the parents only realized the wild life that most of their young people are living these days! Things are entirely different from what they were in your day and mine. My sixteen year old daughter has been going out to the _____ Club" (one of the joints which cater to North Shore High School and College youngsters)

"and they have been serving her booze. I went out and gave them warning that she is a minor and the next time they serve her a drink I will close the place!" What are the parents of other young folks, who go there and to similar "joints", doing?

My 21 year old son thinks he is engaged to a sweet little girl not yet 18 who enrolled this year in Wisconsin University which, for years, has been nicknamed "little Moscow".(See the chapter on Glenn Frank and "free love" in Wisconsin in my book THE RED NETWORK.) Son is now worrying over his girl like an old father because of things like these: he says her sorority went out the night she was pledged with a fraternity and "co-educationally" got drunk together. They tried to get her drunk too! The girls in her dormitory who go out at night are supposed to sign out and sign in at 12:30 at night but, he says, a side door is left open and those who stay out all night simply omit signing out and boldly come in the side door in the morning; many girls are in trouble. The boys make no secret of their "dishonorable intentions" and, as he puts it, "start working on a girl as soon as they meet her" and "the whole atmostphere is one of open acceptance of such standards. In fact, they make fun of a girl who 'holds out' - even her own sorority sisters - then after she has slipped once or twice she gets just like the rest! I don't want the girl I marry like that!"

Reports of wholesale immorality in parking places there, and my High School daughter and her friends report the same conditions near us, evoke sad and fearful thoughts over the future of America and its coming citizenry. The amut-filled popular novel mirrors the low ideals of the times. P.T.A.'s, instead of fighting religious education, should be fostering it.

Reds Fight Religion

A sound Christian minister writes me Oct. 15th as follows:

"Dear Mrs. Dilling:

"I am writing in behalf of the Council for Religious Education of _____. We have been giving Religious Education for three years on Thursdays at 2:30 P.M.

"The board of Education has granted the request of parents to have their children excused from classes for one hour on Thursdays. The parents state on the request to what Church they wish to send their children.

"For three years we have not had much opposition but now some people are beginning to object, and try to find some law to have this Education discontinued.

"At present one of the P.T.A. Organizations has taken it upon itself to put on a program to bring this matter of Religious Education to an open discussion which we believe will lead into a debate and ill feeling.

"Here is their PROGRAM:-'Religious Education in the Schools.'

(a) Possibilities for Good - by a local minister. (We refused)
(b) Possible Evils and Disadvantages - Mr. Ira Latimer, Executive Secretary, Chicago Civil Liberties Committee.

"What we would like to know is about this Mr. Ira Latimer. Where does he stand? Who is he? What does he believe? Let us know if you have any positive information about him. And then we would like to know about this 'Chicago Civil Liberties Committee.'

"We would appreciate an early reply, if possible. This P.T.A. meeting is to be held the 12th of November, and we would like to know before hand who this man is and what kind of Organization this Chicago Civil Liberties Committee is.

"We believe the school board is within their rights when they dismiss a child at the request of the parents.

"Thanking you I am yours,
(Signature)_____

I am writing him in part as follows:

"Dear Reverend_____:

"The Chicago Civil Liberties Committee is the Chicago branch of the Communist-aiding American Civil Liberties Union. The section on the American Civil Liberties Union (pp.111-123) in my book THE RED NETWORK was used by the San Diego School Board as a basis for barring the American Civil Liberties Union from using the school auditorium for meetings as a 'seditious and disloyal organization'. When not one fact in my book could be refuted by American Civil Liberties Union leaders, the book was admitted in evidence and the American Civil Liberties Union was barred (Judge Arthur L. Mundo; Dept. 6 of the Superior Court of San Diego; Case number 79805; decided 3/13/35).

"I can show you one American Civil Liberties Union pamphlet after another with their reports on how they continually uphold, in the Courts and otherwise, the 'right' of teachers to teach atheism, Communism, etc., in public schools. This they call 'academic freedom'.

"Their yearly report for 1932-1933 (p.25) under the heading 'Freedom In Schools and Colleges' lists among other cases 'affecting college teachers and students expressing pacifist, liberal or radical views': '(4) The dismissal of Prof. Ira Latimer from LeMoyne College (colored), Memphis, for his public activities' (radicalism).

"When the communist National Student Congress Against War (See p.228 of THE RED NETWORK), called by Moscow, was held at the University of Chicago, Dec. 27-29, 1932, the national committee sponsoring it included 'Ira Latimer, LeMoyne College, Memphis, Tenn.'. Communists Earl Browder, Scott Nearing, etc., were Congress speakers.

"I can also show you American Civil Liberties Union pamphlets, issued from year to year, with maps designating those sections of the U.S.A. where Bible reading is still permitted in schools. They continually fight against this. They carried on the Court suit to bar Bible reading from New York public schools for the atheist Freethinkers of America (See p.160 of THE RED NETWORK).

"The American Civil Liberties Union militantly upholds and supplies legal aid for every phase of the Red movement: atheism, obscenity, Red crimes of all sorts, including murder. Lawyer Morris Ernst, now and for many years one of their two National Counsels, is author of a book in defense of obscenity entitled 'To the Pure - A Study in Obscenity and the Censor' (Viking Press).

"Ira Latimer was appointed executive secretary of the Chicago Civil Liberties Committee of the American Civil Liberties Union in the winter of 1936. In line with the intimate relations between the American Civil Liberties Union and the Communist Party is the report of a Communist Party functionary that at a special meeting of Party functionaries, held Sept. 27, 1938, Latimer was among the 'participants'.

"Ira Latimer was a member of the 'Civil Rights Commission' of Moscow's own American League for Peace and Democracy (1/39) organized for Red revolution and treason and forced under cover by Dies Committee publicity. When Moscow's world-wide M.O.P.R., whose U.S.A. branch is called the International Labor Defense, held two 'Scottsboro Rallies' in Chicago, Ira Latimer, along with local Communists, was a scheduled speaker (Communist Party's Midwest Daily Record 6/24/38) and was a member of their Chicago Scottsboro Defense Committee 1937-38.

"In 1937, a fund-raising campaign was put on for communistic Commonwealth College, a little training school for Red agitators at Mena, Arkansas, where nude bathing and atheism were 'part of the curriculum', according to Legislative Investigating Committee testimony. Ira Latimer, along with various Communists, was a member of the 'Finance Campaign Committee' to raise funds for Commonwealth College and its red affiliate, the Highlander Folk School at Monteagle, Tenn.

"In this connection you may recall the donations Mrs. Roosevelt has made to red Highlander Folk School and also the New Deal subsidy given red Commonwealth College. When Mrs. Roosevelt came to Chicago as speaker for the Chicago Civil Liberties Committee, March 14, 1940, she raised $2,000 for their Red work and was paid a fee of $1,500.

"The Red motion picture, 'Pastor Hall', sponsored by James Roosevelt, with Mrs. Roosevelt taking part, was written by Ernst Toller who was honored by world Jewry in 1937 as a representative Jew. He was a Communist who was imprisoned by the German Republic for leading the bloody Soviet Revolution in Germany in 1918-19, and later carried on his Communist activities in the U.S.A. and left his 'Last Testament' to the Communist Party's New Masses magazine before he committed suicide in 1939.

"When the 'Pastor Hall' film was banned in Chicago, Ira Latimer and the Chicago Civil Liberties Committee took the lead in fighting the ban.

"Of course, Latimer also led the protest against the Chicago ban on the Soviet film, 'The Oppenheim Family' (Chicago Examiner, 6/3/39). He was speaker for the convention of the communistic American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born Workers (3/40) held in Washington, D. C.

"'Quits Red Vote Hearing Ahead of Punch in Nose' is the heading of this recent news report:

"'Ira Latimer, executive secretary of the Chicago Civil Liberties union, was ordered from the house executive committee meeting late today. Latimer left when the chairman, Reed F. Cutler (R., Lewistown), threatened to throw him out if he didn't go voluntarily.

"'After the committee had approved, 18 to 1, bills to outlaw the communist party from the ballot in Illinois, Latimer took from his brief case a handful of pamphlets "explaining the bill of rights" and laid them near Representative Dean McGaughey (D., Mount Zion).

"'"You get out of here," Cutler yelled at Latimer. "You're not coming in to this committee and insult any of its members, or spread your propaganda."

"'Latimer stopped to pick up his brief case. Cutler apparently thought his ouster order was to be disobeyed, for he started toward Latimer, shouting:

"'"You get out of here or I'll punch you in the nose."

"'"All right, all right," Latimer replied, and left the room."'" (Chgo. Tribune, 5/22/41)

"To cover Latimer's radical activities would require a book.

"The radical American Jewish Congress headed by red Rabbi Stephen S. Wise (see my books) is also very active this year in fighting to prevent 'release time' in public schools for religious instruction of any sort. Their letter sent out April 29, 1941, asks friends 'to align yourselves with the democratic forces in your community in order to carry out a program of opposition... against release time.'

"Such organizations make a stench of 'democratic' by their misuse of the word.

"If I can be of further help please call on me. I hope and pray not only that you may triumph against the red forces of atheism pitted against you but also that sound spiritual leaders like yourself may ultimately succeed in extending release time for religious instruction to other schools until every child in America is reached. 'Man does not live by bread alone.' 'As the twig is bent the tree will grow.'

"Yours sincerely for a Christian America,

"(Mrs. A. W.) ELIZABETH DILLING"

America Will Pay

Of course every effort is being made by radicals to prevent any provision for school children to be excused during school hours to receive religious training from teachers of their parents' own faith. As self-indulgent parents golf or sleep Sunday mornings themselves, fewer and fewer children are sent to Sunday School or receive any spiritual training at all.

America is already paying for its present materialistic trend in youthful crime, disease and the debauchery of society and government and if this trend is not checked America will pay still more just like France and every other nation that has fallen. We are now living on the remains of unearned spiritual blessings left us by those pioneering ancestors who put "In God we Trust" on our coins.

To quote: "EIGHTY MILLION AMERICANS NOT CHURCH MEMBERS - A recent survey the results of which were published by the Yearbook of American Churches, showed that of the nearly 130-million inhabitants of the U.S.A. only 52,378,026 were members of a church." We are living in a time of broken faith in God and mankind, world-wide confusion, warfare, physical and mental suffering, broken homes, loosened morals and anti-Christian Marxian propaganda in schools, public thinking and government.

Red Labor Temple

While in New York I visited Labor Temple, long a Red Center for atheistic communistic propaganda, supported by Presbyterian Church Mission funds! On the bulletin board was a cartoon of Jesus Christ (reproduced in my book THE RED NETWORK) by Art Young, cartoonist for the atheist Communist press, which long ago appeared in the Communist Masses magazine and more recently in Norman Thomas' Socialist Call, 12/21/40, the title reading as follows:

"Reward - For Information Leading to the Apprehension of - Jesus Christ - Wanted-for Sedition, Criminal Anarchy - Vagrancy, and Conspiring to Overthrow the Established Government - Dresses poorly. Said to be a carpenter by trade, ill-nourished, has visionary ideas, associates with common working people the unemployed and bums. Alien-Believed to be a Jew. Alias 'Prince of Peace, Son of Man' - 'Light of the World' & & Professional Agitator Red Beard, Marks on hands and feet the Result of injuries inflicted by an angry mob led by respectable citizens and legal authorities."

Leaflets for distribution advertised "two courses of lectures" under "auspices, The Spinoza Institute of America" at Labor Temple by Harry Waton "author of the Philosophy of Marx, the Philosophy of Spinoza, etc." One lecture, for example, was to be on the "Managerial Revolution", and the footnote to the leaflet states: "We are facing a permanent historic and revolutionary transformation of private Capitalism into State Capitalism. State Capitalism will be the permanent social order of Society in this country as in all other countries until State Capitalism is transformed into Socialism."

That a "Spinoza Institute" should headquarter at a center supported by Christian mission funds is an appalling example of present day apostasy. Spinoza, idol of agnostics, was one of the only two Jews ever expelled from a Jewish synagogue according to B'nai B'rith. Spinoza's first biographer, Colerus, described Spinoza's philosophy as 'the most pernicious atheism that ever was seen in the world'. Bayle, a fellow philosopher, called him 'the systematizer of atheism'. Jewry generally proudly calls him 'blessed Spinoza'".

But this sort of thing is "old stuff" at Labor Temple. I have before me a New York Times clipping dated 2/16/25 headed "COMMUNISTS HISS RELIGION FOR PUPILS - Experiment at Public School 46 Called Entering Wedge for Churches. Freethinker Wants Fight - Rally of German Workmen and Their Families in Labor Temple Boos at Name of O'Shea." To quote the report: "Attacks by speakers on the experiment being made for the religious education of children attending Public School 46 were applauded yesterday at a mass meeting of German workmen and their families held at Labor Temple," (as in the past and at the present)"...The speakers were Ludwig Lore, editor of the Volkszeitung, a German Communist daily; Mrs. Lily Lore, Julia Stuart Poyntz of the Workers Party, Paul Schueler, a German Communist; Anna Louise Strong, author of a book on Soviet Russia, and Joseph Lewis, President of the New York Free Thinkers Society." (For whom the American Civil Liberties Union sued the school board.)

Bertie Russell Pipes Up

Another of my "cultural" activities, while in New York, was hearing Bertie Russell speak at the notorious red Rand School. Bertie is the little man who so long ago outgrew God Almighty and the Ten Commandments and has so fervently served the cause of raw carrots, unsulphured prunes, Marxism, "free love", the public flaunting of illegitimate sex affairs and children, and the training of the young along these lines. In his and Dora's (one of his wives) little school near London the children ran nude or dressed as they pleased.

Bertie's change, after posing as a radical pacifist and serving six months in an English prison for slurring the American armies, to now urging American armies and taxpayers to take over the burden of maintaining the British empire, is a mere bagatelle for this "great philosopher." He appeared to weigh about 90 pounds "over all" with diminutive unpressed pants flapping over short bony legs, thin deeply wrinkled chops, a receding chin like Andy Gump's and bright little circled eyes like a newly hatched sparrow's reaching for a worm, as he piped up in a voice like the rasp of a rusty hinge.

It was too funny to see, on the platform, the slavish kowtowing to this "great philosopher" of anti-God drivel. I wish a moving picture could have been taken of this "rival" of the Almighty's so that others could share my chuckles. Afterward, I bought a copy of his booklet "Why I am Not a Christian". In it he says: "I have to tell you two different things: first, why I do not believe in God and in immortality; and, secondly, why I do not think that Christ was the best and the wisest of men."

What A Crew!

What a commentary on our educational system that a great ballyhoo was raised in 1940 in support of Bertie's appointment as instructor in the City College of New York by the following college presidents: Robert M. Hutchins of the Univ. of Chicago; Mildred H. McAfee of Wellesley; John Stewart Bryan of William and Mary College; Robert Sproul of the Univ. of California; W. B. Alexander, acting president of Antioch College; Frank Kingdon, former pres. Univ. of Newark; William Allan Neilson, Pres. Emeritus of Smith College, and, to quote the N. Y. Herald Tribune, 3/1/40: "Dr. Harry D. Gideonse, president of Brooklyn College, an advisory member of the board, said the appointment" (of Bertrand Russell) "in every way reflected credit on City College and New York City. 'He' (Bertrand Russell) 'quite obviously is one of the monuments of Anglo-American philosophy...'"

Professors from coast to coast took up the cry including: Lyman Bryson, Teachers College, Columbia Univ.; Richard B. Morris, City College; Philip Wiener, City College; William P. Montague, Barnard College; Karl Llewellyn, Columbia Law School; Robert Lynd, Columbia Univ.; Morris Cohen, City College; Hatcher Hughes, Columbia Univ.; John Childs, Teachers College; Henry Pratt Fairchild, New York Univ.; George Counts, Teachers College; David Hart, Brooklyn College; Marjorie Hope Nicolson, Smith College; Irwin Edman, Columbia Univ.; Walter Rautenstrauch, Columbia Univ.; Goodwin Watson, Teachers College; Hans Reichenbach, Univ. of Calif.; Hugh Miller, Univ. of California; Horace M. Kallen, New School for Social Research; Franz Boas, Columbia Univ.; Frederick S. Deibler, Northwestern Univ.; Ralph E. Himstead, American Assn. of Univ. Profs. at Washington, D. C.; Carl Becker, Cornell Univ.; Walter B. Cannon, Harvard Univ.; Bernard D. N. Grebanier, Brooklyn College; George W. Hartmann, Teachers College, Columbia Univ.; Edwin C. Kemble, Harvard Univ.; William H. Kilpatrick, Columbia Univ.; Arthur O. Lovejoy, Johns Hopkins Univ.; Kirtley F. Mather, Harvard Univ.; Wesley C. Mitchell, Columbia Univ.; Philip E. Mosely, Cornell Univ.; Ralph Barton Perry, Harvard Univ.; John Harman Randall, Jr., Columbia Univ.; Arthur M. Schlesinger, Harvard Univ.; Harold Saxe Tuttle, Edwin C. Roedder, W. L. Estabrooke, J. Salwyn Schapiro, John Hastings, Theodore Goodman, Alfred G. Panaroni, Alexander Lehrman, Cecil H. Kindle, Frank K. Shuttleworth, Frank Mankiewics, Oscar Janowsky, E. McClung Fleming and Walter Knittle of City College; Robert K. Speer, N. Y. Univ.; Harry A. Overstreet, City College; Alonzo Myers, N. Y. Univ.; John Bridge, City College; Lyman R. Bradley, N. Y. Univ.; Nelson P. Mead, City College; Morton Gottschall, City College; also Norman Robbins, pres. of the College Parents Assn., etc., etc.

Then "ministerial" radicals, including the Federal Council of Churches, spoke up for Bertie's appointment, such as: Rev. Robert E. Sandrus, Counselor to Protestant Students at Columbia; Rev. John Howland Lathrop, Church of Our Saviour, Brooklyn; Rev. A. J. Muste, Director Presbyterian Labor Temple; Rev. H. Norman Sibley, Univ. Heights Presbyterian Church, N. Y. City; Dr. John Haynes Holmes, Community Church, N. Y. City; Rev. Frederick Reustle; Rev. John Paul Jones; Dr. Henry Neumann, Brooklyn Soc. for Ethical Culture; Rev. Harley J. Hartman; Rabbi Jonah B. Wise; Rev. Charles L. Austin; Rabbi Michael Alper; Rev. James H. Robinson; J. S. Bixler, Harvard Divinity School; Halford E.

Luccock, Yale Divinity School; Dr. Samuel Schulman, rabbi emeritus of Temple Emanu-El; etc., etc.

Ordway Tead, chairman of the N. Y. C. Board of Higher Education, whose red activities would fill a book, sponsored a rally to uphold Bertrand Russell held under the auspices of communistic Franz Boas' American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom (Daily Worker, 4/5/40).

Of course red atheistic old John Dewey ballyhooed for Russell along with communistic Albert Einstein, who publicly opposes belief in God, and the long time and still active radical John T. Flynn. Flynn's erroneous twaddle in support of Russell included this: "'I voted for the appointment of Bertrand Russell. I know his work and believe him to be one of the foremost scholars in his field...He is a man of the highest character, whose morals will compare favorably with those of Bishop Manning. It is very unfair to him to lift a quotation out of his books to make it appear that he favors adultery.'"(N. Y. Herald Trib., 3/1/40)

Russell's Morals

The patriotic Military Order of the World War pamphlet of Dec., 1925, which is before me, sounded a warning. Its title is "Dangerous Doctrines Being Suggested To Youth". The subtitle is: "Bertrand Russell's Book, 'What I Believe', Which Sets Forth Immoral Ideas, Open to Severest Criticism - What One College President Thinks About Such Material." To quote in part:

"It is a well known fact that among the Youth Movement 'ideals' is the disregard of social laws, the establishment of a new social order, carrying with it the doctrine of 'freedom', coupled with 'revolt against home restraint' and what is worse, its idea regarding marriage, which was pretty well established by one Harry D. Gideonse who, after talking on the movement before an Ethical Culture School in New York on November 24, 1924, added that 'these were now being changed together with the ideas which the student had as to marriage.'

"...One of the most dangerous vehicles promulgating doctrines of 'free love' and sex perversion, and which is said to be circulated in colleges (the book is in its third edition), is called 'What I Believe', by one Bertrand Russell...Particularly dangerous is the third chapter of his book dealing with 'Moral Rules', quoted below, in part, and which needs no further comment as to its deadly doctrine. Dutton & Co., the publishers, are reported to have said that from one to six copies have gone to 125 schools and colleges." Among numerous quotations cited from Russell's book are these:

"'It is evident that a man with a scientific outlook on life cannot let himself be intimidated by texts of Scriptures or by the teachings of the Church... In all stages of education the influence of superstition is disastrous...For economic reasons, a woman-teacher must not be married; for moral reasons, she must not have extra-marital sexual relations. And yet everybody who has taken the trouble to study morbid psychology knows that prolonged virginity is, as a rule, extraordinary harmful to women...At middle-and-upper class schools the matter is even worse. There are chapel services and the care of morals is in the hands of clergymen...They all condemn sexual relations between unmarried people who are fond of each other...Boys and girls should be taught that nothing can justify sexual intercourse unless there is mutual inclination...They should also be taught methods of birth-control, so as to insure that children shall only come when they are wanted...It should be recognized that in the absence of children, sexual relations are a purely private matter, which does not concern either the state or the neighbors. Certain forms of sex relations which do

not lead to children are at present punished by the criminal law; that is purely superstitious, since the matter is one which affects no one except the parties directly concerned.'"

That is the sort of "education" from which we are now gathering the rotten fruits.

A leaflet before me announces: "LECTURE EXTRAORDINARY - Mrs. Bertrand Russell - The Christian War on Sex - Sunday, Feb. 26, 1928, 8 P.M. INGERSOLL FORUM - Anti-Religious Centre of New York - Guild Hall, Steinway Building, 113 West 57th Street, New York City."

Russell's Example To Youth

To quote one New York paper, beginning with Russell's divorce from Alys Smith: "He had asked her for a divorce and told her he was about to have a child by another woman. The other woman was Dora Black...Russell married her at once - because, he said, he wanted to legitimize their son to succeed to the earldom. During this time Russell had been expounding his views that men and women should indulge in 'marital infidelity to preserve their homes'.

"Men and women who wished to live together ought to do so, married or not. No man or woman should enter a permanent marriage relationship without having sexual experience first...Thereafter, the Russells practiced what he preached. They had a son and a daughter and determined to rear them by the same free standards. In 1927 they opened their Beacon Hill School in Hampshire, about two hours drive from London...Londoners nicknamed it 'The Paradise of Bad Children'. One story reported of the school was the visit of an adult who found the door opened by a 9-year-old girl completely nude. 'My God!' he exclaimed in consternation. 'There is no God,' the girl retorted coldly, and shut the door.

"During this time both Russell and his wife were experimenting with free love. Together they wrote 'Sex Freedom'. Russell made no effort to conceal his romantic affairs with other women. And his wife had her own. Finally, in 1933, London society, which had watched this with perturbation, was utterly aghast to read in the staid London Times the announcement of the birth of a child to 'Countess Russell and Mr. Griffin Barry'. Mr. Barry, it developed, was a journalist...

"But in the Spring of 1934 she filed suit for divorce...She asserted that Russell who was then 61, had misbehaved several times with a 20-year-old girl named Helen Spence. She went on to say that while she, the countess, had had affairs, Russell had had twice as many. The divorce was granted. Russell married Helen Spence - his third wife.

"Meanwhile, on the educational and philosophical fronts, all had not gone too well either. Back in 1924 Russell had made a number of speeches in China. When Bishop Birney of China arrived in this country to attend the Methodist Episcopal Quadrennial Conference, he labeled Russell's views as 'anti-Christian,' declaring: 'The youth movement in China includes a group which is assailing the Bible, and Bertrand Russell has lent his aid to this anti-Christian group by speaking at its meetings.'"

The Rand School Program

To return to the Rand School pro-war, pro-"Union Now" program, of Sept. 20th, on which Bertie spoke, I observed, while waiting to hear this "star", the plaque

of red Eugene V. Debs which decorates one wall of this Rand School auditorium, named in Deb's honor, and also other walls decorated with paintings of naked ladies, more yellowish in hue, less meaty and pink than old time saloon models, one being entitled "To-morrow - Hope of Man".

Algernon Speaks

"Milk-fed" Algernon Lee, head of red Rand School, a perfect "Algernon" with soft round face and toy moustache, lengthily and daintily held forth, upholding the League of Nations and urging that the U.S.A. join the British Empire and the "governments in exile" in warlike actions, quite unperturbed as shouts of "Louder!" kept resounding from lusty members of the audience unable to hear him. A few gentiles were present.

Wm. E. Bohn, Rand School instructor and editor of the socialist paper, the New Leader (free copies of which were on every seat as we entered), with painful grinning grimaces and groping for words, then introduced a man who, he said, is now "leading community thinking". This was the long-time radical Harry D. Gideonse (listed in THE RED NETWORK), president of Brooklyn College, who more recently has aided the Spanish Reds and various Red refugee committees, and was speaker for pro-Red, anti-Christian B'nai B'rith Day at the New York World's Fair along with B'nai B'rith's international president, Harry Monsky (Sentinel, 9/12/40). Gideonse' commendation of the rabid-for-war Jewish socialist Social Democratic Federation paper, The New Leader, distributed by Rand School, appears in its 11/23/40 issue.

Gideonse, the most effective speaker of the assortment, said that force is not bad; that the end justifies the means depending on the ends and means; that law is anchored in force; that we must remember that the Dred Scott decision and interpretation of the Constitution was settled by General Grant's army; that we must "dismantle our ideas of national sovereignty"; that we "need entangling alliances".

Miller Speaks

Mr. Bohn, with more inimitable grimaces, then announced that Wm. Green, head of the American Federation of Labor had designated Matthew Woll as speaker on this program, to represent the A.F. of L., but that Mr. Woll, being unable to come, had sent, instead, his "dear friend" Spencer Miller, long-time director of the Workers Education Bureau. Radical "Miller" has served various Socialist Party committees, and his socialistic Workers Education Bureau has been endorsed jointly by the A. F. of L. and the socialist Cooperative League of U.S.A. which is a fellow member with the Soviet Government's Cooperatives in the International Cooperative Alliance. (See my books.)

Bull-jawed Miller held forth so long, and with so much repetition, and the seats were so hard, I felt he really owed me money for listening - even though it would be useless to attempt to collect! He insisted that labor is asking that we abandon "short of war" and that this war is a "world revolution" and this is "our world". He said he had followed the "Union Now" Streit movement for 25 years; that Bevin (the English Red) and his trade union movement intended to reorganize Britain and British society after the war, and that we must work closely with them and reorganize both countries, two British delegates being then on the way here, he said, to help this. His demand for reorganizing and reconstructing American life (along radical lines) was reiterated until the weariness of boredom overwhelmed one.

His reference to "my friend John Flynn" (of America First) and to himself

being denied, then admitted, to an America First rally, was significant to one in the know.

Bertie Speaks

At last came the "piece de resistance", the supreme of supremes of the program - Bertie Russell himself! Bohn, in introduction, humbly repeated how "proud and happy" he was to introduce Russell and how glad he would be if he were to "speak all night", this "really great philosopher", how "very, very proud" he was to introduce Mr. Russell.

Russell, beaming with pride, then piped up like a little sparrow, with broad British accent on words like "wah", "knaow", "suppaose", and informed us that British and U.S.A. interests are identical; that the U.S.A. by being neutral in peace time starts wars, as no country would dare fight if they knew the U.S.A. were against them; that the U.S.A. must guarantee in the future all small nations like Denmark by force; that "the United States must have all the responsibilities after the war"; "it cannot evade them"; that a world-wide Federation composed of the U.S.A. and British Empire must be set up and that other countries willing to assist should also be admitted as members but that this world Federation must not insist that member countries be democracies; "We must accept Stalin's Russia", he said; also the Federation must own all of the world's air force and arms; that the Federation's World Executive must have authority to define which country is, or is not, an aggressor, have power to declare war, command the world armed forces, tax goods on countries coming from outside the Federation, control all colonial possessions in the world, enforce every treaty; that the U.S.A. "must be willing as a member of the Federation to take part in disputes all over the world", as is its duty in China now.

He made one inadvertent admission, damaging to his war talk, that "everyone knew the Versailles Treaty was unjust" and since it could not be revised "armed force was necessary".

Why Pay for Such "Education"?

Visit university libraries and count the numbers of vicious, obscene, Communist books, the books by radicals like Goodwin B. Watson, Harold Rugg, John Dewey and a host of little "tin god" Marxist intellectuals who vaunt their anti-Christian, anti-American, anti-moral garbage in pompous verbiage. I have done this in several universities. Not one parent in a thousand, however, reading the names of their children's educators knows or bothers to find out what these men actually teach. Read what you are paying to have your children taught!

81 Freud Book Titles

My report on an incomplete survey I made of the University of Michigan in the Spring of 1939 includes this:

"Sigmund Freud, the Austrian Jewish exile who was a supporter of the Communist congress held in Amsterdam in 1932, has probably done more to break down moral decency and to spread sex filth under the guise of science than any other single man.

"When I visited the University of Michigan library there were counted 81 Sigmund Freud book titles. These well-thumbed volumes are evidence of University recommendations of this filth for student reading. A convinced disciple of Freud

might well become ashamed of decent family affection. Freudian 'scientific' analyses continually portray love for mother, father, sister, or brother as being based on some sordid sexual desire for them.

"Making Everything Sexual

"As an example, the following is from one of the much used copies of Freud's 'Interpretation of Dreams' in the University of Michigan Library (Library card number 616.8F9T-T138,1913), page 257: 'It is correct to say that there is no series of associations which cannot be adapted to the representation of sexual facts. I conclude with the dream of a chemist, a young man, who has been trying to give up his habit of masturbation by replacing it with intercourse with women. Preliminary statement...'

"(Page 242) 'If with my patients I emphasize the frequency of the Oedipus dream of having sexual intercourse with one's mother - I get the answer...I can assure the reader that veiled dreams of sexual intercourse with the mother are a great deal more frequent than open ones to the same effect. There are dreams about landscapes and localities in which emphasis is always laid upon the assurance 'I have been there before'. In this case the locality is always the genital organ of the mother; it can indeed be asserted with such certainty of no other locality that one 'has been there before'.

"(Page 241) 'We have already asserted elsewhere that dreams which are conspicuously innocent invariably embrace coarse erotic wishes, and we might confirm this by means of numerous fresh examples...'

"Moral Garbage

"Parents who are as revolted at reading such a characteristic excerpt from Freud as I am to insert it, should bear in mind that the pages and pages of degenerate, unprintable dream 'examples' given in connection with it, not cited here, are even more revolting, and that all of this is in print and in the University of Michigan and other college libraries in constant use by fine young people sent there by their parents to be dosed by such poison. It would be better if parents, instead of their children, read Freud until they became angry enough to clean such anti-Christian, moronic, moral garbage out of the educational institutions attended by our nation's children."

Freud was chosen in 1937 by the votes of Jewish communities all over the world from a list of 420 suggested names as one of the 120 living Jews most illustriously HOLDING UP "LIVING IDEALS TO JEWISH YOUTH".

"RUSSELL DENIES EXISTENCE OF DEITY BEFORE MORE THAN 2000 YESTERDAY

"This is the bold heading in the Feb. 19, 1939, issue of The Michigan Daily. Below it appears the picture showing Bertrand Russell, with 'Professor DeWitt Parker emerging from the Graduate Building after his morning lecture.'" And, typical of current apostasy was the admission that Russell "presenting the agnostic point of view" was "sponsored by the Student Religious Association."

What They Read at College

In addition, in the Univ. of Michigan library card index I counted cards on books by the following authors listed in the official catalogues of the Soviet Government's "International Publishers" and the Communist Party's "Workers Library Publishers", as follows: Henri Barbusse (French Communist) (16); Max Beer (16); Anthony Bimba, the Central Committeeman of the Communist Party who when

sued for blasphemy was defended by the American Association for Advancement of Atheism, the Garland Fund and the American Civil Liberties Union (2); Earl Browder's "What is Communism" (3); Emile Burns (5); Alan Calmer (2); Wm. Peyton Coates (1); Henry David (2 copies); Horace B. Davis (1); Jerome Davis (12); Paul De Kruif (1); Robt. W. Dunn (8); R. Palme Dutt (5); Karl Marx and Friederich Engels (41); also cards on books covering Marx and Engels (79); Ben Field (1); Vera Figner (1); Louis Fischer (3); Wm. Z. Foster (5); Ralph Winston Fox (6); Joseph Freeman (4); Harry Gannes (1); Michael F. Gold, columnist of the Daily Worker, (2); Maxim Gorky (2); Jack Hardy (2); Wm. D. Haywood (1); Granville Hicks (3); Leo Huberman (1); Grace Hutchins (1); Allen Hutt (1); Frank Jellinek (1); Susan Myra Kingsbury (7); Peter A Kropotkin, Russian revolutionist, (15); Jurgen Kuczynski (6); Nadezhda Z. Krupskaya, Lenin's widow, (1); Joshua Kunitz (4); John Langdon-Davies (8); Joseph Lash with James Wechsler (1); V. I. Lenin (35); Gustav Mayer (1); Gustavus Myers (1); Wolf Abram Nodel (1); M. N. Pokrovsky (5); John Reed (1); Anna Rochester (8); F. L. Schuman (13); Sin Fu Seng (1); Agnes Smedley (1); John L. Spivak (1); Josef Stalin (20 cards including books about Stalin); John Strachey (7); Anna Louise Strong (16); D. Tanin (1); Charlotte Todes (1); Sidney and Beatrice Webb (32); Albert Rhys Williams (5); Walter Wilson (1); V. A. Yakhontoff (4); Samuel Yellen (1).

Cards on books by the following authors, members of the executive and national committee of the communist League of American Writers, in the Univ. of Michigan library included: Newton Arvin (2); Isador Schneider (2); James T. Farrell (20); Lewis Mumford (22); Richard Wright (4); Malcolm Cowley (3); Matthew Josephson (6); Alfred Kreymborg (4); John Howard Lawson (4); Edwin Seaver (1); Genevieve Taggard (1); Horace Gregory (2); Grace Lumpkin (1); Clifford Odets (5); Paul Peters (2); and Corliss Lamont, atheist head of the communist Friends of the Soviet Union and participant in the Congress of the above, (2); Erskine Caldwell (2); Jos. Freeman (4); and Mike Gold (2).

In a very incomplete survey, 189 were counted covering books on the subject of Communism, 76 cards for books on the subject of the Soviet Union, 656 cards listing books by radicals, 74 cards on Materialism (Atheism) and 81 cards on the filthy Sugmund Freud. But among the many Massachusetts House Reports in the Library, the one exposing and condemning Communist subversive activities was noticeable by its absence.

Winchell Again

While in New York, a lovely big dinner party was given for me. How I enjoyed meeting old friends! Warmongering Walter Winchell, who distributed Communist John L. Spivak's libelous book to every member of Congress, and who keeps the radio hot with lies concerning me and all other sincere patriots, suspected of disinclination to die for his co-racials abroad, reported (9/26/41): "Liz Dilling is in our midst. Had a party in her honor at the Griffin t'other night. Lizzy made a talk and called ye ed a warmonger and her persecutor. She said that her plans to get us boycotted out of business were 'proceeding according to plan'. Sounds like a D.N.B. announcement from Berlin."

But, Moscow's old trick of pinning a Nazi label on any and every opponent is becoming hackneyed since it has become necessary to pin it on 80% of our people. When every Jewish paper and commentator in the country yells for war this is called "patriotism" but, when Lindbergh says they yell for war this is called "anti-Semitism" or "Naziism".

Why Did Katherine Lewis Resign?

Supposedly, because of Lindbergh's reference to the current Jewish enthusiasm

for U.S.A. involvement in the present war, Katherine Lewis, daughter and assistant of John L. Lewis, a faithful "fellow-traveler" of the Communist Party line ever since the C.I.O. was organized, has resigned from the national board of America First. (Chicago Times, 10/23/41.) But, meantime, bear in mind that the Communist Party line changed from isolationism to intervention when the Nazi-Soviet pact was broken.

Red Methods

A most interesting and cultured European whom I met while in New York told me how he had been captured and imprisoned in Russia at the end of the World War and was shifted from prison to prison during and after the bloody Red revolution; how in 1918, an epidemic of typhoid and malaria broke out among the 40,000 prisoners in the Russian prison at Totskoylager where he was incarcerated. The Reds had no medicines and, becoming fearful of the epidemic spreading, they burned the whole prison, prisoners and all; he was one of a very few who succeeded in escaping.

They Are Crushing Opposition

I was shocked to discover, in New York, how thoroughly the enemy has bored from within or utterly shattered every anti-Red organization there.

The American Patriots, who formerly held fine meetings, have long since folded up, broken up from within. A. Cloyd Gill was with the American Patriots until their finish. Reports of his friendly relations with pro-Red, anti-Christian B'nai B'rith were current when I was there in 1938-9 just before the American Patriots' demise.

Last year, when I was in New York, my friend Jo Kamp who, through his Constitutional Educational League, has issued such excellent releases, was worried to death about paying his 'phone bill, etc. Cloyd Gill has been with Jo Kamp since Gill's unpleasant severance last fall from American Women Against Communism, directed by my friend Mrs. A. Cressy Morrison. Her organization, recently, was offered large financial help, for the use of its name, to be supplied from some unnamed source, by a person who gave Gill as his only reference. She has wisely refused this "aid", I understand.

Recently, when I 'phoned the Constitutional Educational League in New York, to speak to Jo Kamp, Mr. Gill, who answered, told me Kamp was honeymooning in the South. Although I cannot recall meeting Mr. Gill, he said very pleasantly that he had met me. So, I frankly questioned him about his policies and the reports I had heard. I had noted a change in the last Constitutional Educational League release, a change savouring of that so-familiar B'nai B'rith, Friends of Democracy propaganda "line", a crescendo which murmurs against "Communism" at the bottom rising to howling against "Nazis" and "Fascists" like Lindbergh (the label pinned on all opponents these days) up to bellowing against "anti-Semitism."

I had seen the letterhead of the Veterans Peace Temple of 1939 with Milton Solomon's name as chairman and A. Cloyd Gill's as executive vice-chairman. As Milton Solomon lists his connection with pro-Red, anti-Christian B'nai B'rith, in "Who's Who in American Jewry", I asked Gill about this. He readily admitted this association and expressed the highest admiration for Solomon and also for B'nai B'rith as an organization.

With sincerity, I complimented Gill on his former chart exposing the radicalism of the Federal Council of Churches, distributed by American Women Against

Communism. He chuckled and said that it had certainly surprised Federal Council leaders who asked, to quote, "'Can this be the same Gill who used to be so socially minded and who worked so closely with us?' But," said he, "It is the Federal Council that has changed, not I. When I helped them draw up their 1919-20 Steel Strike Report I used to meet with them every night". He seemed proud of the Report.

The Federal Council and the Steel Strike

Of course, anyone who has studied and kept records on the subject knows that the Federal Council has never changed since the day it was organized and adopted the Social Creed of the Churches praised by Lenin! Also, anyone familiar with the history of the 1919-20 Steel Strike, led by communist Wm. Z. Foster, and of the stench raised by the Report on it issued by radical Federal Council leaders, would be as shocked as I was to hear him admit this!

Red Bishop McConnell of the Federal Council of Churches, who headed the Commission in whose name this Report on the 1919 Steel Strike was issued, has been active in leading communist activities to date. In "Fight" magazine (6/37), the magazine of the Communist Party's American League for Peace and Democracy, is an article entitled "Steel - By Bishop Francis J. McConnell as told to Dorothy McConnell".(His daughter and a staff member then of this Communist magazine and organization.)

In this article McConnell mentions his conversations with Communist Wm. Z. Foster who agitated this revolutionary 1919 Steel Strike embracing 356,000 men and says: "At the very end Firzpatrick and Foster came to us and asked us to try our hands at arbitration with the United States Steel Corporation...Mr. Gary refused to arbitrate. The men on strike, he declared, were ' Bolsheviki' and better out of the mill... With the publication of the Steel Report by our Commission, some time after the close of the strike, a howl went up from steel officials and their sympathizers all over the country..."

The Dept. of Justice on the Strike

A Dept. of Justice report, issued 5/6/20, which is before me, concerns this same Federal Council Steel Strike Report and states that investigators were sent to Pittsburgh, to quote, "for the purpose of investigating the steel strike and that all of these investigators were more or less radicals and that they were utilized by W. Z. Foster...in presenting his side of the strike." It also covers the records of various professional Red agitators, involved along with Federal Council reds like Harry Ward, recent head of the Communist Party's American League for Peace and Democracy in whose magazine Bishop McConnell's above article on the strike appeared.

Gill said that his next brochure would be entitled "The Jew is My Neighbor" and that he would send me a copy. He has since done so with the request for my comment. I asked him whom he considered the outstanding anti-Communist Jews. He mentioned Judge Jos. M. Proskauer and his American Jewish Committee and one Simon Lazarus of Columbus, a department store owner who, he said, "gave me $3200 for just one of my projects. In fact," Gill said, "the greatest support I have had through the years has been from the Jews!"

Gill's Pamphlet Razzing Lindbergh

The full title of Gill's booklet which he sent me is "The Jew is My Neighbor - An Open Letter to Uncle Sam's Problem Child - Charles A. Lindbergh". It reads like a B'nai B'rith harangue and is as full of inaccuracies. It berates Lindbergh

and his "mischief-making Quislings", denounces the current Senatorial inquiry into motion-picture war-propaganda, upholds "aliens" and, copying red Birkhead's Friends of Democracy line says: "For your information, Charles, a recent national survey of Fifth Column elements in the United States showed approximately 700 groups definitely listed as belonging to the Fifth Column...However, not one of the important and typically Jewish Organizations is in the Fifth Column Roster." (Baloney! Zionist collectives financed from America are as Marxian in practice in Palestine as Sovietism.)

In his booklet Gill upholds the Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (long officered by officials of Kuhn Loeb & Co. whose late head, Jacob Schiff, financed the Russian Revolution) which has poured millions of dollars into Soviet Russia in recent years and is interlocked with the American Jewish Committee. Gill also quotes in his booklet a speech by Judge Proskauer, executive committeeman of the American Jewish Committee.

Gill's Leading "Anti-Reds"

The American Jewish Committee is tied in with every radical project. The Associated Press, 6/18/38, announced the union for united action of the American Jewish Committee, the (Zionist)American Jewish Congress, headed by red Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, the pro-Red, anti-Christian B'nai B'rith and the socialist Jewish Labor Committee (of about a half million members, now financing the carrying on of Red underground work abroad).

Proskauer's fellow members of the executive committee of the American Jewish Committee include: Samuel I. Rosenman who writes F.D.R.'s speeches; Lewis L. Strauss, Kuhn Loeb & Co. partner; Frederick M. Warburg, another Kuhn Loeb & Co. partner; George Backer, executive of the Socialist-Communist American Labor Party and head of Ort Federation (affiliated with the Joint Distribution Committee), son-in-law of the Kuhn Loeb & Co. partner, Jacob Schiff, who financed the Russian Revolution, and owner of the New York Post; Maurice Wertheim, director of the red "Nation" and of the pro-Communist Freudian-filth center, the New School for Social Research, who married Alma Morgenthau, sister of Henry Morgenthau, Secy. of the Treasury; Louis E. Kirstein, vice-pres. of Wm. Filene Sons (whose late head Edw. A. Filene set aside not only a million dollars for socialist cooperative stores but set up the radical Twentieth Century Fund). Kirstein is director of F. & R. Lazarus & Co., of Columbus, signed propaganda appeals for Spanish Reds, is executive committeeman of the National Conference of Jews and Christians, sponsored by B'nai B'rith and the Federal Council of Churches, is a fellow member, with F.D.R. and Willkie, of the radical American Hebrew Medal Committee which has bemedaled such Red-aiders as LaGuardia, F.D.R., etc. Kirstein sat at the head table at the banquet at which alien-born Marxist-minded Felix Frankfurter, who has "master-minded" the Red movement through the American Civil Liberties Union, etc., for over 20 years, was presented with the Ford Hall Forum gold medal for 1939.

Proskauer is also one of the sponsoring board, along with leading Reds, of the American Guild for German Cultural Freedom, Alvin Johnson, head of the pro-Communist New School for Social Research being vice-president, and the chairman red Thomas Mann (See p.60 of my book THE ROOSEVELT RED RECORD AND ITS BACKGROUND for his Moscow-sponsored committee).

A letter bleating over the suicide of Ernst Toller, Jewish Communist and a former leader of the bloody Soviet revolution in Germany, which asked aid for the "many like him" who could carry on "just a little longer" with help, was sent out by the American Guild for German Cultural Freedom, in 1939, with Proskauer's name on it as sponsor.

The American Hebrew, 9/19/41, reported: "...The American Jewish Committee, the American Jewish Congress, the Jewish Labour Front, and the B'nai B'rith are combined in studies, although the Congress has established its separate bureau. They work in emulation, and not in conflict...American Jewry realizes that during the war - and probably for years after - it is the trustee of the destiny of our people in Palestine and of the remnant of our people in the continent of Europe."

Gill's Booklet Ranked With B'nai B'rith's Stuff

The Jewish Sentinel which, according to its masthead, is "A Weekly Newspaper Devoted to Jewish Interests", gives its entire editorial page, 10/23/41, to rhapsodizing over Gill's booklet, "The Jew Is My Neighbor", headlining it "A MOST PRAISEWORTHY REPLY TO LINDBERGH" and urging the "widest circulation" for it, "that it may take its place alongside the compilations by the Council Against Intolerance in America" (a radical Jewish front co-chairmaned by George Gordon Battle, Earl Browder's attorney friend), "the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith and others". Copious quotations from Gill's booklet, included these maudlin lines to Lindbergh: "My friends - at least some of them - insist that I should hate the Jews. But, I don't."

Why misrepresent Lindbergh as hating the Jews or wanting anyone else to hate them because he said truthfully that, as a whole, American Jewry is, understandably, urging U.S.A. involvement in the world war, and that in this campaign "their greatest danger to this country is their large ownership and influence in our motion pictures, our press, our radio and our government".

This very Jewish Sentinel which denounces Lindbergh as "anti-Semitic" for saying the above has been unceasingly yelling for U.S.A. war involvement. While it would certainly be un-American if Lindbergh opposed any loyal American citizen because of race or creed, it is also un-American for any citizen to give greater loyalty to any foreign country or to any racial element at home or abroad than he gives to America and its whole people.

The same Jewish Sentinel, 10/9/41, in an ecstatic editorial tribute to the Red-aiding, world-wide Zionist leader, Justice Brandeis says: "It is to the everlasting credit of Justice Brandeis that he remained loyally Jewish" and Brandeis' services to the international Zionist racial cause are extolled as an "inspiring record of loyalty to his people and his people's cause".

Brandeis held that every Jew must "Organize! Organize! Organize!", must "stand up and be counted" as a separate race. But that policy makes for ill-feeling when the interests of a country in which Jews enjoy citizenship conflict with the interests of such Jewish international racial solidarity as he advocated. This unfortunate racial blindness was foretold by Scripture and makes the study of Biblical Prophecy the only clear guide to current events.

Zionism is Marxist in Theory and Practice

Zionism, while frequently acting as a rival, is just as Marxist as Stalinism. The Zionist cooperatives in Palestine are carried on along socialist Soviet lines, as I observed in 1939, with religion of any kind largely omitted and 85% of the workers organized in the Histadrut Labor organization affiliated with the red Socialist International. As Scripture foretold, Jewry is returning to Palestine in unbelief.

From Palestine, recently, "leaders of all factions of Palestine Jewry" joined in broadcasting their praises to Moscow, according to the Jewish Examiner

(10/3/41) which stated: "Isaac Ben Zvi speaking on behalf of the Jewish National Council (of Palestine) said that 'Russian Jewry was and remained for us the cradle of Jewry's liberation'. Emphasizing that he voices the sentiments of a half million Jews, Ben Zvi stated: 'You brethren in Moscow...we follow with adoration the Russian heroic struggle..." (And so on) Ussishkin, "one of the fathers of the Zionist movement in Russia" praised Russia at length as the land of "full equality" for Jewry, where "the Jewish bent back has grown straight", etc.

The same issue of the Jewish Sentinel which editorially rhapsodizes over Gill's anti-Lindbergh pamphlet, reports (p.9): "A message of encouragement to the Jews of Soviet Russia was addressed this week by the American Jewish Congress" (ally of Proskauer's American Jewish Committee) "and the World Jewish Congress and transmitted through the Soviet Embassy in Washington".

A dear, kind, self-sacrificing patriotic woman friend of mine in New York told me how Gill, on the pretense that he needed to borrow a dollar from her (!), came to her apartment and pumped her at length concerning her anti-Red friends, associates and activities. Another patriot reported a similar experience.

The Conference at Nashville

Will Rogers always said, "All I know is what I read in the papers" but I am glad that that is not true in regard to all I read in the papers about myself! I spoke, Oct. 9th, for a great Christian Conference held in Nashville in the tabernacle of Rev. Sam Swain, where I have spoken before, and met many fine people afterwards. Rev. Love of Birmingham, who was present while newspaper reporters, hostile to the conference, interviewed me, with a twinkle in his eye remarked next day: "I keep thinking about the way you handled those reporters. They came determined to smear and discredit you but they came up against something they did not expect and went out looking so mild I have to laugh! The reporter most opposed to you told Rev. Swain afterwards 'I certainly disagree with everything Mrs. Dilling says but I have to give her credit for being one of the most sincere persons I have ever met.'" Aside from some personal jibes and some errors, you can see by the enclosed reproduction that these boys could have done worse by me. At any rate, accustomed as I am to being flayed, anything less appears almost as flattery.

Don't Worry - I Am Used To It!

Even in the patriotic camp, as in all others, there are always a few "kitty cats" who prefer gossiping and creating dissention to uniting in a common cause. Friends, the past week, have been writing me with kindly anguish over such imaginative bits circulated about me as: that I am "afraid" ever to go to Washington again; that I left the last time "weeping"; that I lecture for the Anglo-Saxon Federation (I have never even attended one of their meetings), etc., etc.

I have frequently heard the contradictory tales that I am a Catholic trying to disrupt the Methodist Church (when I expose a Red Methodist); that I am an anti-Catholic seeking to destroy the Catholic Church (when I expose a Red-aiding Catholic); and "Trigger" Norris, the preacher who killed an unarmed man and has been convicted recently of malicious libel, as he clipped over to England and back to do a "Willkie" for his B'nai B'rith friends, recently "placed" me in an insane asylum, in his own paper, that is.

After Norris printed the invention that my friend Dr. M. F. Ham, the great evangelist, had been maligned by me and other "Nazis" and had turned against us,

Dr. Ham to correct this 'phoned me long distance and has written two friendly letters denying that he had been maligned or had changed one iota from the stand he took in his conversation with me and in his letter which I quoted on page 5 of my "Trigger Norris" article.

Dr. Ham' letter to me, 9/29/41, closes with: "Trusting that you are still coming out victorious in your conflict against the anti-Christ..." His letter of 10/15/41 closes with: "The trick to discredit me is not new - I have had to fight it all in my entire ministry. The fact that you and I have the same convictions on this matter does not mean that either one of us is a tool of the other, or that we are tools of some alien powers, as some people would try to make it appear. Jesus had to fight the same subtle conspiracy...As far as I am concerned, there has been no change."

Changing "Line", Not Purpose

My unswerving course in support of Christianity and Americanism for the past ten years has been to labor to seek then make facts available to patriots to enable them to detect and combat subversive "boring from within" all churches and organizations. "It is later than you think."

The many Red Marxist parties keep confusing our best people with their changes of "line". The same Norman Thomas who, as director year after year of the communist Garland Fund which issued the communist New Masses magazine, has supplied every phase of the Red movement, the same Norman Thomas who split his party by insistence on Socialist Party united front with the Communist Party (for militancy, some feared, would illegalize the Party) now has become a "Saint" to many patriots because of his current opposition to U. S. involvement in the world war. But he is a Marxist just the same.

The Communist Party, which abruptly reversed its fight-the-axis "collective security" policy as soon as the Nazi-Soviet pact was signed, as quickly reversed to warmongering when it was broken.

The desertion of Stalin's Communist Party by flocks of Jewish intellectuals, following the Nazi-Soviet pact, indicates no change of heart but merely resentment at Stalin's temporary "betrayal" of Jewry and their intention to build Marxism along "local" lines here in the U.S.A. under their own, instead of Moscow's leadership.

Lyons Carves Up The Stalinists

It takes one Red intellectual to "artistically" carve up another Red former comrade. Eugene Lyons, Russian-born Jewish socialist, is one of the present luminaries of the Jewish-socialist "Social Democratic Federation" and a contributor to their paper, the New Leader, along with ex-Stalinist Benjamin Stolberg, Trotskyite Max Eastman, etc. I bought Lyon's book, "The Red Decade", after the Bertrand Russell lecture, in the red Rand School book store which is featuring it.

Of course, Lyons detests me and my anti-Marxist kind as much or more than he does the Stalinist rivals in the Socialist field. The article which he printed about me in American Mercury (July, 1939) by radical Milton Mayer was a frantic attempt to discredit me by ridicule. No one can accuse me, therefore, of being motivated by a desire to aid Lyons in the sale of his book by expressing the opinion that it is delightfully witty, brilliantly written and, with few exceptions, accurate. Nothing has ever amused me more. Page after page, he humorously relates what I have so laboriously catalogued, writing with a pen dipped

in the acid of ridicule and sarcasm, which must irk, no end, the Stalinist comrades he knows so well from the inside. But how few reading his knife-like expose of Stalinism would observe how carefully he shields Marxian socialism itself, as well as certain pet Marxist devotees who have now, like him, decided to shed Stalin or are workers in his own camp.

For example, in poking fun at former gin-drinking middle class Bohemians who became Stalinists, he says (p.129): "With the egocentric yowling of their species they rushed into intellectual slumming as heatedly as they had gone in for slummy intellectualism...A lot of budding and a few overripe novel writers suddenly became interested in the plain people and got all puffed up over their new virtue as though Upton Sinclair, Jack London and a lot of others had never written." (Marxist Jack London's appeal for revolution appears in my ROOSEVELT RED RECORD AND ITS BACKGROUND and if the Soviet-kissing Upton Sinclair has ever failed Moscow that is news!) On page 134, Sinclair Lewis, radical Thornton Wilder (see my books), are similarly shielded, etc.

Lyons' comments on proletarian Red Culture convulsed me as I have had to deal with so much of it. Anyone who has seen an exhibition of Red "art" must laugh at the truth in his description (p.128) of Stalinist artists "portraying in paint, words, stage characters or dance rhythms - the idealized 'workers' of their fond imaginations; tall men with immense biceps, and squat women with buttocks like mountains, robust and rough-hewn and chanting of sweat and blood, or revolution and dialectics."

Help 100% Americans!

How it hurt to have to "blow" $3.00 to buy Lyons' book! With his Socialist connections he will sell plenty of copies. I want to give time soon to finish reading, then reviewing, the fascinating book by Dr. Bessie Burchett, a real 100% sound American Christian who has suffered martyrdom in Philadelphia and been retired from her important teaching position because of her patriotic opposition to Red influences in the schools. You cannot afford not to read her new book, her own interesting, vital, first hand experiences! It is only $1.50. She knows whereof she speaks and writes on the subject of "Education for Destruction". You should send for it and get others to do so. Her address is 5200 Warren St., Philadelphia, Pa.

Get Lyons' book from the public library but pay Dr. Burchett for hers. No Reds of any brand will help distribute her book for she shields no phase of Marxism! Therefore, she can only expect to be smeared as a "Nazi".

Jan Valtin Not Anti-Marxist

Jan Valtin (Richard Krebs), the former Soviet O.G.P.U. agent who so luridly assails Stalinism and Naziism in his book "Out of the Night", is being featured and vociferously upheld by the Socialists of the Social Democratic Federation and the Socialist Party of Norman Thomas, in whose affairs and Conferences he participates. He is married to and has a daughter by "a Rabbi's granddaughter - Abigail Harris, whose father was Adriel Harris the son of the late Maurice H. Harris of Temple Israel." (Sentinel, 9/4/41)

U.S. Trys Stalin's Rivals

One of the silliest things going on now is the trial by the U.S. Government of 28 Trotskyite Communists because of their Red revolutionary designs on our government, while the Stalinist Communists, their more powerful rivals with identical aims, are being feted at the White House and given taxpayers' Lend-Lease millions!

The Russian War Relief Comedy

Perhaps you saw the full page newspaper advertisement in the New York Times (10/10/41) of the Russian War Relief Benefit to be given by Russian War Relief, Inc., 535 Fifth Ave., New York, at Madison Square Garden, Oct. 27, 1941, seat prices ranging from 28¢ to $10 each. To quote it: "Russia's men and women are revealing themselves to the world - brave, proud, stalwart!...The dollars you give in this cause are dollars given to freedom's cause. Our Government is providing all possible military supplies to the Government of Russia. The people of America will stretch out a helping hand to support the people of Russia..."

"THESE EMINENT AMERICANS ASK YOUR HELP ON BEHALF OF THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE" is the heading at the bottom of the page above a list of over 300 names. And what a pot pourri they are of Communists and "fellow travelers", Marxists of every shade and hue, radical educators, writers and churchmen, New Deal politicians, Jewish capitalists, stooges of the radio and motion picture industry, and representatives of the whole pack of Soviet-loving Socialists and "liberals", who so obediently reverse themselves on any policy whether from urging radical-pacifist disarmament of the U.S.A. to warmongering or anything else, when Moscow, the spiritual "Fatherland", pushes the button. These names include: Jay Allen, correspondent; Mischa Auer, actor; Dr. Frank Aydelotte, Princeton; Allan C. Balch, Calif. Inst. Tech.; Tallulah Bankhead, actress; Eugene E. Barnett, gen. secy. Y.M.C.A.; Alfred H. Barr, dir. Museum of Modern Art; Robert Benchley, actor; Aline Bernstein; Henri Bernstein, playwright; Chas. E. Beury, pres. Temple Univ.; Alice Stone Blackwell; Prof. Franz Boas, Columbia U.; Louis Bromfield, (Friends of Democracy); Edward E. Brown, pres. First Nat. Bank, Chgo.; Dr. Lewis Browne (ex-rabbi); Pearl S. Buck; Dean B. I. Burns, La. State U.; Dean C. Sidney Burwell, Harvard U.; Prof. Jos. P. Chamberlin, Columbia U.; Harry Chandler, pub. L. A. Times; Charles Chaplin; Michael Chekhov; Dr. Henry Sloan Coffin, Union Theo. Sem.; Dr. Frederick A. Coller, Mich. U.; Ronald Coleman, actor; Marc Connelly, playwright; Clark M. Eichelberger; Major George Fielding Eliot; John Lovejoy Elliott; Dr. Haven Emerson; Douglas Fairbanks (Ullman); Lion Feuchtwanger; Dorothy Canfield Fisher; Lewis Gannett; Norman Bel Geddes; Ira Gershwin; Morris Gest; Dean Virginia C. Gildersleeve, Barnard Coll.; Dr. Israel Goldstein; Dr. Frank P. Graham, U. of N. C.; Lillian Hellman; Maurice Hindus; Bishop H. W. Hobson, nat. chmn., Fight for Freedom Com.; B. W. Huebsch; Stanley M. Isaacs, pres. Borough Manhattan; Rufus M. Jones, Am. Friends Service Com.; Dean Hervey E. Jordan, Univ. Va.; Matthew Josephson; Geo. S. Kaufman; Dr. Foster Kennedy, Cornell U.; Sen. Robert Kenny, L. A., Calif.; Freda Kirchwey, Nation; Margaret I. Lamont (wife of Corliss) and Mrs. Thos. W. Lamont; Mr. & Mrs. Henry G. Leach; Gov. Herbert Lehman; Dr. Max Lerner, Williams Coll.; Rev. Thos. S. Logan (Epis.) of Phila.; Rev. Donald G. Lothrop, Boston; Robert Morss Lovett, Govt. Secy. Virgin Islands; Ernest Lubitsch; Prof. Robt. S. Lynd; Dr. J. A. McCallum, Phila.; Dr. John A. Mackay, Princeton Theol. Sem.; Judge Julian W. Mack; Maurice Maeterlinck; Thos. Mann; Dr. Karl Menninger, Topeka; Yehudi Menuhin; Francis P. Miller, Coun. on For. Relations; Dr. Robt. A. Millikan, Calif. Inst. Tech.; Dr. Wesley Mitchell, Columbia U.; Edgar Ansel Mowrer, Chgo. Daily News; Wm. Allan Neilson, Smith Coll.; Msgr. O'Dwyer, L. A. Calif.; Bishop Edw. L. Parson (pres. of the red C.L.I.D.); Clarence Pickett, Am. Friends Service Com.; Elmer Rice; Mrs. Jacob Riis; Dr. Howard Chandler Robbins, Gen. Theol. Sem.; Col. Raymond Robins; Dr. Jos. Rosen; Chester Rowell, San F.; Dr. Florence Sabin, Rockefeller Inst.; Alex Sachs; Wm. Jay Schieffelin: Vida Scudder, Wellesley Coll.; Dr. Chas. Seymour, Pres. Yale U.; James T. Shotwell, Columbia U.; Herman Shumlin; Dr. Henry Sigerist, John Hopkins U.; Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, Cleveland; Mary M. Simkhovitch; Mrs. F. Louis Slade; Edgar Snow, writer; Vilhjalmur Stefansson; Raymond Gram Swing; Myron C. Taylor (U.S. Steel Corp.); Edw. M. M. Warburg; Mrs. James P. Warburg; Allen Wardwell, chmn. Red Cross delgn. to Russia; Orson Welles; Dr. Henry Nelson Wie-

man, U. of Chgo. Divinity Sch.; Albert Rhys Williams; David Rhys Williams; Rabbi Stephen S. Wise; Mary E. Woolley, Mt. Holyoke Coll.; Efrem Zimbalist, and many more.

The inconsistency of these people calling butcher Stalin's cause "freedom's cause" equals the inconsistency of Eugene Lyons (in his "Red Decade") breathing only reverence for the "old Bolsheviks" including Trotsky who with Stalin gained power by slaughtering and torturing millions in the Red Russian Revolution which Lyons calls "the greatest single event in our epoch" (p.237 -) while he flays Stalin on the same pages as the greatest monster of the centuries for "purging" thousands of his fellow "old Bolsheviks" by the same murder and torture treatment.

Reds Razz Halifax

The news report of how things got out of hand at this Russian Benefit at Madison Square Garden is droll. To quote:

"Viscount Halifax, British ambassador to the United States, stood mutely before a throng of 22,000 persons at a Russian war relief rally in Madison Square Garden tonight while Soviet sympathizers shouted: 'Open up a western front!'

"Continuing against a rising storm of taunting cries of active British military aid for the Russians, the long, lean English diplomat declared that aid from the two governments - the United States and Britain - would be forthcoming. As the hubbub increased in volume, Halifax was forced to strike out the next to the last paragraph and final sentence in his prepared speech.

"New Party Line Slogan

"'Open up a western front!' is the new party line slogan of the local communist organization and supplants the policy of 'the Yanks aren't coming!' that was the policy when the Soviet-Nazi nonaggression pact was in force several months ago.

"Party workers hawked 'Open up a western front!' buttons on the street corners around the garden, while girl vendors sold the Daily Worker, official communist newspaper, at the entrance. A big banner with the words 'Knit for Russia - register here' hung in the outer lobby.

"Inside the huge sports arena, 11 huge red flags, with the golden hammer and sickle emblazoned on them, hung from the balconies. They were threaded in between the United States stars and stripes, British Union Jack, and the flags of the nations conquered by Hitler.

"Pictures on Background - of Pink

"Suspended from the ceiling and dangling 50 feet - right over the ring where a battery of lights usually glares down on perspiring fistic gladiators - was a gigantic, four-sided, hollow 'V', the British victory symbol, with photomontage pictures of grim soldires, sailors, starving children, grief-stricken mothers, plastered on a background of pastel pink.

"There was just a hint of the coming trouble when Joseph E. Davies former ambassador to the U.S.S.R. and chairman of the President's committee on war relief agencies, started to speak. There were scattered cries of 'open up a western front!' but they subsided when a stentorian voice from the gallery yelled, 'Save it for Halifax!'

"Davies pictured Russia as 'standing in the breach, on the frontier of

civilization, fighting for us'..Russia had built up her armies and 'cleansed her house of treason' while democracies slept, Davies declared. In fact, every one had slumbered except President Roosevelt, he remarked...

"Yells Delay Halifax's Start

"When Halifax was introduced by Edward C. Carter, national chairman of Russian War Relief, Inc., he had to wait several minutes, nervously fingering his script, while the yelling demonstration went on. The cries came from the upper reaches of the galleries, from the 25¢ seats (28¢ with federal tax) while the occupants of the $10 boxes in the arena looked up and glowered.

"There was applause when the British ambassador said that never before in all history had any nation shown 'a finer spirit of resistance' than had Russia, but someone in the gallery yelled: 'You didn't show it, but we did!'...

"Quoting Abraham Lincoln's words about the Civil war dead - 'The world will little note nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here' - Viscount Halifax stirred up some more noise when he said that in the present situation 'what counts now is not what we say but what we do.'

"'Hurray - Western front!' shrieked a heckler and the gallery began to chant: 'Western front!'

"Viscount Halifax hurried along and wound up with a declaration that altho there had been differences in the past, in the future the British and Russian would 'march side by side.' That touched off the chant from the balconies louder than ever and the ambassador stepped off the platform.

"Others who appeared on the program included: John Green, Scottish born president of the Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers of America; George W. Thompson, British trade union representative; Genevieve Tabouis, French political journalist; Benny Goodman, 'swing king'; Paul Muni, the actor; Richard Wright, Negro author of 'Native Son'" (a Communist best-seller); "Andrei A. Gromyko, soviet charge d'affaires; Clark M. Eichelberger, national chairman of the interventionist organization, Committee to Defend America, and Dr. Frank Kingdon, British born chairman of the New York City chapter of the prowar, Fight for Freedom, Inc." (Chicago Tribune, 10/28/41)

The only way to keep out of war now, it seems, is to join the British Army.

A Hoax

In my August letter I mentioned the tears Mary and I dripped when news came that one of our five regular contributors, upon whom I have, too long, depended to pay the girls and rent, was unable to continue and we lost $25 per month.

A little later, referring to this, a very "sweet" letter of encouragement arrived, signed by "Alice Haynes Jordan" of 1045 Park Ave., New York, enclosing a cheque for $250 drawn on the Harlem branch of the Corn Exchange Trust Co. She urged me to carry on and she would send the same every three months. On the strength of it, as prices were rising, I gave the girls a little raise and almost took on needed help.

We were elated with relief and surprise until my letter of thanks and literature sent to the "lady" was returned with 17¢ postage due and marked "party

unknown" and the cheque bounced back with a charge of $1.40 for bank fees! A New York friend, who investigated, reported a colored maid by that name at this Park Avenue address but whether her name was used with her knowledge or not, we do not know.

This is the Time to Go On!

For several years, since I became unable financially to carry the expense in addition to donating my time to the work, five self-sacrificing patriots have made it possible for me to carry on factual research which, according to both patriots and Reds, was responsible for formation of the Dies Committee, and which has been felt, as one Red writer put it "in every town and hamlet in the United States." Present New Deal efforts to hector me indicate some "nuisance" value on my part.

At the same time we have built up and are continuing (short handed) to keep records of priceless value to the entire Nation. It is safe to say that there is no one active in the anti-Red fight today who has not used my material. The American Legion National Americanism Committee is only one of countless groups who have thanked me for my assistance.

If I were "smart" and did not cringe from personal begging more than from being hung and were not so tied down day and night at the work, I rightfully should be able to beg, from the thousands of people who have received my aid gratis, enough to get us increased instead of decreased office space and help.

When a second of the five kind "overworked" contributors had to discontinue last week, reducing our budget $50 more, we started measuring and figuring how we could crowd everything into one of our two office spaces to save on rent. But, even by stacking everything in aisles like a warehouse and storing some elsewhere, the problem would be how to be able to work without poking our elbows in each other's eyes!

One thinks, if only someone would donate office space, or if a number of people would only pledge small regular monthly amounts on which we could depend, we might not only make up this deficit but extend our efforts!

Never have so many people been writing in and expressing interest. But most of these real workers are "common people" with slender funds, the kind of whom Lincoln spoke when he said, "God must have loved the common people, he made so many of them!"

From a Few of Many Nice Letters

From Redmond, Oregon: "I write to let you know of my uneasiness and anxiety. I have not heard from you since the August news letter. Has the enemy stopped your great work? All hopes and prayers are for the continuance of your patriotic and Christian work."

From Brooklyn: "Many thanks for your efforts and hope you will be able to continue on."

From Wapato, Wash.: "I enjoy your bulletins and I pass them on to friends to read. May God give you wisdom, strength and protection."

From Denver, Colo.: "I wish that the necessity for making a living did not so completely engross my time and efforts. For every true patriot should be in business with you saving our country, our free government and institutions and our

"(1) Every organization subject to foreign control which engages in political activity;
(2) Every organization which engages both in civilian military activity and in political activity;
(3) Every organization subject to foreign control which engages in civilian military activity, and
(4) Every organization, the purpose or aim of which, or one of the purposes or aims of which, is the establishment, control, conduct, seizure, or overthrow of a government or subdivision thereof by the use of force, violence, military measures, or threats of any one or more of the foregoing."

I am replying as follows:

Dear Mr. Smith:

In reply to your inquiry as to whether my "organization" falls within any of the types in Section 2 (a) of the Voorhis Act, I would say "No", unless the New Deal holds that my ten years effort to uphold the Republic and oppose Marxism and dictatorship now classifies me as the agent of the "foreign" Government-in-Exile-of-George-Washington.

While I have no "organization", in my research and writing which is purely for religious and educational purposes, I am assisted by three, sometimes more, lovely Christian women and girls. We would be glad to have you come in at any time and look us over to decide whether or not we should be registered as an army or military organization.

While we do not know how to shoot, wrestle or do Jiu Jitsu tricks, as yet, we are willing to learn whatever you care to teach us in that line; you might find the work agreeable as one of the girls is a pretty petite blonde and another a striking brunette.

Sincerely,

(Mrs. A. W.) ELIZABETH DILLING

ED:jl

A FEW CAN SAVE A NATION

Corrupt cities and nations have been saved by God if only a few persons in them showed themselves worthy of saving. "And the Lord said, If I find in Sodom fifty righteous, then I will spare all the place for their sakes." (Genesis 18:26)

And so, today, may the repentance and sincere love of God which inspired the immortal psalms of David regenerate enough Americans to save our nation.

"The fool hath said in his heart, There is no God. They are corrupt, they have done abominable works, There is none that doeth good." (Psalm 14)

"Save me, O God; for the waters are come in unto my soul. I sink in deep mire, where there is no standing: I am come into deep waters, where the floods overflow me. (Psalm 69)

"By terrible things in righteousness wilt thou answer us, O God of our salvation; who art the confidence of all the ends of the earth and of them that are afar off upon the sea:" (Psalm 65)

"Who will rise up for me against the evildoers? Or who will stand up for me against the workers of iniquity? Unless the Lord had been my help, my soul had almost dwelt in silence." (Psalm 94)

"Judge me, O God, and plead my cause against an ungodly nation: O deliver me from the deceitful and unjust man." (Psalm 43)

"The Lord bringeth the counsel of the heathen to nought: he maketh the devices of the people of none effect." (Psalm 33)

"I will say of the Lord, He is my refuge and my fortress: my God; in him will I trust...He shall cover thee with his feathers, and under his wings shall thou trust: his truth shall be thy shield and buckler...For he shall give his angels charge over thee, to keep thee in all thy ways." (Psalm 91)

"Blessed is he whose transgression is forgiven, whose sin is covered." (Psalm 32)

"Like as a father pitieth his children, so the Lord pitieth them that fear him. For he knoweth our frame; he remembereth that we are dust." (Psalm 103)

"Say among the heathen that the Lord reigneth;...he cometh to judge the earth: he shall judge the world with righteousness, and the people with his truth." (Psalm 96)

"For he is our God; and we are the people of his pasture, and the sheep of his hand. To day if ye will hear his voice, harden not your heart." (Psalm 95)

BY THE GRACE OF GOD AND YOUR HELP NEITHER MY OFFICE NOR OUR CAUSE SHALL FOLD UP!

Sincerely,

(Mrs. A. W.) ELIZABETH DILLING

ED:jl

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WOMEN'S PEACE CONFERENCE NUMBER

THE CHICAGO LEADER

100% American Weekly — Now entering its 27th year

VOLUME XXVII: NUMBER 6 • FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 26, 1941 Fred R. Hunt & Sons Company, Incorporated

PEACE MEETING OPENS SATURDAY

CONFERENCE IS CONVENTION KEY

Women's Organizations of Entire Nation Are to Be Represented

SESSIONS TOMORROW AND SUNDAY

We, the Mothers, Mobilize for America, Sponsors Gathering Convening in Chicago September 27 and 28

We, the Mothers Mobilize for nerica, has issued the following ap- al to all women's peace groups in the United States, from its national headquarters, 27 West Van Buren Street:

"Dear Fellow Worker in the Cause of Peace:

"As you know, the frantic efforts of the administaration to push this nation into war against the will of the people, reached a climax on September 11 when the president ordred the American Navy to 'shoot first.'

"Yesterday in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, the American Legion Convention passed a resolution endorsing another 'A.E.F.' The hour has struck for the woman of America to get together and STOP the war mad minority that is leading this nation of ours to destruction. ACTION NOW IS IMPERATIVE!

"A preliminary conference to plan the Women's Peace Convention proposed in our previous letter, will be held in Chicago on Saturday and Sunday, September 27 and 28. (a name ap- plied to anyone intelligent enough to age, strengthened and spurred on to greater goals. A quick glance at the names listed reveals that.

All of these women have been tireless workers in the cause of peace

Mrs. Rosa Farber of the Mothers of the United States, one of the outstanding figures in mothers' organizations, has spent much time in Washington, quietly acquiring vital information, testifying before Congressional committees, ably and brilliantly representing the mothers' cause. Two other delegates from her group will participate in the conference.

Mrs. David Stanley, of the Cleveland Mothers of America, a most energetic organization, advises us that two delegates of that organization will be with us in Chicago. We have met Mrs. Closey of this group and recognize her genuine ability.

Form Indianapolis, Indiana, we will have four delegates from the Service Mothers of Indiana, a young organization, but certainly going places. We know these mothers will add enthusiasm and spirit to the conference.

A long-distance call from New York informs us that Mrs. J. Sargent Cramm of Peace House, New York, will be with us and will see that a delegate from California joins her here. Mrs. Cramm has given unstintingly of her time and money to preserve the youth of this nation from the bestial butchery of war.

Mrs. Beatrice Knowles another highly regarded worker in the mothers' cause, will participate in the conference with a delegation from a new organization, "American Mothers" which is taking the offensive immediately. In her letter Mrs. Knowles says, "We are with you 100%. If the president thinks he can put us into war we do not want—especially when the boys in the camps and the mothers on the outside are of the one and same idea—he's just plumb crazy."

VOTERS DEMAND DRASTIC CHANGE

Evidence of Good Faith by Leaders on Both Sides Will Be Required

BETRAYAL OF 1940 STANDS OUT

Collusion between Candidates in Opposing Camps Will No Longer Be Tolerated, Declares Writer

[Reprinted from a previous issue]

By MRS. GRACE KEEFE
Secretary We, the Mothers, Mobilize for America, Inc.

Now that the party organizations are starting to make up their slates, we would suggest the advisability of "taking a look at the record" as Al Smith was wont to say in the good old days.

Just what does the Republican label on a candidate mean today? Mr. Willkie is still counted a member of that party and is scheduled to do some campaigning for certain New Dealish Republican candidates. It has been customary in the past for political parties to provide the people a choice on fundamental issues. In fact is not that the prime reason for the existence of political parties? During the last presidential campaign the two major parties failed to provide a means for expression of the public will on such vital questions as "Aid to England" and peacetime conscription. Mr. Willkie and Mr. Roosevelt, even during the campaign were in accord on these major issues. The debate on conscription ... Congress ... diately when Mr. Willkie announced his endorsement of "some form of ... two and one-half years for the draftees unless they can wiggle out of it, either because of legitimate reasons or wire-pulling. This lack of honesty has occasioned a loss of faith in the government on the part of these drafted men, with a consequent lowering of morale which is the worst possible thing that could happen to an army and a most serious blow at defense if we were actually endangered as the administration would have us believe.

Well, "cash and carry" soon also went out the window and the "lend-lease bill again labeled as a bill to "keep us out of war" opened the floodgates of American wealth to be poured out to Britain China, Greece, etc. all, of course to "keep war away from our shores." A servile Congress, throwing overboard the constitution, abdicated its power and gave Dictator Roosevelt the green light. This was done despite the deluge of protests that poured into Washington and contrary to all established precedent. Hardly was the ink dry on this infamous bill, when the cry began, and despite solemn assurances of "no convoys", one bright day we were told the navy was "patrolling" the Atlantic keeping the sea lanes open. Like sheep the American people have been led, step by step. The American boys, who we were promised "again and again" would not be sent into foreign wars, are now on foreign soil occupying jointly with a warring nation the foreign land of Iceland. Now we are told the American navy will "shoot first" if hostile ships interfere in our carrying supplies to Iceland, two thousand miles away from the United States, and at this moment Congress is being asked to arm merchant ships. The whole shameful record of this deception constitutes the blackest page in our his- ... sponsibility, the situation adds up its way.. There exists in this country ...

LYRL VAN RYNING
Keynoter of Women's Peace Conference Meeting at Hotel La Salle

TENTATIVE PROGRAM FOR CONFERENCE

Saturday, September 27

Registration 10:00 A. M.
Hotel La Salle—Lincoln Room

Open meeting 2:00 to 4:30 P.M.—Prayer. Singing—"Star Spangled Banner." Greetings. Opening Address—"This is Women's Business"—Lyrl Van Hyning.

4:30 to 6:00 P. M.—
Round Table Discussions. Conferences.

8:00 P. M.—
Open meeting. Special Talks by ... Declarations ... to be announced.

Sunday, September 28

... resolution, and the chorus of nays was almost as great as the ayes. ...

FIELD NOTES

The regular monthly luncheon for September was held in the beautiful Adams room of the Midland Hotel. Mrs. Lyrl Van Hyning presided. A capacity audience, after enjoying a hearty repast, gave rapt attention to the very interesting address delivered by Mrs. Fielding Marshall, well-known newspaper woman, who prefaced her remarks with the sincerest compliments on the work of our organization.

Speaking of her experiences at the convention of the General Federation of Women's Clubs held in Atlantic City last May, at which 4000 delegates, representing some 2,000,000 club women were present, she described the scene enacted when a resolution favoring "whatever aid is necessary" to insure Hitler's defeat, was brought up on the floor.

"Half a dozen women rose and offered their sons on the altar of freedom, but not one woman of the several thousand present spoke for peace. Mrs. John L. Whitehurst of Baltimore, Maryland, the president-elect, twice appealed from the platform for a frank expression of opinion pointing out that the resolution favored going to war, if necessary. After the second appeal, one woman, a physician unmarried rose and suggested that it ... and our boys ...

PUBLIC RECORDS

"We, the isolationists (a name applied to anyone intelligent enough to read history and courageous enough to speak for himself [illegible] of the people, but because we stand as isolated units all over this great land and have no cohesion, we have been largely unheard. We must find each other, we must lift our voices in chorus, not solos—we must be heard—WE ARE FOR AMERICA—FOR A CONTINUANCE OF OUR FORM OF GOVERNMENT UNDER THE CONSTITUTION

"This convention gives us this chance—only by thus joining our hands can we make these alien-minded mouthpieces of the administration see that the people are determined not to follow Mr. Roosevelt into his war. WE, THE PEOPLE, ARE AMERICA! We don't want anyone to fight for us—we don't want empire or possessions—we don't want to impress our way of life on those who do not like it. We know that THE BREATH OF FREEDOM DOES NOT COME FROM CANNON'S MOUTH, but by putting into practice the theory of freedom—already expressed in our Declaration of Independence.

"This is the hour of destiny for the free women of America! By all that you hold dear, your hopes for the future of your children and your country, we urge you in this crisis to put everything else aside and come to this conference or send a delegate from your organization. We will lay the plans for a gathering of women such as has *not* been seen in this nation or in the world. The courageous, intelligent womanhood of America dare not fail in this hour so fraught with peril, to measure up to the magnificent opportunity, the sacred obligation that lies upon them to save, not our own beloved country, but to rescue the human race from the degardation into which it has fallen.

"Wire or write us to when and where and how many will arrive. Arrangements will be made for your accommodation at reasonable rates.

This call goes forth on the 154th anniversary of the birth of our Constitution. In the name of the Prince of Peace we ask you to respond."

By GRACE KREBS
Secretary, We, the Mothers, Mobilize for America

The response to our invitation to the conference to plan a nationwide Congress of Women, has been prompt and heartening. To the delegates who will assemble here to plan this congress and work out a program of cooperation, we extend our warmest welcome. The realization that so many sincere, intelligent, experienced leaders from *different sections* of the country, will have this opportunity to plan together, gives one a deep sense of gratification, a feeling of relief that at last we have found each other and can go forward with renewed courage and hope we shall be able to

are of the one [illegible] just plumb crazy.¶

From the very [illegible] New York, Mrs. Borwn wires us she will be with us, and this is most gratifying as these women have been sending delegations to Washington regularly and they certainly know what's going on.

Mrs. Lulu Avery, of the Minneapolis Mothers, sends a cheery card to tell us to expect a delegation from the Twin City. Mr. Andrae B. Nordskog recently put us in touch with this organization, so we know they aren't being fooled about what's happening in the world.

Mothers Mobilizing Against War, wire us they are sending two delegates. Wisconsin will be well represented by this organization.

From Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, Mrs. Maire Lohle sends word that a group from her state will join us together with Mrs. Catherine Baldwin of New York. These women have been very active in anti-war work with America First and also carried on individual efforts to arouse an indifferent citizenry to the peril that surrounds it, today. Their experience should be most helpful.

Flint, Michign, will be represented by Katherine M. Sutter of Neutral Mothers of America, and from Saint Paul, Minnesota, will come Mrs. W. H. O'Toole of the Parents of America.

Many others, whom we have heard from, are with us in spirit, but because of expense involved or because time was too short, will not be at the conference but will join in the larger gathering which we hope to set for the very near future.

Mrs. Julia I. Nicholas, of Albuquerque, New Mexico, *writes:*

"Dear Mothers:

"I send my deepest regrets that I am unable to attend your conference and want you to know myself and friends are with you 100%. If we had more time we could have sent some sort of delegation. We surely hope and pray you will meet with *the greatest of success.*"

Mary Alice Ball, our brilliant correspondent in Gulfport, Mississippi, writes:

"Dear Mrs. Keefe:

"Circumstances I cannot manage deny me the happiness of attending your pre-convention conference. To the convention itself I hope to be able *to come.* What American could fail to be inspired, and steeled, by the principles and purposes of We, The Mothers? Heaven bless the conference and the convention!"

From San Francisco, *California*, Mrs. H. Archbold, secretary TheMothers' Committee, writes:

"Dear Mrs. Van Wyning:

"We thank you for your kind invitation to send a delegate to your conference, but the present state of our treasury makes it impossible to do so at this time. We wish you every success and hope we shall be able to send a delegate to the convention."

These are typical of many others who send their blessings and prayers and express high hopes for the success of this meeting. To these we extend our sincerest appreciation and we hope to see them all at the convention which will follow this conference as quickly as plans can be completed.

Mrs. C. E. Young of New York City, writes: "I do hope your meeting will be a success, and I can assure you millions of patriots are with you."

As this goes to press we are still expecting to hear from a number of other notable leaders in the cause for which we are striving, the salvation of our Republic and its sons.

The statement has been constantly reiterated that the majority of the American people favored "aid to Britain," but the fact is the people never had an opportunity to express an opinion *against it.* Both major candidates declared themselves for it, and millions of people voted for Willkie, in spite of his stand on that question, not because of it, as they regarded him as less likely to involve this nation in war than the reckless Mr. Roosevelt. The people were deliberately trapped into this situation. Subsequent events revealed Mr. Willkie in his true colors, but the people meanwhile are still without a party to express their will clearly and fearlessly on the question of intervention or *non-intervention in foreign* affairs. The huge defense program that is disrupting the entire economic life of this nation, the vicious conscription that has needlessly sundered men from homes and jobs to stagnate in army camps unequipped to handle them, would have had no reason for being if we had retained our neutrality and refused to repeal the arms embargo. That was the first step as Senator Borah warned us, even though the "cash and carry' provision was added to confuse the people into thinking we were "strengthening our neutrality." This deliberate deception of the people has been typical of the method pursued by the administration in putting over its program. The repeal of the arms embargo proved the undoing of our neutrality, as any thinking person could foresee. The business interests now had a stake in the war as the arms trade took on new life. Of course we were in reality aiding Britain and unthinking persons accepted the situation without inquiring just how we got that way.

Conscription was sold to the people under the less offensive title of "selective service" and the year's training as a much needed program of development for our youth. Well, you know the rest of that bedtime story—

[illegible] opposed to the policy of interfering in the affairs of foreign nations with all its evil consequences, such as a huge defense program calculated to wreck this nation economically, a militaristic regime putting us back where our ancestors were when they fled Europe generations ago to escape such tyranny, and the loss of our independence and our *Republic, in a foolhardy, hypocritical* attempt to impose our system everywhere in the world.

A Republican Party that has no more to offer than meek submission to this tyranny content to carp at minor transgressions has no reason for existence. We must have party candidates and a party platform courageous enough and intelligent enough to repudiate the acts that have led this nation to the brink of catastrophe. Party lines if they are to mean anything in this crisis must divide the true Americans who believe in an independent destiny for America from those who would link our destiny with the British Empire or any other foreign nation. The only issue that means anything today is the preservation of our Republic from the enemies within that have through cunning trickery denied the people the *opportunity* to clearly understand and then vote on the real issues. Republican and Democratic parties have outlived their usefulness, if they no longer serve as channels for the expression of the public will on major issues of policy.

Give us a party that stands for the constitution and the tried and true foreign policy of Washington, Jefferson and the founding fathers, that will demand repeal of all unconstitutional legislation, such as the "lease lend bill," the conscription act, *the property seizure bill, etc.*, that will eliminate the special privilege of "money creators" and other vested interests that have left the dispossessed masses a prey to Communism and the quack remedies of doles, W.P.A. projects and "defense" spending. We want party labels to mean something. We want the issues clearly understood and thoroughly discussed before election, not dragged in and slipped over after the votes are counted.

Today we see the unprecedented spectacle of the American people, without benefit of either organized political party, waging a campaign to keep this nation out of war. Every poll shows the overwhelming majority of the people opposed to involvement in the insane orgy of destruction and death raging across the sea. While the organized machinery of both major political parties lies [illegible], individuals and groups throughout the nation are battling with might and main to stay the forces of entrenched power that in flagrant violation of

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Forming of Committees to draft plans for Nationwide Congress of Women.

2:30 P. M.—

Closing session. Reports of committees. Speakers to be announced.

In order to facilitate discussion and orderly handling of material, we ask that you indicate which of the following questions you deem most important in the order of their preference. Any suggestions can be noted also. These are to be turned in at registration.

1. Impeachment
2. Repeal of lend-lease bill
3. Repeal of conscription
4. No "A. E. F."
5. No foreign alliance
6. The truth about the Jews
7. Boycott (a) stores selling British goods; (b) movies; (c) pro-war magazines.
8. Suspension of 1942 National Election.

One hundred fity years ago the founding fathers were thinking of us—their posterity. They secured our rights in the Constitution of the United States of America—the truest expression of the human soul next to the Holy Bible. All that a mighty nation can do to defend its people and territory the United States can do. As they mutually pledged to each other their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor, so we, their posterity, bind ourselves in like manner, to uphold the constitution, "with a firm reliance on the protection of *Divine Providence.*"

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campaign pledges, is dragging this *nation step by step into the suicidal* struggle.

In the name of common sense, if neither of these parties can function for the people except when they are seeking to get in or stay in power, why should the people support them? Why should it be necessary to organize volunteer groups, placing heavy burdens on individuals, both from a financial and physical standpoint to carry on this campaign to save the country, and then turn around to a political party that has done nothing as an organization and accept the candidates put up by such a party? Isn't it about time we looked at this situation squarely and faced the facts? The old habits are so strong we can't seem to shake them off, but this time we are determined there shall not be another phoney campaign like the late Willkie fiasco.

The women of this nation are not tied down to the old political parties to the extent that men are. They are thinking in terms of realities, and they want men or women who stand for principle. They know and bitterly resent their betrayal at the hands of both parties and the men who stand for Congress next term must

[illegible] courage to stand up for her convictions."

Women should blush for their sex, at such craven conduct. Surely this points out the desperate need for such organizations as ours, that enables women to speak out bravely and confidently in any assembly. Right here, let it be noted this idea of organizations prides themselves on the fact that they are non-political and barring political discussions, has left women no place to get both sides of a question. They have deprived themselves of the opportunity to become politically informed and are at the mercy of a few clever manipulators when a political issue is brought up in a convention. If women are to vote intelligently, they must learn to discuss the issues and back up their convictions in public when the necessity arises. Our program of EDUCATION and ACTION is designed to accomplish just that.

Mrs. Marshall also related another revealing incident of that convention. Adolph Berle Jr., assistant secretary of state, told the general federation at this convention that the day of private enterprise was past, and that after the war the U. S. Government "will provide the tools, build the factories, open the mines and develop the resources" not only for its own citizens, but for "like-minded" peoples everywhere in the world." Although women reporters from all over the country were present, this statement was not regarded as of sufficient importance or the ladies pleaded ignorance of economics, and completely ignored the significance of this startling statement.

Mrs. Helen Wetherall, and Mrs. Grace Keefe gave reports on the interviews with Congressmen Sabath and Schwartz which provided some amusement and much food for thought on the type of men who are sitting in Congress at this moment exercising power over the lives and fortunes of the American people.

Andrae B. Nordskog, who was in town briefly, attended the luncheon also and gave an inspiring message to his listeners based on the quotation "Sovereignty is born with the individual, goes with him through life, and is transmitted to the Capitol only by proxy."

The date of the luncheon coincided with the "Defense Day" and as Mr. LaGuardia was to be inflicted on the people of Chicago for that day, it was deemed advisable to protest in a telegram to the mayor that Chicago's true Americans needed no advice or instruction from an alien-minded New Yorker. Ten thousand copies of a handbill titled "We Are for Defense Against" were carried from the meeting and distributed at various

(Continued on page two)

SABATH GIVES VENT TO ANGER

Nettled by Queries, Administration Echo "Blows Up Four Times"

SCHUETZ FEARS HITLER-BRITAIN

Admits to Women He Is Apprehensive of Compact between Germany and England against America

(Reprinted from a previous issue)

Congressman Schuetz and Sabath who voted for the extension of the draft that will keep American boys in army camps for two and one-half years, were questioned, in individual interviews during the past few days, by representatives of We, the Mothers, Mobilize for America. The first colloquy is described by a member of the interviewing group as follows:

Mr. Sabath, a gentleman who boasts of thirty-five years in Congress, proved to be highly emotional. During the course of the one-hour interview, Mr. Sabath *literally* blew up four distinct times. In fact, the interviewers were concerned lest he get a stroke, so vehement were his gestures and words. The remarks that seemed to arouse his ire particularly were the statement that we represented 85 per cent of the people, when he accused us of causing dissension and dissatisfaction in the army, and our reminding him that even the dumbest person could understand the injustice of keeping American men in the army *two and one-half years* when we were not at war, while in Canada, which is at war, only four months is required.

We calmed him down each time, and proceeded to the discussion of the issues. We reminded Mr. Sabath of the fact that his vote alone caused the bill for two and a half years to pass, with the consequent demoralization of the army when the men lost faith in their government's promises. Mr. Sabath said he was not the only one; there were 400 others, but we repeated only one vote did it, and we held him responsible. He affirmed his faith in Mr. Roosevelt and his promises to keep us out of war. He said he did not think Knox and Stimson were right in advocating our further involvement, but when asked what could be done about removing them, offered no solution. He said their appointments had been presumed by the [illegible] asked why billions of American goods, [illegible] Mr. Schuetz told the mothers they did not understand the article, but left him food for thought when we again reminded him that this discrimination against *American* youth was something the politicians couldn't laugh off. The simplest person understood the issue.

Mr. Schuetz, Congressman from the seventh district, *told* the mothers that Roosevelt is pro-British, but nevertheless he is willing to vote for unlimited funds for England.

The interview with Congressman Schuetz is described by one of the interviewers as follows:

At the hour appointed by Congressman Schuetz, three representatives of We, the Mothers, Mrs. Helen Wetherall, president of the Seventh District unit, together with Mr. Lyri Van Hyning and Mrs. Grace Keefe, appeared at the Congressman's office at 3620 Kilbourn Avenue, which by the way is in the middle of a prairie close to the railroad tracks, where Mr. Schuetz conducts a lumber business.

By way of introduction, Mrs. Wetherall recalled to the Congressman her last interview when in Washington, D. C., he advised her to go home and tend to her knitting. Laughing, he admitted the acquaintance but said he still felt that way.

The first question was concerning the vote on the extension of the draft. It was pointed out to Mr. Schuetz that his vote kept these men, who had relied on the administration's promise of a year's service, for two and one-half years, whereas in Canada, actually at war, only four months was required and no overseas service. Mr. Schuetz said he wasn't bothered about what Canada did, in fact he maintained they did not even have conscription in Canada, which, it happens is not the case.

Mrs. Keefe brought up the question of the size of his district where 914,000 people had but one Congressman, thus effectively depriving two-thirds of the voters in his district of proper representation. He maintained this was not a matter for Congress to worry about; that we should start suit to get redistricting. Mrs. Keefe pointed out the absurdity of voting billions ostensibly for the purpose of establishing or protecting democracy in foreign nations when right here in Illinois the people were unable to maintain it. Upon his insistence that Congress had no responsibility, Mrs. Van Hyning took sharp issue with him and quoted the constitution as her authority. Mr. Schuetz denied that the constitution made such provision, but when after considerable searching a copy of the constitution was finally produced, Mrs. Van Hyning read the section referred to as follows: "The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States and within every subsequent term of ten years in such manner as they shall by [illegible]

[illegible] was launched in Gary, Indiana, last Friday evening when Mrs. Lyri Van Hyning and Mabel Willard from Chicago headquarters made the trip at the request of Mrs. C. B. Wells, and told the story of our work and our plans for the future. A warm reception was accorded them and we know this fine group of women will go forward rapidly.

The following officers were elected: Pearl L. Brandt, 3566 Buchanan, Gary, Indiana, president;

Mrs. C. B. Wells, vice-president; Mrs. L. F. Maybaum, secretary; Mrs. E. Haack, treasurer.

On Thursday, September 4, the South Side Chapter staged the most successful card party and rally to date. A crowd of 500 occupied two halls and while they enjoyed the games and refreshments and the other activities, officers of the organization distributed the new folders with the message to the Congressmen, and many new memberships were obtained.

Mrs. Van Hyning gave one of her stirring addresses, telling the story of our ceaseless efforts to awaken the women to the power that is in their hands, of the inescapable responsibility women of this generation have to rescue this generation from the insanity of war. "Women must learn how to vote intelligently: these men who go to Washington to represent them have power over their lives and their fortunes and the lives of their children." Women cannot plead ignorance; in this day of literacy, it behooves every one of us to learn the facts; the penalty for indifference we see clearly today.

The proceeds of this party will be used for the support of the Washington and Chicago headquarters. It is from the quarters and dimes of the masses that this organization expects to draw its support, and while the sums may be small, the numbers are legion. These women know what we are fighting for, and as long as we keep faith with them we shall never lack support.

The next meeting of this energetic chapter will be on Thursday, September 11, at the usual place, 7822 South Union Avenue, at 8:15 p. m.

A Study in Contrasts — Housewives Take Note

Britain releases million pairs of silk stockings.

London, August 27 — One million pairs of silk stockings found unsuitable for export will be released for sale in shops throughout Britain after tomorrow at fixed prices.

American mothers, wives and daughters are asked by O. P. M. to wear cotton. Why?

"Bonad chicken added to lend-lease larder."—Chicago Tribune.

The department of agriculture yesterday announced it wishes to send abroad chicken that parlors' epi[illegible]

The Federal Surp[illegible] Corporation, the government buying

"We are also for defense against: The hysterical antics of Mr. LaGuardia and his ilk.

"Chicago's true Americans need no advice or instructions from an alien-minded New Yorker."

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ECONOMIC LIBERATOR POLICY

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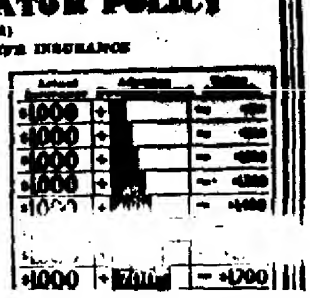
THE IDEAL FORM OF LIFE INSURANCE

The National Underwriter of May 31, 1941, contained an article by a vice-president and actuary of one of the large Life Insurance Companies, urging the separation of Protection from Investment.

He urged the sale of more protection and less investment in Life policies. Too often he said, "Life Policies are surrendered or inadequate insurance carried because of the compulsory investment fea-

[illegible] render the policies subject to lapse when breadwinners need cash values in financial emergencies."



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he did not think Knox and Gumson were right in advocating our further involvement, but when asked what could be done about removing them, offered no solution. He said their appointment was due to pressure by the newspapers for representation of the Republicans in the cabinet. When [illegible] of American goods, foodstuffs, etc., were being given to England while millions of Americans were in want, he said that England was giving us something for it, but when pressed to tell what we were getting, a gleam of satisfaction lit up his face as he repeated that we were being given something in return. What is was, we couldn't imagine, unless, perchance it might be the refugees that are flocking to our shores.

Quizzed about his illegally representing a district in the state when but little over a hundred thousand people resided therein, he maintained he had tried to get redistricting so that he might have a larger constituency, but downstate people had blocked it, fearing to give Chicago a majority in the state legislature. We pointed out that the politicians in power were more responsible for maintaining the status quo, which favored them.

Mr. Sabath brought up the Hitler bogey of penetration in South America and loss of our foreign trade. We told him our foreign trade consisted in giving everything away, which wasn't exactly profitable, and Mrs. Van Hyning scoffed at the idea of Hitler taking over South America, where, she said practically every country has a dictator as able as Hitler, and many of them could show him tricks. This, she told him, was from practical experience, and when he said, "Oh, so your's a South American," she pointed to her D.A.R. pin and told him she was an American and of American descent since 1700, and every generation of her family had served in the armed forces of the nation when the country needed them, something that could not be said for the Roosevelt family.

Another outburst of Mr. Sabath's occurred when we asked him why we were giving butter to England, when American children had to go without. His only answer was choleric anger. He told us we were prejudiced, unfair and misinformed, whereupon Mrs. Van Hyning asked him if he would be willing to debate the subject on a public platform. He said he would with any fair-minded person. That, probably, would be someone unlike ourselves, probably one of the "aid to Englanders" who have led the people into the trap that now yawns before them. We reminded Mr. Sabath that the young men whose liberties have been taken from them, never had an opportunity to vote on this drastic step, whereupon he told us these young men of 20 and 21 were not competent to vote on such issues. He has no children of his own, probably one reason he is so careless with other people's children. Mr. Sabath, unable to endure any more questioning rose

the section referred to as follows: "The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States and within every subsequent term of ten years in such manner as they shall [illegible] direct." Mr. Schuetz told the mothers they did not understand the article, but should have a constitutional lawyer interpret it, whereupon Mrs. Van Hyning said she had done just that.

The question: "Will you vote for additional billions for the lease-lend appropriations?" Mr. Schuetz said he most certainly would. "Then you are in favor of giving unlimited aid to England," asked Mrs. Keefe. To which he said, "I am, and you can quote me on that." Asked whether that represented the sentiments of his constituents, Mr. Schuetz said he thought so. "When the lend-lease bill was up, Mr. Schuetz, did your mail run for or against it?" was the next question, to which he replied, "The majority of the letters were for the bill, those against it were mostly signed by the same person." He said that only a few letters were received against conscription, but he admitted his mail was two to one against extension of the draft. Asked whether he thought the people of his district should be followed on this legislation, he said he had confidence in Mr. Roosevelt, and would be guided by his wishes.

"Then you do not believe the people are competent to determine the policy of the nation on such issues," he was asked. He quoted in answer Mr. Roosevelt's pledge that our boys would not be sent to foreign soil. But, we reminded him, American boys have been sent to Iceland, certainly foreign soil, and Congress wasn't consulted about it. He told us that Iceland was a peaceful country. His reasoning seemed to be that this made a difference, and also he said British troops were being withdrawn from Iceland. We pointed out that the business of keeping lines of supplies open to Iceland would likely cause more incidents like the Greer. It was all too evident that Mr. Schuetz is not representing the people in his district, but is just another rubber-stamp for Roosevelt. He says he would not vote for war, but such words are empty when he has given Roosevelt power to involve us without any formal declaration. He reiterated his faith in Roosevelt's promises, but we reminded him he was taking a dangerous course in ignoring the wishes of the people in his district. "What are we going to do, Mr. Congressman, if after we give away everything, in a few months England and Hitler are found fighting side by side?" to which he gave the amazing answer: "That's what I am afraid of."

FIELD NOTES

By GRACE KEEFE
Secretary, We, the Mothers, Mobilize for America

[illegible] of our organization

cution, why?

"Boned chicken added to lend-lease larder."—Chicago Tribune.

The department of agriculture yesterday announced it wishes to send abroad—chicken that packers' defamats will cost the taxpayers $1 pe[illegible] pounds or more in lend-lease [illegible].

The Federal Surplus Commodities Corporation, the government buying agency, asked for bids on unspecified quantities of the canned chicken meat—the offers to be in the hands of the FSC on or before September 15.

Canning company officials and meat packers questioned said that canned chicken is an expensive food to give away.

While—in Chicago as a prelude to a blessed event—

Mrs. Jean Wagner, 35, expecting the arrival of the stork any minute, evicted from flat at 639 West 47th Street, stands with her ten sons in the alley—where landlord moved all their belongings. To add to the tragedy, father John, world war veteran—his mind snapped from worry—is found on road near Joliet.

Again—why?

Why are we feeding England chicken and not giving the feathers to our own needy?

Milk, butter, eggs, meat all being given to England by the ton while soaring prices limit consumption by the American people. Our farmers are now being told by Claude Wickard they must produce more so that England and those nations "fighting aggression" can be fed. Ye gods—how did we get this way?

VOTERS DEMAND DRASTIC CHANGE IN BOTH PARTIES

(Continued from page one)

strategic points including the evening meeting at the Coliseum when Mr. LaGuardia went through his antics. We have had many requests for copies of this bill, which reads:

"We Are for Defense Against:

"Dissipation of our resources for the benefit of our only enemy.

"Aiding England to maintain her overlordship over hundreds of millions of serfs.

"Against giving away billions of dollars' worth of goods, including butter, meat, milk, eggs, and 'boneless chicken' to foreign nations while millions of American children are ill fed, ill clad, ill housed.

"Against the vicious discrimination that keeps millions of American youth *in army camps for 2½ years.*

"We are not at war, Canada is. They have four months conscription. Hundreds of thousands of British subjects are in this country draft-exempt. They take our American sons' jobs.

"England has 50,000,000,000 men of draft age. Why does she want American boys slaughtered on the soil of

[illegible] Life Insurance Companies, urging the separation of Protection from Investment.

He urged the sale of more protection and less investment in Life policies. Too often he said, "Life Policies are surrendered or inadequate insurance carried because of the compulsory investment feature in the policy."

He stated high premium rates [illegible] ability to buy sufficient protection and render the policies subject to lapse when bread-winners need cash values in financial emergencies."

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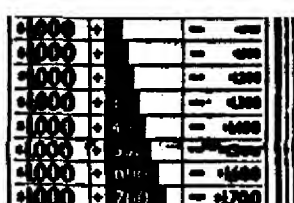

The above chart explains the ideal form of insurance and is set up in units of dollars — and in number of years

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[illegible] also appearing frequently in [illegible]

[illegible]

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THE CHICAGO LEADER

FRED R. HUNT, Editor
Entered as second-class matter, February 11, 1916, at the postoffice at Chicago, Illinois, under the Act of Congress, March 3, 1879.

VOL. XXVII: September 26, 1941 No.6

EDITORIAL

"A DROP OF A BUCKET"

(Continued from a previous issue)

In the course of an interview by members of *We, the Mothers, Mobilize for America*, with a Chicago Congressman during the past week, a startling admission was drawn from him by the inquisitors. The following question was propounded: "What are we going to do if, after we give away everything, in a few months England and Hitler are found fighting side by side?" To the amazement of his interlocutors, he answered, "That's what I'm *afraid of!*"

The Congressman in question has been consistently regarded as a rubber-stamp for the administration, doing the bidding of the executive no matter what was asked of him. He admits that he is willing to give, and intends to help in giving billions of America's money to the British Empire. And in the same breath he *confesses* that he looks upon England as an ally or quasi-ally of so fickle and treacherous a nature that she may at any time literally slap us in the face and join hands with Hitler in an anti-American or anti-anybody campaign to retain her prestige and gain world-supremacy.

In the face of this Congressman's telltale admission, what defense could he rationally offer to a charge that he has "sold his country down the river"? For if he is committed to so asinine a proposal as giving his nation's wealth away to another people with no semblance of an equivalent therefor, the least virtue one might wish to ascribe to him would be enough consideration for his constituents' weal to select as the beneficiary of our largesse a nation that is dependable, honorable, and not given to betraying the confidence of a friend and comrade-in-arms. By his own admission, on the financial shows which [illegible] to her military campaigns last World War. She has successfully done so thus far during the present war. But her attempt to fool all our people all the time is doomed to ultimate defeat. Some day this nation will wake up: and we trust the awakening will not prove to be a greater shock than we can bear.

For many months past we have adjured our readers to judge England "not according to the appearance, but to judge *righteous* judgment." For decades on end British cunning has proved more than a match for Yankee intelligence. We should be honest enough to admit that she has literally wound us around her finger. "Divide and rule" has been her strategy. She has invariably succeeded in splitting American opposition to her schemes to a point bordering upon total impotence, whilst on the other hand she has consolidated American support of her nefarious plans to an extent sufficient to insure the success of her [illegible]

England [illegible] may let us give him, we are not prepared at the moment to prognosticate. But what with the aid of a president of sycophantic predilections where royalty is concerned, to say nothing of his Tory ancestry and leanings; what with a rubber-stamp Congress ready always to function as a sounding-board for executive bombast and despotic dictation; and what with a supine and seemingly somnolent electorate,—John Bull bids fair to outdo himself on this occasion as a proverbial absorber of some other nation's substance. As a supreme and final honor, we should crave from him the privilege of paying him interest, in perpetuity on the billions we are now pouring into his lap without money and without price.

We do feel entitled, however, to lay claim in the premises to the possession of a modicum of editorial prescience. For when the King and Queen of England were doing our great president the honor of eating "hot dogs" with him at Hyde [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

would be enough consideration for his constituents' weal to select as the beneficiary of our largesse a nation that is dependable, honorable, and not given to betraying the confidence of a friend and comrade-in-arms. By his own admission, on the contrary, he has proved that he regards so lightly the responsibility imposed upon him as to be willing to give away the electors' billions to a nation that may turn out to be a double-dealing ingrate.

For what says the record? What of Oran and Dakar? What of Syria and Iran? O, Albion! Perfidious Albion! How strewn with the bleached bones of quondam coadjutors and allies is thy pathway to glory!

Said Colonel Charles A. Lindbergh in his Oklahoma speech:

"It is not at all inconceivable that before this war is over England may herself turn against us, as she has just turned against France and Finland. Reasons are always found to justify whatever action a nation takes in war. It was no more improbable in 1939 that England would turn against Finland and France than it is today that she will turn against us if it becomes expedient to her welfare in the future.

"If you question my words now, I ask only that you read a history of the relationships between the United States and England during the last hundred and fifty years and that you combine with this a rereading of the pledges of everlasting loyalty that took place between England and France less than two years ago. If you do this I believe you will agree with me that we must depend upon ourselves and ourselves only for our security in the future."

Sometime Great Britain's record of duplicity will "catch up with her." She "pulled the wool over the eyes" of America during the total impotence, [illegible] her hand she has consolidated American support of her nefarious plans to an extent sufficient to insure the success of her every artifice.

England does not have to earn the financial sinews wherewith to underwrite her military campaigns to establish a world-hegemony for herself. All she has to do when the funds begin to run low is to milk America for a few billion pounds—we dare not say dollars, for "the silly old dollar-sign" has been abolished—and the war goes merrily on again.

And when the smoke of battle clears away, does she effusively thank her benefactor for his unflagging support of her supremely selfish schemes? No, indeed! For by so much pampering she might run the risk of "spoiling" him. She merely informs stupid old Uncle Sam that his name is Shylock, that, in the words of Prime Minister Churchill, he should have "stayed at home and minded his own business," instead of stirring up strife and consternation and Communism in Europe. For she has learned by experience that Americans seem to respond more readily to cajolery and deceit than they do to fair-dealing and gratitude in other nations.

And her technique appears to improve as the years roll by. For whereas there were those among us who went so far as to whisper that John Bull was a "dead-beat" and a "welsher" for not having repaid or attempted to repay the billions we loaned him in order to help him starve the Germans, he has taken precious good care in the present instance to see that no such charge can be lodged against him hereafter. For instead of borrowing our billions, he is now actually doing us the honor of letting us give him our billions. How many billions he [illegible] *rial prescience. For when the King* and Queen of England were doing our great president the honor of eating "hot-dogs" with him at Hyde Park, many moons ago, we estimated consentaneously that America would be required later to pay for those canine concoctions to the tune of about one billion dollars each. Howbeit we must confess that our claim to the title of prophet as predicated on our prediction of that time is slightly dimmed by the fact that we failed to take into consideration the cost of the mustard! We therefore crave the indulgence of our readers as we revise our figures to read two billion, or perhaps, eventually, three billion per "hot-dog."

Be that as it may, and all joking aside, Congressman Schuetz of Chicago may well be alarmed at the prospect of a "double-cross" on the part of that paragon of unselfishness and altruistic intent, the aforesaid John Bull. As a matter of fact, we are beginning to feel well enough acquainted with this delectable personage to be justified in rechristening him with the appellative "John, Bully"!

Meanwhile we deem it a privilege to extend to We, the Mothers, Mobilize for America our heartiest congratulations. They are beginning to realize what a lot of empty barrels our voters have elected to high positions in the body politic. For our part, the more we see of that sort of men the higher rises, by contrast, our admiration for American womanhood. As Adam, in the allegory of old, sought to shift the responsibility for his derelictions upon the shoulders of Eve, so today millions of American Adams seek to shift their responsibilities to God and country to the shoulders of our modern Eves; and it is beginning to appear that if Eve does not obtain a knowledge of American trade secrets which will give her the advantage over us in the war for commercial supremacy of which the martial activity now occupying the international stage is but the precursor.

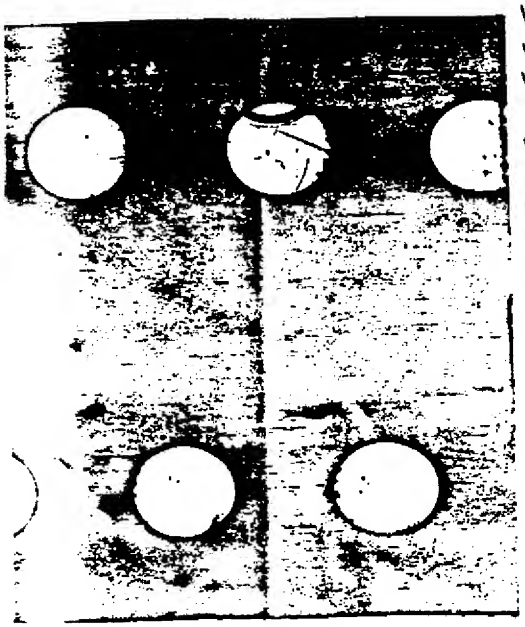
Great Britian, with her perfect system of propaganda, has so filled the hearts of Americans with fear of Hitler, of whom we have practically no reason to entertain any fear whatever, that we have failed completely to note the stealthy approach of John Bull, shrouded in a mantle of altruistic attestation, into the temple of our liberty, into the national treasury, and into the minds of a propagandized, indoctrinated citizenry.

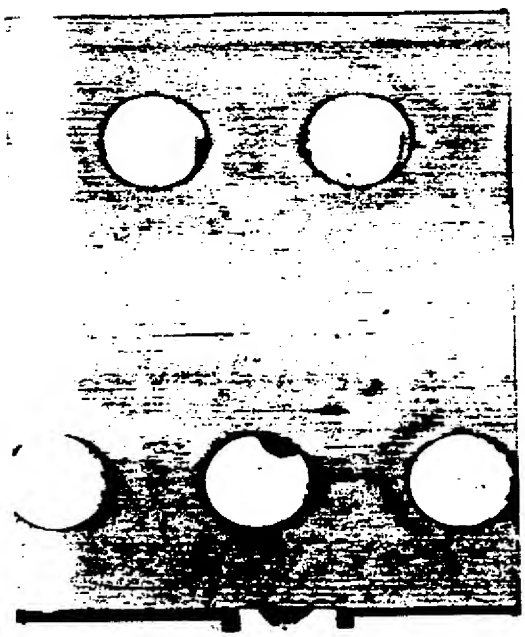
But this deceit will in time be uncovered, this mesmerism will be broken. The people are not ready as yet for a complete revelation; but the day is not far distant when John Bull will be disrobed, his role as trickster and betrayer of friendships will be exposed, and he will pay a harsh penalty for his misdeeds.

"That's what I'm afraid of!" But—mark our words!—the Congressman who thus expressed himself to a group of courageous women regarding his apprehension of a prospective betrayal of America by Britain, has not as much reason to fear by a thousandth part the possibilities of the situation thus predicated as he will have to fear the wrath of the American electorate when they awake to realize the modus operandi by which that betrayal was connived at and abetted by our own national legislators!

"Britannia rules the waves," we freely admit. But God still reigns in the realm of human thought, wherein the British Empire, mighty as it may be, is but as "a drop of a bucket"!

HIS HOUR OF GLORY - - FOR WHAT?





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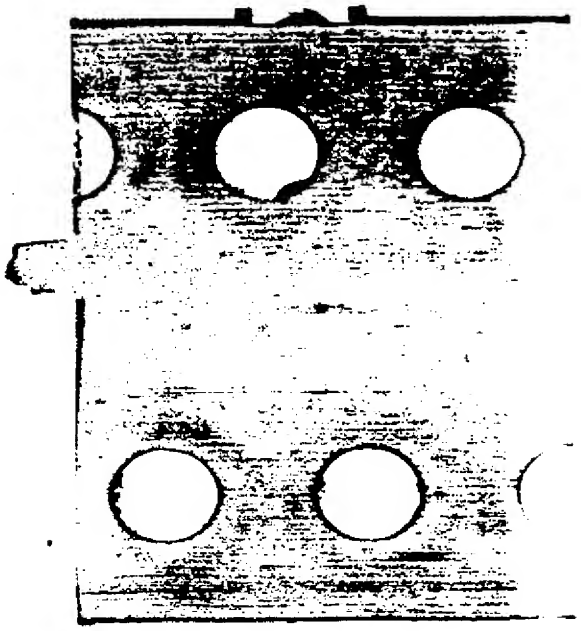

by you, Mr. Congressman.

A Question that must be answered

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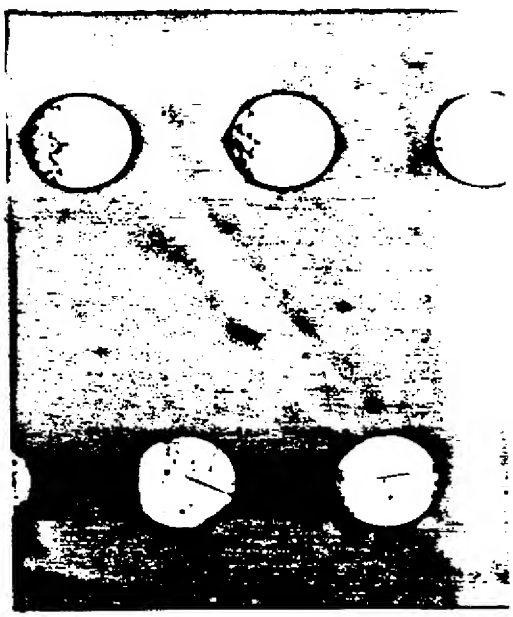

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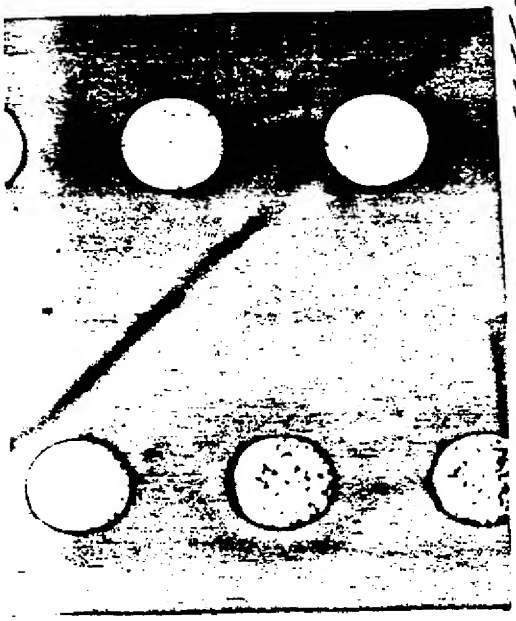

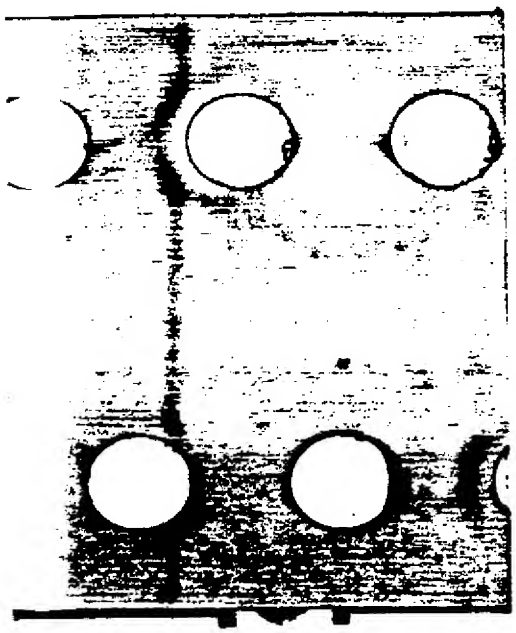

Mr. Congressman: 5-197

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Will You give Your Life?

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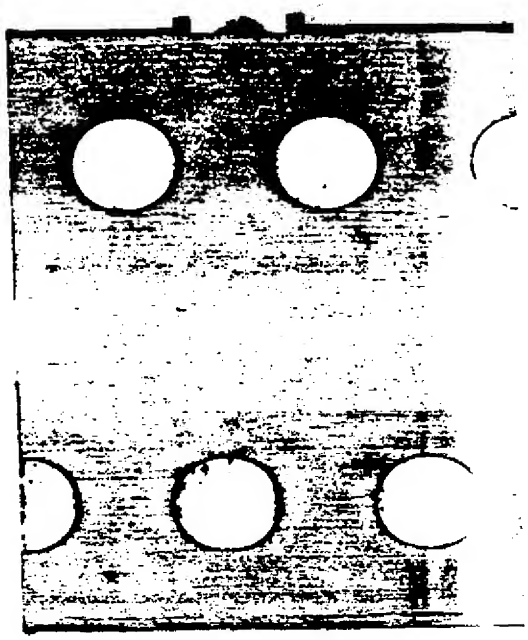
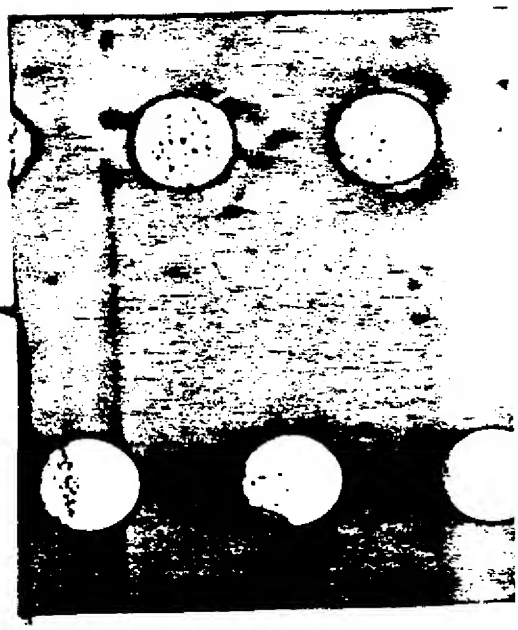


A Question that must be answered by you, Mr. Congressman.



Congressman .....
Republic of the United States of America,
Washington, D. C.

3c STAMP

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

Southern California Division

Speaker's Bureau

SUBJECT: Air Force

TITLE: Is America Flying Blind?

BY: Major Alexander P. de Seversky

(Coronet; June, 1941)

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 9/4/84 BY SP8-BG/lm
Chg #242,942
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The widespread popular delusion that the world was caught unawares by the terrific effectiveness of Nazi Germany's air force provides a comforting alibi for humiliating defeats. Only it happens to be wholly untrue. The fact is, Hitler has not thrown into action a single aircraft model or unfolded a single principle of aviation warfare which had been thoroughly familiar to aero-nautical experts of all other nations long before the outbreak of the war.

I had myself inspected Nazi aviation but a few months before Poland was attacked. The Germans showed me their Stuka dive bombers, their swiftest pursuits and their horizontal bombers. The Nazis imposed no restrictions on us in conveying our observations to the outside world. They had no need to do so - all German types had been on display repeatedly at international aeronautical shows and had been fully described in the aviation press of all countries. Moreover, the progress of the Nazi Luftwaffe had been continuously reported to other governments by their military observers in Germany.

Why, then, were other nations so dismally unprepared to meet the German onslaught from the air? Certainly not because they lacked aviation brains equal to the challenge. The great strides made by the British aeronautical industry under stress of war, and that impressive progress being registered at long last by some American aircraft builders, prove that there was no dearth of designing talent.

The answer to the mystery must be sought in the mentality of nations. By this time it is clear that they were, each in its own fashion, afflicted by a species of psychological paralysis.

France had been hypnotized by a fatalistic reliance on its Maginot Line and its faith in "the world's finest army". Even in that long interval after German aviation had demonstrated its power in the devastation of Poland, France continued to ignore the obvious.

England, similarly, had been leaning back complacently on faith in its glorious and impregnable navy. Hypnotized by tradition, she found it literally impossible even to imagine a crucial battle in which the navy would be little more than a helpless onlooker - the kind of all-air battle, that is to say, which has actually been under way now for almost eight months.

And it is likewise in psychological factors that we discover the real explanation for the dismal backwardness of military aviation in America. The fact alone that our commercial aeronautics is the world's best indicates that the military ~~xxx~~ lag cannot be blamed on lack of aviation talent. The simple truth is that America has been lulled into a complacent sense of safety by its two oceans. That has been - and unfortunately remains today - the American equivalent of the "Maginot mentality" in France. Unless overcome quickly, it holds the threat of the same kind of disaster.

There can be no reason in logic why, if we build warplanes at all, they should have been below the standards of performance technically possible at the time of their design and construction. The absence of immediate danger of war or foreign invasion might justify the maintenence of a skeleton air power rather than a full-sized one. But it decidedly did not justify the inferiority in the quality of aircraft. Even if we had only one airplane, it should have been at least the equal of any extent.

But while the public may have been startled by recent disclosures about the shortcomings of American aircraft under conditions of actual warfare, aviation people were not. They had known all along, for instance, that American pursuits had neither the armor nor the armament to match the British Hurricanes and Spitfires or the German Messerschmitts and Heinkels. They had known, to cite an even more striking example, that our so-called "Flying Fortresses" lacked the very essential of a fortress, which is adequate defensive ability.

The American people have a real cause for complaint. They had for years been lulled into thinking that our military aviation was not only on a par with others, but even better. In the face of reports by American observers about the obvious superiority of European air forces, a national magazine of millionfold circulation, for instance, continued to boast, parrot-like, that, "Our Own War Birds Are Best".

It is about time we stopped bragging about our aeronautical superiority. Every champion who underestimates his challenger loses his crown. The more sensible course is to overestimate our potential opponents and to be ready to meet strength with greater strength. If we persist in continuing to live in a fool's paradise of self-congratulation, there is nothing ahead of us but humiliation at the hands of our enemies.

Hard-pressed Great Britain welcomed anything she could get. Desperate men trying to reach shore in a leaky boat

are grateful for broomsticks and handkerchiefs, though they need oars and sails. The British are carrying on gamely without complaint and without quarreling over spilt milk. Until the night fighter, now in an experimental stage, becomes fully effective, the American 'Flying Fortresses' may prove useful in night-time bombing, when the shroud of darkness makes up for inadequate defensive equipment. Our pursuits have given a good account of themselves apparently in the Mediterranean area, as long as they were pitted against inferior Italian aviation. But the fact remains, all the same, that these planes were far below the standards of performance established by other nations.

[illegible]

Our failure, in short, was not technical but psychological. It can be traced to a basic refusal in high quarters to acknowledge the crucial role of aviation in modern warfare. That, in turn, has kept American military aviation tied into an organizational set-up that prevents its natural development. It is as though a fine-mettled race horse were yoked together with a pair of oxen and expected to compete against horses without such encumbrance.

The fact is that aviation designers have, for years, made specific and detailed proposals to our military authorities for increasing the fire-power, the armor and other elements in our fighting planes since demonstrated as indispensable. Such proposals were pigeon-holed almost automatically, because they failed to touch the imagination of men conditioned to thinking only in terms of surface fighting. My own files, for instance, hold a series of such proposals, which were not only arbitrarily rejected but ridiculed by a high military authority.

[illegible]

Our military aircraft have also been seriously handicapped by what we might call our 'luxury complex'. Because air defense seemed, to the naval and infantry people in control of it, an indulgence rather than a critical necessity, we have built into our fighting planes many comforts and super-safety provisions at the expense of combat efficiency. For instance, after an unfortunate freak accident, where a pilot was killed when his airplane turned over in landing, all our tactical airplanes were built with huge towers, like reinforced greenhouses, directly behind the pilot's head -- at a cost of additional weight and reduction in speed. Our gallant military pilots, whose safety was directly concerned by this change, objected to these encumbrances. After all, under fighting conditions, the pilot's ultimate safety depends on the performance of his machine, rather than the luxury of its construction and excessive margins of safety. Their judgment has been completely vindicated by the fact that a mere twenty-five-mile speed edge of the British pursuits over the German Messerschmitts held off the numerical superiority of the Nazi air power.

The whole subject would not be worth discussing if it

were merely a matter of history. But it isn't. The same brakes which have retarded the development of our air power are still in xxxx place. Airplanes are still treated as extensions of existing weapons rather than new weapons requiring new forms of organization, administration and tactics.

Psychologically, the American people, and even more so, our highest military leaders, are still leaning back on our own "Maginot Lines", the two oceans and their respective fleets. In the designing of tomorrow's aviation we are still only "catching up" — a fatal procedure when the need is to outdistance, out-plan and out-think the potential adversary. Despite the clear lessons of the tragic experience in Europe, we are still obsessed by problems of mass production, while the more crucial questions of range, greater fire power, defensive armor and maneuverability are treated lightly if at all.

The most serious fault of all, though, is that the fundamental defense scheme for our nation is predicated on the assumption that the science of war remains the same as it was in the Argonne-Meuse battle of 1918. We have as yet failed to grasp the role of air power in the near future. The same assumption cost France its life and has endangered the British Isles. The shorter distances involved naturally made them vulnerable to air power sooner — but that is the only difference between their position and ours. And even that protection of distance is being narrowed with every passing month. National security plans which do not recognize this fact are doomed to disaster.

If our country is obliged to go to war — actively — the offensive will be possible only through the air. Our fleets will be unable to attack enemy shorelines or to land xxxxxxxxxxxxxxx troops while the skies are under enemy control. If we come to actual grips with a foe it will be first of all in the air. That phase must be determined before our naval and land strength can be brought into effective play.

One high ranking Air Corps General, in a speech on February twenty-eighth, stated that the United States "should have no fear of being outstripped in the race for air power", and added that the nation's resources "insure our ultimate command of the air". Unfortunately, natural resources by themselves can insure nothing. Despite their abundance, our country has been devoid of genuine air power to date, because of the lack of proper leadership. Our military aircraft will not take their place way out front in the race for world superiority until aviation thinking and planning has been unshackled to enable us properly to exploit our natural resources.

That, I submit, will not happen until air power is dependent and administered by aviation experts of proven experience, knowledge and vision.

Miss Ingalls

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

So. Calif. Divisions

Speaker's Bureau

#245238

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 9/4/84 BY SP8 [illegible]

SUBJECT: Sea power versus air power

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Before Crete there was still room for argument over the relative merits of sea power and air power. ...Plain fact is that for the first time in history, a major military victory has been gained ENTIRELY by an air force DESPITE the presence of a strong and unopposed fleet of warships. Indeed, while the British Navy prevented all but a few Nazis from landing on Crete from boats, it did so only by paying a heavy toll of cruisers and destroyers to the Nazi air arm.

We know now that sea power without air power is no defense at all. The Battle of Crete means that the British Navy is a far less important defense weapon than we had previously thought. Unless England can achieve AIR superiority, the Navy cannot turn the tide of the war, and this remains true even if the United States were to lease her another 50 destroyers or more. For it is plain that while in the last century the fact that Britannia ruled the waves meant that she possessed the greatest offensive weapon of war, mid-twentieth century tactics have shown that the offensive power of a fleet disappears as it nears the shores of an enemy-held country. For enemy land, means enemy air bases from which $400,000 long range bombers can scour the seas; search out and destroy great battleships which cost $100,000,000 each and require a much longer time to build.

> What all this means to the United States is that the idea that convoys would materially aid in winning the war for Great Britain is shown to be false, unless as those convoys near the land mass of Europe, they are protected by interceptor PLANES. Otherwise, long range bombers or submarines will continue to sink them. (Another factor contributing to the difficulty of the convoy system is that AIR bombings have reduced to ruin all English ports except Liverpool and Glasgow. It is now reported that the turn-about time is three weeks -- i.e. the time necessary for a ship to dock, unload, and depart. Obviously, more ships is no answer to this problem.) People who have been asking for convoys should now ask instead that planes be sent UNLESS they only want convoys so that shooting will begin. It is still true that convoys would get us into the war.

In the second place, the fact that even a powerful Navy, if not sufficiently protected by air power, cannot successfully approach the enemy shore, gives a cold, FACTUAL answer to those who have been yelping for another A. E. F. to Europe. The question is -- where would they land? AND no

interventionist can dispute production figures and export figures. They may wish the situation was different. So does the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE, though for a different reason. The FACT is that plane production in the United States is distressingly small, especially production of long range bombers. Furthermore, in a recent column, Boake Carter pointed out that we are sending abroad up to 70% of the weapons we would need in any such invasion. An invasion accompanied by our present air force would only mean that we wanted to undergo a Dunkerque in reverse i.e. not have to retreat from a land position but find ourselves unable to even gain a landhold.

In the third place it demonstrates the truth of what the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE has said, that the United States and the Western Hemisphere CAN be defended IF we will build a real air force and if that air force has bases close to the shore lines, that our safety does not depend upon the British Empire or upon ~~Hanxix~~ the Empire's Navy, that the defense of America depends upon American factories and upon American workmen, and upon American pilots. Rather than a mass army of 5,000,000 men, we need a small army of men and a big army of mechanized equipment. (There is an excellent article on this subject in the June, 1941 Reader's Digest written by Representative Ross A. Collins, chairman of the House Subcommittee in charge of military appropriation.)

This will take time to build and it will take time to train men in the use of this equipment. We believe America is equal to this task. But American soldiers can never be trained in the use of this equipment if we continue to give away up to 70% of our production. A sane appraisal of our own defense needs would seem to indicate that we can spare precious little in the way of airplanes and mechanized equipment. (The N. Y. Times recently pointed out editorially that "before 1938 our own War Department was spending more on horses, mules, harness and wagons than on tanks and armed vehicles.")

(Washington News Letter, America First Committee; No. 16; June 4, 1941)

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SPEAKERS' BULLETIN

July 15, 1941

A QUOTATION FROM PRESIDENT FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

On September 21, 1939, to the Special Session of Congress that enacted the Neutrality Law of 1939, President Roosevelt said:

> "With the repeal of the embargo this Government clearly and definitely will insist that American citizens and American ships keep away from the immediate perils of the actual zones of conflict."

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"WHAT IS BEST FOR AMERICA?"

The following are some excerpts from a recent address by Mrs. Robert A. Taft.

> "We have no right to let emotions guide our course ... The question, What is best for America, is the only question which should influence our decisions.
>
> "The interventionists have but two arguments which are directed to this question. The first is that we cannot defend our freedom here unless we fight abroad ... certainly if it were true that we were too weak to defend ourselves here, we should be still less able to fight over there, for it would take at least twice as great a force for attack at such a vast distance as for effective defense.
>
> "The second argument of the interventionists is that we should go to war for trade. They overlook the fact that even from a material viewpoint such a course would be utterly foolish, since one year of war would cost us more than the loss of all our foreign trade for 20 years. Such a proposal is not only foolish but it is immoral, for it sets material values above human values, markets above young men's lives.
>
> "No, the arguments of the interventionists are breaking down, so now they raise the cry that it is too late for us to oppose the entrance of the United States into the war - that we are committed.

"How can this be? We have been assured by our leaders that each step we have taken has been a step toward peace. Without that assurance the American people could not have been persuaded to take the steps. But surely, a man can walk to the edge of a precipce, look at the view, and refuse to jump off!"

TRAINING CAMPS OPPOSE WAR

Mounting reports are being received indicating that an enormous number of military men are of the "Defend America - but no foreign war" sentiment.

Here is a report on army sentiment from Representative John M. Vorys of Ohio.

Representative Vorys served in the United States Overseas Naval Airforce during the last war.

"The boys in the training camps, including the officers are for keeping out of the wars in Europe, Asia and Africa. I know from personal observation and from those who have been touring the camps. I Have a letter from a Colonel in the regular army who substantiates the contention that regular army officers are strongly opposed to getting into foreign wars, while, of course, everybody is for defending America. Boys in training camps have told me "Keep us out of this" and many officers have thanked me for my efforts in restoring peace.

It may be significant that the Second Corps Area, which comprises NewYork City and environs, and which is the center of agitation for rushing us into total war, is the only Area running below its quota for pilots. In the New York section they are very strong for somebody else going over and doing the fighting."

"THE QUESTION NOW IS -- ARE WE GOING TO FIGHT TO MAKE EUROPE SAFE FOR COMMUNISM?"

JOHN T. FLYNN
(noted newspaper columnist and economist)

"This is where we came in. This was started with Germany moving to the East, her objective being the Ukraine and the Rumanian oil fields. Then England and France said, 'No, you can't do that. Come and fight us

"The result was the destruction of the Low Countries and France and the near-destruction of England, Russia alone being saved.

"Now Germany is resuming where she left off when Britain interrupted. If Germany wins, Russia will go Fascist. If Russia defeats Germany, Germany will go Communist. There is no choice for us at all. THE QUESTION NOW IS? ARE WE GOING TO FIGHT TO MAKE EUROPE SAFE FOR COMMUNISM?"

(The above statement is taken from the New York Times of June 23)

NORMAN THOMAS

says

"WATCH HOW FAST AMERICAN COMMUNISTS BECOME PROPAGANDISTS FOR ENTRY INTO WAR!!!"

"For Stalin we have no sympathy. In every way his cruelty and duplicity have equaled Hitler's own. It was his agreement with Hitler which unleashed the military force of which he is now a prospective victim. The lion has now turned on the jackal and marches Finnish troops against the dictator who assayed the conquest of Finland.

"We shall watch with interest to see how fast American Communists and the organizations which they control or influence will become propagandists for American entry into the war on the side of those "great democracies", Stalin's dictatorship and the British Empire.

"We, whose concern has been to keep America out of war in order to make our own democracy work and whose interest is in peace and not in Stalin, see in the tangled course of events new reason for maintaining the fight to keep America out of War."

(Statement from the New York Times, June 23, 1941)

ANSWER THE "SOUTH AMERICAN INVASION" ARGUMENT

A favorite argument of the interventionists has been "seize bases in Africa to prevent an invasion of South America."

General Wood, John T. Flynn, Colonel Lindbergh and others have exposed this as a preposterous military adventure designed to drag us into the European war.

NOW -- HANSON BALDWIN, RECOGNIZED AS ONE OF THE FOREMOST

MILITARY AUTHORITIES IN AMERICA, DENOUNCES THIS PROPOSED SEIZURE AS -- "STRATEGICAL ABSURDITY" !!!!

Mr. Baldwin, who is military and naval expert for the New York Times, Points out how foolhardy any attempt would be to arm and maintain bases off the European Coast and in Africa.

He denounces and disproves the "invasion" theory.

He outlines the simple procedure the United States must follow to develop an impregnable defense.

STRATEGICAL ABSURDITY

The following is a condensation of an article on "The Realities of Hemisphere Defense" written by Hanson Baldwin, Military and Naval expert for the New York Times. It appeared in the Reader's Digest for July, 1941.

****

"Africa has recently become to our alarmists the base from which swarms of planes and fleets of ships will maneuver against South America. We cannot defend the Americas unless we seize a base in West Africa, it is argued .... So runs the argument and if it is valid, we must change our whole Hemisphere Defense policy -- not temporarily, but permanently....

"Let us look at the matter more closely. There is, first of all, the problem of the Narrowed World. In terms of time the world is smaller. But what is often overlooked is that this helps the defense as well....In the balance of offense and defense, it is just as far as ever from Dakar to Brazil". Moreover, we are rapidly getting new bases (Trinidad and British Guiana) roughly as close to the shoulder of Brazil as Dakar. "There is altogether too much disposition in this country to lose sight of the influence of geography upon war, to regard 1600 miles of ocean as a mere bagatelle in the seven-league strides of Adolph Hitler." Over these 1600 miles he could not more block us from this area than he can block England from using the English Channel; and invasion over these 1600 miles would be vastly more difficult than invasion of England over 25 miles of English Channel.

"Furthermore, even though the Germans do occupy Dakar, they would still have to establish a huge base there with elaborate equipment. This would take a long time. Even supposing that they did reach Brazil eventually, supplying bases and armies there in that jungle would be a colossal job. "This is a military problem which makes the invasion of Britain seem child's play".....

"Reverse the picture, and it gives a fair idea of our own difficulties should we try to maintain a base in West Africa...

But clearly such bases are not vital to Hemisphere Defense; they would probably be more of a liability than an asset...The argument that we have to establish bases in another hemisphere to protect our own land quickly reaches a strategical absurdity...

"What is needed to make Hemisphere Defense a workable military policy?....If we take the right measures this hemisphere can be defended and we need fear no evil" from any hostile coalition of great powers. We need

1. Sea power -- the present program is ample.
2. Air power --long range bombers particularly
3. Land power -- a mobile, finely trained small army of 500,000 to 700,000 men.
4. Bases -- we have or have planned all that we need except a large air and naval base on the shoulder of Brazil.

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WILL ADVISE

Representative Hamilton Fish has announced that the final results of his poll in the President's own district showed 90.02% of the people against war.

Life Magazine discovered a midwestern town and attempted to pin " interventionist" on its name with great pomp. Later Neosha, Missouri, was polled and showed 70% against war.

Washington, D. C., the home of the war-makers, was polled and turned in 93.65% against war.

Indianapolis polled its citizens through leading newspapers and 95% proved to be opposed to foreign intervention.

Bulletin # 383
July 2, 1941

A M E R I C A F I R S T C O M M I T T E E

To All Chapters:

A PEACE OFFENSIVE

The following is a portion of a speech delivered by Representative John M. Vorys (R. Ohio), on the floor of the House.

! WAGE PEACE AS BRAVELY AS WE WAGE WAR !

"Perhaps it would be wise for us to know this time that war would come again unless we waged peace as bravely and wisely as we waged war.

"Congress can aid in formulating such a policy, the people can urge it, but the President alone can launch it and carry it to a successful conclusion. It is the President who must make the decision that now confronts the Nation, for power has been gathered into his hands.

"If the decision is for war, the responsibility is the President's. Congress will not be held responsible, for the President asked for the powers granted in the lease-lend bill on the guaranty that it would keep us out of war. His Cabinet is pressing for war, but the President's Cabinet are his appointees under his control, and the President cannot transfer his responsibility to them. Nor will war blame rest upon the people, for they have never had a chance to vote on war.

"On the other hand, if the President's decision is for an all-out effort to bring the war to an end, the glory will be his, for he will make that decision under the heaviest pressure from his intimate advisers and from foreign governments that any Executive has ever endured."

(Congressman Vorys served in the naval overseas air force in the last war.)

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Richard A. Moore
Director of Organization

SUPPLY TO ALL SPEAKERS

(PLEASE POST)

Bulletin #373
June 30, 1941

A M E R I C A F I R S T C O M M I T T E E

TO ALL CHAPTERS:

PUTTING THE WORLD WAR COST TO USE

War is a costly project.

The billions of valuable dollars tossed recklessly into the cauldron of useless wars brought on by ageless enmities could have been spent in a thousand beneficient ways.

The late Victor L. Berger, World War Congressman, once estimated the cost of that martial venture and pointed out the good that all that money could have done.

BERGER INDICATED -----

> "According to the best statistics obtainable the world war cost thirty million lives and $400,000,000,000 in property. With that amount we could have built a $2500 house and furnished this house with $1000 worth of furniture and placed it on five acres of land worth $100 an acre and given all this to every family in the United States, Canada, Australia, Great Britain, France, Belgium, Germany, and Russia. After doing this there would still be enough money left to give each city of 200,000 inhabitants and over in all the countries named a $5,000,000 library, a $5,000,000 hospital and a ten million dollar university. Out of the balance we could still have sufficient money to set aside a sum at 5 per cent interest which would pay for all time to come a $1000 salary for an army of 125,000 teachers and an army of 125,000 nurses. And, having done all this, we could still have enough left of our $400,000,000,000 to buy up all of France and Belgium and everything of value that France and Belgium possess."

(The above statement was used in an advertisement prepared by the Logan, Utah Chapter of the America First Committee.)

Richard A. Moore
Director of Organization

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United States of America

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 77th CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

We Must Keep America Independent

RADIO ADDRESS

OF

HON. STEPHEN A. DAY

OF ILLINOIS

June 15, 1941

(Printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of June 16, 1941)

Mr. DAY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address which I delivered yesterday over the radio:

Before I was elected to the Congress of the United States, I promised the people that I would take the radio and issue a call for their support when I found that the Nation which we love so dearly was in danger. I am completely satisfied that a grave peril now confronts us. Unless we act immediately and a vigorous protest from all loyal citizens reaches Washington at once, our form of Government under the Constitution and our American independence will be overthrown not by a foreign invasion using military force but by a treasonable betrayal which is already in the making.

There is a powerful movement thoroughly financed throughout the British Empire and in all parts of the United States to surrender great, free America into a permanent confederation or union which will cancel the Declaration of Independence written by Thomas Jefferson in 1776 and completely undermine the Constitution of the United States. Hore Belisha, former Secretary for War in London, this week stated publicly that the plans have been worked out and it now awaits a word from Winston Churchill and President Roosevelt to complete the colossal surrender of all time. While we have been engaged in discussing the wars in Europe, Asia, and Africa, and whether the United States will be involved, the first secret steps have been undertaken.

Millions of good Americans were shocked when the Congress passed the land-lease bill [illegible]

What did it mean? What was to become of the Johnson Act forbidding loans to nations which have not paid their debts owing to us from the first World War? What was to become of the Neutrality Act, with its cash and carry provisions? Why did President Roosevelt turn over 50 of our destroyers to Britain without payment? Why did the President say that Britain was fighting our war and that our first line of defense was on the Rhine? Why was Stimson made Secretary of War? Why was Knox made Secretary of the Navy? Why did Ambassador Kennedy resign his post as our Ambassador to Great Britain? Why did Ambassador Bullitt who represented us in France tell the French that if they started the war we would finish it? Why have the American people been urged to aid Britain "short of war"? Why did President Roosevelt promise the American people that our boys would never be sent to fight and die in a foreign war?

All these questions can be answered when we understand that we are to become a part of the British Empire. All news now coming out of Washington is censored, and the people are not told the facts. The truth is known only to the President and those within the inner circle handling and operating the $7,000,000,000 of war materials which we are giving to Britain. When the plan for union with Britain is completed there will be no need for Britain to repay us, since the American people and all subjects of the British Empire in Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, India, Ireland, the British Isles, and Africa will be all citizens of one government, the rulers of which will be Winston Churchill and Franklin Delano Roosevelt. The Senate of the United States will be absorbed in the parliament of the new union. All Members of the American Congress will be deprived of their seats, and new delegates will sit in the parliament of the new union. You will no longer be a citizen of the United States. Your new allegiance will be to this new union, and you will be a fellow citizen of the hordes in India and the tribesmen of Africa. The [illegible]

Lord Halifax has been sent here to put this deal over. Anthony Eden has proclaimed it. Winston Churchill has said that the movement is flowing steadily onward, and like the great Mississippi River cannot be checked. When Wendell Willkie went to London he carried a note to Winston Churchill stating that the union would sail on. Ambassador Winant has just returned from Britain with a report that all is well.

How near is this new union? American armed vessels are now acting as patrols all over the high seas escorting merchant ships to Britain. The President, proclaiming the freedom of the seas, has issued an order for an unlimited national emergency. He is carrying on an undeclared war with Germany and will never come to the Congress for a declaration of war as provided in our Constitution. Secretary Stimson and Attorney General Jackson have publicly stated that all previous international law has been canceled. Secretary Stimson testified before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations that we are acting under the edicts of a conference of international lawyers held at Budapest, Hungary, in 1934; that President Roosevelt can make war anywhere in the world without any authorization from the Congress.

Plans are now under way to ask the Congress to recess and go home from the middle of July until after Labor Day. The Congress has already appropriated $43,000,000,000, while less than one-third of this sum is all that is needed for American defense. Experts in the Army and Navy have testified that we do not need an Army of over 800,000 for our own defense. On July 1 this Army will already consist of 1,800,000 men. The Congress is appropriating for this year $10,000,000,000 for the Army. Why such gigantic appropriations? All experts in the Army and Navy admit that there is no danger of an invasion of this country by Hitler. Facts and figures have been given to absolutely prove this. Former President Hoover has stated that we can be of more help to Britain if we stay out of the war. Everyone in Washington knows that we are unprepared to carry on successfully a foreign war at this time. Everyone in Wash

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ington knows that we cannot have a two-ocean Navy until 1946. Everyone in Washington knows that Japan will attack us if we make war on Germany. Japan is bound by treaty with Germany to come to Germany's aid. We cannot successfully fight a war in both the Atlantic and the Pacific at the same time. You are asking what does all this mean?

Those who advocate the union now with Britain do not mean a union after the war. They mean a union now. If this union be accomplished, then Britain's war is our war, and no matter how it comes out, we will be a part of the British Empire. The fears of the American people are to be played upon until we are forced to accept this union now. The press and radio are flooded with appeals to our sympathy. By day and night we are told the merits and bravery of the British people.

Lord Halifax and Senator PEPPER have toured the Nation calling upon us to espouse the cause of Britain. The will of the people is being broken down by every scheme and device to the point where we will accept an agreement which President Roosevelt will proclaim that he has made with Winston Churchill. The American Navy will be pooled with the British Navy; all private property will be seized by the President; strikes fomented by Communists will furnish the occasion for the use of military force with which to take over manufacturing plants; Mayor LaGuardia is forming the citizens into an army for home defense; Mrs. Roosevelt is about to draft American women into her army; all those who oppose these plans are called Copperheads, Hitlerites, and "fifth columnists." Charles Lindbergh and Senator WHEELER have been smeared. A magazine of wide circulation has carried an article that Americans of foreign stock will be interned and it is even suggested that the rank and file of such organizations as America First Committee and the Keep Us Out of War Committee will be carefully investigated with a view to internment.

In the name of God, whither are we heading? When I say, "We must keep America independent now," you know what I mean. This Nation is full of foreign agents. They are not all Communists. Many are British agents. We shall not tolerate undivided allegiance. We shall condemn all subversive doctrines whether they be Communist, Fascist, Nazi, or British. The minority in Congress which has made the fight for the American people need your help. In my campaign for election as Congressman at Large, I pledged the voters that I would never vote to send the son of an American father or mother to fight and die in any European or Asiatic war. I shall keep that pledge. I also pledged that I would never vote one cent for this purpose. I kept that pledge and voted against the lend-lease bill, against the amendments as they came from the Senate, and I voted against giving Britain the $7,000,000,000. President Roosevelt proclaims a national emergency, unlimited in scope. Since we are not at war, he has no more right to do this than I have. He is usurping the powers of the people. He has no more right to seize all private property than I have. He is acting as a dictator and will continue so to act unless he hears from the American people.

Let us get this straight. Can it be possible that the Congress will sit idly by and watch the President take us into an undeclared war in open defiance of the Constitution of the United States which clearly states that the Congress alone can declare war? Can it be possible that the American people will sit idly by and see their sons shackled into a Union Now with Britain without any authority from them, from the Congress, or from the Constitution? Some will say that it cannot happen here. To all these I make answer How can you explain the fact that just a few days ago the President submitted to the Congress for its approval an agreement to build the St. Lawrence seaway project as a defense measure when at the same time in his message to the Congress he admitted that it cannot be built within 4 years from now? How can you explain this action by the President when all in authority know that such agreement amounts to a treaty and should be submitted to the Senate of the United States, as was done several years ago? Why is it not a treaty today? What has happened to change the status of the project? Conceded to be a treaty heretofore, how has it become a mere agreement now? Can you not see that in the mind of the President the Constitution means nothing. If he can undermine the Constitution in this instance, who can say that he is not ready for Union Now with Britain?

Today we find the Congress of the United States in about the position that the French Council of the Five Hundred was in the early autumn of 1799, just before Bonaparte drove them out of their chamber with his dragoons. Measures are offered for the consideration of the Congress under rules which put a gag on debate. Amendments are offered to bills on the floor of Congress which the Members have not even read. If this condition continues our Republic will pass away and we shall have an endless emergency dictatorship, and only those measures will be submitted to the Congress which Hitler would submit to the Reichstag.

On this day, June 15, the interest is due from Britain for the debts owing to us from the last World War. No interest has been paid; instead, the debtor is seeking to absorb the creditor and thus wipe out the debt. Who could have foretold that anything so monstrous could happen in America? This is Father's Day. I appeal to the fathers of America to weigh well what I have said. I appeal to you to make known to the President and the Congress that you will not tolerate any further steps in betrayal of our American independence. We all agree that we must do our utmost to defend the United States. But that does not mean that we must accept a Union Now with Britain and that you and your sons for all time to come will be subjects of the British Empire. What have we done that this should come to us? God knows that it is hard enough to give up a son for military training in defense of our common country. It cannot be possible that He will inflict this curse that will deprive us of our American citizenship. I call upon the American people to awake to this danger and write or wire the President and the Members of Congress at once, tonight, that you will not permit the loss of our American independence. We applaud the loyalty of the subject of the British Empire for standing by Great Britain; we expect Frenchmen to be for France; we expect Italians to be for Italy; we expect Hitlerites to be for Hitler. But why, in the name of God, can we not expect Americans to be for America first, last, and always?

The tide is turning in Washington. The Congress is determined to drive the serpent of internationalism from the free soil of America. We have commenced to put the Communists in their place. We must not stop there. With your help, we will check the betrayal of America into a Union Now with Britain. We have a right to cherish our American independence. No man can take this birthright from us. Just as in 1776 the wrath of the American people must be made known and when the American people decide that this mongrel New Union shall not happen here then I am satisfied we shall remain free and independent. Let us hear from you. We need your help. May God bless you all.

825121—39704

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1941

July 29, 1941 #2452

4/29/85 FBI/DOJ
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DATE 9/4/84 BY SP3 FBI/DOJ
Unit #241 942

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

Southern California Division

Speaker's Bureau

BULLETIN NO. 3: (Compiled from Official Chicago Bulletins)

318519
SP3 BU/CL 10-19-90

NOT ENOUGH SHIPS FOR A.E.F.

REAR ADMIRAL YEATES STIRLING, JR., UNITED PRESS NAVAL CRITIC, HAS BEEN DRUMMING FOR SENTIMENT TO SUPPORT ENTRANCE OF THE UNITED STATES INTO WORLD WAR II.

HOWEVER, YESTERDAY ADMIRAL STIRLING CONCEDED THAT THERE ARE NOT ENOUGH SHIPS AVAILABLE FOR A SECOND AMERICAN EXPEDITIONARY FORCE.

The following is the complete text of Admiral Stirling's United Press column. (From the Chicago Times, Wednesday, July 16, 1941.)

"In view of the controversy over whether there will be another American Expeditionary Force before the end of the war, it seems appropriate to review the herculean task accomplished by our navy in ferrying 1,000,000 men to France during the last war.

"When the United States entered the war in 1917, it owned but few ships fit for transport service. Fortunately, there were a dozen or more large interned German merchant ships in our ports. These ships had been seriously sabotaged by their crews, but through the process of electric welding were repaired and by October, 1917, most of them were ready to carry troops.

"Great Britain had a number of ships that were available as transports, and nearly 1,000,000 of our men were transported across the Atlantic in British convoys from Canada, escorted by British warships.

LACK TRANSPORTS

"IF THERE SHOULD BE A SECOND A.E.F., THERE WOULD BE THE DIFFICULTY OF PROVIDING ENOUGH FAST AMERICAN TRANSPORTS FOR THE TASK AND SUFFICIENT DESTROYERS TO GUARD THEM.

"In large measure we would have to depend upon England's shipping and foreign vessels interned in the United States.

"All transport should be of 20-know speed or better. The higher the speed of the ship the greater the immunity from submarine attacks. A torpedo as a rule leaves behind it a white wake from its exhaust air bubbles. This, if seen in time, enables a ship to use helm and engines to cause a torpedo to pass ahead or astern.

TORPEDO PROBLEM

"It has been claimed that the Germans have found a means of absorbing the air bubbles, which causes torpedoes to leave no wake. This would make a transport's task of avoiding torpedoes more difficult. There would be no warning when the torpedoe was fired, and if the aim were good a hit would be the first intimation of the presence of a submarine.

"Both British and American anti-submarine vessels are provided with listening devices. The effectiveness of those devices is questionable, because of the noise within the listening vessel from engines and pumps. There is a device using a ray which is said to be more effective.

"Convoys would have to be guarded by an escort large enough to defeat any possible raiders sent against it, and be surrounded by destroyers, not only to attack the submarines after they have been discovered but also to rescue the troops and crews of torpedoed transports.

6-DAY MINIMUM

"The route taken would depend upon the destination in Europe. By all routes the distance is close to 3,000 miles. A 20-know convoy could make the voyage in little over six days. During World War I., troop convoys required as much as 14 days.

"From my experience in the last war the troops dreaded the trip across the ocean far more than they did the battlefields. It was to them something mysterious against which they could do nothing. There would be the same dread today, and the troops would have to be given every reason for believing they were safe. It is important for troops to know that if a transport is torpedoed, sufficient rescue ships will be on hand to take off the men. It is the duty of the navy to man the transports, providing sufficient escort to give reasonable security. While the convoys are at sea, the fight against the submarine and the airplane must be carried on by separate forces of anti-submarine vessels and airplanes. The routes taken by convoys must be assiduously patrolled.

"By this means attacking submarines and bombing planes would be so constantly occupied in warding off attacks they would have little opportunity or inclination to risk attacks on convoys."

ADMIRAL STIRLING HAS POINTED OUT THE QUANTITY AND TYPES OF SHIPS NEEDED FOR TRANSPORT DUTY. PLEASE RECALL HIS PREVIOUS STATEMENT IN THIS ARTICLE OF THE DEFICIENCY IN THOSE SHIPS.

"V"(ictory)

AMERICA FIRST CHAPTERS FROM BOSTON, MASS. - TO SAN DIEGO, CALIF.

! ! ! YOH ARE WINNING THIS FIGHT ! ! !

1....YOU WON NO CONVOYS - Today there are no convoys!!! This has been avowed in sworn testimony before the Senate Naval Affairs Committee.

2....YOU WON THE POSTPONEMENT OF THE SPEECH ORIGINALLY HERALDED AS "THE WAR SPEECH" - Early in May the President contemplated a fireside chat. The war-party circulated the report that this speech would be tantamount to a declaration of war. The country had been "primed". BUT - America First Chapters poured mail into the President and Congress. America First Chapters by their efforts showed that 80% of the nation opposed war. THE PRESIDENT POSTPONED THAT SPEECH. He delayed two weeks and rewrote that speech because it was at last evident that America had not been "conditioned" for war. Because he realizes that the overwhelming majority of the people are against war the President has never made that "war" speech. Each message has touched vaguely on "danger" and "pirates".

3....YOU WON THE FIRST "NO A.E.F." FIGHT The administration withdrew the clause in the original bill which asked for the "removal of boundary restrictions". (However, there will still be attempts to push legislation which will license an A.E.F. We must continue to press the campaign against bills and proposals which may ultimately mean "expeditionary force".)

4....YOU ARE GAINING CONGRESSIONAL STRENGTH - A meeting of the non-interventionist leaders in Congress was held on July 22, 1941, Present at this meeting to discuss policy and means of carrying out the non-interventionist program were 20 members of Congress who had never before attended the non-interventionist caucus.

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REPORT ON REPORTING

On April 24 Charles A. Lindbergh addressed a non-interventionist rally in New York. The New York Times reported that Father Coughlin's Social Justice was sold outside this meeting, that "German accents were numerous", and that the audience cheered remarks unsympathetic to Britain.

On July 17, the Committee to Defend America and Fight for Freedom Inc. held a pro-war rally in the same hall presided over by Wendell L. Willkie. Outside the meeting communists distributed copies of the Daily Worker, the New Masses and the latest statement of the Communist Party. Inside the hall communists revealed their presence by applauding references to the Soviet Union. Most of the speakers

emphasized their hope that the peoples of the dictator countries would be freed, and mentioned specifically Germany, Italy and the conquered territories. But they failed to mention Stalin's people. None of these aspects of the meeting were reported by the New York Times. (from UNCENSORED, July 19, 1941)

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FRANK AT LAST

COLONEL KNOX
Testifies to the Senate Naval Affairs Committee when seeking confirmation of his appointment as Secretary of the Navy.

Question: You would not favor sending our boys to Eurppe under any circumstances in the present crisis?

Col. Knox: That is right.
... we ought to aid them in a moral and economic way, never in manpower...
... I mean everything short of sending military assistance, either army or navy assistance.

COLONEL KNOX
Speaks in Boston one year later.

... Now is the time to put in motion the machine we have been building...we must, if need be, match with American tears, American toil, American sweat, and American blood, the toil, the tears, the sweat, and the blood which Britain has...spent... The time to clear the Atlantic of the German menace is at hand...

****

"NATIONAL DEFENSE AT ANY EXPENSE
BUT KEEP OUR BOYS AT HOME"

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THE SMEAR BRIGADE

There has been a violent attack upon the patriotism of Senator Burton K. Wheeler by Secretary of War, Henry L. Stimson.

The war secretary's attack was based on postcards sent out over the Senator's franking privilege urging the recipients to write the President to express opposition to entry into the European war. Two of these cards were received by members of the U.S. Army, Staff Sergeant William L. White, Company C., 8th Infantry, Fort Benning, and Lieutenant Alfred P. Herne, Post Adjutant, Fort McIntosh, Laredo,

Texas, who turned them over to the war department.

Secretary Stimson sought to make it appear that Senator Wheeler deliberately mailed the cards to army personnel in an effort to incite opposition to the Administration's legislation requesting extension of service.

THE TRUTH OF THE MATTER IS:

1.....The cards said nothing whatever of a draft service extension proposal. They contained speeches of Hoover, Nye, Kennedy, and President Roosevelt.

2.....The cards were mailed in June before General Marshall made his proposal to extend the service of the men in camps.

3.....Th e cards were mailed to over a million people.

4.....An outside magazine mailing list was used. The mail clerks neglected to remove the names of the few soldiers in the million.

5.....IT IS BELIEVED THAT SECRETARY STIMSON'S SMEAR WAS DESIGNED AS AN EVASION TO THE INQUIRY ADDRESSED TO HIM BY WHEELER ON WEDNESDAY ASKING HI' TO AFFIRM OR DENY REPORTS THAT 12,000 TO 20,000 AMERICAN TROOPS HAD BEEN LANDED AT SUEZ. STIMSON HAS NEVER MENTIONED NOR REPLIED TO SENATOR WHEELER'S INQUIRY!!!!

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NO REASON FOR ENTERING WAR

(An editorial published in the Denver Post, Denver, Colorado, July 21, 1941)

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* "We are arming ourselves not for any purpose of conquest *
* or intervention in foreign disputes. I repeat again that *
* I stand on the platform of our party: "WE WILL NOT PARTIC- *
* IPATE IN FOREIGN WARS, and WE WILL NOT SEND OUR ARMY, *
* NAVAL OR AIR FORCES TO FIGHT IN FOREIGN LANDS OUTSIDE *
* THE AMERICAS EXCEPT IN CASE OF ATTACK'." - Pres.Roosevelt *
* at Philadelphia, October 23, 1940. *

Observing that "some of us have short memories nowadays", Amos Pinchot, New York city attorney, has written a letter to President Roosevelt r minding him of this and other peace pledges made during the 1940 campaign. Copies of this letter have been sent to senators and congressmen. Pinchot also has told the president: "TODAY THERE IS NO 'DEFENSE'

REASON IN GOD'S WORLD FOR ENTERING A DECLARED OR UNDECLARED WAR THAT DID NOT EXIST IN GREATER MEASURE WHEN YOU MADE YOUR PEACE PLEDGES LAST FALL AT PHILADELPHIA, HARTFORD, BOSTON, NEW YORK, BROOKLYN AND WASHINGTON."

It is a good idea to remind the president and members of congress of these peace pledges. They have forgotten too many campaign promises in the past. Washington is cluttered with repudiated pledges to cut down government spending, reduce taxes, stop the deficits. There are too many signs now that the peace assurances of 1940 are going the way of the economy promises of 1932.

The doctrine that we cannot defent ourselves and will be enslaved by Hitler unless we go forth and fight him in Africa or Asia or Europe on his home grounds "does not make sense". Pinchot insists in his letter to the president, "Yet, from the moment of your re-election, you have not ceased to use every expedient to spread a psychology of hysteria and blind funk in the United States. You have invited German attack and total war by aggressive, provocative acts that follow each other in ever-faster succession. Meanwhile, you and your spokesmen, in and out of congress, are reviling every loyal American who says now precisely what you said nine months ago, and whose cardinal sin is that he loves his own country better than any other,"

Postmaster General Walker was beating the war drum and spreading fear in Denver Saturday. What might happen to the United States in the event that Germany defeats Soviet Russia was the theme of his speech. "The people in the western part of this country have now come to a full realization that a complete Nazi conquest of Russia would bring a serious threat to our national security along the west coast and in the territory of Alaska", he declared. "America is threatened."

Sentiment against America involvement in the war has been especially pronounced in the West. Propaganda that the United States would be the next victim of Hitler aggression IF England falls and IF the Nazis get the British fleet hasn't stirred up much war sentiment in this part of the country. So now we are being dosed with speculation about how the Nazis might strike at the western part of the United States IF Russia falls and IF they occupy all of the Soviet territory.

It will not be easy to scare the American people into thinking there is any more immediate danger of a Nazi invasion thru Siberia and Alaska than there is from across the Atlantic ocean. We want to be prepared to stand off attack from any and every quarter. But American defense does not require the United States to plunge into the European war.

Postmaster General Walker did not exaggerate when he said that the cost of the national defense program "will test the spirit of self-sacrifice, the courage and patriotism of America". The most staggering tax bill in history is being prepared for the American people. And what it brings in will amount to less than one-third of what has been appropriated.

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America First Committee
Southern California Division
3142 Wilshire Boulevard
Los Angeles, California

264.350 9145 SP8/106/CAL 4-23-86

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"NO A.E.F." is the slogan being sponsored by the America First Committee in an intensive membership drive. According to William T. Dodson, Executive Secretary of the Southern California Division, "The America First Committee stands with the overwhelming majority of the American public in demanding national unity for defense and peace".

In addition to the main headquarters at 3142 Wilshire Boulevard, Los Angeles, inquiries may be directed to the following offices and chapters:

ALHAMBRA: W. S. Magginetti, 29 S. Fourth Street

ANAHEIM: Rev. W. G. Smith, 422 West Broadway

GLENDALE: Mr. Wm. Hunt, 1309 Garden Street

HUNTINGTON PARK: Call Headquarters at FEderal 1168

LONG BEACH: Mr. Franklin G. Makepeace, 255 Nieto Ave.

LOS ANGELES: Mrs. Florence I. Albright, 3711 Wilshire Blvd.

PASADENA: Mr. Frank Johnson, 1025 Kendall Drive, San Gabriel

SANTA BARBARA: Mr. P. A. Donaldson, 315 E. Sola Street

SAN FERNANDO VALLEY: Mr. William P. Williams, 4307 Bakeman Avenue, North Hollywood

SANTA ANA: Mr. R. C. Hoiles, c/o Santa Ana Register

SANTA MONICA: Mr. A. E. Burton, 1245- 20th Street

SAN PEDRO: Mrs. L. R. Thompson, 1151 Paseo del Mar St.

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******* ADVISORY WAR REFERENDUM *******

MR. NYE Mr. President, I ask consent to submit a concurrent resolution. I am joined in its submission by the Senator from Montana (MR. WHEELER), the Senator from Kansas (MR. CAPPER), the Senator from Wisconsin (MR. LA FOLLETTE), the Senator from Idaho (MR. CLARK), and the Senator from Minnesota (MR. SHIPSTEAD). I ask that the concurrent resolution be read at the desk.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the concurrent resolution will be read.

The legislative clerk read the concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 7), as follows:

Whereas the Democratic Party platform of 1940 stated: "We will not participate in foreign wars, and we will not send our Army, naval, or air forces to fight in foreign lands outside of the Americas, except in case of attack"; and

Whereas the Republican Party platform of 1940 states: "The Republican Party is firmly opposed to involving this Nation in foreign wars"; and

Whereas the President, during the 1940 campaign, stated: "I hate war now more than ever. I have one supreme determination--to do all I can to keep war away from these shores for all time. I stand with my party upon the platform adopted at Chicago." (Address to teamsters' union convention, Washington, September 11, 1940.)

"To Republicans and Democrats, to every man, woman, and child in the Nation, I say your President and your great Secretary of State are following the road to peace. We are arming ourselves not for any purposes of conquest or intervention in foreign disputes. I repeat that I stand on the platform of our party. * * * It is for peace I have labored; and it is for peace I shall labor all the days of my life." (Address in Convention Hall, Philadelphia, October 30, 1940.)

"I have said this before, but I shall say it again and again. Your boys are not going to be sent into any foreign wars; they are going into training to form a force so strong that by its very existence it will keep the threat of war far away from our shores." (Address at Boston Garden, October 30, 1940.)

"The first purpose of our foreign policy is to keep our country out of war." (Address at Cleveland, November 3, 1940.)

And

Whereas public-opinion polls taken since September 1939 show over 80 percent of the American people opposed to the United States entering the war; and the poll completed March 15, 1941, on the question, "If you were asked to vote on the question of the United States entering the war against Germany and Italy, how would you vote--to go into the war or to stay out of the war?" shows 83 percent opposed; and

Whereas the Congress has made clear its intention to keep out of foreign war through such provisions as it wrote into the Selective Service Act against use of those inducted in service outside the Western Hemisphere or the possessions of the United States: Now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED BY THE SENATE (THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES CONCURRING), That in order to ascertain the will of the people regarding the use of our naval and air forces, as well as land forces not inducted under the Selective Service Act, outside the Western Hemisphere or the Territorial possessions of the United States, the Congress shall, before it shall authorize, or support by appropriation, the use of such forces elsewhere, order a national advisory election of all eligible voters on the following question:

"Shall the Congress under existing conditions approve the use of land, naval, and air forces outside the Western Hemisphere or the Territorial possessions of the United States and appropriate funds necessary for such military and naval operations?"

Congress shall by law provide for the fulfillment and enforcement of the provisions of this act.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the concurrent resolution will be received and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

(From the Congressional Record--Senate, March 27, 1941)

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA DIVISION
BUREAU OF RESEARCH

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AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

Southern California Division

Speaker's Bureau

TITLE: "FREEDOM OF THE SEAS"

By: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE RESEARCH BUREAU

VOLUME NO: 8

DATE: June 26, 1941

****

DID YOU KNOW

That the President's call for "freedom of the seas" was really a demand for the right to help one country at war defeat another?

That the right to ship arms and other contraband to one belligerent without interference from its enemy is not recognized under international law, and has been rejected by both England and the United States?

That England has opposed, and would oppose now, genuine "freedom of the seas", since England's power to keep all supplies from reaching her enemy is her strongest weapon?

"FREEDOM OF THE SEAS"

Our own Secretary of State admitted during the World War that "freedom of the seas" in wartime was determined by the belligerents:

> "The fact that the commerce of the United States is interrupted by Great Britain is consequent upon the superiority of the Navy on the high seas. History shows that whenever a country has possessed that su superiority our trade has been interrupted and that few artivles essential to the prosecution of the war have been allowed to reach its enemy from this country." (Secretary of State Bryan to Chairman of Senate Senate Committee on Foreign Relations on January 20, 1915; quoted in Report of Special Senate Committee on Investigation of the Munitions Industry, 74th Congress, part 5 , page 163).

Winston Churchill has pointed out that, at the close of the World War, the representatives of the Allies refused to accept "freedpm of the seas" as proposed by President Wilson:

"The second Point was then read.
'Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas, outside territorial waters, alike in peace and in war, except as the seas may be closed in whole or in part by international action for the enforcement of international covenants.'

"This point about what is called the 'Freedom of the Seas' naturally aroused British concern.... Mr. Lloyd George said he could not accept this clause under any condition. If it had been in operation at the present time we should have lost the power of imposing a blockade. Germany had broken down almost as much from the effects of the blockade as from that of military operations.... Clenenceau and Sonnino agreed with Lloyd George." ("The Aftermath" -19 pages 103-104, report of a meeting of representatives of the Allies in the World War to discuss Woodrow Wilson's "Fourteen Points" as a basis for an armistice with Germany).

THE PRESIDENT DEMANDS FREEDOM OF THE SE S

In his "unlimited emergency" speech of May 27, 1941, President Roosevelt stated that "we re*assert the ancient American doctrine of freedom of the seas". His characterization of the doctrine ~~xfxfxxxxx~~ for which he contended was inaccurate on at least two counts. First, the doctrine he asserted was neither ancient nor "American" in the sense of representing American foreign policy. Second, the doctrine he asserted cannot be called the "freedom of the seas"; What he asked in reality was th "freedom to aid at will one belligerent nation without danger of interference by the other belligerent" - a freedom which our own government and the British government had denied on past occasions, and which the British would be the first to reject now, if it were to their advantage.

The sinking of the Robin Moor an American ship, in the South Atlantic, afforded the President another opportunity to raise indirectly the question of the "freedom of the seas", in an oratorical message to Congress on June 20, 1941. Of course, the manner in which the ship was sunk and the crew and passengers treated was unjustified and ruthless, but the President failed to mention the Robin Moor was carrying to a belligerent state (the Union of South Africa) a cargo of goods of which 70 pe per cent was banned as contraband of war by both Britian and Germany (see DID YOU KNOW,#1)/

REPEAL THE NEUTRALITY ACT?

The Neutrality Act is a substantial barrier to the President's conception of "freedom of the seas". Despite earlier demands for repeal of the Neutrality Act and return to "freedom of the se by Secretary of the Navy Knox (New York Times, May 22, 1941), th and Secretary of War Stimson (New York Times, May 22, 1941), the President stated at his press conference following the "Unlimit

emergency" of speech, that he was not then considering a request asking for repeal or amendment of the Neutrality Act (New York Times, May 29, 1941)/

The President's attitude therefore indicates three possibilities 1) he may have used the phrase "freedom of the seas" merely as a glittering oratorical attraction; or 2) he may plan to seek repeal or amendment of the Neutrality Act later; or 3) his concept of "freedom of the seas" may involve a course of action designed to prevent German warships from interfering with American aid to Britain, which may not conflict with the Neutrality Act. In view of the history in American foreign policy of "freedom of the seas", and of the background of the President's remarks, the latter course seems the most likely.

"THE ANCIENT AMERICAN DOCTRINE"

In his "unlimited emergency" speech, the President referred to a few historical examples to prove America's devotion to "freedom of the seas". The irrelevance of those examples to the present situation is matched only by the omission from his speech of other and much more important historical instances. He cited our difficulties with the French in 1799, our war against the Barbary pirates a few years later, the War of 1812, and our assistance in ousting French from Mexicao, none of which was analogous to our present claim to the right to supply one belligerent with arms and contraband without interference from the other belligerent. Much more important is the fact that the President failed to mention the Civil War and the World War -- not to mention the Neutrality Act and the current war.

In the Civil War, the Union seized British ships which sought to run the Union blockade and to carry goods to the South. (Borchard and Lage, "Neutrality for the United States" (1937), page 15).
In the World War, despite merely formal protests made for the sake of the record, the Wilson administration actually acquiesced in the British blockade and the all-embracing ~~xxxxxxxx~~ contraband list adopted by the British, which exposed American trade with the neutrals of Europe and even South America to the complete control of Britain and the Allies (Borchard and Lage, pages 34, 36, 39, 43,61-62, 65, 72). The Neutrality Act, of course, limits our freedom of trade in time of war, and was adopted as an indication of strength, not weakness, in our desire to ~~xx~~ keep out of war.

In the current war, despite another mild protest made for the sake of the record, we have again acquiesced in the British blockade and an even more-embracing contraband list. We have acquiesced in the British system of "navicerts", under which our shippers must submit their cargo lists to British agents -- even if the cargo is destined for a neutral country -- in order to minimize interference with a voyage by British warship Now, we face a British system of "mailcerts", which amounts to a tax on American mail and operates on the same principle as the "navicerts (New York Times, June 24, 1941).

FREEDOM TO AID A BELLIGERENT

The President's remarks showed clearly that what he means by "freedom of the seas" is freedom to send arms and other contraband to Britain and her Allies. This is not the "freedom of the seas" recognized under international law, which means the freedom of American shippers to trade freely with all belligerents. What he means by "freedom of the seas" is shown by his statement that we must help "cut down the losses on the high seas", although at the time of his speech no American ship was known to have been sunk. He is primarily concerned with ousting German ships from Atlantic waters. Whether or not that is wise cannot be determined unless the issue is presented for what it really is.

There is a war in progress. Naturally, Germany will seek to sink or capture British ships carrying arms or contraband, even if the cargoes come from the United States. If American ships carry contraband to ports belonging to part of the British Empire (belligerent territory) it is to be expected that German ships will seek to block such voyages. American ships on such voyages cannot claim exemption from visit and search, or even capture, by German ships, because they can be held liable to capture under the accepted rules of international law, which American courts helped to formulate. (Borchard and Lage, pages 16-17, 118-119)

BRITAIN OPPOSES FREEDOM OF THE SEAS

Obviously, "freedom of the seas" is not the policy of the British government, which rejected it in the World War, and which rejects it in the current war. The British must always reject it, since their strongest weapon is the naval blockade, by which they seek to prevent any supplies from reaching their enemies. No President can profess to seek "freedom of the seas" if he accepts unreservedly the British policy.

FILE DESCRIPTION

BUREAU FILE

SUBJECT America First Committee

FILE NO. 100-4712

SECTION NO. Enclosure Behind File

SERIALS 458 Only

ALL [illegible] CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10-23-90 BY SP1B5d/cd
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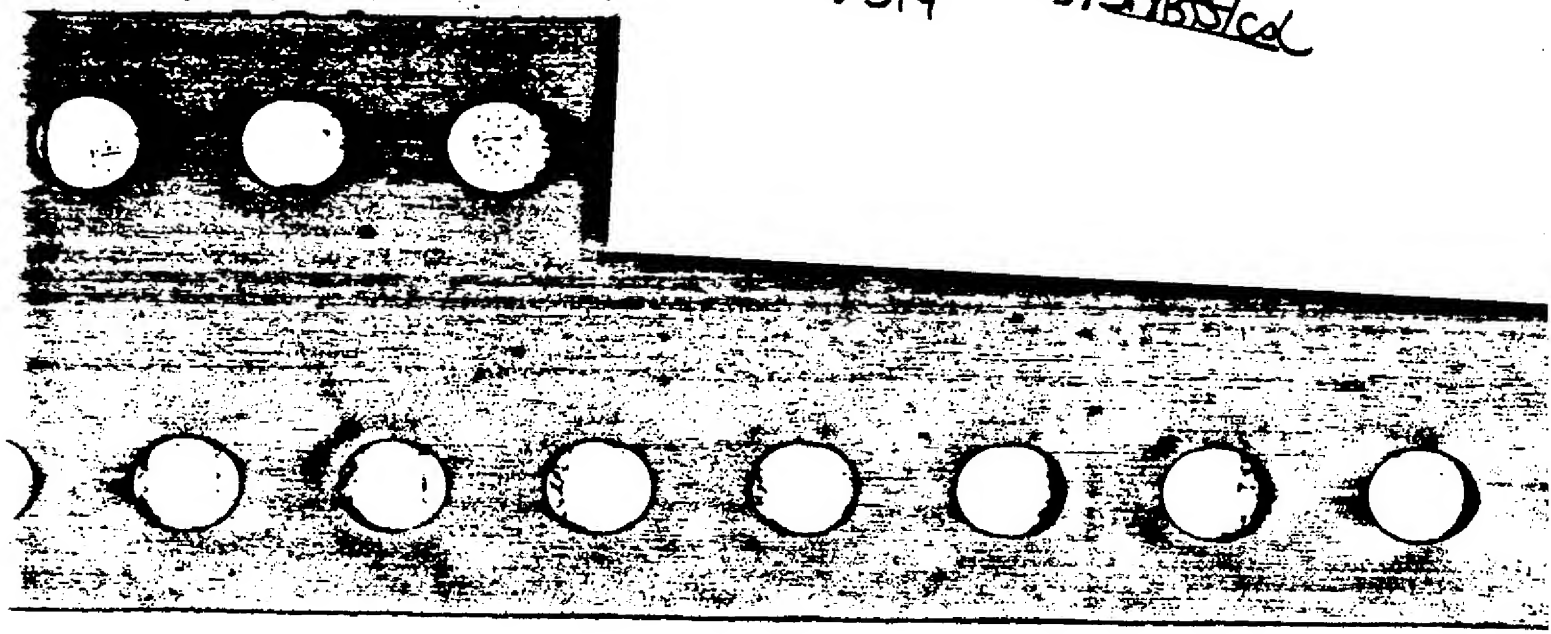

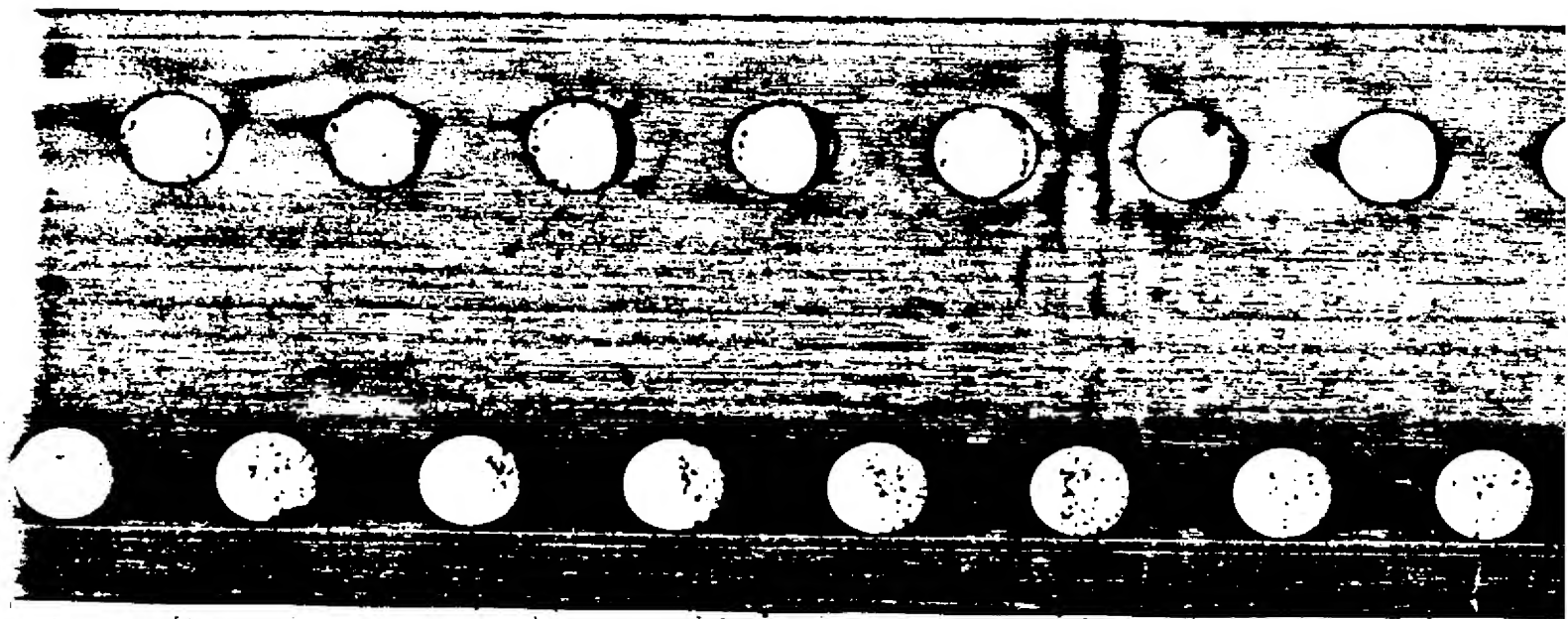

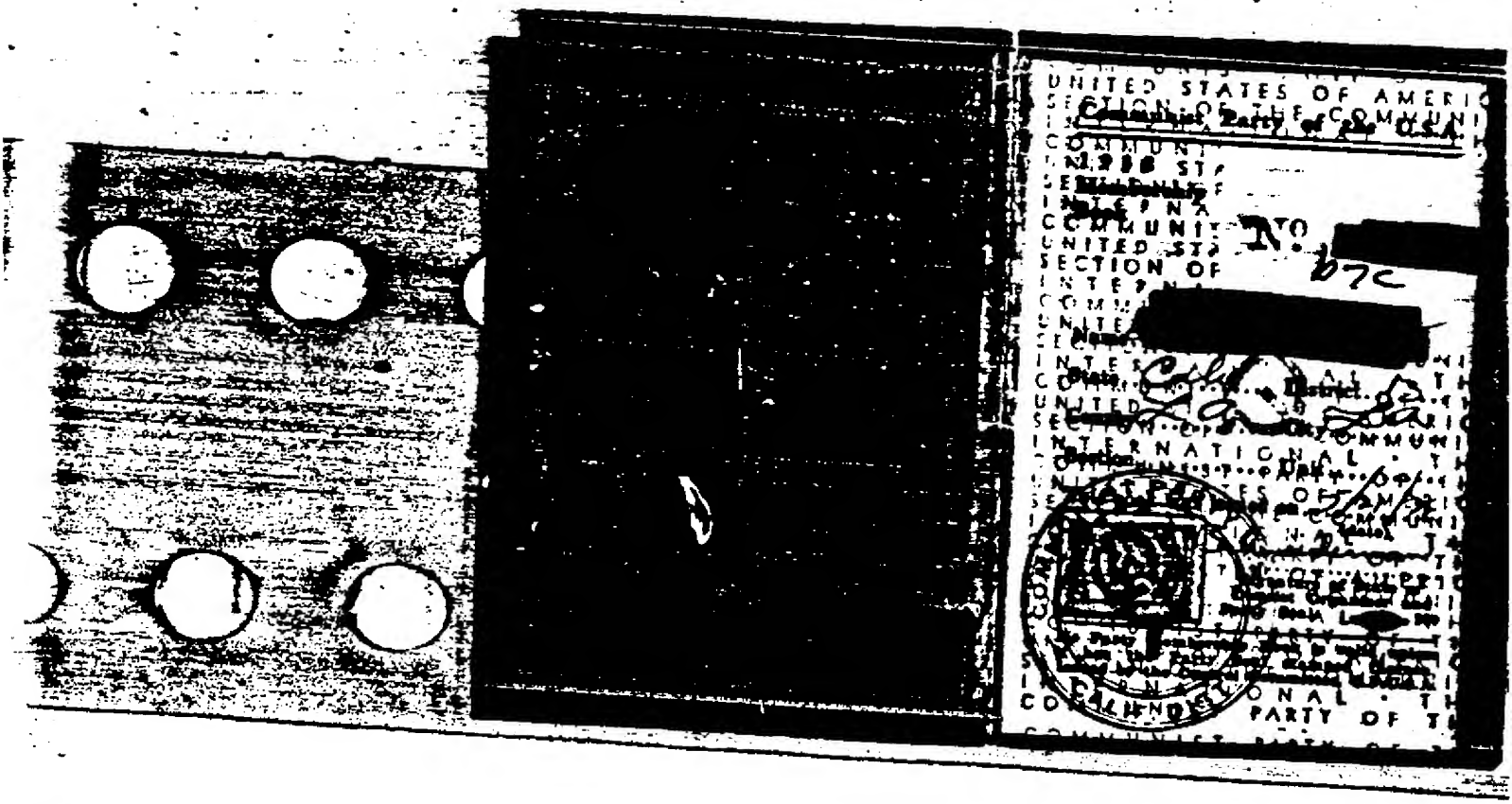
UNITED STATES OF AMERI
Communist Party of the U.S.A.
No.
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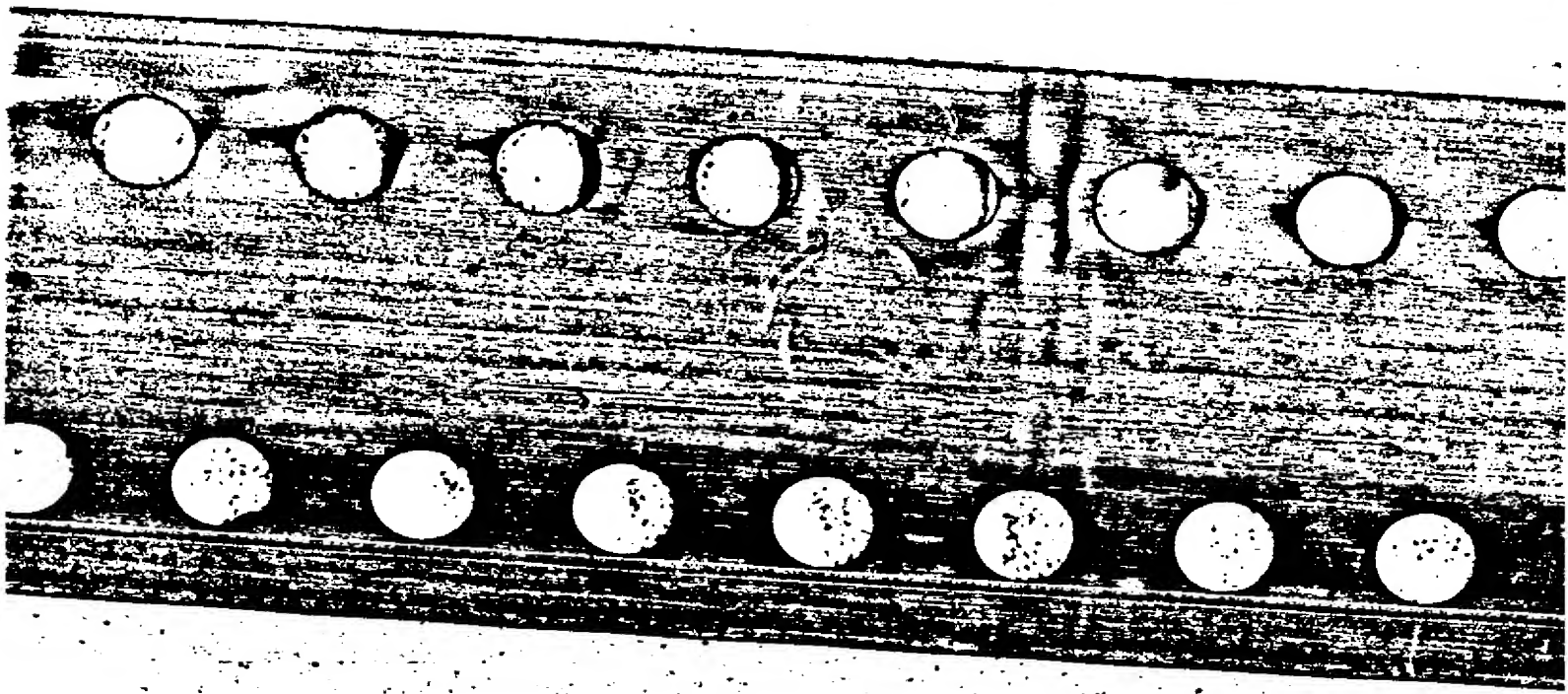
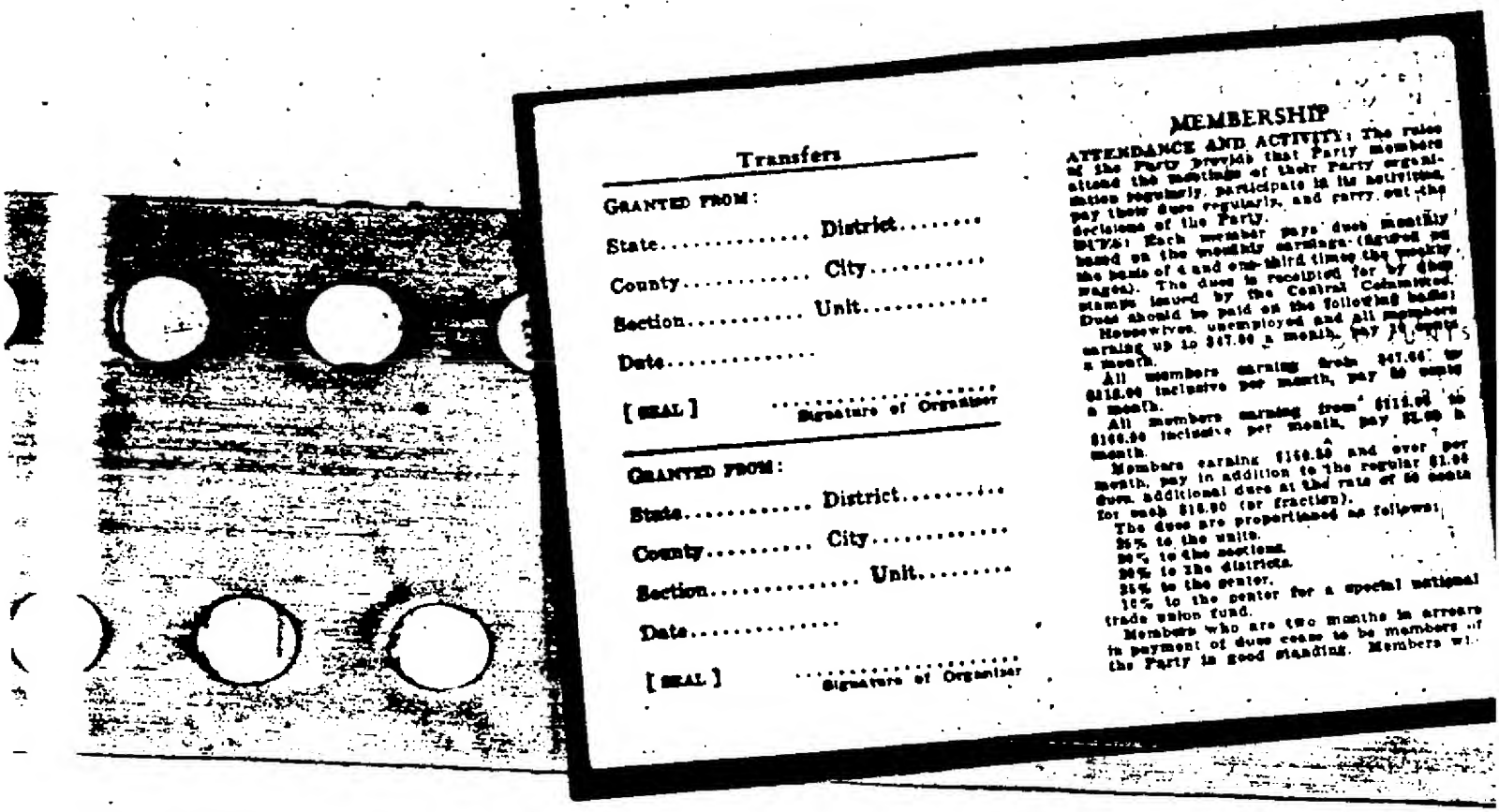
INTERNATIONAL
PARTY OF





Transfers

GRANTED FROM:

State..... District.....

County..... City.....

Section..... Unit.....

Date.....

[SEAL] .....
Signature of Organizer

GRANTED FROM:

State..... District.....

County..... City.....

Section..... Unit.....

Date.....

[SEAL] .....
Signature of Organizer

MEMBERSHIP

ATTENDANCE AND ACTIVITY: The rules of the Party provide that Party members attend the meetings of their Party organization regularly, participate in its activities, pay their dues regularly, and carry out the decisions of the Party.

DUES: Each member pays dues monthly based on the monthly earnings (figured on the basis of 4 and one-third times the weekly wages). The dues is recorded for by dues stamps issued by the Central Committee. Dues should be paid on the following basis:

Housewives, unemployed and all members earning up to $47.66 a month, pay 5 cents a month.

All members earning from $47.66 to $116.66 inclusive per month, pay 10 cents a month.

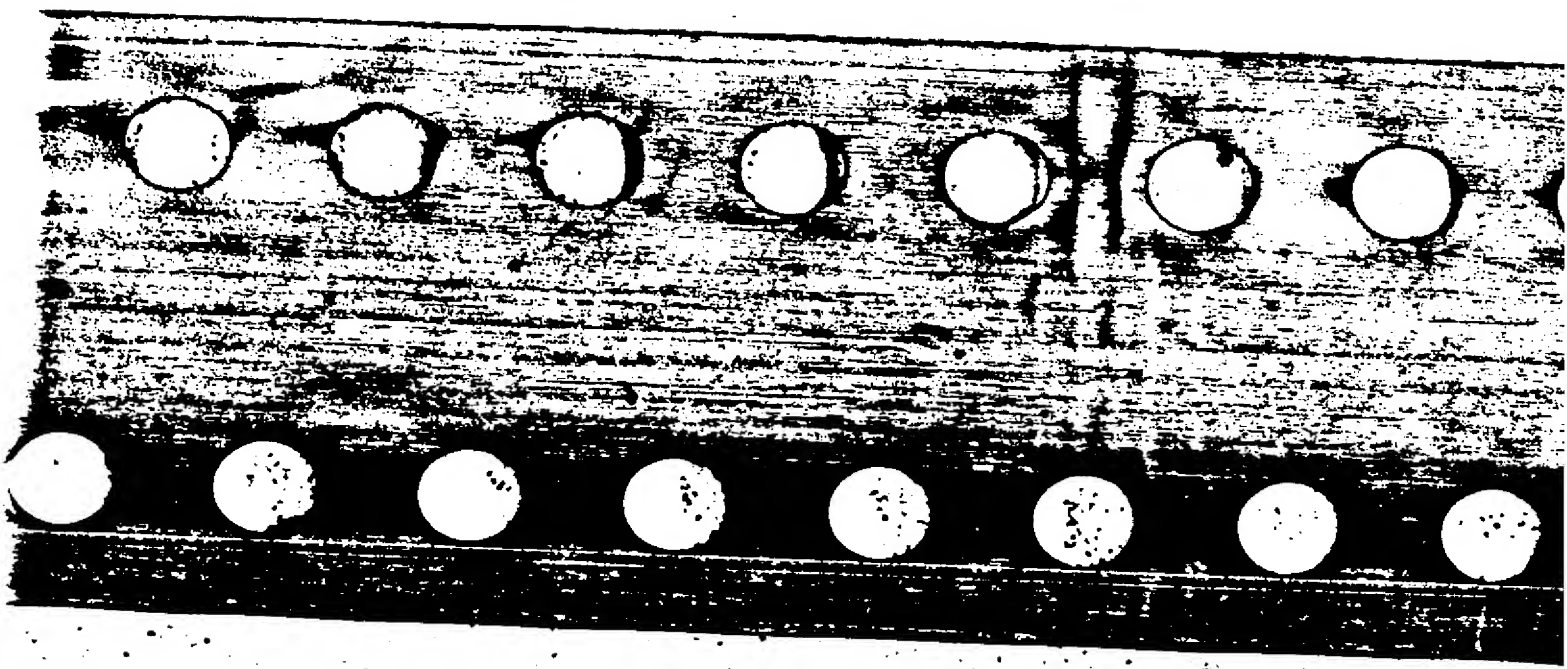
All members earning from $116.66 to $166.66 inclusive per month, pay $1.00 a month.

Members earning $166.66 and over per month, pay in addition to the regular $1.00 dues, additional dues at the rate of 50 cents for each $16.66 (or fraction).

The dues are proportioned as follows:

35% to the units.
30% to the sections.
20% to the districts.
15% to the center.
10% to the center for a special national trade union fund.

Members who are two months in arrears in payment of dues cease to be members of the Party in good standing. Members wi



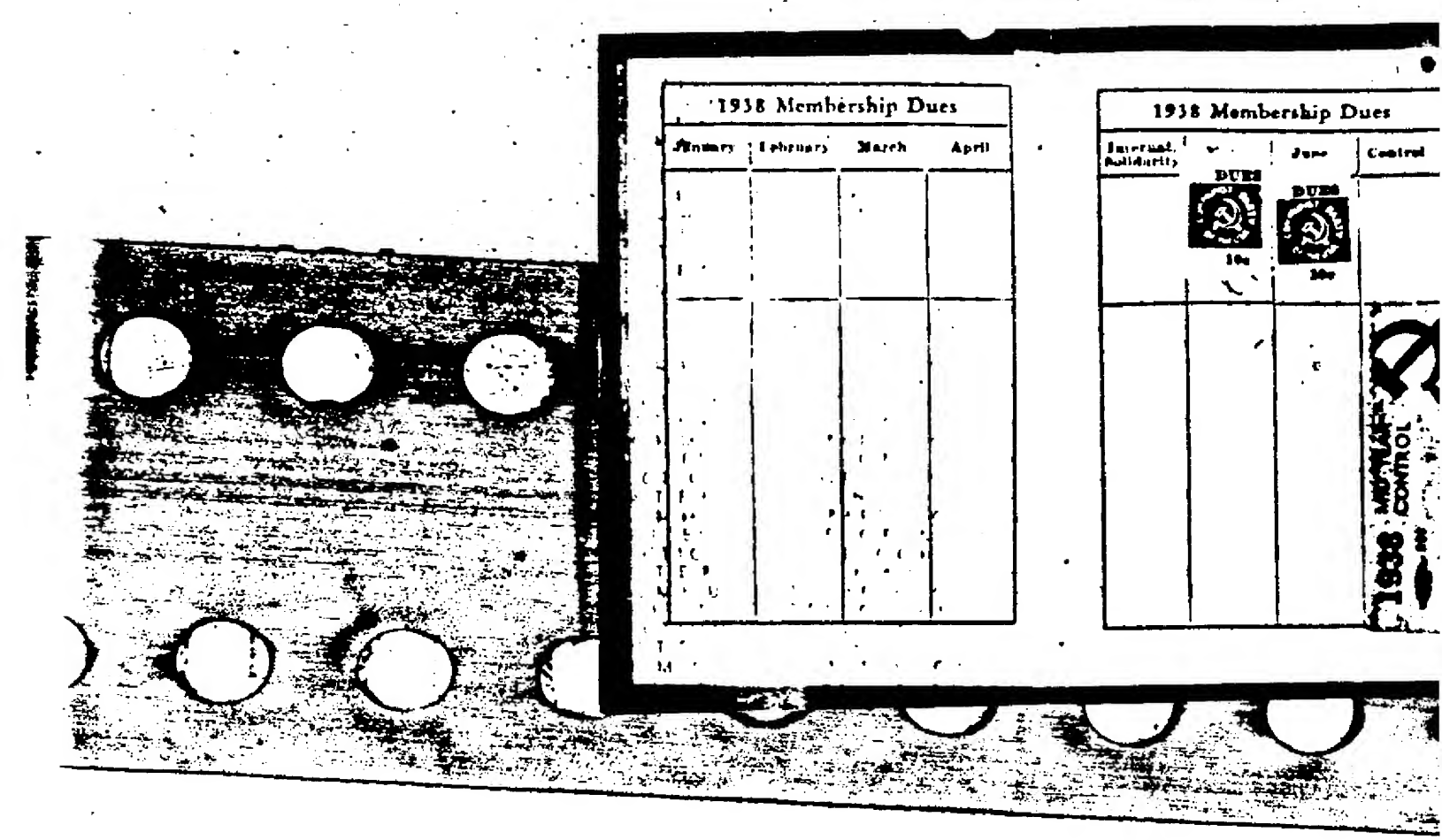
are four months in arrears are stricken from the Party rolls.

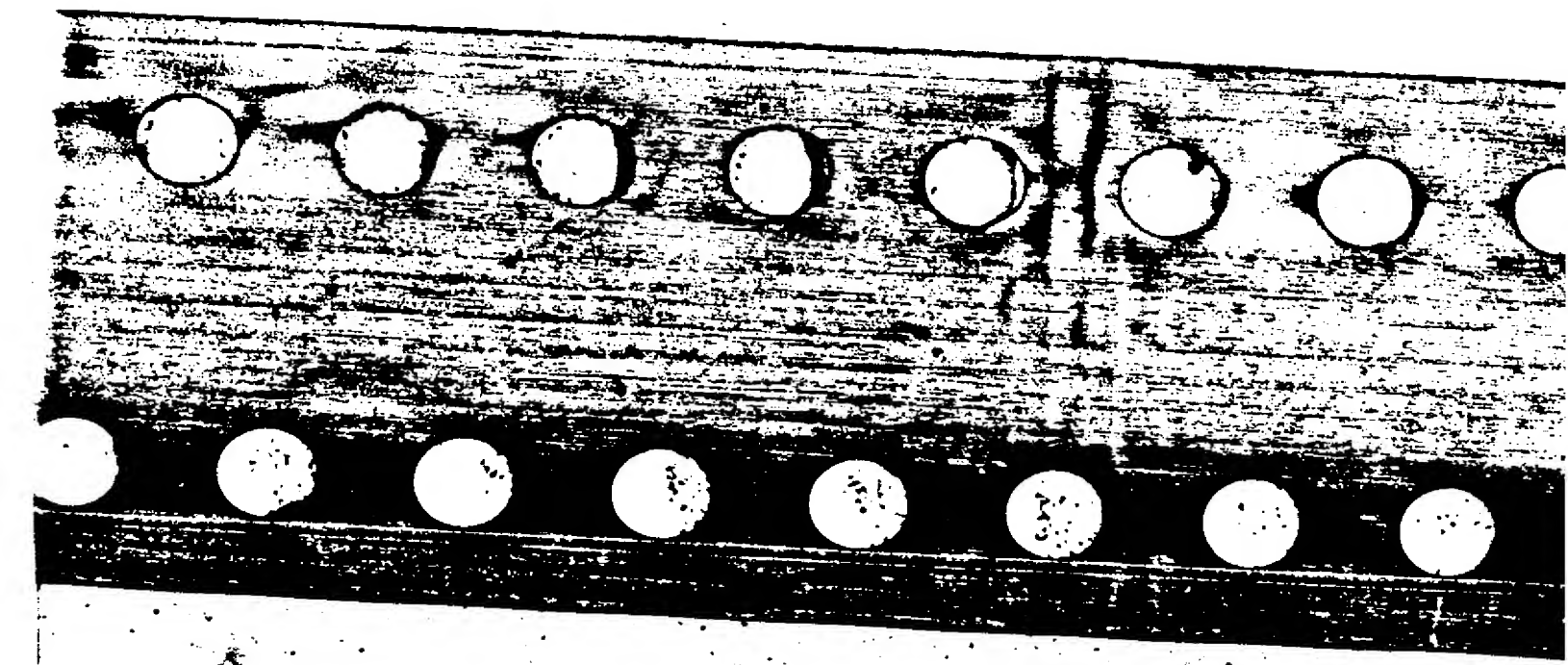
INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY: This is a special fund, contributed to by every member, as an act of our international solidarity with the Communist Parties of other countries that need our financial aid. Every member is to pay every four months an amount equal to one month's dues, based on the average of the previous four months' dues.

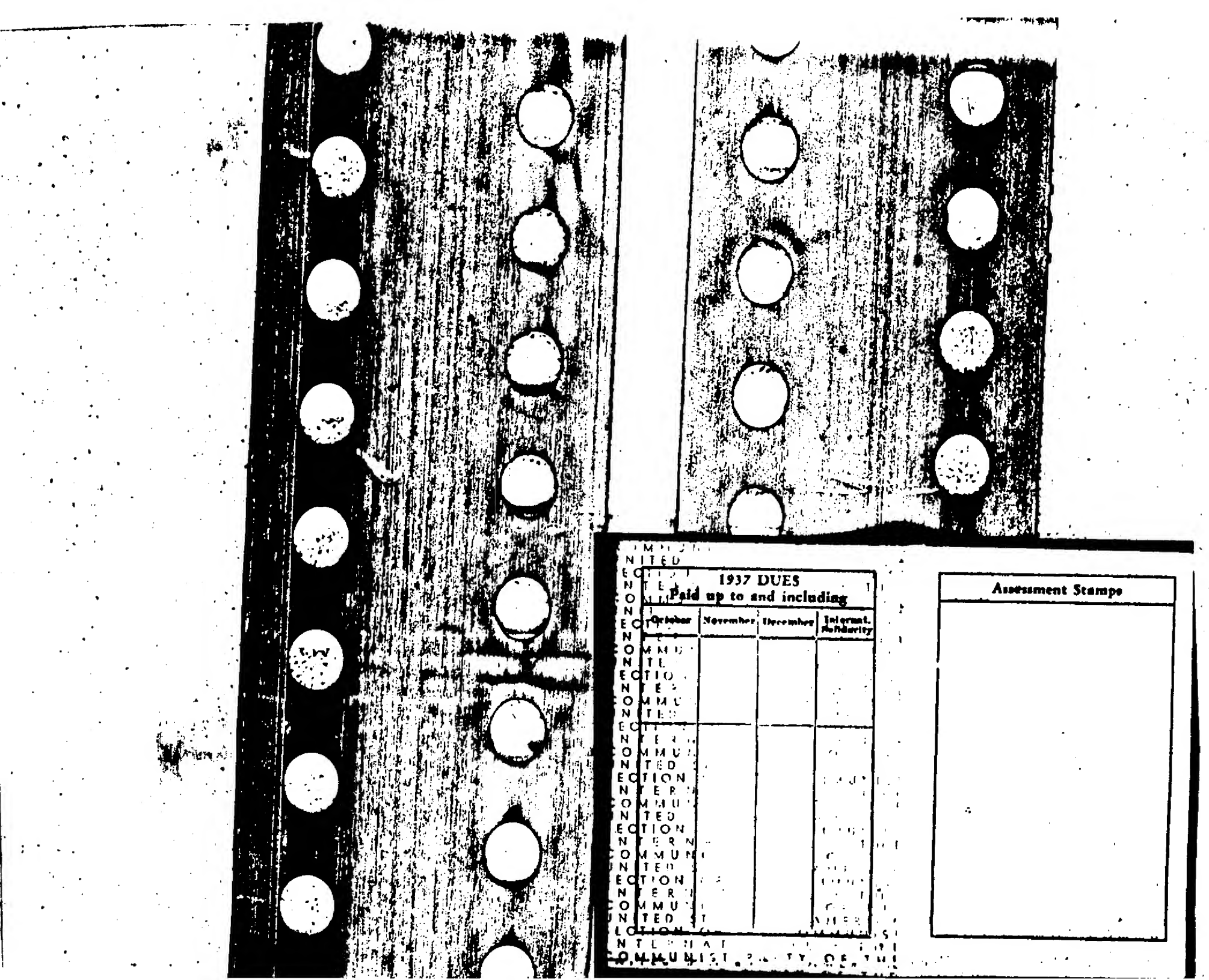
ASSESSMENTS: All local or district assessments or collections are prohibited except by special permission of the Central Committee. Special assessments may be levied by the National Convention or the Central Committee. No member is considered in good standing unless he purchases such special assessment stamps.

TRANSFERS: Members who move from one place to another, or have to go from one unit to another, must obtain a transfer from their units. No member shall be accepted by a new unit without a properly filled out transfer card. Before receiving transfers, members shall be in good standing and pay up all other financial obligations to their units.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE: No member has a right to take a leave of absence without a decision of his unit. An extended leave of absence, upon the recommendation of the unit, is acted upon by the higher committees of the Party. Before a leave of absence is given, the member shall pay up dues, etc., up to and including the end of the leave of absence period.


1938 Membership Dues
January
February
March
April
1938 Membership Dues
June
DUES
10c
DUES
10c
1938 MEMBERSHIP CONTROL

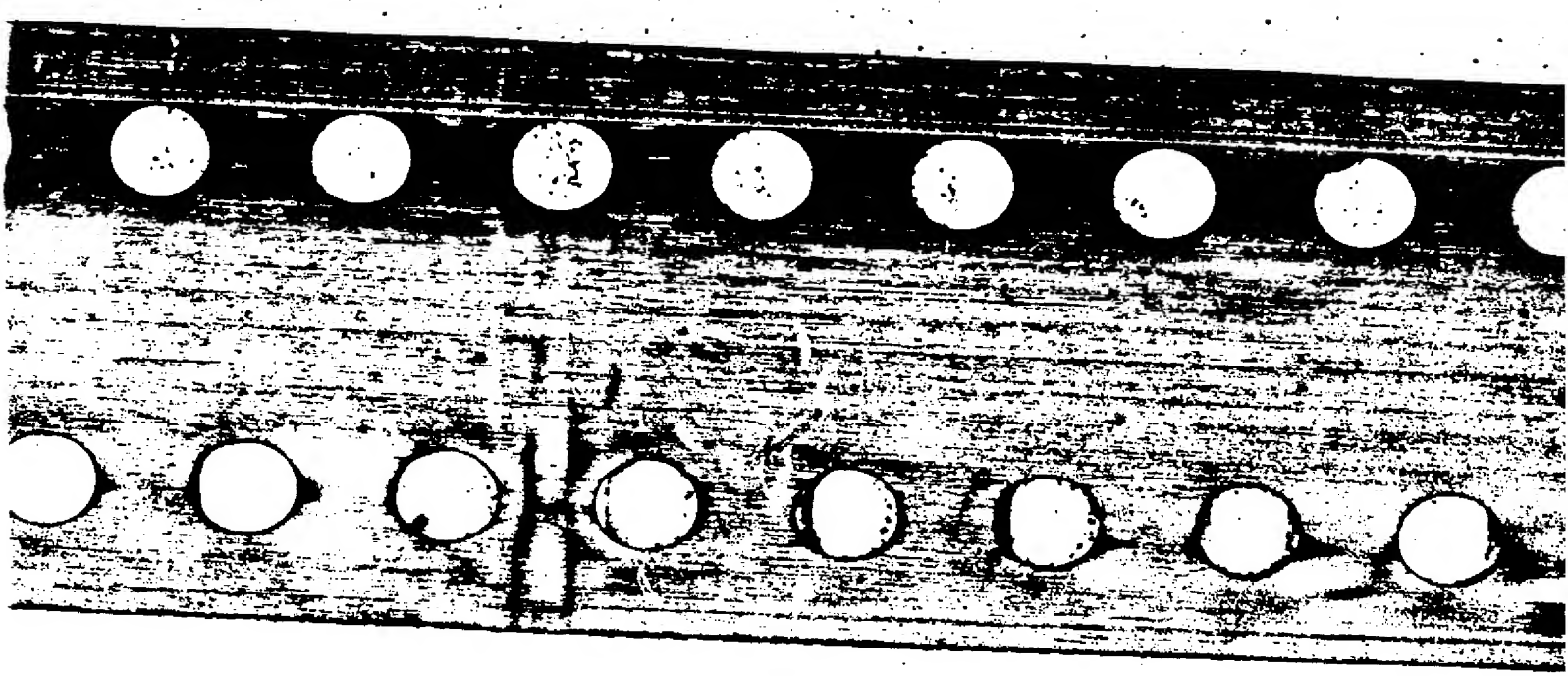


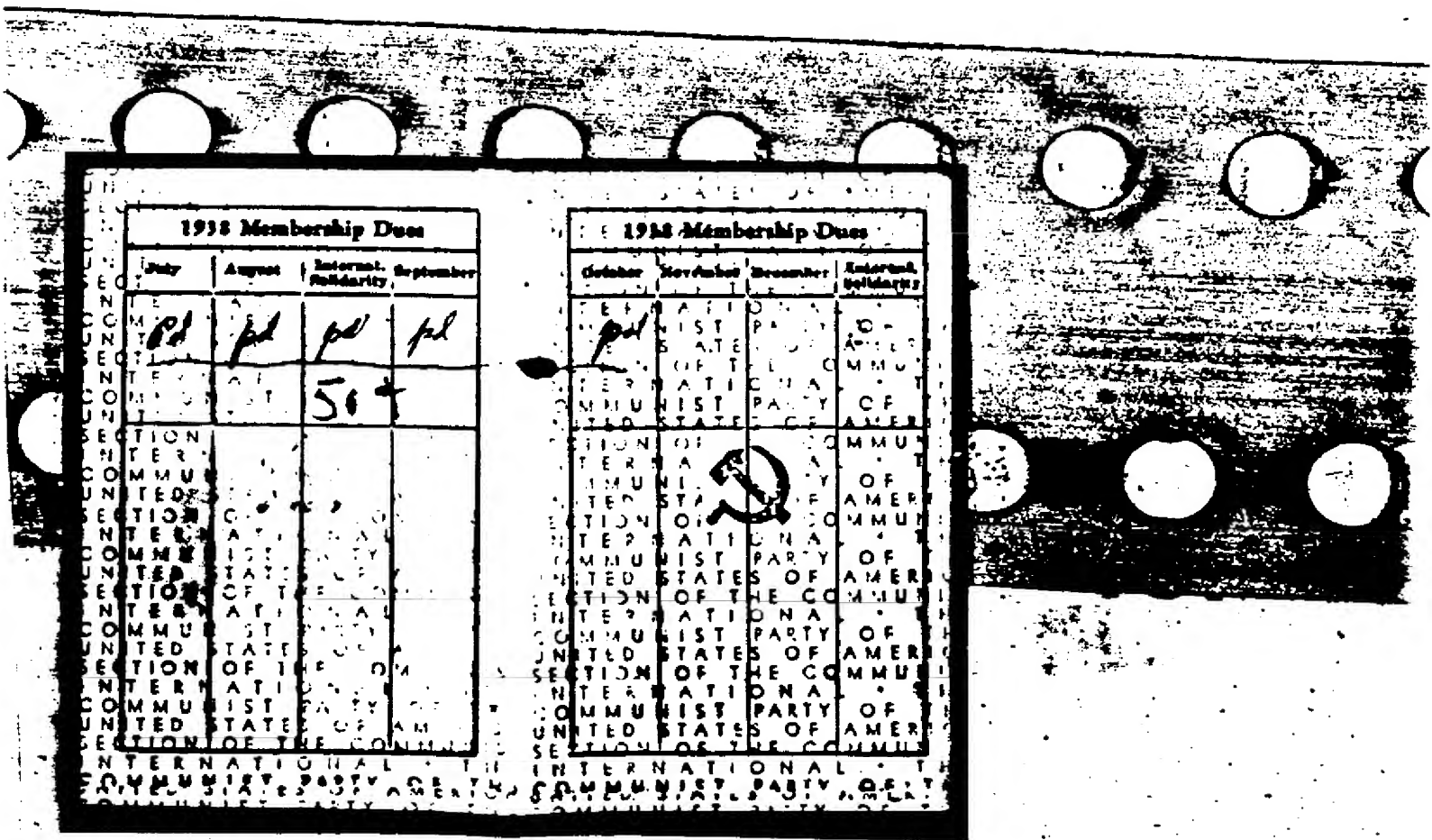


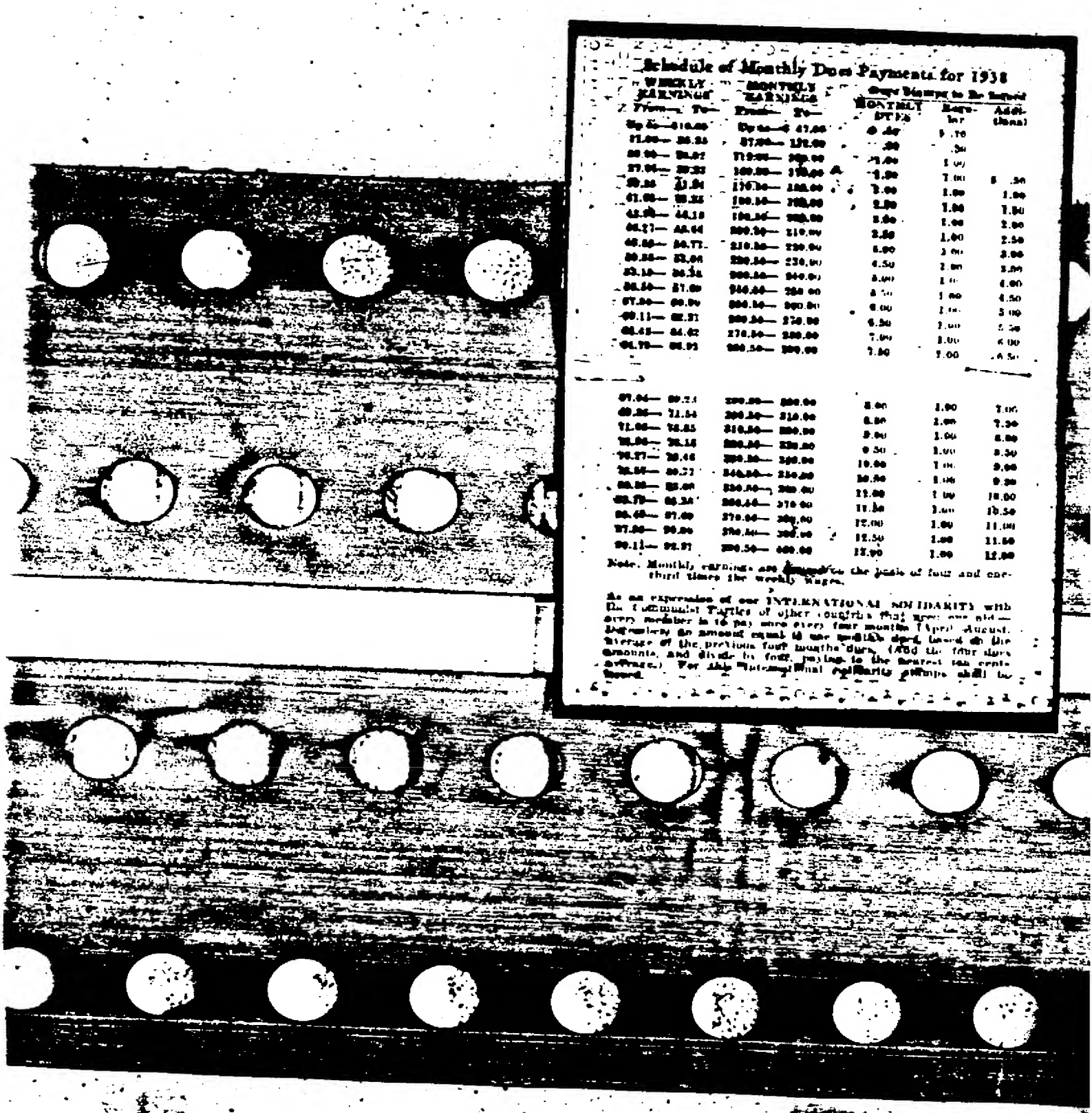
1937 DUES
Paid up to and including

October	November	December	Interest, Solidarity

Assessment Stamps




1938 Membership Dues
July
August
Internat. Solidarity
September
1938 Membership Dues
October
November
December
Internat. Solidarity



Schedule of Monthly Dues Payments for 1938

WEEKLY EARNINGS		MONTHLY EARNINGS		Dues Payable to Be Entered		
From—	To—	From—	To—	MONTHLY DUES	Regular	Additional
Up to—	$16.00	Up to—	$ 67.00	$ .40	$ .10	
16.01—	20.25	67.01—	121.00	.50	.50	
20.26—	24.67	121.01—	209.00	1.00	1.00	
24.68—	29.33	209.01—	319.00	1.50	1.00	$ .50
29.34—	33.34	319.01—	429.00	2.00	1.00	1.00
33.35—	38.33	429.01—	539.00	2.50	1.00	1.50
38.34—	44.18	539.01—	649.00	3.00	1.00	2.00
44.21—	48.44	649.01—	759.00	3.50	1.00	2.50
48.45—	54.77	759.01—	869.00	4.00	1.00	3.00
54.78—	59.08	869.01—	979.00	4.50	1.00	3.50
59.10—	63.34	979.01—	1089.00	5.00	1.00	4.00
63.35—	67.89	1089.01—	1199.00	5.50	1.00	4.50
67.90—	69.99	1199.01—	1309.00	6.00	1.00	5.00
69.11—	82.21	1309.01—	1419.00	6.50	1.00	5.50
82.22—	84.62	1419.01—	1529.00	7.00	1.00	6.00
84.78—	88.93	1529.01—	1639.00	7.50	1.00	6.50

87.94—	89.23	1639.01—	1749.00	8.00	1.00	7.00
89.24—	91.54	1749.01—	1859.00	8.50	1.00	7.50
91.55—	96.85	1859.01—	1969.00	9.00	1.00	8.00
96.86—	98.16	1969.01—	2079.00	9.50	1.00	8.50
98.17—	99.46	2079.01—	2189.00	10.00	1.00	9.00
99.47—	99.77	2189.01—	2299.00	10.50	1.00	9.50
99.78—	99.99	2299.01—	2409.00	11.00	1.00	10.00
100.00—	99.28	2409.01—	2519.00	11.50	1.00	10.50
99.29—	97.09	2519.01—	2629.00	12.00	1.00	11.00
97.10—	90.00	2629.01—	2739.00	12.50	1.00	11.50
90.11—	92.91	2739.01—	2849.00	13.00	1.00	12.00

Note. Monthly earnings are computed on the basis of four and one-third times the weekly wages.

As an expression of our INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY with the Communist Parties of other countries that grew out of ... every member is to pay once every four months (April, August, ... an amount equal to one weekly dues based on the average of the previous four months' dues. (Add the four dues amounts, and divide by four, going to the nearest ten cents average.) For this International Solidarity stamps shall be issued.

FREEDOM OF INFORMATION AND PRIVACY ACTS

SUBJECT: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

FILE NUMBER: 100-4712

PART: 15 OF 19

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

FILE DESCRIPTION

BUREAU FILE

SUBJECT America First Committee

FILE NO. 100-4712

SECTION NO. 1

SERIALS Sub A

Villard Quits America First

By Leo Jay Margolin

PM Exclusive

Oswald Garrison Villard has resigned as a member of the national group of the America First Committee, PM learned today.

Until Oct. 10, the date of his resignation, Mr. Villard was a member of the committee's hierarchy, which numbers among its members such arch-appeasers as Henry Ford, Hugh S. Johnson, Alice Roosevelt Longworth and William R. Castle.

Mr. Villard quit the committee because he disagrees with its Principle No. 1 which was and still is: "The United States must build an impregnable defense for America."

Mr. Villard, who wrote for *The Nation* for 46 years before he quit last June, still feels the U. S. A. does not need to arm to the teeth.

"I believe with Gen. Wood," said Mr. Villard, "that there is no danger of an invasion of the U. S. A. The 3000 miles of ocean is an impassable barrier to any potential invader."

Asked whether the America First Committee was, in his opinion, made up of appeasers, Mr. Villard stated:

"I have the highest respect for these real Americans, their integrity, patriotism and soundness. I don't think its appeasement to keep America out of war."

Mr. Villard said he left the committee roster on the most friendly terms.

INDEXED
100-4712-A

CLIPPING FROM
P. M. NEW YORK DAILY
DATE DEC 19 1940
FORWARDED BY NEW YORK DIVISION.

[redacted]

America First Group Plans Mass Rally

Three prominent speakers will address a public mass meeting of the Washington Chapter of the America First Committee, at 4 p.m. Sunday in the National Theater. Mrs Bennett Champ Clark, chairman, announced last night. The speakers will be John T. Flynn, columnist, lecturer and economist; Mrs. Robert A. Taft, wife of the Ohio Senator, and former Governor Philip La Follette, of Wisconsin.

Washington, D.C. - Times-Herald

1-23-41

INDEXED

NOT RECORDED

100-4712-A-

'AMERICA FIRST' EXPANDS

Formation of New York Chapter Announced in Advertisements

The formation of a New York chapter of the America First Committee, headed by General Robert E. Wood of Chicago, is announced today in advertisements in morning newspapers.

The advertisements call for opposition to the lease-lend bill, calling it a "war dictatorship" measure.

Among the members of the New York chapter listed are Edwin S. Webster Jr., senior member of the Wall Street firm of Kidder, Peabody & Co., Colonel Theodore Roosevelt, Dorothy Dunbar Bromley, John T. Flynn, Archibald B. Roosevelt and Amos E. R. Pinchot.

INDEXED

New York Times
1-28-41

NOT RECORDED

Mrs. Taft's Group Flays Lend-Lease

Phil La Follette At Mass Meeting

(Picture on Page 15)

The United States does not need to hide behind the British Navy, Philip La Follette, former governor of Wisconsin, told an audience at the National Theater yesterday afternoon.

La Follette spoke at a mass meeting held under auspices of the America First Committee.

Cites Three Principles

Mrs. Bennett Champ Clark, wife of the Missouri Senator, told the audience at the opening of the meeting that the Committee was formed to support three principles:

1. To keep the United States out of war.
2. To build up an impregnable defense for this country.
3. To give Britain all possible aid under existing law.

The Committee is engaged in fighting the lend-lease bill, now before Congress.

La Follette, who was the last of three speakers at the meeting, cut his address short because he is "fighting a Washington flu germ," he said.

Must Prove Hitler Wrong

"There is a danger to the world abroad. Our way of living is under attack," La Follette declared.

"Hitler has said to the German people that no man can be free and have a job. That they would have to make a choice between the two.

"It is up to us to prove that men don't have to make this choice. We can prove in the United States that a man can be free and have a job."

John T. Flynn, chairman of the New York chapter of the America First Committee, who also spoke, scoffed at the idea that Hitler will invade this country if he conquers Britain. He ridiculed the theory that Hitler would try to land a force of men on the American coast or that he would attempt to bring them across the ocean from Africa to Brazil.

Cites Military Figures

"I have been informed by military experts," he said, "that it would take 13,000,000 tons of shipping to bring sufficient equipment and ammunition across the Atlantic to support an army of 1,000,000 men.

"I have been told that no combination of sea power is sufficient to bring an army of a million men and their equipment to this country and to keep it fed and equipped."

Mrs. Taft said she was present to represent the women's point of view.

"I maintain that this lend-lease bill would give to one man the right to abolish the American pattern," she declared.

The meeting was presided over by Senator D. Worth Clark (R.), of Idaho, who introduced the speakers and indicated full support of the committee's platform.

Hash. Times
2-3-41

ERICA FIRST GIRDS FOR FINAL WAR BILL FIGHT

Chapter Heads to Meet in Washington Feb. 21.

Chapter chairmen of the America First committee will meet in Washington, D. C., Feb. 21 to discuss plans for a final drive to defeat the war dictatorship bill, R. Douglas Stuart, national director of the committee, announced yesterday.

The chairmen will meet with Stuart and Gen. Robert E. Wood, national chairman of the committee, to devise means of urging voters to write their senators. They also will visit their senators and register their objections to the war legislation.

Robert L. Bliss, organization director of America First, reported yesterday that six new chapters have been organized at Manitowoc, Wis.; Hartford, Conn.; St. Paul, Minn.; Oakland, Cal.; Springfield, Mass., and Alhambra, Cal. The new chapters bring to 586 the total of chapters and affiliated units of America First.

La Follette Speaks Tonight.

Philip F. La Follette, former governor of Wisconsin, will speak at 10:30 o'clock tonight over the Columbia Broadcasting system network. The talk will have no local outlet, but will be rebroadcast over WBBM, Chicago, from 10:45 to 11 p. m. La Follette's speech, "With Malice Toward None," will be a reply to a similar talk made recently by Dorothy Thompson, newspaper columnist, over the same network.

The veterans' division of the America First committee last night asked Senator Scott W. Lucas, Illinois Democrat, to reconsider his refusal to debate Wayland Brooks, Republican senator from Illinois, on the war dictatorship bill. The meeting is tentatively set for Feb. 23 in the Chicago Civic Opera house.

The telegram, asking that Lucas reconsider, explained that the debate will be bpadcast and expressed belief that the meeting would bring the senators mail and telegraph expression of the true reactions of Illinois voters. "The people of Illinois are entitled to hear the views of the two war veterans who represent the views in the United States senate," the telegram said. [illegible]

[illegible] The veterans of Illinois are proud to have two of their members represented [illegible] in the senate," said [illegible] chairman of the [illegible] We thought it [illegible] thing for the [illegible] to

CH-19

CHICAGO DAILY TRIBU

2-12-4

PRO-NAZI GROUP RALLIES TO AID OF ISOLATIONISTS

BY FRANK SMOTHERS.

A ringing appeal to assist the America First Committee and the Citizens Keep America Out of War Committee in "their fight for you" has been issued to the members of the German-American National Alliance.

The pro-Nazi alliance, also known as the Einheitsfront—United Front—makes the plea in the leading article of its current "News Letter."

Signed by Paul A. F. Warnholtz, head of the organization, the article urges the members to "demand" of their senators and congressmen that they "oppose steps leading us into war or into dictatorship" and that they "defeat the dictator bill, H. R. 1776, completely."

Plugs for Isolationists.

Warnholtz then plugs for America First and the C. K. A. O. W. committee as follows:

"There are organized cliques, which beat the drums of war, backed by unlimited funds. But there are also several committees efficiently aiding you in your fight to save the lives of the sons of America and to preserve American institutions and the American way of life. Assist these committees in their fight for you. Assist them financially and morally. They need money to arouse the public. Assist these committees at once! Here are the names and addresses of these committees who are against war, etc.:

"Citizens Keep America Out of War Committee, 77 West Washington street, Chicago, Ill.

"America First Committee, Board of Trade Building, Chicago, Ill."

Does Not Define 'Etc.'

The champion of the Einheitsfront version of "the American way of life" does not define what "etc." means in his assertion that the committees named are "against war, etc." As for Americans who, he alleges, "shout loudest for war," he offers language reminiscent of the press of Dr. Goebbels.

"They are usually old men, sterile biologically, and sterile even of all dreams and memories of life, love and youth and would deny the

(Continued on page 8, column 1.)

right of youth to live," avers Mr. Warnholtz. "Their senile bodies, their cold, calculating brains, frequently find compensation for their lost youth in hatred and false ambitions for glory and gold."

In another article Mr. Warnholtz waxes equally eloquent in charging that the Allies after the last war "sacked and plundered Germany completely" and in lambasting "that greedy Moloch which has or had its home in London," but which "now for matters of safety is gradually slinking into America, with its gold, diamonds and all."

Clergymen Back Aid-Bill.

Immediate enactment of the lease-lend bill in defense of democracy and Christianity is demanded by a new agency of opinion, a publication entitled "Christianity and Crisis," published in New York.

Among its sponsors are Dr. J. Harry Cotton, president of the Presbyterian Theological Seminary, Chicago; Presiding Bishop Henry St. George Tucker and the Episcopal Church, Mrs. Elizabeth C. Morrow, widow of the late ambassador to Mexico and mother-in-law of Charles A. Lindbergh; Bishop Francis J. McConnell of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

"We are witnessing the first effective revolution against Christianity since the days of Constantine," the journal says. "To those committed to the support of democracy in its struggle against the totalitarian menace, it is overwhelmingly urgent that the bill be passed."

An organization to promote unity in defense of American institutions and aid to the enemies of Hitlerism was launched today at the Morrison Hotel by leaders of citizens' groups with Polish, Czech and Slovak ancestry. Sponsors of the movement have urged enactment of the lend-lease bill. Editors of Polish, Czech and Slovak language newspapers are prominent in the organization.

NOT RECORDED CHICAGO DAILY NEW

INDEXED

Rem 100-4712-A

Tolson
E. A. Tamm
Clegg
Foxworth
Nathan
Ladd
Glavin
Nichols
Hendon
[redacted]

(b)

'America First' Officers Assemble

Officers of America First chapters in all sections of the country met yesterday at the Raleigh Hotel for the purpose, they said, of "getting acquainted with one another." Gen. Robert E. Wood, national president, presided at the afternoon session. Reporters and photographers were excluded from the meeting.

WASHINGTON POST

FEB 25 1941

INDEXED 100-4115-A

America First Group Smeared, Gen. Wood Charges in Chicago

CHICAGO, March 7 (C.T.F.S.). Difficulties encountered in organizing an America First committee chapter in New York city because of strong interventionist sentiment there were told today by Gen. Robert E. Wood, acting national chairman of the committee. He said that tremendous social pressure was brought to bear against New Yorkers desiring to affiliate themselves.

A New York chapter has been established, however, and is growing rapidly in membership, General Wood said. It is headed by John T. Flynn, economist and author, and many of the chapter activities are directed by Edwin Webster, an investment banker.

Says Members Smeared

"Because the committee is one of the leading groups opposing the Administration's lend-lease bill," General Wood said, "interventionist circles in New York have tried to smear anyone joining the chapter. I know of one corporation official who wanted to become a member. But his board of directors told him he couldn't."

Even publicity men have been afraid to take jobs with the New York committee, the General said, because interventionists have warned these men won't be able to get any other work later. Social pressure against prospective members has been so strong, he remarked, that they have been virtually ostracized by former intimates.

If a New Yorker of any prominence joins the committee chapter, he is likely to be attacked in print by several columnists and newspapers, and to be branded an appeaser and a traitor, General Wood said.

Honest Opinion

The committee believes in an honest division of opinion regarding this country's position in foreign affairs but in New York, the interventionists make every effort to suppress contrary opinion, the General added. These conditions are also true in Philadelphia, and to a lesser extent in Boston, he said.

"In much of the rest of the country," he said, "I believe our position on the lend-lease bill is that of the majority of people. Our work has done much to give people a chance to learn that this bill is a war measure."

CH-19

Hash. Times Herald
3-7-41

NOT RECORDED
100-4-71-11

Times-Herald Photo

Macias Gets Badge at Nonintervention Meeting

Katrina McCormick, who organized a meeting of "College Men for Defense first," addressed by Senator Taft yesterday, is shown pinning a badge on Pete Macias, an officer of the America First Committee. Katrina is a worker for the committee.

INDEXED

NOT RECORDED

100-4712

THE WASHINGTON TIMES-HERALD
March 10, 1941

America First Group Lists Contributors

CHICAGO, March 12—The America First Committee reported today the organization had received $127,615 in contributions from 15,014 persons and listed 66 contributions of $100 or more. The 66 included Col. Charles A. Lindbergh.

The list was issued after former Sen. Ernest W. Gibson of Vermont, chairman of the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies, had listed contributions of $100 or more to his organization and challenged the America First Committee to do likewise.

In addition to Col. Lindbergh, the list included:

Max W. Babb, president, Allis-Chalmers Manufacturing Co., Milwaukee; John T. McCutcheon, Chicago Tribune cartoonist; Ernest T. Weir, the Weirton Steel Co.; Robert E. Wood, Sears, Roebuck & Co.; Robert Treat Paine 2d, Boston attorney; H. L. Stuart, president, Halsey Stuart, brokerage firm, and Wallace E. Pratt, New York geologist.

Contributions listed by the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies included:

J. P. Morgan, less than $500; Mrs. Dwight W. Morrow, less than $500; Katherine Hepburn and Lynn Fontaine, actresses, between $250 and $500; Mrs. Herbert H. Lehman, wife of the governor of New York, between $500 and $1000. Others are Henry R. Luce, publisher, David Dubinsky, president International Ladies Garment Workers Union, and a group of about 50 playwrights, stage and screen producers, novelists, actors, publishers and composers, a total of $24,000.

Called 'Nazi Front'

NEW YORK, March 12—The Friends of Democracy charge that the America First Committee, headed by Gen. Robert E. Wood, is "a Nazi front and a transmission belt for the Nazis."

L. M. Birkhead, national director of the Friends of Democracy, said literature of the America First Committee was being circulated at Nazi and Bund meetings and that Bund members and sympathizers were being urged to support it.

NOT RECORDED

MAR 3 1941

WASHINGTON NEWS

Aid Bill Foes Won't Reveal Backers

Senate Probe May Subpoena Records Of Committees

By JAY FRANKLIN.

The Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies has finally justified itself to the American people. The committee's action in making public the full list of its major contributors—those who gave $100 or more — has put the Little Americans group behind the eight ball.

Jay Franklin.

The America First Committee, for example, has not followed suit and has released an incomplete list of financial angels. For some curious reason certain of the backers of this organization have refused to allow their names to be made public. Though it has long been a Communazi tactic not to let its left wing know what its right wing is doing, it will appear odd that Americans who believe in the isolationist doctrine of America first are too modest to let their names be made known in this connection.

This is just asking for a congressional investigation, and it is considered probable that the contemplated Senate investigation of axis propaganda in the United States will call on the America First Committee and the others to produce their records under subpoena.

It is probably unjust, but I know of no one thing which would arouse such general suspicion as the refusal to make contributors public. The America First Committee has already been charged with serving as a "transmission belt" for Nazi propaganda by the Friends of Democracy, Inc. Coyness and the reluctance in the face of national interest in the real backers of this supposed "grass roots" movement tends to breed suspicion. The operators of this publicity machine can either destroy their records and face the legal consequences or they can make public their affiliations.

Publication Calls Bluff.

During the long debates on the aid-to-Britain bill, the Little Americans repeatedly charged that the public was being mislead by propaganda. The Committee to Defend America has called this bluff by making public the names of those who supported its energetic and often effective publicity on the lease-lend measure. Now it will be inferred the real propaganda—in the sense of alien influences seeking to affect our national decisions in the interests of foreign governments—has lined up behind the opposition.

This suspicion will persist until the full list of names is made public, both by the America First Committee, the Keep Out of Foreign Wars Committee and the rest of the gang. Let's hope that publication will show, as it should show, that financial sponsors of contemporary isolationist propaganda are simply American citizens.

No Crime to Contribute.

The cause of the national unity requires that we should clear the air of general suspicions. So far as I know, it is no crime to contribute to the cause of America first; or even to the cause of America last. So there would be no legal reprisals or "tendency to degrade and incriminate" involved in full publicity. The worst that could happen would be to discredit, by revealing the source of funds, the isolationist movement whipped up in Congress in an attempt to prevent effective aid to Britain. Perhaps the effectiveness of some of the Little American Senators and agitators could be reduced by revealing the strange bedfellows involved in their crusade.

So it seems more than likely that in order to achieve national unity the next administration move will be a dignified and thorough Senate investigation of Communazi intrigues and propaganda inside our borders.

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Clegg
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Nathan
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Egan
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosdon
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

INDEXED
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Page 34

WASHINGTON STAR

Lindbergh Talks Here April 17

Col. Charles A. Lindbergh will discuss the United States' foreign policy at a midwest rally of the America First Committee, April 17, in the Chicago Arena, 410 E. Erie st., R. Douglas Stuart Jr., national director of the committee, announced today.

The rally is being staged as part of a campaign to enroll 5,000 chapters with a membership of 10,000,000 under the America First banner, Stuart said. Chapters in Indiana, Michigan, Wisconsin and Iowa as well as Illinois are expected to send delegations.

Col. Lindbergh will discuss America's relationship to Europe and the folly of this country's entering the European war, Stuart said.

Gen. Robert E. Wood, national chairman of the committee, outlined plans for the membership campaign at a meeting last night in the Palmer House. The committee will go into even the smallest villages to acquaint the people with its aim to keep America out of foreign wars, Wood declared.

By means of the campaign, he said, the committee hopes to make rapid strides toward its ultimate intention to have a chapter in every community in the country.

O. Z. Whitehead, a member of the cast of "Life with Father," will address a rally at 4 p. m. this Sunday in John Woolman hall, 1174 E. Fifty-seventh st., under the auspices of the committee's Hyde Park chapter.

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THE CHICAGO AMERICAN

4-11-41

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

[TRIBUNE Photo.]

Meeting of America First committee at the Palmer House, left to right, seated: Hanford MacNider, Janet Ayer Fairbank, Gen. Thomas Hammond. Standing are R. Douglas Stuart Jr. (left) and J. Sanford Otis.

(Story on page 12.)

CHICAGO DAILY TRIBUNE

INDEXED
NOT RECORDED

AMERICA FIRST OPENS DRIVE FOR BAN ON CONVOYS

Asks Telegrams to Back Tobey Resolution.

The America First committee marshaled its forces yesterday for a nation-wide drive to insure congressional passage of the Tobey anti convoy resolution, which would prohibit the use of American men and vessels to transport war supplies to belligerent nations.

Gen. Robert E. Wood, acting national chairman of the antiwar organization, called for a barrage of letters telegrams, and telephone calls eclipsing in volume those sent to Washington, D. C., during the lend-lease bill fight. Members of the 700 America First chapters thruout the nation were urged to write to their senators urging immediate action on the resolution.

Other Antiwar Developments.

The move in the anticonvoy campaign was only one of a number of developments yesterday in the America First committee's drive to keep the United States at peace. Others included:

1. Indiana, Wisconsin and Michigan units of the America First committee announced they would send delegates to the giant antiwar rally Thursday night in the Chicago arena, 400 East Erie street, at which Col. Charles A. Lindbergh will speak. An audience of 10,000 persons is expected.

2. Plans were drawn for another massmeeting in the arena Sunday, April 27, when Senator Burton K. Wheeler [D., Mont.] will visit Chicago on his cross-country speaking tour which will carry him into nine states during the next month.

3. Plans went ahead for the first appearance as an America First speaker of O. Z. Whitehead, young actor from the cast of "Life with Father," who will address a rally at 4 p. m. today in John Woolman hall, 1174 East 57th street. Whitehead was prevented from addressing an America First rally last week, but the ban since has been lifted by the New York producer of the play.

4. Six other community meetings were scheduled in the drive for 1 million America First members in Illinois.

Wood Warns Convoys Mean War.

In announcing the campaign against the use of American convoys to transport supplies to Great Britain, Gen. Wood declared:

"It is generally conceded that if we convoy goods some of our ships will be sunk, and then we will be in the war up to the hilt. When the lend-lease bill was before congress, most of the senators and representatives who voted for that measure said they were against our becoming involved in a shooting war.

"That being the case, we are confident that the Tobey resolution will be passed by congress if the majority of Americans who are opposed to our entering the war make known their desires to congress.

Fight Up to People, He Says.

"Whether we do or do not use our ships and men to convoy goods into the war zone is up to the people of America. The congress has the will to pass the Tobey resolution, or that I am certain. That body must, however, be shown that the majority is against war. The only way that can be accomplished is by means of letters, telegrams, and telephone calls to the members of congress."

The anticonvoy resolution, introduced in the senate by Senator Charles W. Tobey [R., N. H.] is pending before the senate foreign relations committee.

It provides that "except in a time when the United States is engaged in war, hereafter no part of the land or naval forces of the United States, and no vessel documented, or aircraft registered or licensed under the laws of the United States, shall be used, directly or indirectly, beyond the limits of the territorial waters of the United States and its territories and possessions, to transport or deliver . . . any articles or materials to or for the use of any foreign country . . . which is engaged in actual hostilities with one or more foreign countries. . . ."

Lindbergh to Urge Peace.

All 61 America First chapters in Illinois will be represented at the antiwar rally Thursday night. Gen. Wood will introduce Col. Lindbergh, who will speak on the necessity for the United States to remain out of the European conflict. An organ recital and mass singing of patriotic airs will precede Col. Lindbergh's address. The rally will begin at 8 p. m.

Dr. William Gellerman, associate professor of education at Northwestern university, will address a meeting of the Oak Park chapter at 8 p. m. tomorrow in the chapter headquarters at 736 Lake street in the suburb. The Rev. Dr. John A. O'Brien, professor at the University of Notre Dame, will speak at 8 p. m. Tuesday at a rally sponsored by the Glencoe chapter of the America First committee in the community house in Wilmette.

John W. Maselter, staff lecturer, will address two meetings this week—Tuesday at 8 p. m. at 1211 Devon avenue and Wednesday at 8 p. m. at 3730 North Clark street.

CHICAGO DAILY TRIBUNE

ICKES LAMBASTS AMERICA FIRST AND ITS BACKERS

Harold L. Ickes, secretary of the interior, assailed the America First committee and its purposes last night. He spoke at a dinner sponsored by the Jewish National Workers' Alliance of America at 32 West Randolph street. The dinner was held for the benefit of the Jewish National fund.

Ickes singled out Col. Charles A. Lindbergh for his bitterest denunciation. He called Lindbergh the "No. 1 Nazi fellow traveler" in the United States and declared him to be "the first American to raise aloft the standard of pro-Naziism," and "the proud possessor of a Nazi decoration which has already been well earned."

Raps Anne Lindbergh's Book.

Lindbergh's wife, the former Anne Morrow, was also included in Ickes' attack for her book, "The Wave of the Future," which he described as "the bible of every American Nazi, Fascist, Bundist, and appeaser." He referred to Col. and Mrs. Lindbergh as "this pair of fellow travelers and appeasers."

Gen. Robert E. Wood, national chairman of the America First committee, was depicted by Ickes as "apparently a fellow traveler."

Ickes said the America First committee should be renamed "the America Next" committee. He asserted that the committee attracts "antidemocrats, appeasers, labor baiters, and anti-Semites" and that "Hitler is enthusiastic about it."

Hits Committee Backers.

Among the active supporters of the committee, said Ickes, are Gen. Hugh Johnson, Hanford MacNider, Henry Ford, and Ernest Weir. He added, "It would be difficult to find a collection of worse reactionaries than these."

Ickes charged that a recent editorial published by THE TRIBUNE had been "hailed with joy both in Berlin and Rome, and with good reason."

The secretary told his audience that their hope for a Jewish homeland will be crushed if Hitler wins. America is "still in the first phase of the deadly conflict," he added.

The dinner was attended by more than 1,000 guests. Rabbi Morton M. Berman of Temple Isaiah Israel, president of the Jewish National Fund, presided. Judge Harry M. Fisher and Dr. Henry Epstein also spoke.

SENATOR BARKLEY SPEAKS.

New York, April 13 (AP).—Senate Majority Leader Alben W. Barkley told a banquet of the National Labor Committee for Palestine tonight that the American people are determined that "a new Pharoah who has risen shall not enslave mankind."

The following message from President Roosevelt was read:

"I trust this celebration will inspire all who participate with a new determination to exemplify in twentieth century terms the highest teachings of the ancient culture of Israel."

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Boardman
Mr. Carson
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

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CHICAGO DAILY TRIBUNE

4-14 41

A YOUNG PATRIOT TELLS HIS STAND: NO FOREIGN WAR!

O. Z. Whitehead, young actor from the cast of "Life with Father," gave his first talk for America First yesterday since the gag attempt to silence him was lifted. He addressed a rally of the Hyde Park chapter of the America First committee in John Woolman hall, 1174 East 57th street.

O. Z. Whitehead.

Whitehead was prevented from filling an earlier America First speaking engagement by the local manager of the play, but the ban was removed by its New York manager.

"I speak for that generation which would willingly fight if it thought to do so would benefit this country," he declared. "This generation feels that to fight in foreign lands, seas, or skies for foreign causes is not its duty. . . . We are not afraid to die, but we do not want to die on foreign battlefields."

Meanwhile preparations went forward for the America First antiwar rally at 8 p. m. Thursday in the Chicago Arena, 100 East Erie street. Col. Charles A. Lindbergh will be the principal speaker.

CHICAGO DAILY TRIBUNE

4-14-41

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
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Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy

N. U. TEACHER SCORES ICKES FOR ATTACK ON AMERICA FIRST

William Gellerman, professor of education at Northwestern university, was the principal speaker last night at a rally of the Oak Park-River Forest chapter of the America First committee at 736 Lake street, Oak Park. More than 200 persons attended.

Prof. Gellerman criticized Harold L. Ickes, secretary of the interior, for his Sunday night attack against Gen. Robert E. Wood and other national leaders of the America First committee. "It is one of the most pitiful exhibitions of burocratic arrogance," said Prof. Gellerman, "for Ickes to castigate such men as Gen. Wood for his efforts to protect the interests of more than 80 per cent of Americans who are opposed to getting into the war."

Gen. Wood issued a statement in which he said: "Secretary Ickes speaks for the swivel chair patriots. America First speaks for the boys who will have to fight and die if Secretary Ickes and others involve this country in the war."

CHICAGO DAILY TRIBUNE

4-15-41

Ask Police Guard at 'Lindy' Meet

Special police details have been requested to prevent activities by subversive influences when Col. Charles A. Lindbergh speaks at the America First rally here Thursday night, it was announced today.

The meeting is to be held in the Chicago Arena, 400 E. Erie st., and Janet Ayer Fairbank, national vice chairman of the America First Committee, asked Commissioner James P. Allman for the police aid to prevent disturbances or distribution of literature.

FOR AMERICANS ONLY.

Demonstrations by the Bund, Fascists or Communists were feared, she indicated, adding:

"This meeting is for patriotic Americans only. From its inception, the America First Committee has refused membership to Communists, Fascists, and members of the Bund."

A flood of inquiries at headquarters of the Chicago chapter indicates an overflow crowd at the rally, Mrs. Fairbank said. Doors of the Arena will open at 7 p. m., and the meeting will start an hour later.

WOOD TO PRESIDE.

Gen. Robert E. Wood, acting national chairman, will preside.

Col. Lindbergh will discuss America's role in world affairs and the danger to this country if it becomes involved in the European war.

Gen. Wood, commenting on an attack made on the America First Committee by Harold L. Ickes, Secretary of the Interior, before the Jewish National Workers' Alliance Sunday night, said:

"It's an old trick for a war party to claim a monopoly in patriotism, but the people are wise to it.

"SWIVEL CHAIR PATRIOTS."

"Secretary Ickes speaks for the swivel chair patriots. America First speaks for the boys who will have to fight and die if Ickes and others involve this country in the war."

This morning the Rev. Dr. John A. O'Brien of the University of Notre Dame spoke at the State Teachers' College in Carbondale.

He predicted that by translating the American dream of democracy, social justice and the four freedoms into realities at home, America will render its greatest contribution to the world.

Ickes' Attack Pitiful Ignorance—N. U. Prof

Professor William Gellerman of Northwestern University last night replied to Secretary Ickes' attack on the America First Committee. He said:

"It is one of the most pitiful exhibitions of bureaucratic ignorance for Ickes to castigate such men as Gen. Wood for his efforts to protect the interests of more than 80 per cent of Americans who are opposed to getting the war."

Professor Gellerman spoke at a rally of the Oak Park-River Forest chapter of the America First Committee.

THE CHICAGO AMERICAN

4-15-41

LINDBERGH TO SPEAK TONIGHT; 8,000 SEATS AVAILABLE IN ARENA

(Map on page 2.)

Col. Charles A. Lindbergh, the world's most famous aviator, will speak tonight at an antiwar rally sponsored by the America First committee in the Chicago Arena, 400 East Erie street. Samuel B. Pettengill, former Indiana congressman, also will speak.

Seats for more than 8,000 persons will be available in the arena, whose main entrance is on McClurg court. The doors will be opened at 6 p. m. The area in front of the building will be roped off so that at least another 1,000 persons may hear the program thru loud speakers.

Col. Lindbergh will speak at 8 p. m., following an organ recital of patriotic airs. Gen. Robert E. Wood, acting national chairman of America First, will preside.

For those who drive to the rally there are parking lots in the immediate vicinity, including one in the rear of the arena and several across the street. Fifty policemen have been assigned to handle traffic. The arena may be reached also by either Grand or Chicago avenue street cars, or by north side buses which pass Erie in Michigan avenue only a few blocks away.

Delegations of America First members from Iowa, Wisconsin, Indiana, and Michigan will augment those from Chicago and Illinois at the rally. The weather forecast is for fair and warm.

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Duncan
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

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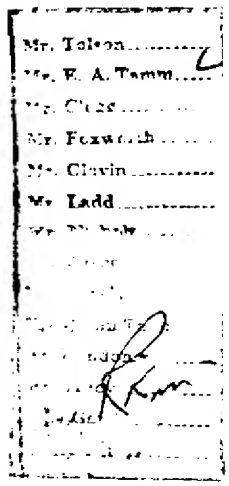
4-17-41



Lindbergh Talks Here Tonight

Col. Charles A. Lindbergh will be the principal speaker tonight at the patriotic rally to be held in the Chicago Arena, 400 E. Erie st., where an audience of at least 10,000 is expected.

Mrs. Janet Ayer Fairbank, national vice chairman of the America First Committee, has received notice that large delegations from Indiana, Wisconsin and Michigan are coming. The sixty-one chapters in Illinois will be represented.

A resolution urging passage by Congress of the Tobey anti-convoy bill will be presented as one of the most important measures to avert American participation in the war. The Tobey measure would prohibit the use of armed forces of the United States in delivering goods to belligerent nations.

The bill, introduced by Senator Charles W. Tobey of New Hampshire, is before the Senate foreign relations committee.

The nature of Col. Lindbergh's address is not to be revealed in advance, but he is known to be one of the most earnest opponents of American entanglement in the war. He will be introduced by Gen. Robert E. Wood.

THE CHICAGO AMERICAN

6-17-41

LINDBERGH ASK UNITED ACTION TO STAY OUT OF WAR

Text of His Address at Chicago Arena.

Following is the text of Col. Charles A. Lindbergh's speech delivered last night at the Chicago Arena:

"There are times in the history of a nation when its people must give up their personal interests and desires, and devote their primary attention to the welfare of their country. We are going thru such a time now in America. That is why you and I are assembled here tonight.

"We are faced with an issue of as great importance as any that ever confronted the people of the United States. The immediate issue before us is that of war or peace. But underlying this issue is one of even greater importance. Is this nation of ours, this new world of the west, to have an independent destiny of its own, or must our future be forever entangled in these endless wars between the countries of Europe?"

Seeks Independent Destiny.

"I stand with those people who believe in an independent destiny for America. I believe that this country is strong enough to defend itself regardless of what takes place in other sections of the world—if only our government will devote its attention to our defense.

"The time is here when those of us who have similar beliefs must band together to obtain the strength that comes only with organization. It is for this reason that I speak to you from the platform of the America First committee tonight. I am making a plea for unity among the forces and the people in America who stand against our intervention in this war.

"The America First committee is a purely American organization formed to give voice to the hundred odd million people in our country who oppose sending our soldiers to Europe again. We believe that the United States has been led toward war by a minority of its people, thru misinformation and thru confusion of the issues involved. One of the functions of this committee is to clarify the facts and issues of the war.

Principles of Committee.

"The committee's principles are simple and broad. Our objective is to make America impregnable at home, and to keep out of those wars across the sea. Some of us, including myself, believe that the sending of arms to Europe was a mistake—that it has weakened our position in America, that it has added to bloodshed in European countries, and that it has not changed the trend of the war. Other members of this committee have supported aid to Britain, trusting in the promises of our President and our congress that such aid would actually be 'short of war.'

"The America First committee is open to any patriotic American citizen who opposes intervention, regardless of what his attitude on aid to Britain has been. As I said before, we are now confronted with the actual issue of war, and on this issue we take our stand.

"War is not inevitable for this country. The claim that our participation is inevitable is simply propaganda by those who want to get us in. If we can be forced into a foreign war against the opposition of more than four-fifths of our people, then the idea of representative government and democracy will be proved such a failure at home that there will be little use fighting for it abroad.

Decision Is Up to Us.

"Whether or not America enters the war is within our control. The decision rests upon the shoulders of you in this audience, upon us here on this platform, upon meetings of this kind in every community in the United States. Our forefathers have guided this country safely thru greater dangers than we face today. If our generation has become so weak that we cannot guard what they conquered with a fraction of our present population, then we deserve to lose the heritage they gave us.

"We, in America First, must face realities, for we are dealing with the hard facts of war. But here we have one great advantage over the interventionists. Our mission is to clarify the issues before the American people. Theirs is to confuse them. Our mission is to build self-confidence and strength in America. Theirs is to create fear and willingness to be dependent upon others.

"When we advocate an independent position for America, the interventionists shout that we are defeatists because we oppose jumping blindly into a war in Europe. But I ask you: Whose policy has led to defeat, ours, or theirs? What have they to say about the long list of prostrate nations in Europe who, under their leadership, jumped into war hastily and unprepared?

Asks Realistic Thinking.

"When I was a cadet, learning to fly, I was taught that success, and life itself for that matter, depended upon adequate preparation. If a man took off on a difficult flight hastily and unprepared, he lowered himself in the esteem of his fellow men, and more often than not, he never returned from his flight. But the interventionists in America seem to have a different sense of values, quite contrary to ours. What we called caution, they now call 'cowardice.' What we called preparation, they call 'defeatism.' And for what we called success they seem to have no name at all.

"But again we must be realistic. These values have not changed. We are simply experiencing the hysteria and propaganda that come with a major war. We must recognize the fact that along with perfectly sincere people, there are groups in this country whose prime objective is to get us into the war. Words are to them weapons to be used in any manner they think will be effective, regardless of whether truth or falsehood is involved.

"These groups are our real enemies. They constitute our major danger of involvement in the war. Against their activities we must be constantly on guard. These are the people who, under the guise of 'steps short of war,' have led us to the verge of war itself. They now demand that we convoy ships to England with the American navy. If we do this it is inevitable that we will have American battleships sunk, and American sailors killed. Under no guise of imagination or propaganda can this be called a step short of war.

England's Desperate Position.

"We must face the fact that England is in a desperate position. Up to date she has lost every major campaign in which she has participated. Her shipping losses are of utmost seriousness, and her cities have been devastated by bombs. Her geographical and economic position is as great a disadvantage in this age of aircraft

and submarines as her past was an advantage to [illegible] the era of sailing ships.

"Personally, I believe it will be a tragedy [illegible] Germany—if the British empire collapses. But I would tell you frankly that I believe this war was lost by England and France even before it was declared, and that it is not within our power in America today to win the war for England, even tho we throw the entire resources of our nation into the conflict. With all our organization and industry we are not, and will not be able to transport an army across the ocean, large enough to invade the continent of Europe successfully as long as strong European armies are there for its defense.

"But I thank God it is not yet too late for us to save our own country from the chaos and the failure of this war. With all the errors that have been made, and notwithstanding the arms that have been taken from our own military forces to send to Europe, the United States is still able to defend itself against any foreign power. But if we are to maintain the ability to defend ourselves in the future we must not expose our fleet in European war zones and we must stop sending most of our modern fighting planes abroad.

Our Favorable Situation.

"From a military standpoint the United States is more favorably situated than any other nation in the world. In addition to an isolated geographical position we are highly industrialized, we have great natural resources, and a population of 130 million people upon which to draw for our army, our navy, and our air force. We have all the necessary elements in this country to build a civilization that is as strong, and permanent, and progressive as the world has ever known. Never before has a nation been in as good a position to protect and advance the ideals of democracy and freedom. Let us not sell such a heritage for the uncertainty of a European future and the chaos of a European war.

"We of the America First committee ask you to join us in support of an American destiny for this hemisphere—a destiny not of isolation but of independence, not of reliance upon others, but of strength among ourselves, a destiny that knows no place for fear of any foreign land."

CHICAGO DAILY T[illegible]

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy

Lindbergh Says Allies Lost War Before It Began

Holds Collapse of Britain Would Be 'Tragedy,' but Calls U.S. Aid Ineffective

CHICAGO, April 17 (AP).—Col. Charles A. Lindbergh asserted tonight that "it will be a tragedy to the world—a tragedy even to Germany—if the British Empire collapses," but he opined that the "war was lost" by the allies "even before it was declared."

He called for unity among people opposed to United States intervention and, in an address before a rally in the Chicago Arena sponsored by the America First Committee, declared that "it is not yet too late for us to save our own country from the chaos and failure of this war."

"Personally, I believe it will be a tragedy to the world—a tragedy even to Germany—if the British Empire collapses," Col. Lindbergh said. "But I must tell you frankly that I believe this war was lost by England and France even before it was declared, and that it is not within our power in America today to win the war for England even though we throw the entire resources of our nation into the conflict.

"With all our organization and industry, we are not and will not be able to transport an army across the ocean large enough to invade the Continent of Europe successfully as long as strong European armies are there for its defense."

Col. Lindbergh stated that "England is in a desperate position," and added:

"Up to date she has lost every major campaign in which she has participated. Her shipping losses are of the utmost seriousness, and her cities have been devastated by bombs. Her geographical and economic position is as great a disadvantage in this age of aircraft and submarines as it was an advantage in the era of sailing ships."

He said the United States was able to defend itself against any foreign power, but held that if it was to maintain that ability "we must not expose our fleet in European war zones and we must stop sending most of our modern fighting planes abroad."

Col. Lindbergh contended that, if the American Navy convoyed ships to England, American battleships would be sunk and American sailors would be killed.

He also held that sending arms to Europe was a "mistake" because it "weakened our position," added to bloodshed in European countries," and failed to change the "trend" of the war.

"Interventionists shout that we are defeatists because we oppose jumping blindly into a war in Europe," he said. "But I ask you: Whose policy has led to defeat, ours or theirs? What have they to say about the long list of prostrate nations in Europe who, under their leadership, jumped into war hastily and unprepared?"

It was announced before Col. Lindbergh spoke that he had become a member of the America First Committee, an organization opposed to United States participation in the war abroad.

CLIPPING FROM THE
N .Y. HERALD TRIBUNE

DATE APR 18 1941

FORWARDED BY N.Y. DIVISION

ARENA JAMMED; CROWD OF 4,000 STANDS OUTSIDE

Great Ovation Given to Flyer.

The text of Col. Lindbergh's address will be found on page 6.

(Pictures on back page.)

Speaking last night before nearly 18,000 persons jammed into the Chicago Arena, which has seats for only 8,000, and with an overflow of 4,000 listening to loudspeakers outside, Col. Charles A. Lindbergh delivered an earnest plea for Americans to unite and make their efforts to stay out of war effective.

Col. Lindbergh spoke under the auspices of the America First committee, which he has just joined, and urged all noninterventionists to ally themselves with that organization. He expressed confidence that the United States is able to defend itself at home against any power, and that it can and should avoid the "chaos and failure" that would follow European involvement.

31 Bursts of Applause.

Thirty-one times, by actual count, Col. Lindbergh was interrupted by great bursts of applause in a talk of only 2,000 words. As he finished his hearers rose in a tribute that lasted several minutes.

The crowd began gathering at 6 p. m., two hours before the scheduled time of the meeting, and the seats were all filled by 7:30 o'clock. A police detail of 70 men was present to handle the throng and direct traffic near the arena, which is at Erie street and McClurg court.

Among the principal points made by Lindbergh were: The United States is being led to war by a vociferous minority; if we can be forced into a war that four-fifths of the people oppose, democracy will be proved a failure at home; some sincere people are interventionists, but among this class are also groups whose prime object is to foment warfare, and it is not in our power now to win the war for England.

Opposes Convoy Proposal.

There was a chorus of loud "noes" when he mentioned that the interventionists now demand that United States naval vessels convoy war materials abroad. He urged that the fleet be kept intact and that "we stop sending most of our modern fighting planes abroad."

Before his talk began a collection was taken up. A total was not announced.

Gen. Robert E. Wood, national chairman of America First, presided at the meeting. He said that America First has had no connection with any subversive groups and has been "pro-American, first, last, and always."

"We have left intolerance to the other side," he averred. "We believe every citizen has the right to express himself on any public question. The great majority don't want war."

Name of Ickes Booed.

Gen. Wood urged that strong efforts be made to persuade the senate to pass the anticonvoy bill already introduced, and predicted that as soon as convoying begins the "shooting war" must follow almost immediately.

Samuel B. Pettengill, a former congressman from Indiana, said he objected to Secretary of the Interior Ickes questioning the patriotism of men like Gen. Wood and Col. Lindbergh. A chorus of boos greeted the mention of Ickes.

"The secretary is giving advice to everybody in the world but Joe Stalin," Pettengill said. "He hasn't criticised Big Joe yet."

Brig. Gen. Thomas S. Hammond spoke briefly. The meeting ended with the singing of "The Star Spangled Banner" by the audience.

CHICAGO DAILY TRIBUNE

6-15-41

WHEELER TO TALK AT CHICAGO RALLY OF AMERICA FIRST

Speaks Next Sunday; New Member Drive Planned.

Senator Burton K. Wheeler will address an antiwar rally in Chicago next Sunday on the return leg of his transcontinental speaking tour, the America First committee announced yesterday.

The meeting, which is expected to surpass in interest that addressed by Col. Charles A. Lindbergh last Thursday night, will be held at 3:30 p. m. in the Chicago Arena, 400 East Erie street. Lindbergh drew 14,000 persons to the same hall.

Senator Wheeler, leader of the anti-interventionist forces in congress, has informed the committee he will speak for the Tobey anti-convoy resolution now pending in the senate foreign relations committee.

Would Ban Use of Convoys.

The resolution, which would ban the use of convoys by the United States in transporting war materials into the war zone, is to be considered April 30 by the senate committee. The America First committee is concentrating its activity on forcing the resolution onto the senate floor for action. The resolution was offered by Senator Charles W. Tobey [R., N. H.].

The Chicago chapter of America First will open a drive today to enroll a million members in Illinois. Four meetings will be held this afternoon and tonight. Dr. Anton J. Carlson, physiologist at the University of Chicago, will address the Hyde Park America First chapter at 4 p. m. in Graham Taylor hall, 5757 University avenue.

Youth Group to Meet.

The Albany Park Youth group will hold an anti-war meeting at 4 o'clock this afternoon in the River Park fieldhouse, 5100 North Francisco avenue. Yaeger Cantwell Jr., a law student, will discuss "Youth in the Present Crisis." At 6 p. m. F. Shaw Burd, an industrial psychologist, will address the Post College club of the Washington Boulevard Methodist church in the church parlors at Washington and Austin boulevards, Oak Park.

Attorney Robert D. Ross will address a rally at 6:30 p. m. in the Downers Grove Methodist church at Main and Maple streets in the suburb.

One meeting will be held Monday and four Tuesday in Chicago and its suburbs, the committee announced.

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Gurnea

100-4712-1

CHICAGO DAILY TRIBUNE

4-20-41

Like Pegh's Way

Col. Lindbergh spoke in Chicago Thursday ... audience under the sponsorship of the America First committee. We have never been persuaded that a great airman is ipso facto a great military or political philosopher.

Yet without hesitation we credit Col. Lindbergh with believing what he says—and with the motives of a patriotic young American. In this we believe we are wiser than those of the America First committee who attack the motives of those of us who believe that only in Hitler's defeat will this nation or the world again know peace and security.

We cannot, however, avoid comment on what seems to us the moral apathy displayed by Col. Lindbergh and by those who are led by his belief. In 1914 when Germany denounced treaties as "scraps of paper," and violated the neutrality of Belgium, a wave of indignation swept this nation. Not even apologists for Germany condoned that flagrant immorality. It was universally denounced.

Since September of 1939 Nazi Germany has demonstrated a callous and contemptuous disregard of all national honor and decency, of all precepts of moral conduct of nations. Goaded by six immoral and hate-minded ruling cliques, the German nation has made a mockery of our American concepts of civilization and Christianity. Yet there is not one word of protest, no evidence of revulsion or disapproval in anything Col. Lindbergh has said.

But let us pass that for the moment. Let us analyze Col. Lindbergh's position, and the position of the America First committee, by applying a simple test. Let us, for the sake of argument, suppose that the United States now elects to do exactly what the isolationists urge upon us.

Suppose that tomorrow President Roosevelt notified England, China, Greece—and the rest of the world—that from this time forward no arms or war materials could be furnished any other nation until we were completely armed. Suppose that he publicly announced that we shall not, under any circumstances conceivable, convoy ships across the Atlantic; that our government would "devote its attention solely to our own defense."

What are the results which would logically follow such a step? They are not too hard to anticipate.

First of all it is certain that on the continent of Europe the last vestige of opposition to Hitler would collapse. Greece would make an early peace on Nazi terms. Turkey would hasten to fall into the Axis orbit. Spain and Portugal would do likewise. In a matter of weeks Suez and Gibraltar would fall into Axis hands.

Britain might continue to hold out for a few months. But not longer than that. The stout British spirit would be crushed—and it is only that spirit which enables the little island nation to carry on. The Churchill government would fall and be succeeded by one seeking cravenly to "collaborate" with the triumphant totalitarians. And does anyone believe that the British and French navies would not be Hitler's merely for the asking? Would the betrayed nations of Europe care whether they fell into his hands?

In the Pacific Japan would be free to do as she would. Abandoned China could do nothing but yield. Australia and New Zealand would be at the mercy of Japan. From Vladivostok to Calcutta Japan's new "order" would reign.

How long, under those circumstances, would our neighbors below the Rio Grande look confidently toward this nation as the defender of liberty and man's rights? How long before they, slyly at first, then openly, would seek likewise to bask in the favor of the Axis?

And across our northern border—that magnificent 3,000 miles of undefended border—what would be the feeling toward us? What would our brave Canadian friends think of the "great" power which had betrayed all that our proud history has stood for?

Perhaps—for a little while—we might save our own "peace." Perhaps for a little while we could prevent American blood from being shed. But in the eyes of every nation on earth whose good will and friendship and high esteem means anything to us we should be a pariah. In the eyes of every human being to whom the United States has meant man's hope for someday attaining the real blessings of liberty and justice we should be scorned and damned for all time.

We might survive. We might build for ourselves the most gigantic military and naval power on earth. We might wield our giant economy into a force which could meet that of the totalitarians and beat them at their own game. But not as a democracy.

Perhaps we have dallied too long. Perhaps England will fall despite the utmost that we can do. But at least we are not abandoning democracy to certain extinction. And we believe that Americans—more than 130 millions of them—still hold more precious than anything else the preservation of their national and personal honor and self-respect.

CHICAGO DAILY TIMES

Lindbergh's way spare Axis triumph

FLOOD OF MAIL ASKS APPROVAL OF CONVOY BAN

America First Members Write to Senators.

Thousands of letters, rivaling in volume those sent to Washington, D. C., during debate on the lend-lease bill, are pouring into the capital requesting passage of the Tobey anticonvoy resolution, R. Douglas Stuart Jr., national director of the America First committee, said yesterday.

Senator Tobey.

The resolution, introduced by Senator Charles W. Tobey [R., N. H.], would prohibit use of United States warships and men to convoy war supplies to belligerent nations.

Letters to Senators Urged.

America First chapters thruout the nation are urging persons who want to keep the United States out of war to write to members of the senate foreign relations committee in an effort to force the bill out of the committee and onto the senate floor. The committee is scheduled to act on the resolution April 30.

Stuart said Senator Burton K. Wheeler [D., Mont.] and other anti-interventionist leaders now touring the country to warn the people of the war peril are concentrating their efforts on the anticonvoy resolution. Senator Wheeler will address an anti-war rally in Chicago at 3:30 p. m. next Sunday in the Chicago Arena, 400 East Erie street.

Col. Charles A. Lindbergh, who drew 14,000 persons to the Arena last week, will address another America First massmeeting in St. Louis, Mo., May 3, Stuart announced. Senator Bennett Champ Clark [D., Mo.] will speak at the same meeting.

Policy of Guile Charged.

Dr. Anton J. Carlson, University of Chicago professor, told a rally sponsored by the Hyde Park chapter of the America First committee yesterday that the present foreign policy of the United States was adopted thru guile and propaganda before the people had a chance to make their choice.

"A foreign policy of our country, radically departing from the Monroe Doctrine, should not be adopted in a period of general fear and hysteria," he said. "It should be placed before all the people, with all the cards on the table, face up, for their judgment when men's minds are calm."

The rally was held in Graham Taylor hall, 5757 University avenue.

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Lad
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

CHICAGO DAILY TIMES

4-21-41

ASS MEETING

AUDITORIUM

TUESDAY,
APRIL 22---7:30 P. M.

U. S. SENATOR BURTON K.

WHEELER

"Americans, Unite for Peace"

Senator Wheeler's nation-wide crusade has awakened Americans. Prepare NOW against insidious efforts and propaganda to plunge us into war. America must be made invincible both against foreign bombs and propaganda.

Help defend America on every front.
Hear Senator Wheeler's stirring plea.
Learn what YOU can do in this crisis.

FORMER GOVERNOR
PHILIP F. LA FOLLETTE
Will Be Present and Will Introduce Senator Wheeler

ADMISSION FREE

Auspices America First Committee
Wisconsin Chapter
Lansing Hoyt, Chairman
208 E. Wisconsin Ave.

This advertisement made possible by donations from friends of America First. This is a non-partisan organization of over two million patriotic Americans.

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Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
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Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

100-4712-

MILWAUKEE JOURNAL
APRIL 21, 1941

Philadelphia Ledger
April 22, 1941

May Welcome Bund Women

The National Legion of Mothers and Women of America is considering inviting women associated with the Kyffhaeusser Bund into membership, the Philadelphia president of the group said today.

Mrs. Edith Scott, 1610 Haworth St., whose organization is affiliated with the America First Committee, 34 S. 17th St., said the invitation was "under consideration" by her group.

"We are making an investigation," Mrs. Scott said, "and if we find that the women who attended the meeting last Saturday night are loyal Americans, we will welcome them.

"We Are Not Pro-Nazi"

"However, we are not pro-Nazi or pro-anything except Americans."

Mrs. Scott's group met last night at the Adelphia, and 75 persons attended.

The Kyffhaeusser Bund met Saturday night and part of the entertainment was a travelogue film. Peter Kreckmann, assistant general passenger agent of the North German Lloyd, denied today that the film had been supplied by his firm.

"The North German Lloyd does not supply such films and is not associated or co-operating with any Bund or Nazi organization," Kreckmann said. He added that an investigation disclosed the film had been made by a passenger aboard a North German Lloyd ship.

Denies Consulate Link

He explained that his firm was not closely associated with the office of the German Consul here, but contacts it "only in the ordinary business relationship of any steamship agency."

Heinrich Schafhousen, German Vice Consul here, has not occupied office space with the firm for more than a year, Kreckmann added.

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Gandy

100-4[illegible]-4

America First Committee

62-7

PLAN TO CARE FOR WHEELER OVERFLOW

Final plans were announced last night for the handling of the overflow crowd expected at the America First rally at the Chicago Arena next Sunday afternoon to hear Senator Burton K. Wheeler, champion of an America united for peace, but not for war.

Janet Ayer Fairbank, national vice chairman of the America First Committee, will preside.

Anticipting an overflow crowd, such as that which greeted Col. Charles A. Lindbergh last Thursday, committee officials have installed loudspeakers outside the arena.

More than 15,000 persons heard Col. Lindbergh plead for American defenses for America only.

In warning anew to the war perils confronting the nation, Senator Wheeler will discuss means of keeping the United States out of the war, and he will urge united action to obtain passage of the Tobey anticonvoy resolution now before the Senate foreign relations committee.

This resolution has brought thousands of letters to the capital urging its passage. The resolution introduced by Senator Charles W. Tobey of New Hampshire, would prohibit the use of United States warships and men to convoy war supplies to any belligerent nations. It is to be considered by the committee on April 30.

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
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Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 10-4-85 BY SP2 mag 457 #24113

THE CHICAGO AMERICAN

MAY 8 1941

100-4712-A-

4-22-41

WHEELER WILL ADDRESS RALLY IN ARENA SUNDAY

Senator Burton K. Wheeler [D., Mont.] will speak in the Chicago Arena next Sunday on behalf of the Chicago chapter of the America First committee, it was announced yesterday by Mrs. Janet Ayer Fairbank, national vice chairman of the organization. Senator Wheeler is returning to the middle west after a speaking tour of the Pacific Northwest.

Preparations for an overflow crowd at the Arena are being made. Loudspeakers will carry Senator Wheeler's words to listeners outside the Arena, as they did last week when Col. Charles A. Lindbergh addressed an antiwar rally here. The rally will begin at 3 p. m. All seats will be free.

F. S. Hurd, industrial psychologist, urged a common sense attitude rather than an emotional one in regard to present world conditions in a talk last night before the Oak Park chapter of the America First committee at 736 Lake street, Oak Park. He also said that America may face an economic catastrophe and that the people should be awakened "to those who are taking us blindly into such a catastrophe."

CHICAGO DAILY TRIBUNE

22-4

WASHINGTON CITY NEWS SERVICE

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COMMUNICATIONS

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Gi...
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Mr. ...
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Tra...
Mr. Gandy

APR 24 1941 M
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MILWAUKEE.--SENATOR WHEELER SAID LAST NIGHT THE U.S. WILL BE INVOLVED IN WAR WHEN AMERICAN SHIPS ARE ORDERED INTO "ZONES OF CONFLICT."

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT, WHEELER CHARGED AT AN AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE RALLY, IS ATTEMPTING "TO CREATE AN INCIDENT TO EXCITE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE TO WAR" BY SENDING SHIPS "THROUGH AREAS WHICH HE HIMSELF HAS OFFICIALLY PROCLAIMED THE ACTUAL ZONES OF CONFLICT."

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EXPECT WHEELER RALLY SUNDAY TO DRAW BIG CROWD

Preparations have been made for an overflow crowd Sunday afternoon at the Chicago arena, 400 East Erie street, when Senator Burton K. Wheeler [D., Mont.] will address a rally sponsored by the Chicago chapter of the America First committee, it was announced yesterday. The senator is in the midst of a nation-wide speaking crusade to arouse the people against involvement in foreign wars.

The name of Dr. Charles Clayton Morrison, magazine editor and student of foreign affairs, has been added to the list of speakers at Sunday's rally. Dr. Morrison was an opposition witness before the senate foreign relations committee at hearings on the administration's lend-lease [dictator] bill.

Janet Ayer Fairbank, national vice chairman of America First, will preside at the meeting, which will start at 3 p. m. The speeches will be heard by late arrivals over a loud speaker system.

CHICAGO DAILY TRIBUNE

4-23-41

HELP FOR THE VOTERS.

By tens of thousands, American citizens have joined the America First committee. It can safely be assumed that far larger numbers are in sympathy with the cause of keeping this country out of the fighting and accept the committee's leadership.

The America First movement has drawn its following from both the principal parties. In their 1940 platforms and in the declarations of both candidates during the campaign, the point was constantly stressed that this nation would not enter the European war. The Democratic party said "we will not participate in foreign wars and we will not send our army, naval, or air forces to fight in foreign lands, outside of the Americas, except in case of attack." The Republican party, among other expressions to the same effect, condemned "all executive acts and proceedings which might lead to war."

These promises have been forgotten by some of the men who gave them, with the result that after an election in which both parties were pledged to do their utmost to preserve the peace the nation is far closer to war than it was last autumn. Those who now are shouting loudest for the preservation of democracy have betrayed a cardinal principle of democratic government: the maintenance of good faith with the voters.

In these circumstances the America First committee can serve a most useful purpose in future elections and particularly in the national elections of 1942. It can make recommendations. There are tens of thousands of voters in both parties who will welcome an appraisal of candidates by the America First committee, based upon the records and promises of those who are seeking election. Thru this means a repetition of the disastrous experience of 1940 may be avoided.

CHICAGO DAILY TRIBUNE

4-23-41

Mr. Tolson .....
Mr. Boardman .....
Mr. Nichols .....
Mr. Rosen .....
Mr. Carson .....
Mr. Quinn Tamm .....
Mr. Tracy .....
Miss Gandy .....

Col. Charles Lindbergh (left) greeting John F. (Jafsie) Condon, central figure in search for Lindbergh baby kidnaper, before colonel's New York anti-war speech. In center is Senator Walsh.
[Associated Press Wirephoto.]

(Story on page 4)

CHICAGO DAILY TRIBUNE

1-24-41

DELEGATIONS TO HEAR TALK BY WHEELER

Delegations from seventy America First Committee chapters throughout Illinois, Indiana and Michigan will gather at the Chicago Arena Sunday afternoon to hear an address by Senator Burton K. Wheeler, urging the passage of the Tobey anti-convoy resolution.

The Montana senator has been on a nationwide tour urging the people to "stand firm against all efforts to throw the nation into the European war." An overflow crowd of 15,000 persons heard him speak in Milwaukee Tuesday.

Aroused public interest in passage of the Tobey bill, Wheeler declared, is "the most important immediate step to keep America from going to war."

HEARING NEXT WEEK.

The resolution, which would prohibit use of American warships to convoy war materials to belligerent nations, is scheduled for a hearing by the Senate foreign relations committee April 30.

Another speaker at the patriotic gathering, to be held under the auspices of the America First Committee, will be Dr. Charles Clayton Morrison, editor of the Christian Century magazine.

The doors of the Arena will be opened at 1 p. m. Sunday and special arrangements, including the installation of loud speakers outside the building, have been made to handle an overflow crowd.

Wheeler Sees Peril of Convoying Eased

BY GEORGE ROTHWELL BROWN.

Special to The Chicago Herald-American.

MILWAUKEE, April 24.—Senator Burton K. Wheeler, of Montana, spokesman of a group of seventy-five members of the Senate and House of Representatives who are fighting efforts to involve the United States in foreign wars, headed back to the Northwest today, convinced that the peoples' battle to preserve peace is won.

Wheeler will speak tonight in St. Paul, and will follow with addresses on succeeding days at Sioux Falls, S. D., and Sioux City, Iowa.

PERIL EASED.

Keeping in close touch with all developments in the possible use of convoys by this government, through his office in Washington, Senator Wheeler expressed himself as satisfied that the convoy peril is measurably less than it was. He said:

"I do not believe that President Roosevelt will authorize the use of convoys, without going to Congress for express legislation. I am confident that if the President should ask for congressional authority to use convoys in combat areas, it would be refused.

"For this reason, I believe the outlook for peace is brighter than it was a month or two ago. I think the President has sensed the desires of the people for peace, and realizes they are opposed to the use of convoys.

PEACE SENTIMENT GROWS.

"The sentiment against war is growing rapidly in this country. Everywhere I have been the people are against getting into the European conflict. Undoubtedly they are making this opinion felt in Washington.

"Congress will be in no mood to authorize the use of convoys, which means fighting war, until it is ready to declare war. It isn't ready. The outlook brighter."

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Lamont
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

THE CHICAGO AMERICAN

4-24-41

Tolson
Boardman
Nichols
Mohr
Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

AMERICA FIRST'S 70 ILLINOIS UNITS TO HEAR WHEELER

All 70 chapters of the America First committee in Illinois, as well as several in Indiana and Michigan, have announced their intention of sending delegations to hear a speech by Senator Burton K. Wheeler [D., Mont.] Sunday at the Chicago arena, Erie street and McClurg court.

This announcement was made yesterday by Mrs. Janet Ayer Fairbank, national vice chairman of the committee, who will preside at the gathering.

An overflow crowd is expected and plans have been made to carry the speeches outside the arena over a loud speaker system as was done last week when Col. Charles A. Lindbergh, speaking at a similar America First rally, urged the nation to unite for peace.

Veterans of three wars will act as a guard of honor for the senator, who is on a nation-wide speaking crusade seeking to arouse Americans against involvement in foreign wars.

1-24-41

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

New A. E. F. England's 'Last Desperate Hope,' Lindbergh Asserts

Flyer Says British, Losing, Want U. S. to Share 'Fiasco of This War'

(Picture on Page A-1.)

By the Associated Press.

NEW YORK, April 24.—Col. Charles A. Lindbergh says Great Britain seeks another A. E. F. to turn the tide in a "losing" battle.

"It is now obvious that England is losing the war," he said at an America First Committee rally last night, "but they have one last desperate plan remaining.

"They hope that they may be able to persuade us to send another American Expeditionary Force to Europe and to share with England militarily, as well as financially, the fiasco of this war."

Making his first appearance here as a leader of organized opinion through his membership on the committee, Col. Lindbergh reiterated parts of an address made in Chicago last week in which he said United States aid could not win the war for England.

Melee Brings Arrest.

A crowd thronged the streets outside packed Manhattan Center as Col. Lindbergh made his anti-war plea, and for a brief time there were scenes of disorder as police, pickets and bystanders clashed.

One man was arrested and later sentenced to one day in jail for seizing the bridle of a mounted patrolman's horse during a kicking and slugging melee as pickets with anti-Lindbergs placards were dispersed.

Col. Lindbergh declared he did not blame England for its hope of an A. E. F.

"But we now know," he added, "that she declared a war under circumstances which led to the defeat of every nation that sided with her, from Poland to Greece."

On the subject of any United States entry into the war, he said this country "is not prepared to wage war in Europe successfully at this time.

Objective View of War Urged.

"It is not only our right," he said, "but it is our obligation as American citizens to look at this war objectively and to weigh our chances for success if we should enter it.

"I have attempted to do this, especially from the standpoint of aviation, and I have been forced to the conclusion that we cannot win this war for England, regardless of how much assistance we extend."

He placed the blame for "the downfall of the democracies of Europe" on "the shoulders of the interventionists who led their nations into war uninformed and unprepared."

Col. Lindbergh's non-interventionist views were backed at the meeting by Senator David I. Walsh, Democrat, of Massachusetts, and Novelist Kathleen Norris. John T. Flynn, author-economist and chairman of the America First Committee's New York chapter, presided.

APR 24 1941

WASHINGTON STAR
Page A-6

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Gordon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

'England Is Losing the War'

Britain Wants U. S. to Go Down Too, Lindy Says

By United Press

Col. Lindbergh

NEW YORK, April 24 — Col. Charles Lindbergh told a widely cheering meeting sponsored by the America First Committee last night that every nation which has sided with Great Britain in the war, "from Poland to Greece," has been defeated, and that now the British hope for an American expeditionary force to "share the fiasco."

A crowd of 10,000 packed the Manhattan Center Auditorium and an estimated 20,000 stood in the street listening to speeches thru loudspeakers.

ONE BIG FIGHT

German accents were numerous in the crowd. There were several minor brawls and a brief melee involving several hundred persons from the crowd and about 100 anti-Nazis pickets who marched to the scene with placards.

Col. Lindbergh, in an appeal for support of the committee which he joined in Chicago last Thursday, drew one of his loudest cheers when he said, "It is obvious that England is losing the war," and another when he said, "England has misinformed us."

He charged that "we have been led toward war by a minority of our people; this minority has power; it has influence; it has a loud voice, but it does not represent the American people."

Seat prices ranged from $1 general admission to $25 for boxes. There were 75 persons on the speakers' platform including Mrs. Charles Lindbergh, Amos Pinchot, Bruce Barton, former New York congressman; Katherine Lewis, daughter of John L. Lewis, head of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, and J. F. Condon, who as "Jafsie" tried to negotiate with the Lindbergh baby kidnaper.

Col. Lindbergh charged that "our air force is deplorably lacking in modern fighting planes because most of them have seen sent to Europe," and the audience hissed.

He said, "the policy of the interventionists has led to the defeat of every country that followed their advice since this war began," and the crowd cheered.

He said the America First Committee's policy of concentrating on defense of the Western Hemisphere is one "not of isolation but of independence: not of defeat but of courage."

APR 24 1941

WASHINGTON NEWS
Page 6

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Boren
Mr. Carson
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

Nazis Hail Lindbergh as Real American

By the Associated Press

Berlin, April 24.—The important German newspaper Hamburger Fremdenblatt, commenting on last night's America First rally in New York, described Col. Charles A. Lindbergh tonight as "a real American of Swedish descent out of the Middle West."

It said he was "not a war opponent through emotionalism, but through devoted love of his country."

This was part of an article by Adolf Halfeld, who often strikes a keynote for German editors, headlined "America First."

It said Germany had no illusions about anti-German expressions in the United States from Atlantic to Pacific; explaining that Americans know the danger of invasion of their country is not from Germany but from the increasing British influence on the American continent."

WASHINGTON POST

APR 25 1941

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Kerdon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

Wheeler to Tell How to Shun War

Carrying his fight against war into Chicago again Senator Burton K. Wheeler will address a huge America First rally at the Chicago Arena at 3 o'clock Sunday afternoon.

An overflow crowd is expected to hear Senator Wheeler speak on "What America Must Do to Keep Out of War." He has been on an extensive tour urging Americans to take a firm stand against the involvement of their nation in foreign conflicts.

URGES CONVOY BAN.

Twelve thousand jammed a Milwaukee auditorium Tuesday, to cheer the Montanan as he told them that it was not too late to act, and advocated the Tobey anti-convoy resolution.

A hearing on the bill, which would prohibit the use of American warships to protect shipments of materials to belligerent nations, is scheduled before the Senate foreign relations committee April 30.

Ten thousand postcards will be distributed among the audience Sunday, so that the citizens present can send brief personal messages to President Roosevelt, denouncing war and war-provoking tactics.

ALL SEATS FREE.

Senator Wheeler will arrive in Chicago at 7:40 Sunday morning, and will rest a few hours at the Palmer House before going to the Arena, accompanied by a police escort.

The Arena is at Erie st. and McClurg court. The doors will be opened at 1 o'clock.

All seats are free.

Carl Craven, noted musical director, will lead the audience in singing patriotic songs.

100-4712-1

THE CHICAGO AMERICAN

4-25-41

Mr. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

Lindbergh's Appeal Wins 3,000 to Anti-War Group

In response to the appeal of Colonel Charles A. Lindbergh for citizens to unite with him to keep the United States out of the war, 3,000 membership applications were received yesterday by the America First Committee, which the colonel himself joined only last Thursday.

The committee announced that 2,000 of the membership blanks were signed during the Lindbergh meeting at Manhattan Center Wednesday night, and that 1,000 additional were entered yesterday by telephone, telegraph, mail or personal visits to the committee headquarters at 515 Madison Avenue. Each member is required to subscribe to a declaration that he has no affiliation with any foreign power.

CLIPPING FROM THE
N. Y. TIMES
DATE APR 25 1941
FORWARDED BY N. Y DIVI

Mr. Foxworth .....
Mr. Glavis .....
Mr. Ladd .....
Mr. Nichols .....
Mr. Rosen .....
Mr. Carson .....
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon .....
Mr. Tracy .....
Miss Gandy .....
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NEW YORK RALLIES AGAINST WAR

The America First rally in New York on Wednesday evening filled two large halls and left an overflow crowd of 3,000 standing in the rain to hear the speeches as they came over the public address system.

The size of the audiences and the enthusiasm with which they greeted Col. Lindbergh and the other speakers served to dispel the notion that New Yorkers generally favor American participation in the fighting and approve the steps which are intended to get us into the war. Those who were present at the meetings came away greatly encouraged. As they looked about them, they realized, perhaps for the first time, that millions of patriotic Americans in New York want to keep this nation at peace.

Their viewpoint has had relatively little publicity in New York. The well organized minority, with its wealth and its control of many of the means of public expression, has succeeded in giving a wholly false impression of the state of public opinion.

The meetings the other night broke what might almost be called a boycott. Now, at last, New Yorkers realize that the belief that American foreign policy should be devised with a view to American interests and welfare is not a minority view but the judgment of the majority. From now on we may expect the patriots under the leadership of America First to be more and more vocal, more and more confident, more and more determined that the wishes of their majority be respected and followed.

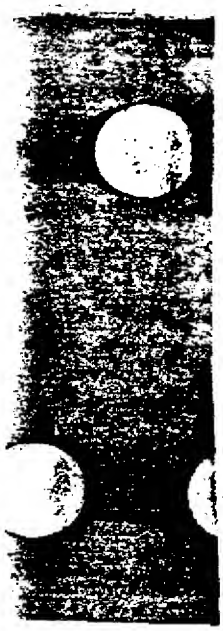
This country does not need to send its navy to fight in European waters. It does not need to send its conscripts to fight and die on European battlefields. It does not have to send ill-equipped and half-trained men into battle against heavy odds. There are no American interests now at stake which require any such sacrifice. Our country can defend itself against any threat which may be directed against it, now or in the future. We have no reason for fear, provided we do not dissipate our strength in ill considered adventures. It is immensely encouraging to discover that this opinion is at last asserting itself in the largest of our cities.

More than any other community in America, New York is bound to Europe by a skein of racial ties, as well as by commercial and financial associations, and the social allegiances of many of its leading citizens. The great headway which the America First movement is making there is heartening. It indicates that the efforts of the interventionists to stampede New York will be overcome if the campaign is pursued with energy.

100-4112

CHICAGO DAILY TRIBUNE

4-23



Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
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Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

Roosevelt Slur on Lindy Assailed by J. T. Flynn

NEW YORK, April 26 (I.N.S.). The New York America First Committee today came out in defense of Col. Charles A. Lindbergh in a statement issued in reply to President Roosevelt's comparison of the noted flyer with appeasers of the past.

John T. Flynn, chairman of the committee under whose auspices Lindbergh spoke Wednesday night, said it cannot permit "the slur" cast upon Lindbergh by the President to go without comment, adding:

"Of all the men who have debated the issue of war or peace no one has borne himself with more dignity and a more meticulous observance of the unwritten laws of civility and decency in public discussion than Colonel Lindbergh. He has reasoned with his hearers and no aspersion upon the intelligence or good faith of any man has passed his lips, yet every time he has spoken, a group of men have rushed to the radio and into the newspapers to vilify him. No one, however, has dared, even by indirection, to call him a traitor. It remained for the President of the United State to do that.

"I am sure the President, when his anger cools, will regret such a slur against so good an American as Colonel Lindbergh.

"The America First Committee stands behind Colonel Lindbergh, is honored by his membership and supports his stand. That stand is to mobilize public opinion behind the pledge of the President of the United States to keep America out of this war."

APR 26 1941

WASHINGTON TIMES-HERALD
Page 2

Lindbergh Defended

Kathleen Norris Denounces 'Smooth, Well-Rounded' Prophecies of Miss Thompson

By KATHLEEN NORRIS.

Wednesday night there was a mass meeting in New York addressed by three Americans. I was one, the Massachusetts Senator, David I. Walsh, was another, and Col. Charles Lindbergh was the third. Within the hall we had expected there might be some disturbance. We were speaking for the America First Committee, the object of which is to prevent our ships and men from being used for convoy duty, prevent our country from entering Europe's latest of a thousand years of war, and confine our defenses—and make them strong—to our own country.

In the packed hall there was no interruption of the program except prolonged applause. Col. Lindbergh was cheered for minutes together when he entered, and when he rose to speak. Nobody hissed anything and there was no heckling. Two thousand members of the audience joined the committee that night, another thousand stormed the New York headquarters enthusiastically to offer co-operation the next day.

Two friends of mine, women, could not get into the hall on Wednesday night. They milled about in a street crowd that was, they said, always good-natured, and well handled by the police. This crowd, they said, listened to the loud speakers, laughed and applauded, shared ledges and boxes and any other available seats.

Wants Further Particulars.

Now I have been shown an article by Miss Dorothy Thompson (this article appeared in Friday's Star) describing on that particular occasion the action of the America First Committee, which she seems strangely and anxiously to fear is a Germany-first committee. She says that until that meeting "no actual violence had been employed." And this time, she continues, "it was precipitated, not by those who were picketing the colonel's meeting, but by his supporters, who let fly at the picketers."

It seems to me Miss Thompson should be required in common justice to give us further particulars of a street fight that no newspaper reporter nor policeman observed, and of which eye-witnesses saw nothing. She herself was many miles away at the time.

Now this inaccuracy may well be considered typical of the exciting and disturbing tenor of many of Miss Thompson's articles. In this same article she predicts that the supporters of Col. Lindbergh will "grow increasingly violent." When our arms production is well under way "there will be a series of strikes and there will be sabotage." There will be "cries for the suppression of" [illegible]

KATHLEEN NORRIS.

Sees Only Ruin for Victors.

How dare she make these smooth and well-rounded prophecies against an American movement already joined by millions of Americans who are courageous enough to find in Europe's endless wars only ruin for victors as well as vanquished, who believe firmly that no frontiers are ours to guard but those included in our Monroe Doctrine, no army ours to depend upon but our own, no national quarrels important to us but our own, and no navy our first line of defense but the American Navy.

Some of our best-informed Army and naval authorities support Col. Lindberg in everything he said. History, in its story of trans-Atlantic wars, supports him. Miss Thompson says Mr. Lippman finds him "naive." She doesn't think he's "naive." Neither do I. I think he's wise and strong and brave enough to tell us the truth; that no nation will be winner when this disastrous fight is over across the seas, and that bloodshed and hate never will end war.

Incidentally, why "naive?" Miss Thompson speaks perfect German. How about her French? Isn't it "naif" that she and Mr. Lippman mean?

Says Miss Thomspon Is Afraid.

We have in our glorious history been many times in darker danger than today—and we have not been afraid. Within the memory of living men we have had British troops in Canada; Austrian, French and Mexican troops strong against us in Mexico; we have had Franz Josef, Napoleon III and Victoria against us—and we were not afraid. Miss Thompson is afraid. She says every speaker and writer who is supporting the administration lives "under a constant cold terror."

We of the America First Committee don't. Thousands of us—millions of us—mothers of sons, wives of potential soldiers, know that this isn't our war, because, truly and deeply as we sympathize with England, generously as we are willing to help her in ways of peace and rebuilding, it is not for one great nation to dictate to another in the serious matter of war. Incidentally, I was saying this, as thousands of American mothers known from club platforms everywhere, during all the years when Dorothy Thompson was in Germany and Russia. And it is not for her to say that an American in the ninth generation, like myself, who opposes Dorothy Thompson and President Roosevelt in the order named, is anything but 100 per cent and proudly and passionately loyal to everything American, and nothing that isn't American.

Very few of these fire-eaters of today participated in the last war. My men did, and in the Spanish War, the Civil War, and one of them lies buried on Breed's Hill. And my friendship for Col. Lindbergh, my faith in him, my knowledge as well as profound belief that he means the simple, forceful statements he makes is as deep as my faith in America itself. He's fighting now for America; he's paying now for his loyalty. But when the sons of mothes and fathers in all humble little towns and farmsteads of America are on the red battle line, or drifting to and fro on or under the icy Atlantic tides, Dorothy Thompson, Walter Lippman and all the rest will still be safe on the side lines.

They are in the position of the prize-fighter's manager who shouts "Go in there and punch him. He can't hurt us!"

(Released by the Bell Syndicate, Inc.)

APR 26 1941

WASHINGTON STAR
Page A-4

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

READY FOR WHEELER OVERFLOW

Final arrangements were made today to handle the overflow crowd expected to throng the Chicago Arena tomorrow to hear Montana's Senator Burton K. Wheeler's pleas against American entrance into the European war.

The American First Committee, sponsor of the patriotic rally, said loudspeakers have been installed so that crowds unable to obtain seats may hear the speakers.

Sen. Wheeler, returning from a tour through the northwest, is expected to discuss the Tobey anti-convoy resolution which would prohibit the use of American vessels in convoying war supplies to belligerents.

He has charged repeatedly that the nation is being led into war and has indicated his belief that the use of naval patrols is a new step in that direction.

Another speaker on the program will be the Rev. Charles Clayton Morrison, editor of Christian Century magazine.

Dr. Morrison will discuss a clergyman's outlook on efforts groups endeavoring to throw the nation into European conflict.

Janet Ayer Fairbank, vice-chairman of the American First Commitee, who will preside, said, 10,000 post cards will be distributed to the audience so personal messages may be written to President Roosevelt urging that he keep his pledge to save the country from war.

(Senator Wheeler, in a speech last night at Sioux Falls, S. D., assailed the "warlike utterance" of two cabinet members. Story on page 4.)

THE CHICAGO AMERICAN

4-26-41

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Roser
Mr. Carson
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

MORE JOINING LINDBERGH

America First Group Reports 7,000 Asking Membership

Officials of the America First Committee reported yesterday that they had received another large group of applications for membership. A total of 7,000 persons has made application since Colonel Charles A. Lindbergh's speech Wednesday night in Manhattan Center, it was said. Of these, about 3,000 were received yesterday.

Edwin S. Webster Jr., executive secretary of the committee, which has offices at 515 Madison Avenue, said many persons were applying in person and many others were mailing requests for application. A women's committee, with headquarters at 3 East Forty-seventh Street, also is receiving applications.

CLIPPING FROM THE
N. Y. TIMES

DATE APR 26 1941

FORWARDED BY N. Y. DIVISION.

America First Drives for 100 State Chapters

More than 100 chapters of the America First Committee will be flourishing in Illinois and the Chicago area by June 1, it was predicted yesterday by Janet Ayer Fairbank, national vice chairman in charge of Illinois for the committee.

There are sixty-four chapters and units now operating, while eighteen more are in process of formation under the supervision of Mrs. Gertrude S. Gardner, downstate chapter chairman, and Mrs O. H. Robertson, in charge of Chicago units.

With the rising tide of sentiment against the United States becoming involved in the European war, new members are coming in by the thousands, according to Mrs. Fairbank who said that an incomplete check of Illinois members indicated more than 163,000 on the America First rolls.

"Patriotic Americans who believe as we do—that the United States can serve itself by staying out of war while building an impregnable national defense—may enroll in the America First movement by getting in touch with either the Illinois headquarters at room 901, 122 S. Michigan av., or by signing up with the se unit nearest their home," Mrs. Fairbank said.

SEEK MILLION MEMBERS.

"Our goal is 1,000,000 members in Illinois and it will be attained if only part of those opposed to war join with us. There are no membership dues, although contributions will be thankfully received and expended in promoting the cause of America First."

America First chapters and units in Illinois and the Chicago area are located as follows:

ARLINGTON HEIGHTS, Miss Catherine Behrens, chairman, Northwest Highway and Dunton avenue.

AURORA, Columbus Healy, chairman, 10 Fox st.

BLOOMINGTON, Mrs. Lotta J. Breed, chairman, 1303 S. Main st., Normal.

BLUE ISLAND, Paul T. Klenk, chairman, 12914 S. Elm st.

BRIESE, Felix J. Mentz

BREMEN, Anthony Trenning, chairman, Bremen Township, Route No. 3, Tinley Park, Ill.

CHAMPAIGN, A. D. Savage, chairman, 508 Lincoln Building.

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS, Robert E. White, chairman, 304 E. Daniel st., Champaign.

CHICAGO HEIGHTS, Dr. P. H. Teeling, chairman, 154th and Central av., Harvey.

CICERO, Roger Gerches, chairman, 1604 S. Fifty-first st.

CLARENDON HILLS, Mrs. Ralph Bodnett, chairman, 13 N. Prospect st.

CLINTON, Mrs. Stella Tuttle, chairman.

DE KALB, Mrs. J. H. Dearth, chairman, 215 Prospect st.

EARLVILLE, Miss Ella Eagow, chairman.

ELGIN, William L. Loving, chairman, 20 S. Commonwealth avenue.

ELMHURST, Eugene Harrison, chairman, 172 Arlington av.

EVANSTON, Mrs. Edward W. Klimark, chairman, First National Bank Building, 800 Davis st.

FOX LAKE, Mrs. A. S. Franzer, chairman.

FREEPORT, David Burrell, chairman, care of Burrell & Burrell.

GALENA, Charles E. Winneman, chairman, 229 High st.

GALESBURG, E. M. D. Bracken, chairman, Bondi bldg.

GLEN ELLYN, Mrs Randon Lay, acting chairman, 517 Forest av.

GLENCOE, Mrs. H. B. Belding, Jr., chairman, 567 Vernon av.

HARVEY, Dr. P. H. Teeling, chairman, 154th st. and Center av.

HIGHLAND PARK, Mrs Thomas Creigh, vice chairman, 200 Prospect av.

HOMEWOOD, Dr. P. H. Teeling, chairman, 154th st. and Center av.

INDIANA HARBOR, IND., Mrs. John Grady, chairman, 4611 Catalpa st.

JOHNSON CITY, Mrs. Arminta Bigelow, chairman, 208 W. Broadway.

JOLIET, Henry J. Baird, chairman, 211 N. Nicholson st.

KANKAKEE, Leslie Hinkle, chairman, 1942 E. Court st.

LAKE FOREST, Mrs. James R. Addington, chairman, 515 Deerpath av., W.

LASALLE-PERU, Earl J. Weber, chairman, 628 6th st., LaSalle.

LIBERTYVILLE, H. M. Plaister, chairman, Windridge Farm.

LOCKPORT, Mrs. Edward F. Worst, chairman, 1214 Washington st.

MINOOKA, Mrs M. P. Drauden, chairman.

MOKENA, William Semmler, chairman.

MOLINE, Joseph Rosborough, chairman, Moline National Bank.

MORRIS, A. G. Black, chairman, Hynds Building.

MUNDELEIN, H. M. Plaister, chairman, Windridge Farm, Libertyville.

NORMAL, Mrs. Lotta J. Bruce, chairman, 1305 S. Main st.

OAK PARK-RIVER FOREST, Mrs. Lillian H. Prugh, chairman, 734 Lake st., Oak Park.

PALOS PARK, Rev. W. Rorty, chairman, Ninetieth av. and 128th street.

PONTIAC, Miss Ester Lees, chairman, Pontiac City Hall.

RIVERSIDE, Philip Janson, chairman.

ROCKFORD, Miss Helen Lamont, chairman, Oak Electric Building.

RUSHVILLE, Charles H. Teal, chairman.

SPRINGFIELD, Mrs. Ernest Palmer, chairman, Rural Route No. 2.

STERLING, Mrs. Chloe Rose, chairman, 1111 E. Fourth st.

SYCAMORE, Miss Mary J. Larson, chairman, Lincoln Apartments.

WARRENVILLE, Edwin B. Schmidt, chairman.

WINNETKA, William Warfield III, chairman, 543 Lincoln av.

YORKVILLE, C. M. Schuller, chairman, care of E. J. Brach & Sons.

AUBURN PARK, Howard Clifton Smith, chairman, 7404 S. Racine av., Chicago.

AUSTIN, Dennis W. Smith, chairman, 4827 Quincy st., Chicago.

BELMONT, Mrs. Noel Hunt, chairman, 3309 W. Belmont av., Chicago.

HYDE PARK, Dr. Fred Adair, chairman, 1134 E. Fifty-seventh st., Chicago.

LAKE VIEW, Walter Sommers, chairman, 2730 Roscoe st., Chicago.

LINCOLN PARK, E. T. Kiehl, chairman, 3143 N. Clark st., Chicago.

LOGAN SQUARE, Mrs. Matilda Edison, chairman, 3142 Logan blvd., Chicago.

LOYOLA, Mrs. Mary A. Regan, chairman, 1109 Loyola av., Chicago.

ROGERS PARK, Mrs. Carl Hellberg, chairman, 2446 Estes av., Chicago.

NEAR NORTH SIDE, Mrs. Frederick N Place, chairman, 166 E. Superior st., Chicago.

SOUTH SIDE, Val Washington, chairman, 3456 S. State st., Chicago.

SOUTHWEST, Edward W. Gaynor, chairman, 3639 W. Fifty-ninth st.

UPTOWN, Mrs. Alice Gilmer, chairman, William Penn Hotel, Chicago.

THE CHICAGO AMERICAN
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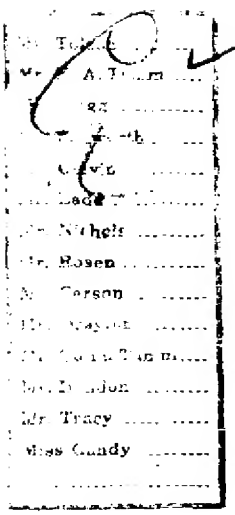

O'BRIEN AND GISH PLAN AMERICA FIRST ADDRESSES

Miss Lillian Gish, stage and screen actress, and the Rev. Dr. John A. O'Brien, professor of law at the University of Notre Dame, will address rallies sponsored by the America First committee this week.

Miss Gish will discuss propaganda methods now being used to drag the United States into the European war at the luncheon meeting of Chicago post, No. 170, of the American Legion at noon today in the Tavern club, 333 North Michigan avenue.

Dr. O'Brien will address an America First antiwar rally at 8 p. m. Thursday in Orchestra hall, 220 South Michigan avenue. More than 3,000 seats are available for the Thursday meeting.

100-4112-1

CHICAGO DAILY TRIBUNE

1-28-41

'DIVIDED NATION' THREATENED BY 'AMERICA FIRST'

Wheeler's Isolation Speech Brings Boos for President.

BY FRANK SMOTHERS.

A suggestion that the Army and Navy of the United States might not obey their commander in chief has been launched by Senator Burton K. Wheeler, leader of the appeasement minority in the Senate.

Addressing the America First rally in the Chicago Arena yesterday, Wheeler declared:

"President Roosevelt may have the power—if the Army and Navy obey—to send convoys, but he has no right to do so."

The keynote of the America First rally was a threat that if this nation is involved in war it will go as "a divided nation."

Boos for Roosevelt.

The rally was characterized by lusty boos for President Roosevelt, Wendell L. Willkie and members of the cabinet, as well as boos for Winston Churchill and England. Some who had been in the audience were heard speaking in German after the meeting.

Despite the claim of Dr. Charles Clayton Morrison, editor of the Christian Century, from the platform that "15,000" attended the meeting, including "thousands outside the hall," a check revealed the total attendance as under 8,000. The Arena has 8,156 seats, the management stated today. The hall was not filled and the police outside said that the stragglers who listened there were not more than 200 or 300.

The "nation divided" theme was stressed in a resolution adopted by the gathering and emphasized in a speech by Dr. Morrison, who spoke before Wheeler. It was implicit in Wheelers' oration, when he alleged that "warmongers" wanted Hitler to sink American ships, and went on:

"If I correctly judge the temper of the American people today they are not going to blame some other government for blowing up a ship. They will blame the President of the United States."

The Rev. Dr. Morrison declared: "We can tell him (the President) that if he makes further commitments he will take not only a reluctant and perhaps a resentful but certainly a divided America into war."

U. S. Participation Condemned.

[illegible]solution put to the assem-

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Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

CHICAGO DAILY NEWS

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war."

U. S. Participation Condemned.

The resolution put to the assembly by Morrison and declared adopted unanimously following a show of hands was addressed to President Roosevelt. It "respectfully" asked that aid to Britain "stop in its tracks."

"Fifteen thousand citizens assembled in Chicago look with grave anxiety upon the drift of this country into war," the resolution said. "As free citizens we respectfully express our condemnation of any further steps toward further involvement in the European war.

"We demand that the policy of aid to Britain shall now stop in its tracks. We condemn convoys disguised as patrols. We condemn any further promises of aid to belligerents. This is not America's war and we declare that if the exercise of your great powers of President lead the country into war we shall go as a reluctant and divided nation. Keep America out of this war, Mr. President."

Boos for F. D. R. Suppressed.

Before the set speeches, resounding boos for President Roosevelt boomed out from the audience when Frank Craven, music master of the rally, referred to the President's recent rebuke for the defeatism of Charles A. Lindbergh.

A few minutes later Janet Ayer Fairbank, vice-chairman of America First, presiding, told the audience:

"A note has been sent me saying the President of the United States has been booed. I was busy getting a reading desk ready for the speakers. I would be sorry if the President were booed. He must be held in respect."

That restrained boos for the President for some time, but did not prevent them. Although they never reached the volume of the original concerted boos, the President was repeatedly booed by many individuals thereafter.

Boycott Idea Advanced.

One of the most spirited of many booing sessions of the day occurred when Wheeler congratulated his hearers on their "coolness" despite "propaganda by Dorothy Thompson, Wendell Willkie, the movies and Col. Knox's newspaper." Wheeler, after listening to the boos and cheers with which he was rewarded said:

"Someone just suggested 'Boycott them.' I think that is a good idea. The best way to get at the warmongers is to hurt their pocketbooks."

Wheeler drew only scattered applause from a small minority, however, when he said he "admired" the British people and "opposed all Hitler stands for." Those were propositions that definitely did not go over with the crowd.

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. ...
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Mr. Quinn Tamm ...
Mr. Egan ...
Mr. Tracy ...
Miss Gandy ...

CHICAGO DAILY NEWS

Senator Wheeler Calls for Unity to Keep Nation Out of War

CROWD IN THE CHICAGO ARENA FOR AMERICA FIRST MEETING ADDRESSED BY SENATOR WHEELER.

(Story on page 7.)

CHICAGO DAILY TRIBUNE

1-28-41

NITE TO AVERT WAR, WHEELER URGES AT RALLY

Senator Blasts Roosevelt for Unneutral Stand.

(Continued from first page.)

Scnt Theodore Roosevelt and President Franklin D. Roosevelt. He said the former strove for the cause of peace and the latter for the cause of war. His reference to Theodore Roosevelt was in connection with the Russo-Japanese war of 1904.

"More than 30 years ago," said Wheeler, "there was another Roosevelt in the White House. A great war broke out between two nations. We were at peace with both of them. The then President—Theodore Roosevelt—kept this nation neutral.

"Because he kept it neutral in thought as well as in act, and because he himself was neutral, he was able at an appropriate time to offer the services of the United States to the belligerents to effect an armistice. Because the United States was neutral in thought and deed both of the warring nations were able to, and did, accept the President's suggestion. They sent delegates to a peace conference, held in a neutral country at Portsmouth, N. H. A treaty of peace was adopted. The war was ended. Japan and Russia have not been involved in actual warfare from that day to this."

Service of T. R. Hailed.

Theodore Roosevelt's service to the cause of peace was one of his outstanding achievements, Wheeler asserted. But what as to the other—the present Roosevelt? he inquired.

As a result of President Franklin Roosevelt's policies, Wheeler charged, there is not left in the world today a first class neutral power which would be able to bring the warring nations together into a peace conference.

"We had another Roosevelt in the White House at the outbreak of the present war," said Wheeler. "But this Roosevelt did not keep either his country or himself neutral.

"He issued a neutrality proclamation with his tongue in his cheek and his fingers crossed. From that day to this the whole policy of Franklin D. Roosevelt has been to ignore and destroy the neutrality of the United States, until today this nation is not neutral. It has become a non-belligerent poised on the brink of war.

World Stand Described.

"There is not a first class neutral power left on the face of the earth, and this because of the policy of President Franklin Roosevelt. His has been a policy not only to destroy the neutrality of this country, but to promote the unneutrality of the whole of Latin America.

"Thus the world finds itself today in the most appalling condition—the most shocking since the beginning of recorded history. There is not a first class nation in all the world that, thru the processes of sanity and reason, can assume leadership for peace.

"There is not one nation that can initiate a movement for the cessation of hostilities to the end that humanity can be saved from further suffering and the total annihilation of our magnificent, modern civilization."

Situation Termed Tragic.

Wheeler said it is tragic that at such a fateful time in the history of the world the United States, strong and rich, cannot speak out authoritatively for peace.

"It is tragic," he said, "that the President is unable to assume that leadership for peace for which his high office as the head of a nation of 130 million peace loving people would have so admirably fitted him."

All that can be left, said Wheeler, is an appeal to prayer in the name of the Prince of Peace, an appeal to the leaders of all the churches to unite in a demand that peoples lay down their swords of brutality. Otherwise, he warned, the blood of Americans will be shed.

Joint Appeal Urged.

"Because our President has not seen fit to lead the nations of the world to sanity and peace, let us today appeal for divine guidance, to the leadership of the pope and to the leadership of all the great Protestant churches," said Wheeler.

"Let them join together and insist that the warring nations stop their wholesale murder of men, women, and children before the whole human race sinks into a common grave of death.

"The world today needs leadership to stop this senseless slaughter, and to bring the war to an end."

Not Our War: Dr. Morrison.

Dr. Morrison, like Senator Wheeler, received an ovation from the crowd. The theme of his talk was that "this is not America's war."

"The burden of proof rests upon those who declare that it is America's war," he said. "So far this proof has not been forthcoming."

Now has it happened, asked Dr. Morrison, that the idea has been established in the minds of many Americans that this war is America's or that it is America's duty to enter Europe's struggles for the second time?

"My answer must be very frank," said Dr. Morrison. "My answer is that the President of the United States, thru a long series of utterances and a cumulative series of deeds, has put the nation in a position where public opinion is no longer free to express its deepest conviction against participation in this war.

"The nation has been committed, step by step, to a war policy, steadily and stealthily committed, thru a period of three years of official propaganda and official action until now the desperate and climactic argument for war is that we already have gone too far in to back out.

"Yet the American people do not believe this is their war. The succession of polls of public opinion reveals a constant, overwhelming majority against our participation."

Dr. Morrison said that far from being "America's war," this is "the

NINE ROCKFORD POLICE OFFICERS ASSIGNED TO GUARD WHEELER

Rockford, Ill., April 27 (Special).—Chief of Police Charles G. Manson announced today five police officers and four police detectives will be assigned to protect United States Senator Burton K. Wheeler during his visit here tomorrow. Chief Manson said he is assigning the men as a result of a threatening letter received by Wheeler several days ago from Rockford. Two of the detectives are to remain with Wheeler thruout his stay in the city. The others will be assigned to places at which the senator will appear. Wheeler will speak at Shrine Temple here tomorrow night.

"President's par... ...ident of the Chicago ... ...bridge is built.

"Step by step he has ... ...war with the Americ... ...American people," Dr. Mor... ...tinued.

"Weakened Congress Ch...

"The President himself ... ...has in effect declared war. ... ...designated the enemy and ... ...in terms of victory. Con... ...longer represents the people ... ...his bidding with hardly less ... ...lence than Hitler's reichstag.

Dr. Morrison said he want... ...support the President. By ... ...said, he means the Presid... ...the people elected last November, not "the other President, who degrades his great office by smearing the name of a patriotic American like Col. Lindbergh."

Mrs. Janet Ayer Fairbank, national vice chairman of the America First committee, presided at the meeting, and also spoke.

Mr. To...
Mr. Cl...
Mr. E. A. ...
Mr. Fe...
Mr. Na...
Mr. Lo...
Mr. Ka...
Mr. Ca...
Mr. Co...
Mr. Ro...
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

CHICAGO DAILY TRIBUNE

4-28-41

SENATOR RAKES PRESIDENT FOR UNNEUTRAL AIM

Public Must Speak Out, Rally Told.

BY THOMAS MORROW.

(Picture on back page.)

President Roosevelt may have the power to force the United States into the European war but he has not the right to do so, and the American people can stop him from doing it if they act now, Senator Burton K. Wheeler [D., Mont.] said yesterday in a stirring address in the Chicago Arena.

Senator Wheeler.

"It appears that the war mongers are praying that an American ship will be sunk in order to promote war," Wheeler said. "But judging from the temper of the American people, they are not going to blame some other country for blowing up a ship. They are going to blame the President of the United States. He is inviting war and he has been inviting war ever since the election last fall."

Crowd Exceeds 8,200.

Senator Wheeler spoke at a mass-meeting under auspices of the America First committee. More than 8,200 men and women, cheering his utterances, filled the hall, except for a few undesirable seats at the end of the balcony. Several hundred more stood outside and listened to the speech over loud speakers.

The crowd, receptive and eager to applaud, rose and cheered when the senator stepped to the microphone. He drew a roar of laughter when he referred to the President's son, James.

"When the Jugo-Slavs stood up," said Wheeler, "they were going to send Jimmy over to help them—but it was too late. What a shame Jimmy couldn't get there. So then they sent him over to Chiang Kai-shek. I understand he took some motion pictures there."

Charges Curb on Opinion.

CHICAGO DAILY TRIBUNE

GEN. HUGH 'IRON PANTS' JOHNSON, heads the list of high-priced "America First" lecturers. His fee per lecture is $750.

America First

THE AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE has become increasingly fearful of being spied on or having its wires tapped. So fearful that R. L. Bliss, one of the committee's chief officials, recently sent an inter-office memo to all members of the staff which read as follows:

"I suggest that you conduct all your meetings in your office as quietly as possible, and that you do not discuss confidential business matters in the hall, or in going to and from the teletype. This will prevent visitors in the outer office from overhearing remarks. Let us keep our material and ideas to ourselves. **R. L. B.**

"Postscript: I notice that there is also a lot of loose talk in De Met's over the tables where 90 per cent of us eat. Watch your discussions within hearing of strangers.

"PS: We will appreciate it if you will plan your lunch hours so there is always someone in your office during the day."

NOTE: The America First Committee has sent its branch offices a list of speakers available to promote the cause. The list includes a great many names, ranging from Wilbur Helm, who is willing to speak for only $25 to Major General Paul B. Malone, who will speak for $200. This is the highest fee except one, whose fee and whose name leads all the rest. General Hugh Johnson is willing to promote the cause of America First for the sum of $750 per lecture.

CLIPPING FROM
NEW YORK DAILY MIRROR
DATE APR 30 1941
FORWARDED BY N.Y. DIVISION

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A.
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxwor
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichol
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn T.
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

Press Telegram (R)
Long Beach, Calif.
Circ. 48,450

DATE APR 30 1941

Invasion of U. S. Styled Fool's Dream

Peace Speaker Says No Enemy Could Overrun America

Successful invasion of the United States by Germany or by any combination of powers is impossible, Marshall Perhan, writer for scientific periodicals, said last night at a peace rally at the Y. W. C. A. promoted by the America First Committee.

"This is not our war. We do not need to invade Europe in order to defend America. We can defend America here. Here lies our greatness. In Europe lie our failure and destruction," Perhan said. He was introduced by William Dodson.

Franklin G. Makepeace, teacher, and Mrs. Eileen E. Folsom, Long Beach head of Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, are temporary cochairmen of the local A. F. C. organization. Weekly meetings are planned.

A resolution protesting attac on Colonel Charles A. Lindberg and free speech and addressed t President Roosevelt was circu lated for signatures. A petitio in support of the Tobey anti convoy resolution was numerous ly signed.

"There has never been a more callous lie than the assertion that 'we are next' if the British are defeated; and it is a known lie by the men who say it," Perhan said. "Invasion of the United States, in particular, and of the Western Hemisphere, in general, is only a fool's dream."

Mrs. Sarah Quinn Hill sang a song that she wrote, "America First," dedicated to the A. F. C. Boys from Jordan High School provided musical entertainment.

The newly chosen executive committee was announced as follows: Mrs. Eileen Folsom, Mrs. G. Lewis, Miss Celia Potts, Mrs. Sophia Klein, Mrs. A. R. Tabbert, Frank C. Engle, Mrs. Mary B. Buerger, Mrs. Bertha Kirby, Dr. C. A. Noland, Miss Zella Ascherman, Henry L. Moffet, Mrs. Fleta Rhodes, Dr. Henry Kendall Booth, David Barge, Miss Catherine Vesta Sturges, Mrs. Stella O. Hale, Mr. and Mrs. Irving Smith, Clarence P. Wallick, Mr. and Mrs. Frank G. Makepeace and Roger Williams.

It was announced that 300 members were enrolled last night.

THE CASE OF AMERICA FIRST.

Members of the America First Committee continue to be acutely distressed over what they term "smear campaigns" directed at various of their leaders. They seem to be allergic to such epithets as "appeaser," "American Cliveden set," "copperheads," and "Fifth Columnists," holding that such expressions are defamatory and unsportsmanlike—and anyway, not true. "We're not appeasers, we just want to see a negotiated peace now while Germany can dictate the terms."

It will be well, amid these wails of anguish, to keep the following facts in mind:

1. There have been no wails from those whom the America Firsters have denounced as "British colonials," "rabid interventionists," "warmongers," "hysterical alarmists," "overage destroyers" and "ploughers under of American youth." Those who have been recipients of the America First brand of abuse have not felt compelled to protest. They have been willing to let the American people decide whether those epithets are justified or not.

2. Senator Wheeler has been especially vocal in denouncing propaganda; but he has yet to acknowledge publicly that he deliberately lied or disseminated, without troubling to check the facts, the canard that the War Department had ordered 1,000,000 coffins, presumably for a million American casualties expected as result of a contemplated American expeditionary force to foreign soil.

3. Senator Wheeler has yet to apologize for the fact that during his America First meeting in Chicago Sunday, the President of the United States, commander in chief of our armed forces, was booed.

4. The America Firsters talk a great deal about sinister and secret influences. But there is nothing secret about the personnel of, say, the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies. That group has made public a full and complete list of those who have contributed funds to carry on its campaign. The America First Committee has not made public a full and complete list of its supporters. Many of them decline to come out in the open, or permit their identity to be revealed.

Until the America First Committee comes clean with such a full and complete list, its members cannot complain if many regard them with suspicion.

CHICAGO DAILY NEWS
4-30-41

FREEDOM OF INFORMATION AND PRIVACY ACTS

SUBJECT: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

FILE NUMBER: 100-4712

PART: 16 OF 19

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

FILE DESCRIPTION

BUREAU FILE

SUBJECT America First Committee

FILE NO. 100-4712

SECTION NO. 2

SERIALS Sub A

HITS HALF-TRUTH BY WHEELER AS 'SMEAR' TO U. S.

BY FRANK SMOTHERS.

By reiterated misrepresentation of the stand of the overwhelming majority of Americans on the issues of the war, Senator Burton K. Wheeler and other isolationist orators are "smearing the American people," it was declared today by John A. Morrison, director of the Chicago Committee to Defend America.

Morrison was referring to persistent dinning into audiences of America First of the proposition that "83 per cent" or similarly huge percentages of Americans "don't want war"—without mention of percentages which, as shown in public-opinion polls, want effective aid to Britain, even at risk of war.

"It must be remembered," Morrison said, "that Hitler himself, in 'Mein Kampf,' declared that by telling a big enough untruth often enough, you get it believed.

'Hides Essential Truth.'

"Hammering home a half-truth—as do the America First orators—while hiding the essential larger truth of which it is a part, is an ancient stand-by in the science of demagoguery.

"Yes, the American people hate war—all of us—but there are some things we hate even more. Senator Wheeler and similar orators are hiding the facts. With their cheap demagoguery they are attempting to smear the American people.

"The significant figure, which Senator Wheeler & Co. never mention is that 71 per cent of the American people, as shown by the Gallup poll, favor use of American naval vessels to insure the delivery of the weapons promised to Britain if necessary to Nazi defeat.

"Nor do we hear citation from Senator Wheeler or America First of the Gallup poll figures this week showing that—although 81 per cent would vote to stay out of war today—68 per cent of the American people favor entering the war if defeat of Hitler can be assured in no other way.

"The spine of America is much better than you admit, Senator Wheeler."

Progress with Petitions.

Rapid progress continues, Morrison reported, in the massing of signatures on petitions to President Roosevelt asking whatever action is necessary to deliver supplies [illegible] could, and to her he remained of [illegible] good job with her sitter. She knew [illegible] portrait of the German, but Miss Moir [illegible] and Hitler. There has been no [illegible] opposition of two such characters [illegible] use of history amuse herself more [illegible] reading book; and instructive. Never [illegible] Secretary," by Phyllis Moir. This

mittees of appeasement, the No Foreign War Committee, headed by Verne Marshall, who blitzed from Iowa to brief fame in New York as head of the group, has breathed its last. Marshall has announced its disbandment with the explanation that "the purposes for which the committee was organized last December have been served." Just how they have been served was not made clear by Mr. Marshall. He urged friends of his committee—which was largely a one-man outfit—to join America First.

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Ickworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Gurnea Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

CHICAGO DAILY NEWS

5-1-41

Mr. Tolson
Mr. A. Tamm
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

3,000 Expected at America First Rally

A capacity crowd of over 3,000 is expected at the America First Committee rally in Orchestra Hall tonight to hear the Rev. Dr. John A. O'Brien, Notre Dame University law professor, in his plea for unity in the nation-wide campaign to keep America out of war.

Dr. O'Brien, who has been touring the Midwest urging the public to unite to stop the march toward war, declared in a recent speech:

"If we are not craven cowards, we will use our constitutional rights and thunder to Washington:

"'This is a democracy. The will of the people must prevail. More than 100,000,000 American citizens want no war. We shall tolerate no betrayal.

Carl Craven will lead group singing of patriotic tunes at tonight's mass meeting. The doors of Orchestra Hall will be opened at 6 o'clock and the meeting will begin at 8.

THE CHICAGO AMERICAN

AMERICA FIRST LEADERS ELATED BY PEACE GAINS

Upsurge Against War Is Seen Thruout Nation.

Leaders of the America First committee commented jubilantly yesterday on the remarkable momentum gained during the last month by the campaign to keep America out of war.

"Judging by quickened interest, increasing demand for membership blanks, and mounting crowds at rallies, the warmongers are on the run," said Mrs. Janet Ayer Fairbank, vice chairman of the committee.

Mrs. Fairbank called attention to the diversified interests of persons brought together in the cause of peace. She also pointed out that political leaders, bitter enemies on many matters, have banded to keep America free of the European conflict.

Religious Differences Forgotten.

Religious lines of demarcation have been broken down by the demand for peace, Mrs. Fairbank said, citing that Catholics, Methodists, Lutherans, Presbyterians, and Baptists are on the growing membership lists of the America First committee.

Bishop Wilbur E. Hammaker of the Methodist church is one of the leaders of the National committee, while Dr. Samuel K. Wilson, S. J., head of Loyola university, and Dr. Charles Clayton Morrison, Disciples of Christ and editor of Christian Century, are listed as sponsors of the Illinois America First group.

Chief among the political leaders who have given their time to the campaign to keep the country out of war are Senators Burton K. Wheeler [D., Mont.], Wayland Brooks [R., Ill.], D. Worth Clark [D., Idaho], Gerald P. Nye [R., N. D.], Bennett Champ Clark [D., Mo.], and Congressmen Hamilton Fish [R., N. Y.], Carl T. Curtis [R., Neb.], and J. Edgar Chenoweth [R., Colo.].

Cites Change in Sentiment.

Senator Wheeler is now engaged in a country-wide tour in behalf of peace. In Chicago last Sunday he cited the change in sentiment during the last two months.

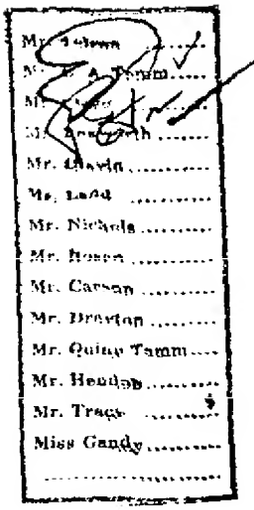
"Passage of the lease-lend bill had brought on the feeling of defeatism among Americans," said Wheeler. "They felt 'we are in the war' and they had no one to crystalize the antiwar sentiment and convince them they could stop the drift to war if they would stand up and fight. Work of the America First committee in bringing speakers to the people has changed this."

Senator Clark will address a meeting at the University of Missouri in Columbia tonight, and will speak tomorrow in Kansas City, Mo., where he will be joined by former Gov. Alf Landon of Kansas. Clark and Col. Charles A. Lindbergh will speak at an America First rally in St. Louis Saturday night, and Clark will speak at another America First rally Sunday afternoon in Indianapolis.

America First, which began operations in September 1940 with R. Douglas Stuart Jr. as national director, and Gen. Robert E. Wood as acting national chairman, has been the foremost organization in the fight for peace. The committee has grown until it now possesses 718 chapters, including groups in every state in the Union.

CHICAGO DAILY TRIBUNE

5-17-41

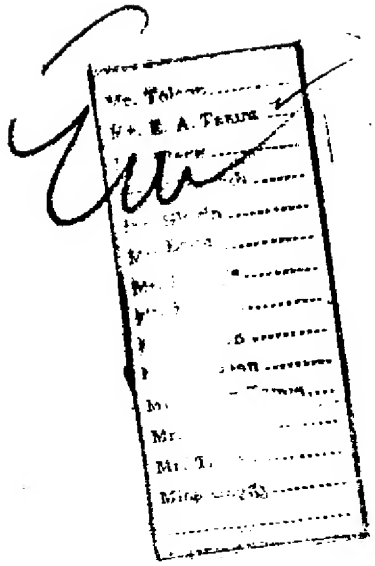


Rally Ban Protested By 'America First'

CHICAGO, May 1 (U.P.).—R. Douglas Stuart jr., national director of the America First Committee, today branded as "un-American" the refusal of Miami city and county officials to allow the committee's Miami chapter to use the Dade county courthouse for a rally. Stuart said he was sending a message to Dade county commissioners and Mayor Alexander Orr jr., asking reconsideration.

MAY 2 - 1941

WASHINGTON TIMES-HERALD



America First to Present Speakers

Under the auspices of the Oakland unit of America First Committee, three speakers will be presented at the Oakland Auditorium Theater tonight.

Oswald Garnam Villar, editor and writer, will talk on "How Great Is America's Danger?" and Mrs. Elizabeth Zartman will speak on "Let's Think About it." Horman Witteman is to talk on "Let's Call a Spade a Spade."

The meeting is open to the public.

100-4712-4

OAKLAND TRIBUNE

FORWARDED BY
SAN FRANCISCO DIVISION
MAY 2- 1941

AMERICA'S BATTLE PAGE

In response to widespread public demand, reflecting intense interest in the issues at stake, The News today opens a new Battle Page series on the role this nation should play in World War II. It is turning this space over to the two leading organizations with opposite viewpoints — the America First Committee and the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies. The Committees are free to say what they please without interference or editing by The News. They, on the other hand, accept full responsibility for the presentation of their views.

(Provided by the America First Committee, New York Chapter, Inc., 515 Madison Ave., New York City)

Do We Want an American Hitler?

The AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE is organized for one purpose and one purpose only—to keep America out of the present foreign war.

Its aim may be very simply stated. It does not wish to see a Hitler in America. It does not want a Mussolini here. It does not want a Stalin here.

It fears very much the appearance here of any of those degrading and alien forms of government and life which are found under Fascist governments.

The AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE, however, does not fear that Hitler or Mussolini or Stalin will bring those baleful ways of life here, because it does not believe that Hitler can invade and conquer this country.

But it believes that dictatorship and Fascism can appear here just the same, and take away our liberties and our democratic government.

The AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE believes that Hitlers and Stalins come when certain conditions are favorable for their appearance. There are plenty of Hitlers besides Adolf. There is a Hitler in Germany. There is a Hitler in Italy, another in Russia, another in Spain. There were Hitlers in Greece and Bulgaria, and there are still Hitlers in Romania and Turkey. They have different names, but they stand for the same thing and are produced by the same forces.

The things that make Hitlers are poverty, depression, widespread unemployment, distress, fear and despair among the people—workers without jobs, farmers without money, business men without profits—a nation without hope.

When this happens people—good people, too—not knowing what to do—listen to the siren song of those false leaders who promise abundance, prosperity, national hope. Then the Hitler appears. He takes a little power at first. And as a little power turns out to be not enough, he takes more power and then more, suppresses those who criticize him, silences all opposition, makes himself master.

This is how Hitlerism came to Italy and then to Germany. It did not come into them from outside. Armies did not march in and impose it on them. People in Italy and people in Germany, led by violent men, imposed it on Italy and Germany. And that is how it will come to America if it comes at all.

Our country is *in trouble*. For eleven years it has had a terrible depression. Millions of men have been without work. Millions of others at work have not earned enough to live decently. Millions of farmers have not been able to sell their crops for the necessities of life. Millions of business men have not been able to make profits or to see with reasonable safety into the future.

The only thing that has kept all these people going—and hoping somehow for better days—*has been* the spending of money by the Government. And the Government has been getting this money by borrowing it and plunging itself into debt. We need not be too hard on the Government for doing this. The distress has been great. It did not know what else to do. But we all know that sooner or later some other way must be found. We all know that the Government cannot go on borrowing and spending and burying itself in debt forever. Yet no one appears with any other remedy.

Now a war comes in Europe! Poor old Europe! Torn by wars, tormented by poverty for ages! Because this European war was provoked by Fascist dictators we in America have sympathized with those nations who have been attacked. But from the beginning we have said: This is not our war. It is a dreadful and barbarous thing. But it is not ours. We *sympathize* with the victims and we are willing to help. But we must stay out of it. And AMERICA FIRST *has said just that*. And it continues to say that.

It says that because it knows—as all know—that we are already in deep trouble from the depression. If we go into the war we will add deeper and more terrible trouble. We will pile on debts such as no nation has ever known. We will produce a business boom for a while, and then plunge *down into a depression beside which 1933 will seem like prosperity*. More millions than ever will walk the streets and clamor for bread. More farmers will know greater poverty. More business men will see hope vanish. Then, amidst all the disorder and chaos and poverty and despair which follows, the time for the American Hitler will come. And the American Hitler will come. That is the Hitler we are *afraid* of—not the Hitler in Germany.

AMERICA FIRST *wants to keep our country* out of war so that it will not be weakened and bankrupt by the war. We want to keep her out so that we may be able to deal with our great problems and find the way to security. We want to keep out of the war, because we want to keep America strong and healthy so that there will be no place here and no opportunity for the kind of leaders who have seized power in Italy and Germany. We want to stay out in order to save our democracy.

We are against Fascism *and dictators*. We are against the forms of life in Italy and Germany. We are not against England. But we are FOR America. We believe that war will destroy America. That is, it will destroy the things in America which we want to keep and which we love. We want to save America.

(Provided by the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies, 8 W. 40th St., New York City)

They Are Afraid

By WALTER MILLIS.

Look carefully at the arguments of America First, of former Colonel Lindbergh, of all the others who are trying to defeat the vigorous policy of giving all-out aid to Britain and seeing that it gets there. You will see that every argument *boils down* in the end to just one thing: Fear.

They are afraid. They are not arguing for what they want to *happen*; they are arguing about what they are afraid might happen.

They are afraid of war; and they never see what great ends of security and freedom there are to be gained by taking that risk.

They are afraid that Britain is about to be defeated anyway; and they *never* see that if their advice were taken Britain would go down tomorrow and the situation would be infinitely worse *than it is now*.

They are afraid that America would only make a worse mess of another victory than was made at Versailles. They have so little confidence in America that they forget how terrible the mess is bound to be if the totalitarians are left to make it.

They are afraid that vigorous action will mean "the end of democracy." They have so *little* faith in democracy that they are paralyzed by the thought of what might come about instead of rising up to *make* certain that it doesn't come about.

They are afraid that aid to Britain may strip our own defences. They never see that by sending present production to Britain where it can be used now we are creating the vast capacity to produce the improved weapons which we may need by the time we would need them.

They are afraid. They don't *know* these things will happen; they are just afraid they might, and they are so full of these fears that they never see the great danger that by their timidity they stand to lose everything, exactly as every little European democracy has done. Because this is a hard, risky world some risks have to be taken. But the United States is not a small European country; it is a great people with a tremendous *strength, occupying* an unrivalled geographic position that enables it to exert that strength in time to be effective with *only a minimum* of added danger in case such efforts should fail. And no policy which is simply a collection of all possible negative and defeatist fears for what might happen is a sound or sufficient policy for such a people, in such a time as this.

Wheeler's Advice Bad On American Defense

If this country had followed the advice of Senator Wheeler, it would be as unprepared to defend itself today as Norway was unprepared to defend itself a year ago. Here are a few things the isolationist Senator has said:

December 20, 1937—"I see no necessity for spending millions and millions of dollars for armaments and battleships."

Is it safe to listen to the man who said this in 1937 when he now says that he sees no reason for using *our* navy to deliver war materials to Britain?

June 4, 1940—"Let us not create the impression that some other nation will come over here and attack the United States because there is not any reason why it should."

Apparently Senator Wheeler was unaware that *Hitler has* let it be known that it is his purpose to conquer the world. The Senator should be told that Der Fuehrer has said: "Two worlds are in conflict, two philosophies of life . . . one of these two worlds must break asunder."

July 25, 1940—"I do not believe it is necessary in the United States at the present time to conscript the wealth of the country or the youth of the country. I think it is only stirring up war hysteria."

The men who tried to warn France that its preparedness was inadequate were also denounced for "stirring up war hysteria."

August 5, 1940—"At the present time I do not see any emergency so far as the peace and security of the United States are concerned."

Senator Wheeler insists on playing ostrich. The people of the United States should have no interest in what he does not see beneath the sand.

August 20, 1940—"I am one of those who do not believe our first line of defense is in Great Britain. I am one of those who do not believe the British navy *is any* protection for us. I am one of those who believe the United States is strong enough to protect itself against any country in the world."

It would be well to ask those who have some expert knowledge about naval matters if the British navy is any protection to us. You might also ask the Senator if he believes the British navy would be no danger to us were it in the hands of Germany. Does Senator Wheeler believe that, had the United States followed his advice of 1937 against increases in armaments, it would now be strong enough to protect itself against any country in the world?

December 27, 1940—"I think we are doing Great Britain a great disservice in urging her to go on and fight until she is exhausted. On the other hand, I think we should do everything possible for peace."

What kind of a peace, Senator? You know, and all the rest of us know, that the only kind of a peace possible before *Great Britain has defeated* the Nazis would be on Hitler's terms.

Writing of Wendell Willkie's answer to Charles A. Lindbergh in Collier's, which goes on the newsstand today, John Temple Graves, II says:

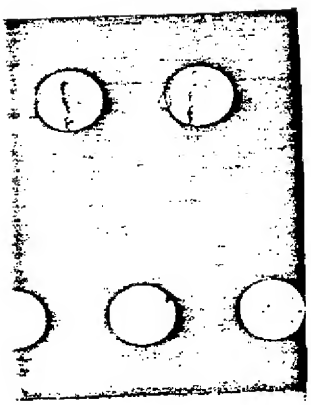
"Handicapped as he is by not being a great aviator, Mr. Willkie is able nevertheless to offset the resulting limitation on his statesmanship by being a Great American and having eye-witnessed England considerably more recently and authoritatively and gregariously than the great aviator has."

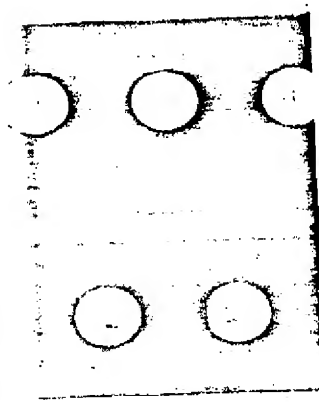
Rally Ban Protested By 'America First'

CHICAGO, May 2 (U.P.).—R. Douglas Stuart jr., national director of the America First Committee, yesterday branded as "un-American" the refusal of Miami city and county officials to allow the committee's Miami chapter to use the Dade county courthouse for a rally. Stuart said he was sending a message to Dade county commissioners and Mayor Alexander Orr jr., asking reconsideration.

WASHINGTON TIMES-HERALD

MAY 2 - 1941





National news

Find midwest isn't center of isolationism

The America First committee claims its greatest strength lies in the Middle West.

Recently, after attending an America First meeting in Chicago (where Churchill's name was loudly booed and Hitler's just as loudly applauded) the Baltimore Evening Sun's Great Plains correspondent decided to test this claim.

He stopped on the postoffice steps of Emden, Ill., a farming community in northern Logan county, and asked the first 15 persons who appeared for their mail one question:

"How far should the United States go in aiding Great Britain?"

10 OF 14 GO 'ALL-OUT'

One refused to answer. Of the 14 who replied, says the Great Plains correspondent, "one thought we have no business helping Britain at all, two thought we ought to keep our armaments for ourselves, one favored aid to Britain short of war, and 10 out of the 14 favored aid to Britain short of nothing."

Here are their replies, as published in the Baltimore Sun:

S. A. Elliott, retired farmer: "I don't think we should aid them as much as we have. It's their own problem. I'm a little like Lindbergh. I feel that if we had let them alone, they wouldn't have depended on us to help them, and then there wouldn't have been much to it at all. The war would have been over by now and everything would have quieted down. I don't think there's any chance of Hitler harming us. Anyway, there's no bombing fleet that could make it this far."

'AID TOO LATE'

C. S. Kent, filling station operator: "I don't think we can give Britain aid in time. They wouldn't get it quick enough, so why not keep it at home? It isn't that I'm opposed to aid for Britain. I had hoped that we could help them, but I just don't think we could get it over there soon enough."

Gunder Rullestad, farm owner: "I wish we could help Britain, but we can't deliver the stuff, so we might as well stop taking chances and keep the armaments for ourselves. Anyhow, if the Germans can't take England I don't see how they can take us. We're a big country, a rich country, and a good country. If we went into it, it would cost something awful. I would like to see Great Britain win, but now it doesn't look as if she will."

C. E. Rod, printer-publisher: "I think that the only way to aid Britain is to send them all the materials, but convoys—that's taking a chance. I wouldn't risk the lives of our men. As far as I can see, I think that England can hold her own at home, down in the Balkans, the way it's gone, they haven't done so well. No, mark me down for no convoys."

'GIVE 'EM EVERYTHING'

Wrex Wilson, farm hand: "I think that the United States should give Great Britain all possible aid—and give it to them while they got a chance. I'm in the draft, but got a 3-A classification. I'm married, but if they need me, I'm going."

Ole J. Nernes, farm hand: "I think that if the United States doesn't give aid to Great Britain, the war will go the other way, and I can't think of anything that'll be worse for this country. I believe that we should stimulate airplane production in this country, and not only give the British all the planes we got, not only deliver the goods, but send some spare pilots along, too. That Hitler is a menace to all of us."

Matt Vespestad, farm owner: "I think this whole opposition to aid Britain is propaganda spread by fifth columnists. Look what those fifth columnists did to France and Norway. I do think we should give Churchill everything we can, and more, even if it bleeds us white. If they haven't enough men, let's send some of ours. I'm ready to go any time after 30 days' notice. We shouldn't have let Germany get as far as she has."

'THEY NEED OUR AID'

John Weeks, farm owner: "I think they need aid over there in Great Britain; they need food and materials and airplanes. We ought to send them everything we can and see that it gets there. I think that we ought to keep out of war ourselves, if we can—but if we can't, we can't."

John Lee, farm owner: "If we can stay out of war ourselves, all the better, but let's send everything we can to England. We enjoy living in a free country. There's nothing we should not give them if it will keep us free. If they haven't got food and materials, they're going to get licked—and if they get licked, it'll be our turn next, and by ourselves, too. So rather than see Britain licked, I'm for sending convoys, and everything that goes with that."

Nels Vespestad, farm renter: "I believe that we should help Great Britain, and I don't mean just by shipping a couple of airplanes. Let's give them all we got, throw in a few battleships, too. We can't do too much to defeat Hitler. If we have to send convoys, let's send them; men too, if necessary. I'm ready to go if called. I'd sooner fight knowing we had some allies than have to fight Hitler alone. And who knows where we'd have to fight him?"

'CARRY BIG CLUB'

J. F. Berbracht, retired farmer: "I feel like Teddy Roosevelt used to say—'Speak softly, but carry a big club.' I think that if we don't help Great Britain, Hitler will lick them. As far as we're concerned, that's the worst thing that can happen to this country. I don't know anything about convoys. The President and his admirals know about that. If they decide that convoys are necessary to help Britain, then I'm for convoys."

Mrs. I. T. Sande, wife of a farm owner: "I think we should have helped Britain sooner and more. Maybe it's too late now, but I'm for shipping food and materials to the bitter end. I don't like the idea of convoys, but then we can give them enough naval vessels so that they can convoy them themselves. But if that doesn't work, then convoys are all right. We must get help there of all kinds. No. I haven't any boys subject to the draft. There's only one boy in our family, and he enlisted in the navy last year."

Rob J. Nelson, insurance salesman: "I'm in favor of going the limit in aid to Britain—give them everything they need, munitions, medical supplies, food, guns, even if we have to convoy them across. There's no use to start them over and have them go to the bottom of the ocean. I don't know if we can keep out of the war, but I don't care. A Hitler victory is worse than anything I can imagine."

Marvin Stenson, filling station attendant: "I think that the United States should help Great Britain, because if Hitler does beat them, it'll be tougher for us. I think he would eventually come out at us because he's after the world. I think we should send the materials and convoy them if necessary. Any time the President says convoys are necessary is all right with me. Me? Yes, I'm in the draft, probably will be called up this summer."

So, concludes the Great Plains Correspondent:

"The sentiment for all-out aid to Britain is growing so rapidly in the Middle West that it is no surprise to find this Emden poll running so one-sidedly in favor of that proposition."

Mr. Tolson ✓
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Lad
Mr. Nich
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carso
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

CHICAGO DAILY TIMES

5-2-41

Tamm
Ladd
Nichols
Rosen
Carson
Mr. Clayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

'America First' in Will County

A strong chapter of the American First Committee is being established in Will County, with headquarters in Joliet, Janet Ayer Fairbank, national vice chairman for Illinois, announced today.

The chapter, headed by J. Henry Baird, 211 Nicholson st., Joliet, has a membership in excess of 500. Units have been established in Elmwood and Wilmington, and preparations are being made to launch others in Plainfield, Braidwood, Beecher and other small communities. Baird explained:

"Workers at the Wilmington munitions plant are showing a marked interest in the America First movement, and we expect to enroll hundreds of them as members.

"Membership cards will be circulated throughout the entire county, and within a short time we intend to have one of the strongest chapters in the country."

The Joliet chapter is making plans for a mass meeting, at which an outstanding speaker will be heard.

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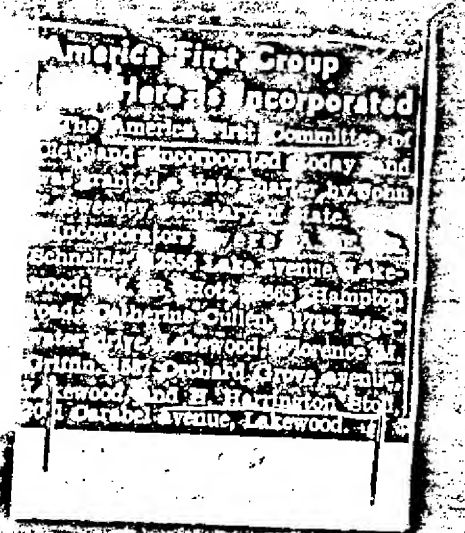
THE CHICAGO AMERICAN

5-2-41


America First Group
Incorporated

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

Landon, Clark Blast F. D. 'Peace Pledge'

By United Press

KANSAS CITY, Mo., May 3—Alf M. Landon, 1936 Republican presidential candidate, and Sen. Bennett C. Clark last night called upon the people to make President Roosevelt fulfill his "campaign promises" to keep the United States out of war.

Landon presided at a meeting of the America First Committee, and introduced Clark to an estimated 2000 persons.

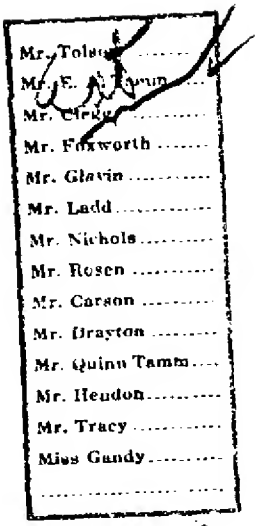
"The American people have a distinct recollection of many promises of the President to keep the United States at peace," Landon said. "They had the right to continue to feel safe and secure, but the people now are becoming distinctly disturbed by the Administration's twilight steps to war."

"Congress has abdicated its functions, but the right of petition guaranteed by the Constitution still exists," Clark said. He asserted the country would remain at peace if the "four-fifths majority" who oppose the war "will make themselves articulate."

WASH. NEWS

MAY 5 - 1941

6



War May End Our Liberties,' Clark Warns

Senator Sees U. S. Dictatorship After Entry Into Conflict

KANSAS CITY, Mo., May 2 (C.T.P.S.). — Senator Bennett Champ Clark, Missouri Democrat, in an address before an America First committee rally here tonight, warned that the campaign to keep America out of war also is a last ditch stand for democracy in the United States.

He repudiated the support of members of subversive organizations, Communistic or Fascist, who he said attempt to affix themselves to patriotic meetings.

'Should Face Firing Squad"

"If any such are here," Clark said, "let me say I utterly repudiate their presence, and express my sincere belief that their *ultimate* destination should be a firing squad."

A totalitarian government, he said, is probably the best form of government for conducting a foreign war, and for that reason he expressed the fear that if the United States enters the present war, the country might acquiesce in a complete dictatorship.

"Stripping Of Our Defenses"

"My fear is that we might win the war and lose our liberties, that the generous adulation of great names—the Churchills, the Halifaxes, and the Roosevelts—may mean the stripping of our own defenses and breaking down of our system of government."

100-4712-A

MAY 3 - 1941

WASHINGTON TIMES-HERALD

10

Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

AMERICA'S BATTLE PAGE

In responce to public demand. The News has started a Battle Page series on the role this nation should play in World War II. The space below has been divided equally between the two major groups with opposite viewpoints. The organizations are free to say what they please without interference or editing by The News. They, on the other hand, accept full responsibility for the presentation of their views.

(Provided by the America First Committee, New York Chapter, Inc., 515 Madison Ave., New York City)

Hitler CAN'T Invade America!

The basis of the whole argument to bring America into the war has been "This is our war;" that when Hitler defeats the British Empire he will invade America.

The President says "we will lose our independence." Secretary Hull says "Hitler will be able to cross the Atlantic easily." All the speakers, writers, propagandists on radio and movie repeat daily "We are next on Hitler's list."

The object is to fill Americans with fear—to frighten them, terrify them, put them in a panic.

The AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE tells Americans they have nothing to fear from a German invasion: First, because it is impossible, and Hitler knows it; second, because we can make ourselves so strong no foreign power would dare attack us.

Just think it over calmly. To invade us Hitler would have to bring at least a million soldiers. He took a million into Poland and into Yugoslavia. He would not think of coming here with less.

What makes Hitler's armies so terrible? The machines, armored trucks, tanks, planes, motorcycles and guns they carry. Hitler would have to bring those.

Now what would he require? Here is what military authorities list (Hitler actually uses more): 65,000 armored trucks, 19,800 armored trailers, 4,500 tanks (some weighing 70 tons), 7,900 motorcycles, 1,600 tractors, 1,756 ambulances, 1,120 passenger cars.

He would need 19,000 machine guns, 7,700 automatic rifles, 2,500 anti-tank guns, 2,520 75 mm. field guns and thousands of howitzers, mortars, siege guns. He would have to bring at least 10,000 airplanes and thousands of anti-aircraft guns.

All this vast mass of men and metal would have to be brought here in ships, with large convoys, moving slowly. It would have to land at modern docks with machinery to unload it. The English had to leave all their equipment at Dunkerque and in Greece because they escaped from open beaches. This stuff cannot be put on or off ships at open beaches.

After they got their million men and equipment here they would have to supply it with mountains of rations, mountains of munitions and vast quantities of oil. They could not get this here until the country was conquered. It would have to be brought in ships—a steady stream of ships. Military experts estimate it would take 13,000,000 tons of shipping a month to do this. Hanson Baldwin, military expert of the New York Times, says:

> "The problem seems impossible. Not even Britain or a combination of Britain and Germany has sufficient shipping to divert such an enormous amount of it from their ordinary trade routes to military purposes."

Rear Admiral Cook, U. S. Navy, told a congressional committee:

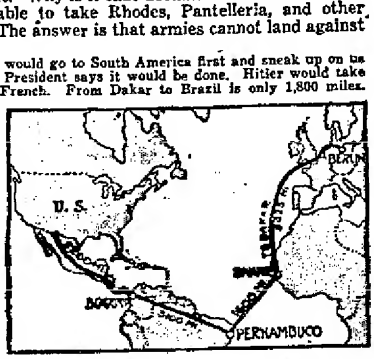
> "I do not think that any fleet could make an effective landing on our coast, whether we had a Navy or not, provided there are enough shore-based aircraft available . . . I do not think that any thinking person ever feels that any nation can successfully invade our country."

Even the President now admits that Hitler "would not dare make a direct attack on us." But, he says, Hitler would operate from bases here. At present we have possession of all the bases in this hemisphere, within striking distance of us. Hitler would have to take them first. But he could not, even with the British fleet. Why is it that Britain with her fleet in the Mediterranean has been unable to take Rhodes, Pantelleria, and other island bases of Italy there? The answer is that armies cannot land against aircraft defense.

But the President says Hitler would go to South America first and sneak up on us from there. Here is the way the President says it would be done. Hitler would take Dakar in West Africa from the French. From Dakar to Brazil is only 1,800 miles. Then he would take Brazil. He would then move on us from Brazil.

This belongs in the realm of the comic. Of course, however, if Hitler moved he would have to bring at least a million men and all that vast array of tanks, trucks, guns, rations, munitions, oil, etc.

Now just consider this. The only reason for a base is to get nearer to the object of attack. Germany and the French coast is roughly only 3,000 miles from our Atlantic coast. But to attack us from the base in Brazil, Hitler would have to make the fantastic journey shown on this map.



He would have to transport a million men and equipment 3,200 miles to Dakar by sea. Then he would have to transport them 1,800 miles from Dakar to Brazil by sea. That's 5,000 miles. He would then be 5,090 miles from the United States—or 2,000 miles further than when he started. He would then have to march his million men and their tanks and trucks over poor roads, inadequate rails, through Brazil (a country as big as the U. S.), through Colombia and Venezuela, then up through the Isthmus, through Guatemala, Nicaragua, Panama, Salvador, and Honduras into Mexico; then across the trackless plains, the tangled, pathless jungles, over the mountain gorges and the swamps of Mexico to the Rio Grande.

He would have marched his hosts 10,000 miles and he would still not have entered the United States.

This fairy tale has been invented to scare Americans. AMERICA FIRST says HITLER CANNOT COME HERE, he will not dare try. AMERICA FIRST says let us make ourselves strong and no nation will dream of attacking us.

Write to the President and protest against convoying ships into war zones.

(Provided by the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies, 8 W. 40th St., New York City)

Petition to the President

MR. PRESIDENT:

We believe that the security of the United States demands that "We Deliver the Goods to Britain Now." To this end we will support

(1) full mobilization of the industrial, economic and moral life of this country for production of war materials and

(2) use of American naval forces for police, convoy, or in whatever way is most effective to insure the delivery of these materials to Britain.

The above is the text of a petition being circulated by the 800 chapters of the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies. It has already been signed by great numbers of Americans, who believe: (1) that the defense of the United States makes necessary the all-out material aid for Britain and her allies which has become our national policy; and (2) that we will not be giving this aid by producing vast quantities of goods, which are sent to the bottom of the Atlantic by German U-boats and sea raiders.

Mobilization of our national life for production, without furnishing naval police to assure delivery of the goods, would be like making gun shells with bullets in the ends but with no powder behind the bullets. To this point Frederic R. Coudert Sr., prominent international lawyer, said, when signing the petition:

Mr. Coudert Said

"It is perfectly obvious that 8 billion dollars of war material is not to be provided for the benefit of the gaping jaws of a relentless Neptune. Every thinking man must realize that the decision of Congress involved the certainty that the goods will have to be delivered through United States aid. This government, both through the Administration and the Congress, has adopted as a policy to be acted upon the fact that Germany and Italy are to be treated as aggressors and are not entitled to the benefit of impartial neutrality.

"We are in a profound crisis. The security of the nation is involved. A million of men are in training as soldiers and our factories are working to the utmost in the construction of war material. A policy so definitely adopted for the defense of the nation must be maintained. A refusal to accept its consequences now would be an example of inaptitude and cowardice impossible for the American nation.

"Means to vindicate the policy of American security through aid to Britain against aggressors attacking the very fundaments of civilization and international law should no longer be questioned. The sole remaining problem is how to vindicate that policy. American shipments must be protected from destruction while in transit and the goods must be delivered. So far, no other effective means have been found. Hence American naval units must be employed."

The Ostrich's Body

By SOPHIE KERR.

It happened at 49th Street and Fifth Avenue. A man pushed some pamphlets into my hands and said, gutturally: "Read this, lady, it explains you vy Amerika must giff no help to England."

That's German propaganda at its stupid worst. No one can fail to recognize it.

But there's a more subtle, insidious German propaganda going on and it hasn't a Teutonic accent. It is spread by Americans who simply won't face facts.

These Americans say: "We don't like war." But the dictators do like war and are going ahead making cruel, bloody, devastating war regardless of what America likes.

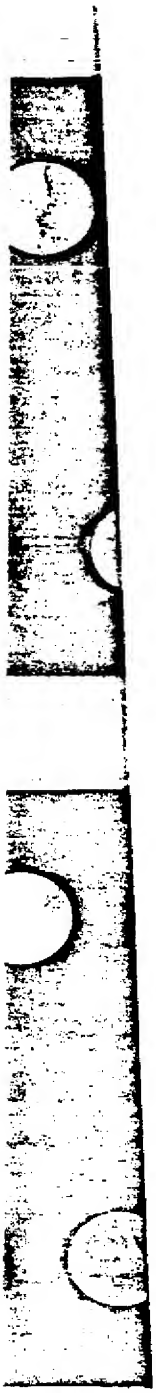
These Americans say: "Oh, Hitler won't come over here!" Every time they say it they open a door *for* Hitler's coming.

These Americans say: "It's all the fault of the Versailles Treaty." They have never read the Versailles Treaty any more than I have, but they ought to know that blaming the Versailles Treaty cannot keep submarines from shelling our coasts, or bombing planes from blasting our homes into rubble.

These Americans say: "It's none of our affair." Listen, my friends, freedom is our affair, resistance to tyranny and to totalitarianism is our affair—if we're honest Americans. England is making a desperate fight to save freedom for her own people, and if she wins she will have saved freedom for us as well. If she loses, then freedom is lost—to her, to us, to the coming generation—perhaps forever.

The best tools of the Nazis in America today are the American defeatists, the American excusers, the America appeasers, and the American isolationists. They are, in effect, Hitler's own men, exactly as if they got their orders from him. They won't face facts.

The ostrich is the bird that puts his head in the sand, refusing to see his enemy, the hunter. He leaves his body outside the sand. So the hunter walks right up to him and spears him dead.



Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Traum
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

'America First' Rally Blocked by Miami

MIAMI, Fla., May 2 (C.T.P.S.). An America First Committee rally scheduled tonight was blocked today by the refusal of city and county authorities to allow the use of public meeting places. The refusal was accompanied by the charge that the America First Committee is a subversive organization because the view it holds on American entry into the European war are contrary to "national policy."

MAY 3 - 1941

AMERICA FIRST UNIT DRIVES FOR 50,000 IN BORO

Attorney Sees U. S. Entering Conflict in 'Preconceived' Plan

A drive to obtain 50,000 members for the Brooklyn chapter of the American First Committee before Memorial Day was announced yesterday by William T. Leonard, exec tive chairman of the chapter.

Leonard declared that Brooklynites were flocking to the chapter's headquarters, 44 Court St., to join th organization.

George Dyson Friou, borough attorney and one of the organizers of the Brooklyn chapter, sent a letter yesterday to Senator Robert F. Wagner in which he asserted that the Roosevelt Administration was working out "a preconceived plan" to enter the European war.

"The American public is awakened at last to this fact and to the realization that throwing our resources into the conflict can only prolong it endlessly, cost us our manpower and result in national bankruptcy," Friou wrote.

Subchapters will be opened in each of the Brooklyn Congressional districts, Leonard said. The first subchapter is expected to be opened in Bay Ridge within a week.

Former Representative Marcellus H. Evans is chairman of the membership drive committee. He is being assisted by Charles Adams, Mrs. Ernest W. Boyce, Mrs. Owen Neill Brown, Edward T. Cullen, John Cascione, William J. Edwards, James Higgins, Carl Krause, Mrs. Rose Gores Rockwell, Nicholas Salvatore, Edward I. Fenlon, Mrs. J. Richard Wiggins, Dr. J. Arthur Buchanan, John P. McArdle, the Rev. Gideon Olson and Joseph Gonivale.

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KLYN DAILY EAGLE
MAY 4 - 1941
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Miss Gandy

ANOTHER APPEASER

The citizens who support the America First committee have heard something of Vallandigham, the northern traitor in the civil war.

The White House secretariat dug him up out of the copperhead history of the United States for Mr. Roosevelt's use in angry comment upon Col. Lindbergh.

Mr. Roosevelt also spoke of appeasers who wanted Washington to quit in the war of independence. His secretariat did not supply him with names. The America First committee can give him one. It should go on the letterheads of the Union Now organization.

When Benedict Arnold conspired to surrender the defenses of his country to the British his self-justification was that it would be better for the countrymen to remain in colonial subjection to the British crown and parliament.

COPY TO BUREAU

CHICAGO DAILY TRIBUNE

100-4171-A

5-4-41

GANGSTERS LOLL WHERE 'AMERICA FIRST' IS BARRED

Miami Known as Haven for Gamblers, Racketeers.

Miami, Fla., May 3 [Special].—This city, which has refused the America First committee a public meeting place for a patriotic rally, has long been a winter haven for gangsters, racketeers and gamblers. The revelry in Miami and Miami Beach at the height of the season has had a shady background, both cities being peopled by underworld figures who have muscled into the lucrative pickings from the hordes of vacationers seeking amusement and relaxation.

Authorities have made only spasmodic efforts to shut down gambling. Slot machines are not operating and there have been a few raids on gambling establishments in the last few years, but this last winter it was commonly known that the big games —craps and roulette—were going on a larger scale than ever before. Many swank night spots enjoyed big revenue from the games. Gangsters have been reported to be backers of some of these spots.

Gamblers Violate Law.

Gamblers and racketeers are numerous at the race tracks — Hialeah Park and Tropical Park. They take private wagers from big bettors who do not want to plunge in the pari-mutuels. The pari-mutuel system is legally regulated by the state at the horse and dog tracks, but bookmaking is a violation of the law.

The most notorious resident in this area is Al Capone, who once headed Chicago's outlaws. Capone has a year around home on Palm Island in Biscayne bay, near Miami Beach. While he personally has not been identified with any Miami rackets, his name still has a coercive weight.

In April, 1940, Mrs. Myrtle Buckholtz, former executive secretary of the Miami Waiters' and Bartenders' union, told of membership in the union swelling quickly when Dan Coughlin, Capone's brother-in-law, became its business agent. Reluctance to join the union or permit unionization of night spots usually disappeared, she said, after a remark that "Al Capone's brother-in-law will be in to see you." Coughlin denied her allegations.

Told To Push Nitti Products.

Frank [The Enforcer] Nitti, head of the latter day Capone gang in Chicago, is a frequent visitor in Miami during the season and is reported to have a home in Miami Beach. Mrs. Buckholtz said that waiters and bartenders were instructed to push the use of a certain brand of Chicago beer and a sparkling water sold by Nitti.

George Scalise, racketeer and ex-white slaver, now serving a 10 to 20 year Sing Sing prison sentence for embezzling funds while he was president of the International Building Service Employés' union, is another who frequented Miami in season.

Tracks Ruled by O'Hare.

At the executive committee session of the American Federation of Labor here in February, 1940, Scalise was a prominent figure, nattily clad and accompanied by bodyguards—all paid, of course, from the union treasury he was looting.

Edward J. O'Hare, front man for the Capone gang who was shot to death in Chicago on Nov. 8, 1939, was a stockholder in Tropical Park race track and controled the Miami Beach dog kennel racing establishment. One theory advanced for his assassination was that gangsters feared a double-cross by O'Hare in negotiations for another race track. The latter was the Gulfstream track, which opened near here early in 1939 but operated only for a few days.

Frank Erickson, known as "king of the bookies" in the east, and Owen [Owney] Madden, paroled convict and former New York gang leader, have been seen at the race tracks here and are said to have booked many large private wagers.

The city has been the scene of numerous big robberies. Last February, Edward S. Moore Sr., industrialist and turfman, formerly of Chicago, and his wife were robbed of jewelry valued at more than $200,000. The two masked men who held up the Moores have not been found, nor has any of the loot been recovered.

COPY TO BUREAU

CHICAGO DAILY TRIBUNE

5-4-41

DEFIES MIAMI CENSORING OF AMERICA FIRST

La Follette Asserts He'll Talk There.

New York, May 3 [Special].—Philip F. La Follette, former governor of Wisconsin and a leader in the effort to keep the United States out of war, tonight defied the city authorities of Miami, Fla., which holds the dubious distinction of being the only place in the country where the America First committee has been denied the right to hold an antiwar rally.

Altho the Miami and Dade county authorities refused to permit an America First meeting last night on public property and altho the Miami city commission today invoked a virtual censorship by withholding permission for La Follette to address a similar meeting on May 17, unless the commissioners had first approved his text, the former governor declared that the meeting would be held and he would make a speech.

Will Senator Be There.

At the same time he issued a challenge to Florida's prowar senator, Claude E. Pepper, to meet him in debate at that time. "I am shocked to learn that in your state free speech is denied," said La Follette in a telegram to Pepper. "I will be in Miami on May 17 and it would be a great thing for you and your state to debate 'War or Peace?' Will you be there?"

"The May 17 rally will be held in Miami even if we have to hold it on a street corner or in a cow pasture," La Follette told a reporter. "If in a cow pasture, it would be perfectly fitting that Senator Pepper be present. The airing would do the gentleman a lot of good.

Still a Constitution, He Says.

"Despite the shortsightedness of Miami officials in gaining new notoriety by making Miami the first city in America to refuse a patriotic group the privilege of meeting on public property, there still is a constitution. It applies to Miami along with the rest of the United States, altho that city's authorities apparently are unaware or forgetful that it guarantees free speech.

"The American flag is still flying without impediment by Miami politicians. It will be flying on May 17, and we shall present the viewpoint of the vast majority of Americans, who want to keep the United States out of another European conflict."

La Follette recalled, as have America First leaders, that Bay Front park, the place sought for both the banned meeting last night and for the May 17 rally, was the scene of a recent gathering of war interventionists addressed by Douglas Fairbanks Jr., a movie actor.

Judge to Revoke Charter.

Miami, Fla., May 3 [Special].—While the Miami city commission today was acting to withhold permission for the use of Bay Front park for an America First committee meeting on May 17 Circuit Judge Worth W. Trammell declared he would dissolve the state charter he issued to the antiwar organization on the ground that its form was illegal at the time he issued it.

The action before Judge Trammell

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Carson
Mr. Edwards
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Carlson
Mr. Hendon
Miss Gandy

COPY TO BUREAU

CHICAGO DAILY TRIBUNE

100-17112-A

5-4-41

CAN DEFEND U.S. HERE, BUT NOT ABROAD: LINDY

Lone Eagle Tells St. Louis Audience Country Is Being Led Into Major Disaster

Text of Col. Lindbergh's speech on Page 31.

ST. LOUIS, May 3.—Col. Charles A. Lindbergh came back tonight to the city which sped him on his gallant flight across the Atlantic—came back with a plea for peace for his nation.

Stirring a great ovation from a throng of 15,000 in the Arena, he warned that America is not prepared to wage a war abroad, but pleaded that we must—and can—defend our own shores.

Cheers echoed through the auditorium as he appeared with Senator Bennett Champ Clark, Missouri Democrat, and Gen. Robert E. Wood, acting national chairman of the America First Committee.

SEES BRITISH LOSING.

He viewed Britain as already falling in its wars with the Axis powers, and declared that, no matter how the United States saps its strength by sending aircraft to Britain, there can be no hope of bringing England to equality—much less superiority—with Germany in military aviation. He added:

"Not only is the performance of some of our vital types of ervice aircraft inadequate, but our total air force in the United States today, including both army and navy, both modern and obsolescent types, is not more than Germany can produce in a few weeks. It is a small fraction of her present air force. To enter a European war today with our air force would be almost as great a folly as that committed by France when she declared war on Germany in 1939."

Senator Clark accused President Roosevelt and his administration of violating pledges to the voters by adopting policies which threaten to plunge the United States into war. (Details on Page 29.)

"HAD TO RESIGN."

It was Lindbergh's first speech since he resigned his colonel's commission in the air corps reserve last Monday. The resignation followed President Roosevelt's press conference statement grouping Lindbergh with appeasers of the revolutionary war and the Copperheads of the civil war.

Concerning his resignation, he said:

"I resigned because I felt that the statements of the President left me no honorable alternative. This situation arose because I

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Clayton Tamm
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

COPY TO BUREAU

THE CHICAGO AMERICAN

5-4-41

AMERICA'S BATTLE PAGE

In response to public demand, The News has started a Battle Page series on the role this nation should play in World War II. The space below has been divided equally between the two major groups with opposite viewpoints.

The organizations are free to say what they please without interference or editing by The News. They, on the other hand, accept full responsibility for the presentation of their views.

(Provided by the America-First Committee, New York Chapter, Inc., 515 Madison Ave., New York City)

Write or Wire the President Today—Demand He Keep His Pledges to You

President Roosevelt said, just before election: "Fathers and mothers, I give you one more assurance. I have said this before, but I shall say it again and again and again, your boys are not going to be sent into any foreign wars."

Now his Secretary of War demands that American battleships—manned by American boys—convoy supplies into the war zones. THIS MEANS WAR. The President himself said, "Convoys mean shooting and shooting means war." IT IS UP TO YOU—THE 83 PER CENT. OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WHO DO NOT WANT WAR—TO STOP THE PRESIDENT FROM BEING PUSHED INTO WAR BY THE SMALL NUMBER WHO SURROUND HIM.

MAKE YOUR VOICE HEARD—WRITE OR WIRE TODAY.

See Life Steadily And See It Whole"

By JAMES M. GILLIS

That wise counsel is a quotation from an English scholar, Matthew Arnold, who was speaking of a Greek dramatist, Sophocles. We must see our problem—to fight or not to fight—steadily and see it whole.

The worst enemy of the American people is not a European dictator, but any fellow American, be he politician, newspaper columnist, radio commentator, after dinner speaker, military "expert," or whatnot, who, this critical moment, would whip us up to hysteria. With him ranks the name-caller, the epithet-flinger, the smearer.

Avoiding any claim—explicit or implicit—to speak for a church or a religious society; avoiding also the appeal to passion, we Americans will do well to look at our problem steadily and see it whole.

Is this a war for the *status quo*, the continuation of the British Empire, the financial and commercial domination of the world by English-speaking powers? Would we for that cause be willing to sacrifice billions in money, millions of lives, and even, if need be, our existence as a nation?

Or is it a war in defense of freedom? If so, what if those for whose freedom we would fight have never enjoyed freedom, do not want it, never did believe in or practice freedom when they were their own masters; do not share our view of freedom and wouldn't appreciate it? Must we inflict freedom—our kind of freedom—upon them whether they desire it or not?

Long before Hitler came to power, Greece, Bulgaria, Jugoslavia, Turkey had dictators. Even Poland had a dictator. If we were anxious now to free all dictator-ridden countries, why were we not anxious before? Why this sudden spasm of zeal for the freedom of the world?

If we go to war to release Austria, Czecho-Slovakia and the Balkans from under the heel of Hitler, shall we also fight to release the Ukrainians, the Finns, and the White Russians from under the heel of Stalin? And how about the Chinese from under the heel of Japan? If this is a war for humanity, must we not make it a war for all humanity?

More than a hundred years ago, Lord Byron tried to work up his own people to save the Greeks from repeated massacres at the hands of the "unspeakable Turk." But England remained apathetic, and so did America. Why are England and America now so eager to avenge the Greeks, when they were previously so unconcerned?

Fifty years after Byron, Mr. Gladstone used all the power of his oratory to persuade the English to rescue the Bulgarians, and twenty-five years after that, the Armenians, who were threatened with annihilation at the hands of the Turks. But with all his eloquence, Gladstone could not persuade England to fight for the Bulgarians or the Armenians. When, therefore, did the English interest in humanity commence? And why?

As for ourselves, why do we listen to Churchill after turning a deaf ear to Gladstone?

Coming closer to our own times, why did we not prevent the Japanese from gobbling up Manchukuo; or why did we not drive them out after they had stolen that province from the Chinese? Is it sufficient to say that Mr. Stimson invited England to join us in ejecting the Japanese, and that when England declined we subsided? Since England declined to go to war for the oppressed in Asia, can it be cowardly or criminal of America to decline to go to war for the oppressed in Europe? Is Japanese inhumanity less inhuman than Nazi inhumanity?

Looking at the question thus critically, but without emotion and impartially, are we not driven to the conclusion that the interests of humanity are not really paramount in the present war? Is there not some different motive that is primary and essential? Some motive without which this war would not be fought? What is that motive?

If that other motive—the all-important motive—is the *status quo* of the Empire, or financial-commercial-industrial hegemony of the world by England, or an Anglo-American domination of the seven seas and all the continents, are we prepared to fight for that cause?

Would that be a crusade?

Unless we have asked and answered these questions, we have not seen the problem steadily nor have we seen it whole.

(Provided by the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies, 8 W. 40th St., New York City)

What Price Peace?

The isolationists prate much about peace. But what have they ever done for peace? What price will they pay for it?

Let us look at the record.

It was an isolationist leader who, in handling of the Oriental immigration problem was largely responsible for needlessly offending the Japanese people in 1924. This affront undoubtedly had much to do with turning Japan in the direction which has now brought it into the aggressors' Axis.

Other isolationists were largely responsible for refusing to consider a generous solution of the Allied debt problem, which could have been used to secure a more far-sighted policy on the part of Britain and France toward Germany. This might have prevented Hitler's rise to power.

Isolationists raised our import duties through the Hawley-Smoot tariff. This did much to increase the economic difficulties of countries that owed us money—which was another thing that helped Hitler.

Isolationists kept the United States out of the League of Nations. Had this country assumed its responsibilities with the other nations which were trying to build machinery of enduring peace, we might be living in a peaceful world today.

The isolationists kept the United States out of the World Court. They invented "jokers" for our arbitration treaties, which make them meaningless. In other words, they said they wanted peace while preventing our support of any effective machinery for pacific settlement of disputes.

In the frontier days, we learned that to maintain order men must either form a vigilante committee or organize a police force. The isolationists have opposed doing either.

Since the isolationists opposed our co-operating with other nations; since they prevented our support of means for pacific settlement of disputes, one would think they would have favored a strong Army and Navy for national defense. But no. Most of them opposed increased armaments up to the last moment, when it was near being too late.

We could read on from the record indefinitely. It shows that the isolationists' service to peace is nil or worse. They have opposed any peace action while lolling back and hoping that everything would come out right. "Do nothing" is the price they would pay for peace—the same worthless coin they urge us to offer now.

Since the isolationists prevented our contributing toward a system of world peace, we now have the alternative of giving speedy and effective aid to Britain and her allies or a terrible war or waiting until the aggressors' Axis brings that war to our shores.

Can Hitler Invade America?

By LIVINGSTON HARTLEY

Author of "Our Regiment Lives"

Can Hitler invade America? The answer is "Yes." If that meant marching a million German soldiers directly across New York State or Texas, probably not. But if it means destruction of American cities from the air, and creation of conditions for our country which would bring about our defeat, the argument of the America First Committee on this page May 3 is false.

The easy road for Nazi attack upon the United States is via South America. Hitler can invade South America if he conquers Britain, provided only that he can control the South Atlantic. And he would not need anything like a million men to do that.

There are three points to be remembered in this connection:

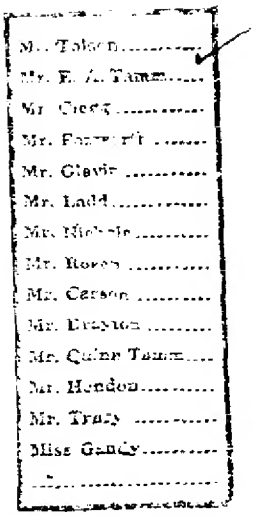
(1) Dakar and the present British fleet base at Freetown in West Africa are nearly a thousand miles nearer to South America below the bulge of Brazil than are our southernmost Caribbean bases. These will be German bases if Britain is defeated.

(2) The United States will have 18 battleships by the end of 1942. By that time the three Axis powers will have 28, not including any French units or any they might get from Britain if the Axis won. So it looks as if they would have greater bases and greater forces for control of the South Atlantic.

(3) Many experts fear that South America would go to Hitler without war if he defeated Britain. The story of Romania or Iraq might be repeated successfully. In this case Germany could support Nazi governments from West African bases more easily than we could oppose them from our Caribbean bases. If Germany controlled the South Atlantic, she could easily send over enough troops from her African bases to put pro-Nazi revolutionists in power. If that happened, we would have to do the invading or face the consequences.

If Northern Brazil, Ecuador or Colombia can be lined up with the Nazis, their bombers will have fairly easy steppingstones from Berlin to the Panama Canal. Their large bombers will be able to reach American cities. These are reasons why our Government holds that national defense means hemisphere defense. Isolationists who side-step the issue of the Monroe Doctrine pretend that it doesn't.

Even then the United States might not be invaded by a million soldiers. But under such conditions, including loss of command of the Atlantic sea routes, it was stated by the Senate Naval Affairs Committee on May 15, 1940, that "Without the power to carry the fight to the enemy, there can be no alternative other than subjugation to his wishes."



ANOTHER APPEASER

The citizens who support the America First committee have heard something of Vallandigham, the northern traitor in the civil war.

The White House secretariat dug him up out of the copperhead history of the United States for Mr. Roosevelt's use in angry comment upon Col. Lindbergh.

Mr. Roosevelt also spoke of appeasers who wanted Washington to quit in the war of independence. His secretariat did not supply him with names. The America First committee can give him one. It should go on the letterheads of the Union Now organization.

When Benedict Arnold conspired to surrender the defenses of his country to the British his self-justification was that it would be better for the countrymen to remain in colonial subjection to the British crown and parliament.

100-4112-

CHICAGO DAILY TRIBUNE

5-4-41

Freedom of Speech

A warning is uttered by the Miami Herald in its rebuke of commissioners of Miami and of Dade county, Florida, for denying the right of assembly and free speech to the America First committee. "They could think of no better reason than to brand the America First organization as subversive," says the Herald. "Certainly no organization which advocated arming and protection of its own country first ever was accused of being subversive." One of the commissioners, it adds, is chairman of the Miami chapter of the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies and in that capacity staged a public appearance by Douglas Fairbanks, jr., in behalf of his committee.

Could there be anything more subversive than to urge and practice violation of the first article of the bill of rights providing freedom of speech and of the press? We hear constantly and *ad nauseam* that in order to compete with the dictator powers the democratic states must suspend the processes of democracy. There is truth in this as it concerns ordering of our lives to produce weapons and supplies and drafting of our men. All the more reason for not encouraging those who are ever ready to "call out the guard" against those with whose opinions they disagree.

The Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies had a wide opportunity to preach its doctrine. It did so and continues to do so. Many Americans believe in it. Some do not believe in it and prefer the America First committee, in general identified with isolationist views. The America First committee has the sponsorship, among others, of several United States senators. It certainly has not proposed anything contrary to the government of the United States or the principles on which it is founded.

American democracy is threatened from abroad, many Americans believe. It also is threatened at home when it is proposed to shut off a minority because a majority is strong enough in government—local, state or national.

Had this nation declared war, constitutional rights would now be suspended for the common good during the life and death struggle. So far, despite what the Florida officials may feel, no such emergency has been declared.

M. H. CREAGER,
EDITOR,
MILWAUKEE JOURNAL
MAY 6, 1941

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

Eagle (I)
Brooklyn, N. Y.
Circ. 93,168 FBI

DATE

'Nazis' Heckle Nye Outside Freeport Rally

Distribute 'Greetings From Fuehrer' As Isolationist Is Cheered by 1,200

Freeport, May 6—With the heckling confined to outdoor distribution of derisive literature, Senator Gerald P. Nye (R., N. D.) told 1,200 cheering listeners here last night that the United States has a "50-50 chance" of remaining out of the war.

At a rally of the South Shore chapters of the America First Committee, held in the Freeport High School, the isolationist asserted that keep-out-of-war sentiment had swept the country in the last three weeks to take the play away from a "war-mongering minority pressure group."

Two men in messenger uniforms outside the school lampooned the committee in facsimile copies of telegrams addressed to "All Members of the America Last Committee," and signed, "Ribbentrop, Goebbels and Goering."

'Greetings' from Fuehrer

"Der Fuehrer," the messages read, "sends greetings and best wishes for success of your presentation of 'Alice in Wonderland' at Freeport High School tonight. With the help of Lindbergh (Winken), Wheeler (Blinken) and Nye (Nod), we are sure that your ersatz American committee will succeed in softening, dividing and confusing America, preparing it for der great world order Der Fuehrer has prepared."

Expressing belief that "even with our help England cannot win the war if winning the war means driving the Germans back across the continent," Senator Nye declared that "Washington has found out that the American people have been led as far as they can be led in aiding another nation at war."

Stop Aid to Britain

The veteran legislator, who earlier proposed before 100 students of New York University that this country stop sending aid to Britain and thus make certain its future neutrality, added that the furtherance of democracy here demands "more frankness on the part of our national leaders."

He evoked cheers by crediting the President with pleading for freedom of speech for all the world and then remarking, "except Charles A. Lindbergh," and summed up a hasty review of the last election campaign with an assertion that he now has "more respect for Franklin Roosevelt than for Wendell Willkie."

Edgar J. Treacy of Woodmere presided at the rally, and the other speakers were Henry Van Rensselaer, Princeton University student; Mrs. John Theobold, chairman of the committee's Rockville Centre Chapter, and James A. Coveney, head of the Freeport Chapter, none of whom referred to the outdoor hecklers.

AMERICA FIRST IN MIAMI.

Of course, the municipal authorities of Miami, Fla., have made themselves more than usually ridiculous by refusing permits for another appeasement bull session under the auspices of the America First (Next) Committee. The refusal is unconstitutional, and the America Nexters need only go to court to get the proper injunction papers. Then they can talk their heads off.

But the comical aspects of the squabble on both sides almost obscure the constitutional issue. The city and county authorities of the metropolis of meretricious Mazuma brand the America Nexters as "subversive," and give them the usual bum's rush meted out to Commies, I. W. W.'s and C. I. O. organizers in communities of the Miami type south of the Smith and Wesson line. To be "subversive" in Miami—well, that's the depth of something, and it's no wonder the America Nexters are boiling mad at the insult.

The city dads of Capone's city of refuge, and the county bosses of dubious Dade, probably do not understand the heinousness of applying a pet epithet like "subversive" to a body that contains so many gentlemen who believe that they have a copyright, even a divine right, to use the term on others.

Naturally enough, the America Nexters have used Phil La Follette to front for them in the controversy. The La Follette name is still worth something in a battle for free speech, even if Phil did run Glenn Frank out of the University of Wisconsin. But it would be a rare show if the America Nexters would use a more characteristic front. Names of a maverick like La Follette or a perennial Jeremiah like John Flynn are a case of misbranding when used as labels by the America Nexters.

Many of the big paying members, especially those whose contributions have not been made public, have never before been found in a free speech crusade. To several of them, free speech demonstrations have been "subversive" indeed, so to be called "subversive" themselves by a lot of carpetbagging machine politicians down in Florida swamps is simply excruciating.

However, they have wished it on themselves. One cannot play with pink and red pitch without getting red fingernails. Somehow the Miami incident seems to call for a new tale by Uncle Remus—"Bre'r Rabbit Meets a Red Tar Baby."

CHICAGO DAILY NEWS

5-6-41

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
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Miss Gandy

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PRESS INTELLIGENCE
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Tribune (R)
South Bend, Ind.
Circ. 14,803 (E)
19,254 (S)

DATE MAY 6 - 1941

'Face War Problems Calmly,' Oare Tells America First

"What are the real practical dangers to this country of a victory of either side in Europe?" Robert L. Oare, attorney, asked Monday afternoon when he addressed the South Bend chapter of the America First committee at a tea in the A. A. Eastman home, 2114 Portage avenue.

"Assuming it is to our advantage to aid one side or the other, just how much aid can we give before the losses we sustain by giving the aid outweigh any gains that might accrue?" he queried.

"Do we think it possible, and if possible, is it to our benefit to reestablish the status quo of the world prior to 1933? How far is it to our advantage to undertake to police the world and pass moral judgment on the acts of other nations? What can we do to protect America vs. all hazards—the hazard of a Hitler dominated Europe is just one hazard—there are many more—both external and internal? Where, practically speaking, are we going and why are we going there?"

These questions, he asserted, are the practical problems that should be faced by America calmly. Admitting that he did not know the answers he declared that "the unfortunate thing about it is that the American public is not even discussing them."

Mr. Oare deplored the absence of logical answers to the questions which he said are usually met with an outburst of emotions and sentimentalism, but never facts and figures.

Mrs. Walter H. Baker, chapter president, presided at the business meeting. For tea, tables were decorated by white lilacs and red tulips. Mrs. H. E. Altgeld poured.

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
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Miss Candy

'SUBVERSIVE.'

Official discrimination in Miami, Fla., against the America First committee on the ground that it is "subversive" did not come as a surprise. Nobody knew precisely where it would happen first; but everybody knowing the nature of partisan politics expected such a manifestation somewhere. Practical politics being what it is it seemed inevitable that some local or state officials would decide that an organization opposed to the Roosevelt administration on the war issue was "subversive" and act accordingly.

Until the United States formally declares war on some nation or group of nations it will be the privilege of American citizens, organized or otherwise, to express opposition to sending young Americans to die overseas "for democracy." The America First committee is wholeheartedly endorsing national defense up to the point where it becomes a world crusade. If that is subversive doctrine the vast majority of Americans, not merely the America First committee, must be accused of a subversive attitude.

It might be a serious mistake to judge Florida or even Miami by the spurious patriotism proclaimed by the Miami politicians who are arrayed against the America First committee. Genuine Americans everywhere prefer to believe that the real spirit of Miami and Florida is expressed in the Miami Herald's editorial denunciation of the "mental hobbling" undertaken by the self-styled saviors of democracy who would destroy it at home even when the government is avoiding a formal declaration of war.

Tribune (R)
South Bend, Ind.
Circ. 14,803 (E)
19,254 (S)

DATE

AVERAGE CITIZEN SPEAKS HIS MIND.

Charlotte Observer

May 7, 1941

Submitted by Charlotte Office.

His Stand Is Quite Different

Editor The Chronicle — Sir: I have a letter from the America First Committee of California in which it says my name is listed in its files "as an enthusiastic supporter" of its movement. I wonder how many more "enthusiastic supporters" of my type it has on its lists?

I am for America first, not America last — after Austria, Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, Norway, Belgium, Holland, France, Hungary, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Greece, thus far, and God knows how many more countries before they get to us.

I am for an America that rejects peace (!) terms such as those suggested recently in Japan.

I am for a United States that will live its own life, whether that be good, bad or indifferent, and not a German-Japanese dictated existence, however good in some respects that might happen to be.

Before the war started I favored a strong stand by the United States, which might have prevented the outbreak of war. And I favored immediate United States entry, which would certainly have had us farther along the road toward German defeat than we now are.

War now will be a terrible affair. I favor that rather than war later, when it will not only be yet more terrible, but also will cost this country its independence. If Germany is difficult to beat now, when we might have the resources of the British empire on our side, she will be an easy and certain victor when British aid is lacking or even lined up on the other side. I am for America first and America only.

I am not for England for England's sake, but I am for England or Russia or anything at all that will help us save this country by knocking hell out of our enemies while there is yet time.

CHARLES E. CHAPMAN,
Professor of Hispanic History in the University of California.
Orinda.

Mr. Tolson
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Miss Gandy

SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE
FURNISHED BY
SAN FRANCISCO BUREAU

Bund Rallies Appeasers for 'America First'

The Free American and Deutscher Weckruf und Beobachter, organ of the German-American Bund, in its issue circulating today pleads: "Join the America First committee and continue to bombard your representatives in Congress with letters and telegrams of protest."

The appeal closes a front-page editorial, which begins with reference to "the speaking campaign conducted by Col. Lindbergh, Nye, Wheeler, Walsh, Clark and others." It ties in with an appeal printed in last week's issue for messages protesting against any proposals of convoys.

Feature Lindbergh's Speech.

Other columns on the front page contain quotations from Congressman Hamilton Fish, Senator Wheeler, and Col. Lindbergh, the last featured under a seven-column banner: "We Cannot Win This War for England." The issue devotes six columns, half in English and half in German, to the text of a speech delivered by Lindbergh over a week ago, and a column and a quarter to Berlin correspondence praising the Axis-Tokio pact.

"The voices of 'democracy'," sneers an editorial inside, "have become somewhat faint lately."

The paper also prints a long address in German verse "To Albion" (England) which in translation reads in part as follows:

". . . Not for long
Will the bad times continue;
You think yourself still so safe, too,
Behind your walls of water.

"German strength will not weaken!
German mettle will not disappear!
In the depths, on the heights,
You know where to find the German soul.

"Therefore tremble, chief hangman!
Germany will not rest
Till the envy and pride of Britain
Break and fall like its masts!"

Justify Balkan Invasion.

Other contents of this issue include an editorial justifying Hitler's Balkan invasion, the standing department "From the Movement," and an item applying contemptuous terms to the United German Societies of Rochester, N. Y., because they donated their hall to a committee for Greek war relief.

This issue contains another installment of the serial, "Hitler Is Right." Like previous issues for some weeks, it carries a plug for Wilhelm Kunze's propaganda tract, "The Blood Is Holy."

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Tracy

100-4712-4

CHICAGO DAILY NEWS
5-7-41

A Distinction He Repudiates

Editor The Chronicle — Sir: I have a complaint against the America First Committee. On January 12, 1941, I had written to Senator Burton K. Wheeler at Washington, D. C., requesting some information regarding the statements he made at the Chicago Round Table Conference. Instead of receiving the information I had requested, the America First Committee sent me a lot of uncalled for propaganda regarding its organization and now, adding insult to injury, has proceeded to make me a member of the organization without my request.

I have to put it well before the America First Committee that I have no desire to join that organization or any other organization that will not support President Roosevelt's policy of all-out aid to world democracies fighting totalitarian aggression.

All true democratic Americans will always remember the speech Lindbergh delivered in Chicago Thursday night last week, and how his statement of "a beaten England" was greatly applauded by his audience, composed largely of Nazi, Fascist and Communist sympathizers and anti-democratic dupes.

I am returning to the committee the membership card sent me which would be an insult to any true democrat to have in his possession. SIDNEY ELLIS.

San Francisco.

AMERICA FIRST GROUP LISTS 4 MEETINGS

Growing interest in the fight of the America First Committee to keep the United States out of war has caused an increasing demand for America First speakers, Mrs. Elizabeth Landa, chairman of the Chicago chapter's speakers' bureau, announced today.

Speakers for the group will address four meetings tomorrow afternoon and evening, she said, and listed them:

John W. Maselter will discuss "Is This Our War?" at the Archer Road Kiwanis Club luncheon at 4270 Archer av.

CLUB TO HEAR FLYNN.

The Town Hall Discussion Club, which holds a meeting every week in conjunction with the radio broadcast from Town Hall in New York, will listen to John T. Flynn on "Should Our Ships Convoy Materials to Britain?" over the air, and to local comments on the same subject by Urban G. Willis, principal of the Pullman Technical High School. The meeting starts at 7 p. m. at 7020 Jeffery av.

Philip LaFollette, former governor of Wisconsin, will be the chief speaker at an America First rally in Hinsdale High School gymnasium, sponsored by the Hinsdale chapter of the America First Committee. State Representative Lottie Holman O'Neill will also speak, and Howard Swann, University of Chicago physiologist, will preside.

REV. O'BRIEN TO TALK.

The Rev. John A. O'Brien, professor of apologetics in the graduate school of Notre Dame, will address a rally under the auspices of the Arlington Heights chapter in the Arlington Heights High School at 8 p. m.

The Evanston chapter of the America First Committee will sponsor a Negro anti-war rally Friday night in the auditorium of the Foster school in Evanston. William Robinson, prominent for his work with the Monumental Church, will speak. The meeting will open at 8 p. m. with the singing of patriotic songs.

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carter
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Egan
Miss Gandy

THE CHICAGO AMERICAN

5-7-41

1,200 HEAR LA FOLLETTE TONIGHT

A capacity crowd of more than 1,200 is expected to hear Philip F. La Follette at a meeting under the auspices of the Hinsdale chapter of the America First Committee in the Hinsdale High School tonight.

La Follette, former governor of Wisconsin, will discuss "War or Peace." He will share the platform with State Representative Lottie Holman O'Neill. Howard G. Swann, University of Chicago physiologist, will preside.

FATHER O'BRIEN TO SPEAK.

The Rev. Father John A. O'Brien, D. D., professor of apologetics at Notre Dame, will also speak tonight, addressing a rally in the Arlington Heights High School sponsored by the America First Committee.

The committee announced, meanwhile, that it has set a goal of a million letters and telegrams from American mothers to President Roosevelt, protesting against convoys and war, and timed to reach the White House Sunday, May 11—Mother's Day.

Sunday, in addition to being Mother's Day, has been designated "S. O. S." Day—Save Our Sons Day—by the America First Committee. Leaflets telling of the day and urging mothers to write or telegraph the President have gone out to more than 700 America First chapters in the United States.

STUART REMINDS.

R. Douglas Stuart, national director of the organization, said:

"It is altogether fitting that Mother's Day should be a day upon which the mothers of this country should appeal to the President to avoid sacrificing their sons on foreign battlefields.

"The mothers of America remember the several pledges made by Mr. Roosevelt that he would not send their sons to die abroad. They remember that no longer ago than October 30, 1940, he said:

"'And while I am talking to you, fathers and mothers, I give you one more assurance. I have said this before, but I shall say it again and again, and again. Your boys are not going to be sent into any foreign wars.'"

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Quinn
Mr. Carson
Mr. Dawson
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

THE CHICAGO AMERICAN

5-8-41

AMERICA'S BATTLE PAGE

In response to public demand, The News has started a Battle Page series on the role this nation should play in World War II. The space below has been divided equally between the two major groups with opposite viewpoints.

The organizations are free to say what they please without interference or editing by The News. They, on the other hand, accept full responsibility for the presentation of their views.

(Provided by the America First Committee, New York Chapter, Inc., 515 Madison Ave., New York City)

SEVEN STEPS TO WAR

The President says AMERICA FACES ONE OF THE GREATEST CRISES IN HER HISTORY.

That is true. But who made this crisis? How did it come about?

A war began in Europe. Another one of Europe's hundred wars. People said we must stay out. Congress said we must stay out. THE PRESIDENT SAID WE MUST KEEP OUT. He promised America he would not "intervene in Europe's wars."

Then somehow we began to meddle. And we proceeded to take seven steps—SEVEN FATAL STEPS. Each of these steps we took at the demand of the President. And as we took each step he soothed us—"We must aid Britain, but not with ships or men. Follow my lead," he said, "my way is the way to stay out of war."

Here are the steps we took:

STEP ONE. We amended the neutrality act and permitted the sale of arms for cash to the Allies. But no ships. No credit.

STEP TWO. The propaganda began. The slogans appeared. "This is our war." "We are next on Hitler's list." "He will ruin our trade if he wins." "We cannot live alone in a world of dictators." "We are helpless without the British Navy." The movies, the radio and many newspapers went into action. The country swarmed with British agents. American committees were formed to pour the propaganda over our minds.

STEP THREE. The President turned over a million Army rifles to a steel company, and it sold them at a bargain to Britain. We must aid Britain—but "short of war," said the President.

STEP FOUR. The President forced conscription—an Army of 1,500,000 men. Military experts said this Army can be explained in only one way—it is for use in Europe and Africa. But the President said: "The [illegible] ing into training to form a force so strong that, by its [illegible]ence, it will keep the threat of war away from our shores."

STEP FIVE. The President handed over 50 destroyers to Britain. He said: "This will keep us out of war. My way is the way of peace." Just after that in the election, he said: "I have said it before, and I will say it again and again, your boys will not be sent to foreign wars."

STEP SIX. The Lease-Lend Bill. That was a bill to lease, lend or give any part of our arms or Navy to Britain. Senator Wheeler said: "This is a bill to enable the President to carry on undeclared war on Germany." The war groups denounced him. Senator Barkley said: "This is an anti-war bill." When the bill was passed, Mr. Herbert Agar, high official of the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies, which occupies the adjoining column, said:

"There has been too much lying by the supporters of the lease-lend bill in the Senate and in the press . . . As one who had taken a leading part in supporting the bill, I prefer Senator Wheeler's interpretation of it . . . Our side kept saying it was a bill to keep America out of war. That is bunk." But the American people didn't know that.

STEP SEVEN. The following proposals:

By Secretary Stimson, the demand for convoys of ships to Britain with war supplies.

By Senator Pepper, White House spokesman, the demand for an expeditionary force to Dakar, troops to Singapore, and bombers to Japan to "make a shambles out of Tokio."

IF WE DO THAT, THAT MEANS WAR!

* * * *

There are no more steps.

There is your crisis. No nation in Europe has attacked us. No nation in Asia has attacked us. Men in those countries have said harsh things about us, just as we have said harsh things about them. But in spite of that, in spite of all the promises to keep us out of war, to send aid short of war, to keep our boys at home, we are now on the BRINK OF WAR.

That is indeed a terrible crisis. But it is a crisis that was made right here in America, made by those who began to meddle in Europe's war and end by demanding that we go in. Going in means millions of men, countless millions of dollars, hundreds of thousands of dead American boys, hundreds of thousands of wounded boys, national bankruptcy, chaos—who knows—maybe revolution here when it is all over.

Is it too late to stop this? NO, IT IS NOT.

But nobody can stop it but you.

You can tell your Congressmen, your Senators, and above all your President, that you want his promise kept.

Do not be afraid to write.

Remember you are in the majority—83 per cent. of the American people are against war. This is your Government. It does not belong to the 17 per cent. who want war. Speak up. WRITE THE PRESIDENT TODAY.

YOU ALONE CAN SAVE AMERICA.

(Provided by the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies, 8 W. 40th St., New York City)

(Today's column was provided by the New York Chapter, which staged the Freedom Rally at Madison Square Garden, Wednesday night.)

All Out Against Hitler

By DR. FRANK KINGDON, *Chairman, New York Chapter.*

OUR COUNTRY, THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, faces at this moment the gravest danger of its entire history. This is the number one fact we have to face, and we have to face and do something about it right now.

THE PRIMARY QUESTION is not whether Great Britain can or cannot survive. It is whether the United States shall continue to be a free country. Hitler hates us as viciously as he hates Britain. He has said so, and his stooge Mussolini has echoed him. He will use all his power—economic, political and military—to impoverish, to weaken and to destroy us if he conquers Britain and becomes master of Europe and Africa, and, with the help of Japan, controls Asia.

HE IS AT WORK AT THIS MOMENT IN THIS COUNTRY through his consuls, his Bunds, and his other agents manufacturing opinion to keep us from acting until he has defeated Britain and is ready to tackle us alone. He is making capital out of every American who talks appeasement and defeatism. He is being supported by every anti-democratic individual and organization that is seeking to divide and weaken us. Hitler is the avowed enemy of the United States. Nobody here made him our enemy; he did it himself.

WE SUPPORT BRITAIN AND HER ALLIES BECAUSE THEY ARE MAKING OUR FIGHT. What they need is the weapons with which to carry on. These we are making in increasing quantities. But the goods we make must be delivered. They are no good at the bottom of the ocean. *Therefore* we must act to help deliver the goods. The crucial place is the North Atlantic where the German attack is so successful that our whole future is threatened by it. The very [illegible] that this is no time to hesitate, but to do what needs to be done to assure the maximum aid to safeguard Britain against invasion and possible surrender.

THE COMMITTEE TO DEFEND AMERICA BY AIDING THE ALLIES believes that democracy must recognize its enemies, and without fear act to ensure their defeat. Hitler can be beaten. He is not a superman before whom all the nations must bow. His chief asset up to the present has been the hesitations of his opponents. America must not play into his hands by failing to make up its mind and to knit its will to defeat him.

America Spoke at the Garden

By GEORGE FIELD, *Secretary, New York Chapter.*

The most dramatic meeting in the history of Madison Square Garden and the greatest demonstration of the unity of the American people unfolded on Wednesday night. A true cross section of America spoke as if with one voice, the will of the American people that freedom shall triumph. Native and foreign born, rich and poor, capital and labor, Catholics, Protestants and Jews, old and young, rallied to the call of the New York Chapter of the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies.

Wendell Willkie and Mayor LaGuardia met on a public platform for the first time and joined hands as a symbol of their devotion to the cause for which the small democracies of Europe have fought and sacrificed.

Contrast this meeting with one recently staged by the opposition to the policy of the American government. Contrast the tremendous applause and warm response at the mention of the name of the chosen leader of our people at the Garden meeting with the sullen jeers for our own leaders at the other meeting. While the loyal Americans at the Garden expressed their undying hatred for everything Hitler, Stalin and Mussolini stand for, there was not a murmur of disapproval of the dictators by the opposition. Whether they will it or not, the isolationists cannot stage a mass meeting in America without depending upon the active, small, pro-Nazi minority for their audience.

While the small minority of isolationists is preaching the doctrine of appeasement and defeat, the overwhelming majority of the American people, as was expressed at the Freedom Rally, have their hearts and their wills set for the ultimate triumph of the forces of right, of justice, and of liberty.

The rally sent its message to the President of the United States. Many who were unable to get into the Garden will want to urge the President to do all that is necessary to insure the safe delivery of the materials produced by the "Arsenal of Democracy."

SEND YOUR MESSAGE TODAY TO PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT, TO YOUR CONGRESSMAN, AND TO YOUR SENATORS. THE MAJORITY MUST EXPRESS ITSELF, AND THIS IS THE HOUR.

ANTI-WAR GROUP SPURNS BUND AID

German Organ Prints Flynn's Letter Saying Its Readers Are 'Not Eligible' as Members

HAD URGED THEM TO JOIN

But America First Committee Declares Hitler Supporters Are Not 'Good Americans'

The America First Committee required and obtained yesterday the publication in full on the front page of The Free American and Deutscher Weckruf und Beobachter a letter rejecting the support of this organ of the German-American Bund, which has long proclaimed its devotion to the Hitler philosophy known as Nationalsozialitische Weltanschauung.

The officers of the Bund are also officers of the newspaper: G. Wilhelm Kunze, president; August Klapprott, vice president; Gustav A. Elmer, treasurer; and Willy Luedtke, secretary.

In publishing the letter, the editor of the Bund newspaper adds a printed explanation that he has "no desire to see the America First Committee suffer from the undeserved reflection cast on the Bund by the chosen minority who denounce the America First Committee as a pro-Nazi agency, with the same degree of injustice the Bund has had to endure in the past."

The letter, signed by John T. Flynn, chairman of the New York Chapter of the American First Committee, was printed in full as follows:

May 2, 1941.

Editor,
Free American and Deutscher
Weckruf und Beobachter,
175 East Eighty-fifth Street, New
York City.

Dear Sir:

A copy of your newspaper has been mailed to me and my attention called to an article in which you ask your readers to join the America First Committee. Let me say to you that not only does the America First Committee not solicit their membership, but that they are not eligible for membership. The America First Committee is against America's entry into the war *not because* it approves of the philosophy, the government, the aggression or the methods of Hitler's Germany, but because it wishes to protect this nation from involvement in Europe's wars.

We do not want in our organization men who support the philosophy of Hitler's government, because we do not believe them to be good Americans. The very first and one of the indispensable qualifications for membership in our organization, as stated in all our literature, is that it is not open to those who are members of the Communist or Fascist parties or the German Bunds in this country, or those representing any foreign power which desires to involve us in this war.

May I suggest that you give this letter the same publicity in your newspaper as you gave to the article to which I have referred?

Yours very truly,
JOHN T. FLYNN.

CLIPPING FROM THE
N. Y. TIMES

DATE MAY 9 - 1941
FORWARDED BY N. Y DIVISION.

America First Group Spurns Bund Aid

The America First Committee today repudiated support of the German-American Bund in a letter published on the first page of the Bund newspaper, The Free American and Deutscher Wekruf und Beobachter. Signed by John T. Flynn, chairman of the New York chapter of the committee, the letter read:

"A copy of your newspaper has been mailed to me and my attention called to an article in which you ask your readers to join the America First Committee. Let me say to you that not only does the America First Committee *not* solicit their membership, but that they are *not eligible for* membership.

"The America First Committee is against America's entry into the war *not* because it approves of the philosophy, the Government, the aggression or the methods of Hitler's Germany, but because it wishes to protect this nation from involvement in Europe's wars.

"We do not want in our organization men who support the philosophy of Hitler's Government, because we do not consider them to be good Americans."

"The very first and one of the indispensable qualifications for membership in our organization, as stated in all our literature, is that it is not open to those who are members of the Communist or Fascist parties or the German Bunds in this country, or those representing *any* foreign power which desires to involve us in this war.

"May I suggest that you give *this* letter the same publicity in your newspaper as you gave to the article to which I have referred?

"Yours very truly,

"JOHN T. FLYNN."

CLIPPING FROM THE
N.Y. EVENING JOURNAL AMERICAN
DATE MAY 9 - 1941
FORWARDED BY N.Y. DIVISION

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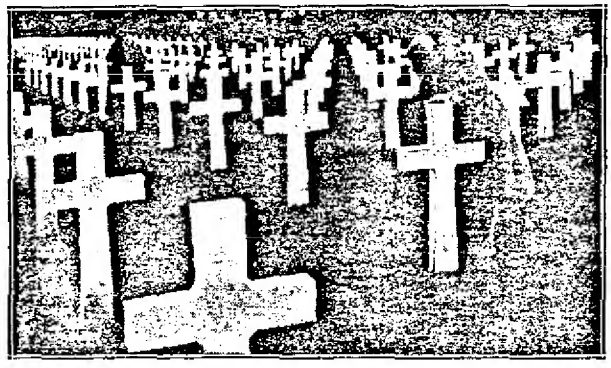
(Provided by the America First Committee, New York Chapter, Inc., 515 Madison Ave., New York City)

Mother's Day



By KATHLEEN NORRIS

Mothers and Fathers of America:

These are our graves. In every one of them lies the forgotten dust of what was once a part of the glorious youth and strength and hope of America.

We dug these graves, we American mothers and fathers. We were frightened by lies of our immediate danger; danger from exhausted foes four thousand miles away across the ocean! We were blinded by propaganda; propaganda that included the stirring beat of drums, the thrill of martial music, the fluttering beauty of a thousand flags. We were excited by change; new phrases, new jobs, new action everywhere.

We sent our boys away, young and strong and splendid and brave. Some stumbled back, to fumble with Braille, to limp on crutches, to see in the eyes of all women horror of their disfigurement. Useful lives, young married joy, fatherhood, success were denied them forever.

Some didn't come back. They, in their soiled and blood-stained uniforms, when their broken limbs had ceased to struggle and their smashed jaws could moan no longer, were tumbled into these graves. You and I couldn't kneel beside them, dying, couldn't put one last kiss against the thick young hair we had kissed so often. They called to us in that darkening moment, but we couldn't hear.

Hear them now. Hear them crying out to us from their thousands upon thousands of graves. Crying out that we and they were deceived. That there is no democracy where we sent them to die, no peace, no brotherhood. That until those countries follow America's way of holding her neighbors in the bonds of friendship and understanding, there never will be peace overseas. Crying out lest every generation of our boys die in turn to protect trade rights, commercial privilege, imperial power. But never democracy, for these countries know not the meaning of the word.

Hear the voices we once loved so dearly calling to us: "Never again! Never again! Never again! Never again!"

S.O.S. — SAVE OUR SONS

MOTHER'S DAY IS SUNDAY—MAY 11th

Save America's Sons for Their Mothers

The drums of war are beating louder in this nation every day. BUT WE CAN be kept out of Europe's wars if YOU and others will demand of President Roosevelt and your Senators and Congressmen that they NOT sacrifice our youth to fight the battles of other nations.

WRITE NOW TO PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT DEMAND THAT HE FULFILL HIS PROMISES—KEEP AMERICA OUT OF WAR. ALSO WRITE YOUR SENATORS AND CONGRESSMAN.

Mothers and Fathers - - Save Your Sons

Make It a Real Mother's Day for Every Mother in America

(Provided by the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies, 8 W. 40th St., New York City)

For Defense of America

[The Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies desires that there be no doubt about where it stands; about what it believes is necessary for the defense of America. The following is a new statement of the Committee's basic policy, as released to the press of the nation today.]

The hour has come when this nation must face the facts. We can no longer evade the full demands imposed upon us by Hitler's threat to our liberties.

Step by step over the past twelve months the meaning of the world conflict to our existence has become clear to the American people.

We know that free institutions cannot be secure on this continent if annihilated on every other continent. Even if we could maintain our physical security, life would be a nightmare of industrial regimentation, conscription, taxation and eventually war.

To permit Britain to go down, China to be subjugated and the blackout of civilization to occur everywhere but in the Western Hemisphere, would be not only stupid, but indicative of a complete loss of moral values. We cannot allow the defense of Great Britain and her Allies to be overwhelmed. To assure its success, we have enacted the Lease-Lend Law to convert our nation into the arsenal of democracy.

But recent events have brought home to us one further realization: Our civilization can be made secure only by engaging the full strength and power of the United States in the common cause. With all of our resources the threat to our way of life and our liberty can and will be halted.

This ultimate issue can no longer be avoided. Each week of delay aggravates our peril, brings the war closer to our shores and will take its toll of American life and property. The issue should be met now, without evasion or reservation and with prompt action. We must assume our share of burden and sacrifice in the united defense of civilization.

URGE ENACTMENT OF SIX SPECIFIC MEASURES

To this end the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies now urges that the American people call upon their President and Congress for the immediate enactment of the following measures:

1. The declaration of a full state of national emergency.

2. Employment of the naval and air forces of the nation to safeguard the lifeline between the Western Hemisphere and the British Isles. Specifically we support use of American armed forces for police, convoy or in whatever way is most effective to insure delivery of our goods to those nations resisting aggression.

3. Co-operation with Great Britain and her Allies for the employment of our united military resources to safeguard the North Atlantic, the South Atlantic and the Pacific against further Axis aggression.

4. Effective aid to China. Rigid embargo against Japan. Clear indication to Japan of our determination to prevent a conquest of Singapore and the Dutch East Indies.

5. Freezing of Axis assets. Control of subversive propaganda and sabotage emanating from Axis consulates by whatever measures may be necessary, including severence of diplomatic relations.

6. Declaration of the intention of the United States to take its full responsibility in organizing enduring peace on the basis of political, social and economic justice. The American people must now prepare themselves to face this responsibility.

This course may lead to armed conflict. From Hitler's point of view we are already enlisted with his enemies. If it does not suit his purpose he will not attack us, no matter what the provocation. If it promises to advance his cause, he will attack us whenever and however he chooses. To those who stand in the path of his designs, the choice is never war or peace. It is submission to his will or resistance to the death.

WILL UNIFY OUR WILL AND MOBILIZE OUR RESOURCES

This course may bring to us, as it has brought to other people who are enlisted in the cause of freedom, blood, toil, tears and sweat. It will unify the will and mobilize the resources of our own people. It will demand of us and win from us sacrifice and resolution. It will make possible control of sabotage and subversive conspiracies in our midst. It will hearten our Latin-American neighbors in the common defense of our American heritage. It will have a demoralizing effect upon Axis morale. It will bring unmeasured strength to the heroic defenders in the first lines of our common cause at this hour of their supreme trial. In the souls of men enduring subjugation under tyranny, it will kindle new hope and resistance.

FLYNN'S FLIMFLAM.

Members of the America First Committee, who have been quoting parts of recent Gallup Polls while ignoring other parts, are not fooling the people. The reaction of a large portion of the audience to the remarks of John T. Flynn at Thursday's Town Hall Meeting of the Air demonstrated that fact beyond any doubt. The audience forced Mr. Flynn into a very embarrassing position. It was particularly embarrassing because Mr. Flynn is justly famed as a meticulous researcher. He has repeatedly demonstrated his ability to ferret out obscure facts. He rightfully prides himself on his ability as a reporter. But, in his zeal for the cause he has espoused, he ignored facts unfavorable to that cause. Faced with the allegation that he was ignoring them, he pleaded ignorance.

Mr. Flynn quoted from the Gallup Poll of April 28 the statement that 81 per cent of the American people would vote to stay out of the war, while only 19 per cent would vote to go in. It is a tabulation no America-Firster neglects to mention these days. What they never mention, and what the audience at the Town Hall Meeting unsuccessfully sought to bring to Mr. Flynn's attention, was that the same poll showed that, while 81 per cent did not favor getting into the war, 68 per cent nevertheless favor getting into the war, if it appears certain that there was no other way to defeat the Axis Powers.

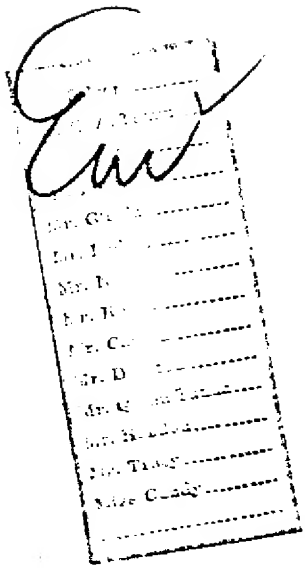
When voices from the audience demanded that Flynn cite the rest of the Gallup Poll from which he was quoting, he replied:

"I never heard of any other poll."

Are we to believe that John Flynn, with his years of experience as a reporter, read only half of the Gallup release of April 28? His reputation has been built on discovering the jokers in small-type footnotes of corporation reports, legislative hearings and such. He is a master at it. But this time his foot slipped. He never saw that half of the poll. He never heard of it—or so he asserted.

CHICAGO DAILY NEWS

5-10-4



SAVE OUR SONS PLEAS TO PILE UP IN WHITE HOUSE

Substantial progress in the campaign to place a million antiwar telegrams and letters in the White House tomorrow—Mother's day—was reported yesterday by national headquarters of the America First committee. More than 200,000 women already have sent "save our sons" pleas to President Roosevelt, according to reports from 70 local chapters. Mothers everywhere are responding to urgings contained in a leaflet which declares against convoys and foreign wars, and demands that peace promises be kept. The telegrams and letters are being timed to reach the President today or tomorrow. Illinois chapters of the America First committee received more than 75,000 SOS leaflets.

CHICAGO DAILY TRIBUNE

5-10-4

Clipping from the
Richmond Times Dispatch
5-11-41

Landon Hits Suppression Of Speech

TOPEKA, KAS., (AP)—Alf M. Landon said yesterday things had reached the state of affairs in the United States "that citizens cannot advocate their idea of the realities of the English and American situation without being virtually accused of treason to their country."

"The suppression of free speech is always contagious," the 1936 Republican presidential nominee declared in a telegram to Robert L. Bliss, Minneapolis, to be read at an America First Meeting last night.

Landon called "a sin and a shame" an action of authorities in Miami, Fla., last week "in suppressing an American First Committee meeting."

"While there is a divided view on the course our country should take in entering the European war there is little division on the right of a man to say what course he thinks our nation should follow," the former Kansas Governor continued.

"There also is practically unanimous support for greater intense national defense preparations and support of England with materials. That policy was agreed in in the last national election and if it is to be changed the President should submit his recommendations to the Congress."

Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Dragoon
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Tolson
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

100-4112-19

19

1,500 A DAY JOIN AMERICA FIRST DRIVE IN STATE

Membership in Illinois Now Over 200,000.

Memberships in the Illinois America First committee are rolling in at the rate of more than 1,500 a day, Mrs. Janet Ayer Fairbank, national vice chairman, announced yesterday. The 69 downstate chapters and 20 Chicago units now have a total enrollment of more than 200,000 persons, compared with 64,000 at the time the lease-lend bill was passed.

With administration leaders edging the United States closer to war every day, citizens of Illinois are rallying under the banner of America First, Mrs. Fairbank said. Persons who want to keep America out of the European conflict were urged to write to the America First offices at 122 South Michigan avenue.

No Fees for Joining Group.

"There are no membership dues," she pointed out, "but contributions to carry out the work of America First will be accepted, if the person cares to give."

Two antiwar rallies sponsored by the America First committee will be held today, Mrs. Fairbanks said. Maynard C. Krueger, professor of economics at the University of Chicago, will address the Hyde Park chapter of the America First committee at 4 p. m. in Graham Taylor hall, 5757 University avenue. The Earleville chapter of the America First committee is sponsoring a rally at 3 p. m. in the Presbyterian church at Earleville. John W. Maselter will be the speaker.

Debate British Aid Tomorrow.

Robert D. Ross, former assistant United States attorney, will represent the American First committee in a debate on all-out aid to Britain at 736 Lake street, Oak Park, at 8 p. m. tomorrow. His opponent will be Prof. James S. Cox, head of the history department at Northwestern university, representing the Federal Union Now group. The debate will be sponsored by the Oak Park chapter of the America First committee.

America First speakers will address two meetings Tuesday night. Dr. Paul Hutchinson, editor of the Christian Century magazine, will speak before the Evanston chapter of the America First committee at 8 p. m. in the community room of the State bank building in the suburb.

Norman E. Saunders will be the principal speaker at a meeting of the Northwest Youth division in Humboldt Boulevard temple at 1908 Humboldt boulevard. The meeting will start at 9 p. m.

CHICAGO DAILY TRIBUNE

5-11-41

Pittsburgh Press
Pittsburgh, Pa.
May 11, 1941

Phil LaFollette to Speak At 'America First' Rally

Former Wisconsin Governor to Be Here Tomorrow Night

The first rally of the Pittsburgh Chapter of the America First Committee will be held tomorrow night at North Side Carnegie Hall with Philip F. La Follette, member of the famous Progressive Party family who served three times as Governor of Wisconsin, as the chief speaker.

Mr. La Follette's appearance here will be one of several addresses he is scheduled to make throughout the nation under the America First Committee's auspices.

He will be introduced at the North Side meeting by Dr. Judson A. Crane, of the Pitt Law School, who was one of Mr. La Follette's instructors when the latter was a law student at the University of Wisconsin.

'National Chaos' Foreseen

Presiding at the rally will be John B. Gordon, executive vice chairman of the Pittsburgh Chapter.

Concerning Mr. La Follette's Pittsburgh address, K. D. Magruder, secretary of the local America First unit, says it "comes at a time when a certain minority group in favor of our plunging completely into the current European combat is making a final attempt to swing an unwilling public into a situation which at the very best can result only in national chaos."

Open to Public

The meeting is open to the public and there is no charge for admission.

Mr. La Follette had also been scheduled to address the student body at Carnegie Tech tomorrow afternoon but that talk was cancelled under rules laid down by the Faculty Executive Board.

PHILIP LA FOLLETTE
"America First" rally speaker.

The board had agreed to Mr. LaFollette's appearance on condition that a speaker advocating aid to Britain also appeared on the same program. Such a speaker could not be obtained so the program at Tech was called off.

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Larson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Traster
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Winder
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

WHEN IT COMES TO SMEARING.

America First leaders have objected to being called appeasers. They resent it when the support they are receiving from the Bund and other subversive elements is mentioned. They say this is "smearing" them. And the implication is that they would like to conduct the debate on a high plane, without name-calling.

But what happens in their meetings? There, name-calling is by no means frowned upon. Senator Wheeler can suggest, without reprimand or interruption, that our Army and Navy may refuse to obey their commander in chief. Cries of "Traitor" can be heard when Mr. Roosevelt's name is mentioned, and the President of the United States can be booed.

Only last Wednesday, at an America First rally, the national vice-chairman of the committee, who has herself complained of "smear tactics against present and prospective members of the organization," had these things to say of Henry L. Stimson, secretary of state under President Hoover, and now Secretary of War under President Roosevelt:

"Does Mr. Stimson propose to violate the Constitution of the United States? . . . Does he propose to violate the Neutrality Act of 1939? . . . Does he propose to fight in China to protect a few investments? . . . Mr. Stimson may declare war, but he will not fight it. . . . Wrong Horse Harry is to have his war if the people permit. . . . He has been itching for war for a long time. . . . Stimson is a 'scared old man.'"

Smearing? Oh, no. Just arguing—just debating—in the America First manner.

CHICAGO DAILY NEWS

5-12-41

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(Provided by the America First Committee, New York Chapter, Inc., 515 Madison Ave., New York City)

Wars to End Wars

The Congressional Record lists the following "high-minded, idealistic" wars that have been fought abroad since only the beginning of the last century—

1801 The old German Empire breaks up, and all territory on the left bank of the Rhine is ceded to France.
1802 French aggressions in Holland, Italy and Switzerland.
1805 England declares war on Spain. France fights Austria.
1806 Napoleon enters Berlin.
1807 Napoleon defeats Russia.
1808 Napoleon invades Spain.
1810 France annexes Holland. Turks driven out of Balkans.
1812 War starts between United States and England.
1812 Napoleon declares war on Russia.
1814 France invaded from all sides. Napoleon to Elba. British seize and burn Washington.
1815 Napoleon leaves Elba, is defeated by British and Germans at Waterloo, then sent to St. Helena for life.
1816 Holland annexes Belgium.
1817 British wars in India.
1822 Greeks and Turks at war. Civil war in Spain.
1823 French Army enters Spain.
1824 British battle for Burma.
[illegible] on Turkey.
[illegible] from Greece.
[illegible] erruns Romania.
1829 England and Austria intervene against Russia.
1830 Revolution in Poland and France. Belgium revolts from Holland.
1831 Prussia and Austria aid Russia against Poland.
1832 Egypt revolts against Turkey.
1838 French bombard Mexican ports. Debt collection, old style.
1839 Britain wars on China.
1848 Schleswig-Holstein fights Danish annexation.
1849 Danish-Russian War.
1850 Britain blockades Greece. Prussia and Austria war.
1854 France and England war against Russia.
1856 British war on China and Persia.
1864 Germans defeat Danes.
1866 War between several German states. Austria wars on Italy.
1868 Britain invades Abyssinia. Spanish revolution.
1870 Franco-German War.
1871 Alsace-Lorraine goes to Germany. Back to France in 1918, and back to Germany in 1940.
1874 Spanish Civil War.
1876 Balkan wars.
1877 Civil war in Japan. Russia wars on Turks.
1879 British war on Zulus.
1880 Boers and British battle.
1881 France wars on Tunis.
1882 Britain wars on Egypt.
[illegible] wars on Kor[illegible]
[illegible]an.
[illegible]byssinia.
[illegible] wars.
[illegible]ussia, France, Br[illegible]ain, Italy, United States, Serbia, Belgium, Greece, Portugal and Montene[illegible] many, Austria-Hungary, Turkey and Bulgaria.
1931 Japan seizes Manchukuo.
1934 Italy takes Abyssinia.
1937 Japan develops an "incident" in China. Sino-Japanese war.
1938 Germany takes Austria and Czecho-Slovakia.
1939 Present war starts.

—and the interventionists now tell us, if we fight just one more war, it will end all their wars!

Do you want to entangle America in another of these wars? The interventionists promised us in 1917 that we were fighting "to end war." If we fight to "end war" in 1941, in ten or twenty years we may have to fight to "end war" again.

You Can Stop the War-Makers!

Write or wire the President and your Senators and Congressman today. DEMAND THAT THEY KEEP THE PRESIDENT'S SACRED PLEDGES TO KEEP THIS COUNTRY OUT OF WAR.

Get others—your friends, relatives, associates in business—to write or wire now. YOUR LETTERS AND TELEGRAMS WILL BE HEEDED.

You must act now . . . before it is too late. Your own and your children's heritage—your American way of life—may be at stake.

(Provided by the Committee [illegible] America by Aiding the Allies, [illegible] York City)

This picture gives you a glimpse of a section of the vast audience which packed Madison Square Garden last Wednesday night and overflowed thousands into the streets. The mightiest roar of approval given by that audience was the voice of the American majority revealing what is now its most intense concern. That roar came when Wendell Willkie said:

"We want those cargoes protected and we want those cargoes protected at once and we want less talk and more action."

What Mr. Willkie believes and what the cheering thousands at the Garden believed is that the job of the United States is to see that what is produced for use on our first line of defense is not sent to the bottom of the sea.

If you believe that there must be less talk and more action, go into action today by wiring or writing the President and your Congressmen to use our navy to protect shipment of war materials to Britain.

Seven Steps to Slavery

If we would know what are the [illegible] steps not only to war but to defeat and slavery, we need only remember the steps taken by countries which have already become victims of Hitler's aggression.

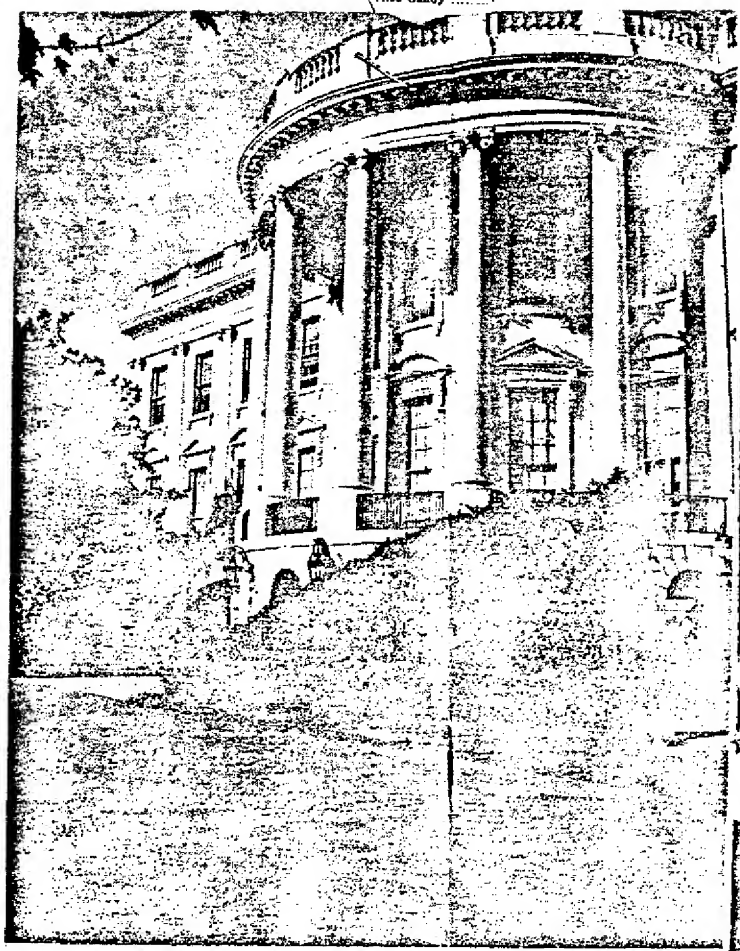
Here are the seven steps to slavery: steps taken by those [illegible] still stands, fighting with [illegible] [illegible] is no man's [illegible] it is history. And yet there [illegible] in America that would have our country go the same path.

In the adjoining column [illegible] things were enumerated as "steps to war." They were [illegible] entirely different path than those which we know did lead to [illegible] these steps were for aid to the Allies, as our first line of [illegible] they had not been taken, not only the fourteen other countries [illegible] Britain probably would have been defeated by now and Hitler [illegible] would be on their way to Latin America. And had we not taken [illegible] these "steps"—conscription—we would be left waiting for the [illegible] to reach us, with a pitiful little army (far smaller than the [illegible] of the Little Democracies) for our defense.

If these seven steps had not been taken, we would have been sitting idle while war rushed at us. All the country has done toward holding from our shores the whirlwind that [illegible] devastated Europe is summed up in these seven steps. But the America First Committee says they should not have been taken.

The final step to which the America First Committee objects is use of our navy to assure material aid to Britain. Not to take this step would be to surrender the last bulwark between Hitler and America. To fail to take this step would put us in greater peril than the abandonment of Czechoslovakia put France and Britain.

WILL HE DO IT ?



THE PEOPLE'S WHITE HOUSE

HERE, in this historic mansion, sits a man who holds in his hands the weightiest, the most momentous decision in American history.

Last October 30th, President Roosevelt made a speech in Boston. When he spoke the situation in Europe was much as it is now. France had been beaten. Norway, Holland, Denmark had been overrun. Britain was being mercilessly attacked from the air. The future looked dark for her. Yet at that moment, in those circumstances, President Roosevelt said in that speech:

> "While I am talking to you, fathers and mothers, I GIVE YOU ONE MORE ASSURANCE. I have said this before and I will say it AGAIN and AGAIN and AGAIN, your boys will not be sent into any foreign wars."

The American people have trusted this solemn pledge. Today 81 per cent. of those people expect this pledge to be fulfilled. But a small group of war-minded men are working day and night to drag the country into war. In spite of the warnings that we are not prepared to fight a war in Europe, Asia and Africa; in spite of the opposition of the American people, they are willing to hurl the nation into war even though by so doing they sacrifice our economic system, pour out the blood of our sons, bankrupt the nation and destroy Franklin D. Roosevelt himself.

They say to the President: "TO HELL WITH YOUR PLEDGE TO THE PEOPLE"! They call on him to convoy ships to the war zones; to occupy Singapore; to declare a national emergency in order to silence the opposition to war. They ask him to break his solemn promise to the nation. WILL HE DO IT?

Will the President listen to the war-minded men who flock about him? Or will he listen to the voices of the hundred million people against war which come up to him from the farms, the workshops, the homes of America?

These hundred million men and women say to him: "You have said to us, Mr. President, that you will not send our boys to fight in any foreign war; that you will say it again and again and again. Now, Mr. President, in this solemn hour of decision, we ask you to SAY IT AGAIN. The men who urge you to lead us to disaster tell us they believe you will break your word to us. We say we do not believe that monstrous slur upon your honor."

The handful of war-minded men are powerful. They have access to the White House. They can talk directly to the President. You, the People, cannot all crowd into the White House. But you have the power of numbers. You are the majority. This is your country. THE WHITE HOUSE IS THE PEOPLE'S HOUSE. You can enter it by means of a letter or a post-card or a telegram.

Write to the President. Your letter will be received, noted, classified, counted—AND HEEDED. WRITE TODAY. WRITE TO PRESIDENT FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT—just a simple line protesting against war, against convoys, against any steps that lead to war. Tell him you remember his promise and that you rely on it. Tell him you remember that he said: "Convoys mean shooting and shooting means war." This is something YOU can do TODAY to save your country.

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

NEW YORK CHAPTER, Inc.
515 Madison Avenue, New York City
Plaza 3-5425

Please enroll me as a member of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE. I am a patriotic American citizen. I am not affiliated in any way with any foreign power. I wish to support the America First Committee.

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____ CITY _____

I enclose $_____ to be used in furthering the cause for which the America First Committee is fighting.

(The America First Committee is supported entirely by voluntary contributions of time and money but you need not contribute to become a member.)

This advertisement is placed by the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE, which has no list of wealthy backers. It depends on the contributions of the plain people to finance it. It urges you to contribute as generously as possible to pay for this advertisement and others like it.

AMERICA'S BATTLE PAGE

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Provided by the America First Committee, New York Chapter, Inc., 515 Madison Ave., New York City)

ay It Again, Mr. President!

This is a picture of President Roosevelt addressing a great ence at Boston, October 30, 1940.

What is he saying to these voters?

Here are his words:

"And while I am talking to you, fathers and mothers, I give you one more assurance.

"I have said this before, but I shall say it AGAIN and AGAIN, and AGAIN, your boys *are not going to be sent into any foreign wars.*

"They are going into training to form a force so strong that, by its very existence, it will keep the threat of war far away from our shores.

"Yes, the purpose of our defense is defense."

These words were spoken after France had fallen, Denmark, and, Belgium, Norway and Poland had been invaded, and land was under aerial bombardment.

IF THESE WORDS WERE RIGHT THEN, THEY EQUALLY RIGHT TODAY.

* * *

President Roosevelt will speak again to the nation on 27.

The American people are waiting to hear what he will say. Those mothers and fathers to whom he made that pledge, say im:

MR. PRESIDENT, SAY IT AGAIN!

You Can Stop the War-Makers

The Legislators in Washington are your elected officials. Your ions count with them.

Write or wire the President at the White House today. Write ire your Senators at the Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C. te or wire your Representative at the House Office Building, hington, D. C.

Tell them you are opposed to convoys and to war. Tell them you and they keep the President's sacred pledges to keep us out ar.

Get others—your friends, relatives, business associates—to e.

The majority of Americans who stand firmly against war t make their opposition known—NOW—before it is too

This is the people's fight to save America.

(Provided by the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies, 8 W. 40th St., New York City)

What Is Ours to Choose?

The United States has not the choice between peace and war. We do not have this alternative any more than Czecho-Slovakia, Poland or Scandinavia had it.

As things are today this is a matter that lies in the hands of Hitler and he has made entirely clear what are his intentions.

In this column last week, Livingston Hartley wrote that Hitler could invade the United States, and told how. The highest military experts agree that the United States is not impregnable.

No one disputes that Hitler and Mussolini have huge Fifth Columns in Latin America. We know something about the immense Fifth Columns the Axis has in the United States. These cost vast sums and require skilled Nazi and Fascist agents, who could be used for much needed service to the Axis elsewhere.

The Axis is not spending money and men on this hemisphere for the fun of it. These Fifth Columns are here for the same purposes that Hitler's Fifth Columns were in Scandinavia and the Low Countries. The United States is in the same peril that these conquered countries were in a little over a year ago.

We Do Have One Important Choice.

But we do have a choice that Norway, Belgium and Holland did not have. We can choose between waiting for Hitler to come to America and helping to stop him on the other side of the Atlantic.

We can choose to wait until Hitler makes America a battlefield—the modern kind of a battlefield where children and women and the aged are defenseless against death from the air. Or we can choose to do what is needful in helping to end the war by defeating the barbarians on the fields they have already made bloody thousands of miles away.

We can make the choice. We have already made it. By Presidential proclamation, by action of the Congress, by the clear demand of an overwhelming majority of the American people we have declared our purpose to give aid in the battle to stop Hitler where it is now being fought. This we have done in the determination that American soil shall not be drenched with blood. But having made this choice, we have yet to determine that it shall be fully effective.

For an army command to hesitate about making the effort necessary to keep a line open from the base of supplies to the front line of defense would be criminal. It is as bad for us to hesitate about doing what is necessary to keep the supply line open from America, the Arsenal of Democracy, to the front line of America's defense, where Hitler must be stopped.

Mr. Hoover's Fallacy.

In his speech Sunday night, Herbert Hoover counselled doing nothing to protect the supply line.

We have all due respect for Mr. Hoover's sincerity and his abilities in fields where he has achieved success. But his counsel should not be heeded on a matter of this kind. Herbert Hoover was President when Japan invaded Manchuria. His Secretary of State, our present Secretary of War, Henry L. Stimson, wanted the United States to participate in joint international action to stop Japanese aggression. If this had been done, probably the world would have suffered none of the wars that followed. But Mr. Hoover would have none of it.

Herbert Hoover could have led in action ten years ago which might well have meant enduring peace for the world. He did not. Would it be safe to listen to his advice on how to escape the consequences of the calamity he could have done much to prevent?

Let Britain have every available American weapon, regardless of temporary unpreparedness at home, Mr. Hoover advised. He said that in eight or ten months American industry will be capable of arming both Britain and America to the teeth. But do not, he advised, use the American Navy to assure delivery of these weapons.

Weapons are Useful Only When Delivered.

How can we let Britain have the weapons, if the supply line is not kept open? It would be as sensible to attempt to save a man from starvation by cooking food for him and leaving it untasted in the kitchen.

The best weapons in the world will not stop Hitler when piled up on American docks or when lying at the bottom of the Atlantic.

What good will it do if we are able to arm ourselves and Britain to the teeth in eight or ten months if Britain has by that time been defeated? And Hitler may be victorious before eight months have passed if we do not deliver the goods to Britain now.

If the Battle of the Atlantic is lost, Britain will be lost. If Britain is lost, we will have to defend ourselves against Hitler in America. If the American Navy is not used, the Battle of the Atlantic probably will be lost.

There is no time to waste!

We should act this week!

You must lose no time in wiring or writing the President, your Senators, your Representative, that you support use of convoys to keep the lifeline open.

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(Provided by the America First Committee, New York Chapter, Inc., 515 Madison Ave., New York City)

We ARE Winning The Fight for Peace

This is a call to the 81 per cent. of the American people who are firmly opposed to our going into a foreign war.

It is a call for courage and for action.

* * *

We are winning this fight against war. The voices of the plain American people are being heard in Washington. Our President, our Senators and our Representatives are beginning to realize now that we Americans stand unyieldingly for full National Defense . . . but that we refuse to fight again for foreign causes on foreign battlefields.

For the first time, AMERICANS FIRST are taking the initiative in this issue of War or Peace. And they are turning the tide against convoys, against war, toward peace and unassailable security at home.

* * *

The next few weeks may be the most decisive in our history. They may determine the fate of America for generations to come . . . whether we are to sacrifice hundreds of thousands of lives on foreign soil, disrupt our economy through billions of dollars in new taxes, submit to a dictatorship at home, possibly only for the duration of the war, but probably for a century . . . or whether we are to strengthen ourselves, through peace, to a position of such power that no nation will ever dare attack us.

In this critical period you of the 81 per cent. must make your influence felt.

You who elected President Roosevelt or voted for Wendell Willkie on their promises to keep America out of war, must insist that these sacred pledges be kept with the people.

You who have accepted Aid-to-Britain and the Lend-Lease Bill on the assurances of your Senators and Representatives that such acts will keep us out of war, must insist now that they prove their assurances by taking no further steps to bring us into war.

We have followed our President and our elected Representatives down the line until now . . . and now the cry is being raised in Washington for convoys to the war zones.

CONVOYS MEAN SHOOTING AND SHOOTING MEANS WAR.

To our President who has pledged peace, and to our Senators and Representatives who have assured us they will lead us to peace, we must say now:

NO CONVOYS AND NO WAR!

* * *

This fight for peace can be won only with your help.

Write or wire President Roosevelt at the White House, Washington, D. C.

Write or wire your Senators at the Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.

Write or wire your Congressman at the House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

Get others to write or wire.

DO NOT BE AFRAID TO WRITE. The President and Legislators in Washington are your elected representatives. They will not lead the nation to war if we of the majority prove to them that we are determined in our opposition to foreign war.

You must act now. In the critical weeks that lie ahead, YOU MUST MAKE YOUR OPPOSITION KNOWN.

A little sacrifice of your time and a few cents in stamps . . . NOW . . . may save hundreds of thousands of American lives and billions of dollars in taxes later.

THIS IS YOUR FIGHT TO SAVE AMERICA.

TONIGHT—BROOKLYN ACADEMY OF MUSIC

Attend the America First Rally to keep the United States out of war.

Hear the Hon. Philip M. LaFollette, former Governor of Wisconsin; Kathleen Norris, noted author; the Hon. James Van Zandt, Congressman from Pennsylvania and former National Commander of the Veterans of Foreign Wars.

BROOKLYN ACADEMY OF MUSIC
Lafayette Ave. and Ashland Pl.
Brooklyn

8:00 P. M. **ADMISSION FREE**

(Provided by the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies, 8 W. 40th St., New York City)

You cannot believe that a free America could exist when encircled by a world ruled by Hitler.

Therefore, to keep America free, write or wire the President, your Senators and your Representative that you favor use of our Navy to convoy goods to Britain.

If Hitler Wins

What the Axis Gets if We Let Britain Fail

HITLER GETS:

1. Permanent possession of key Atlantic bases and islands: Iceland, Gibraltar, Dakar, the Azores, the Cape Verde Islands.
2. Legal claim on French, Dutch and British possessions—Martinique, key base in West Indies; Dutch Islands in Caribbean, the Guianas, British and French islands in Pacific south of Hawaii.
3. Undisputed mastery of Europe, Africa and Southwest Asia.
4. Control of the remainder of the French fleet and probably some of the British fleet.
5. Possession of great shipbuilding, armament and aircraft works in Great Britain, France, Holland and Czecho-Slovakia—enough to assure the Axis permanent advantage in naval and military armament over the United States.
6. A hundred and fifty million slaves who must work for him or starve.

JAPAN GETS:

7. Final victory over China.
8. Singapore and Dutch East Indies—and therefore control of the United States rubber supply.
9. A position that assures success of attack on Australia if she wishes to do so.
10. Possibly the Philippines.

—in short, Germany, Italy and Japan get unlimited raw materials for their war machines—steel, oil, copper, rubber, etc.—and the power to shut off the United States from rubber.

And This Is What the Map Will Look Like!

America First Leader Assailed as Fascist

John B. Hughes, radio commentator, participating last night in an American Citizenship week program at Veterans' Auditorium, charged that the America First Committee in Northern California has been "penetrated" by subversive, pro-Fascist elements.

"A notorious Fascist, a supporter of the Silver Shirts, and a rabid anti-Semite, recently was appointed chairman of an important America First chapter in Northern California," Hughes asserted.

KNOWN TO F.B.I.

"This man's support of the Goebbels propaganda machine is known to the FBI and other Federal agencies. In the same community another chapter of America First recently elected as its leader a man who pleaded guilty to a Federal offense.

"I am sure that the legitimate and sincere element in America First and other isolationist organizations doesn't want to make bed-fellows of such people. And as one loyal American to another, I call upon them now to purge their ranks of such individuals."

Hughes was the final speaker at the meeting, at which a "progress report" on national defense provided the theme. Other speakers included Stuart R. Ward, Major Herbert T. Hunt, Captain C. S. McDowell, U. S. N., ret., and Alexander Watchman.

WILL JOIN IN TRIBUTE

San Francisco's jurists and attorneys will join this morning in tribute to the right of trial by jury, as a phase of the city's second annual observance of American Citizenship week.

When Federal, Superior and Municipal Courts open at 10 o'clock, attorneys will rise to preface proceedings with a tribute to one of the salient prerogatives of American citizenship.

At noon, the Barristers' Club and Queen's Bench will meet in joint session at a "Trial By Jury Day" luncheon at 241 Pine street. Professor Max Radin of the University of California will speak on "Historical Development of Trial by Jury."

The week-long celebration, planned under direction of Mayor Rossi's Citizens' Committee, embraces numerous activities emphasizing the precious quality of democratic liberties—freedom of worship, freedom of speech and assembly, and freedom of press and radio.

A SPECIAL PROGRAM

The Parents' Assembly of the Visitacion Valley Community Center, will hear a special citizenship week program at its luncheon today at the Center.

Raymond Schoen of the Barristers' Club, will speak at 2 p. m. today before the Glen Park Parent-Teachers' Association. And the interfraternal council will bring together representatives of the city's many fraternal bodies in a citizenship smoker at 7 p. m.

John B. Molinari, secretary of the Columbus Civic Club, will speak on "Trial by Jury" at the third of the week's public school forums. Tonight's forum, open to the public, will be held at the Glen Park School.

Superior Judge Thomas M. Foley was the principal speaker at the Citizenship week luncheon of the San Francisco Section, Council of Jewish Women, yesterday.

SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE

FORWARDED BY
SAN FRANCISCO DIVISION

MAY 14 1941

LA FOLLETTE AT PEACE RALLY

Brooklyn Meeting Urges President Keep Pledge.

More than 4,000 persons who attended a rally of the Brooklyn chapter of the America First Committee called upon President Roosevelt today to abide by his campaign promises and keep the United States out of war.

Unanimously they adopted a resolution to this effect at the meeting last night at the Brooklyn Academy of Music at which former Gov. Philip F. LaFollette of Wisconsin and other speakers assailed administration steps as leading the nation into the European conflict.

Mr. LaFollette referred to Secretary of the Navy Knox and Secretary of War Stimson as "two Republican jokers running wild in the New Deal" and accused them of trying to frighten the American people into a war the people do not want.

Other speakers included Representative James Van Zandt of Pennsylvania, Kathleen Norris and John T. Flynn. The Rev. Dr. Gideon Olson, pastor of the Bethlehem Lutheran Church at Third avenue and Pacific street, Brooklyn, was chairman. The Rev. Edward Lodge Curran, president of the International Catholic Truth Society, delivered the invocation.

Mr. LaFollette held that Secretary Stimson's recent speech was downright defeatism, containing, instead of an expression of faith in America an admission of weakness and failure—an America so afraid that we must "hide behind the British fleet and hope that it will save our skins for us."

He declared the President should eliminate from his cabinet those who publicly urge him to break his pledge to the nation.

"He should at once make clear to our people and to Britain that he intends to keep our aid short of war," Mr. LaFollette asserted. "He should bring our ships back to our side of the Atlantic and thus abandon this attempt to take us to the war. The time has come for Americans to get their bearings, to find out exactly where they stand right now."

Text of Resolution .

The resolution was introduced by Edward I. Cullen and read: "This audience hopes that it is your earnest wish to keep America free of war unless there is an act of aggression by any foreign Power or any provocation that would justify the republic in taking up arms to defend itself.

"We believe that we have no right to provoke a foreign Power to war with the United States by acts of aggression upon our part. We beg you in the name of God and humanity and the unity of the United States to keep the pledges of your election campaign."

A detail of 325 police under Deputy Inspector Louis Schilling were assigned to the meeting, but no disorder was reported.

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

CLIPPING FROM THE
N. Y. SUN.
DATE MAY 15 1941
FORWARDED BY N.Y. DIVISION.

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(Provided by the America First Committee, New York Chapter, Inc., 515 Madison Ave. and 3 East 47th St., New York City)

Why The War-Makers Smear Lindbergh

Bishop Manning, Episcopal Bishop of New York, demands immediate entry into the war. A number of writers, poets and preachers also clamor for war at once.

War is a FACT—a grim and terrible fact. But those who want war—"war to the death," "war to the uttermost"—refuse to treat it as a fact. They are full of rosy, glamorous thoughts of high crusading. In the pulpit and at the typewriter it is "high crusading." On the battlefield it is a FACT.

This explains the furious anger at Charles A. Lindbergh. He insists that America *face the facts.* And now he finds two powerful supporters for what he has been saying. Lindbergh said:

> **"We are not in a position to wage a successful war in Europe under present conditions. We ourselves are not prepared, and even if we were, where would we send our soldiers to fight? How are we to force a landing on the European continent against the prepared positions of the strongest military power in the world?"**

Then all the war-poets, war-columnists, war-preachers cried out: "Defeatist."

But now comes former President Herbert Hoover. He told the American people Sunday night:

> **"America is yet unprepared even for adequate defense . . . our industry will not be prepared for another eight or ten months to produce enough of the tools of war to equip our own defense, and at the same time supply the needs of Britain. We do not have men sufficiently equipped, and planes, tanks and guns to meet 300,000 Germans, to say nothing of over 5,000,000 of them . . . we have no substantial air force of the type being used in this war."**

And so the pulpit and the typewriter go into a gallant eruption against Hoover, calling him a defeatist. Facts annoy such men.

But now along comes another witness for Lindbergh, who corroborates much that Lindbergh has said. He is one who knows. He is Hanson Baldwin, military authority of the New York Times. Mr. Baldwin has written a book—"United We *Stand*"—which every man should read. The war-clerics, the war-poets, the war-columnists will not like it. It is too full of facts—GRIM, SOBERING FACTS.

Like Lindbergh and Hoover, this eminent military writer says we must begin by *facing facts.* Like Lindbergh, he reminds us that the French were not told how weak they were, and that the British were told they were winning the blockade. Like Lindbergh, he recalls that the French were disunited and the British united, but unenthusiastic about the war. And like Lindbergh, he says we cannot carry on a successful war unless 90 per cent. of our people are ENTHUSIASTIC for the war.

He says we have no plan of defense either for immediate war or long-range preparations. He warns that such a war might be a painfully long affair. He laments that "we are offered a cheap and bloodless participation," but THAT IT CANNOT BE. If we go to war, he tells us, we must put armies on the Continent and perhaps in Europe, Asia, Africa. And he repeats what Lindbergh and every authority knows—that "to land forces upon a hostile shore in the face of the enemy is the most difficult operation in military art." If England can hold her island to use as a base we may be able to aid her to the extent of a stalemate. But if she is forced to abandon its defense after we come in we cannot help her.

> **We have not got the air force. We will not have enough planes until the middle of 1942—if we are lucky. Our Army well into 1942 will be merely "an aggregation of half-trained and half-equipped youths."**
>
> **No man would buy a lot of ground without *facts.* No man would go into a modest business without *facts.* But these men want to go into a war—the greatest of wars—and denounce any man who insists that they consider the facts.**

Plan now to hear Senator Burton K. Wheeler, Charles A. Lindbergh and others at the huge America First Rally at Madison Square Garden, May 23d. And meanwhile—

WRITE THE PRESIDENT, YOUR SENATORS AND REPRESENTATIVE TODAY. URGE THAT THEY KEEP THE U. S. OUT OF FOREIGN WARS.

(Provided by the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies, 8 W. 40th St., N. Y. C. Today's column is provided by the New York Chapter)

America Speaks

Herbert Bayard Swope Jr., Youth:

"Many of us would like to be indifferent to what is happening. We can't do it. If war comes, it is the youth who fight it. And when peace follows, it is the youth who live it.

"What we young people have to do is to put our minds and our hearts to the problem and decide what kind of a world we want, and how best that world can be realized. But we have to do this soon so that we can be as certain and strong in our minds and hearts as we are in our physical defenses.

"The freedom of choosing our kind of world is ours only so long as England stands. What concerns us is what she stands against. In that, the United States and England are united."

Luigi Antonini, Labor Leader:

"If Hitler is defeated, there will again be a Norway, a Holland, a Belgium, a Denmark, a France, a Czecho-Slovakia, a Poland, a Romania, a Greece, a Yugoslavia.

"If Hitler is defeated, there will also be an Italy, because Italy is now an occupied country and this occupation will end only with the defeat of Hitler.

"If Hitler is defeated, there will be freedom for the men and women *of labor, and there will be freedom* for all religions, for all creeds, for all races.

"From the point of view of labor's vital interests, and as a duty to our enslaved brothers of European labor, as well as for American labor's safety, and as an American of Italian descent, I firmly stand as Garibaldi would stand, for all aid to the English people and to all democracies, so that our mortal enemy, Hitler, shall not become our master."

Virginia C. Gildersleeve, Educator:

"Teachers and students want more keenly than anyone else to keep the flood of Nazi domination away from our shores. We have seen what Nazi rule does to universities and schools. We do not want to lose our best teachers and scholars; to have our books burned; to be forced to teach a creed of prejudice and hate. We want to remain free to seek the truth and teach it.

"The British and their allies are holding back this Nazi flood, giving us time to arm. Help them stand firm. Send weapons to them more swiftly and more surely!"

Ward Cheney, Business Man:

"American busi[illegible] whether it is important to them AS HUMAN BEI[illegible] form of life tolerable to decent peo[illegible]ld. Well, who is going to beat him? I used to [illegible]peans could do it alone. Now obviously only with full help [illegible] the job be done at all. May American business men not forget the black lesson of what happened to the German business men who tried to play ball with Hitler."

Dr. William M. Agar, Catholic:

"Catholicism cannot live in a world ruled by Hitler. Witness the Poles, the Austrians, the other Catholics of Europe. Large numbers are dead, many are in concentration camps, others live furtively, fearful of what the next day may bring—because they are Catholics. Their churches are desecrated, their priests insulted, their right to worship denied.

"How long can we escape if Hitler wins? Is it not time to back our President's every action toward uprooting that tyranny? The way may be hard but our duty is clear. We face the task of saving our Country and protecting our Faith."

Dr. Israel Goldstein, Rabbi:

"If our aid cannot reach England effectively without convoys, then convoys should be used. It is not an easy decision to come to, but it is an inescapable one.

"I join, therefore, in the view expressed by the Inter-Faith Committee for Aid to the Democracies representing leading Protestant, Catholic and Jewish churchmen throughout the land: 'To use whatever means are adequate to guarantee that the lifeline between Britain and America be kept open, and that the goods now being produced in this country in ever-increasing amounts, actually reach Britain safely.' "

Dr. Henry A. Atkinson, Pro[illegible]tant:

"What do sincere Americ[illegible]t enough to hold public office and command publ[illegible] tell us that England's battle is not [illegible]t our Government in spending bil[illegible]rming?

"Hitler's Germany is the common [illegible] of all nations and all values. *Against Hitlerism and for our very lives and our most precious liberties* we are building up a colossal war machine. England is our friend and to help her is to help ourselves. 'All out' aid and aid now to Britain is our best defense. Let us have a maximum of production, and a maximum of delivery by whatever means necessary, and the war need not reach our shores."

Brooklyn America First Rally Reveals Christian Front Ties

Philip F. LaFollette, former Governor of Wisconsin, may be putting the finger on someone in the above photo bu isn't the Christian Front. In his speech, he charged the "War Party" with trying "to save yesterday" by lead the U. S. A. to foreign battlefields, then invited FDR repeat his campaign pledges of no foreign wars. La Follette did not mention that the Rev. Edward L. Curran, oldtime Christian Front advocate, gave the invo tion that started the rally off. More than 3000 jammed the Academy of Music last night to hear not only Mr. Cur and Mr. LaFollette but also John T. Flynn, Mrs. Kathleen Norris and Representative James E. Van Zandt of Penn vania.

PM Photo by Irving Haberm

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CLIPPING FROM
P.M. NEW YORK DAILY
DATE MAY 15 1941
FORWARDED BY N.Y. DIVISION

INCREASE ANTI-WAR LETTERS NOW! PLEA OF AMERICA FIRST

An appeal for a greater volume of anti-war letters to President Roosevelt was made yesterday by the Illinois America First committee. With cries growing louder daily for our immediate entry into the war, the committee emphasized that it is vital that peaceminded citizens make themselves heard.

Bulletins calling for "hundreds of thousands" of letters were mailed to 90 Illinois chapters of the peace organization.

"The 17 per cent who want war are highly organized," the bulletin warned America First members. "They can sound just like the 83 per cent opposed to war unless you speak now. Speak now and often while you are still free to do so. The issue now is peace or war."

Contributions and memberships are being accepted at America First headquarters, 122 South Michigan avenue.

[A one man crusade against war mongering is described on page 9.]

100-4171-4

CHICAGO DAILY TRIBUNE

5-15-41

The People's Voice

The America First Committee wound up its full-page advertisements on Tuesday, calling upon the public to bow to Hitlerism by opposing convoy, with the somewhat curious statement that it "has no list of wealthy backers." That it has no list—or at any rate no complete list for publication—the Herald Tribune is well aware, having sought to secure one as a matter of public interest; but it scarcely occurred to us that this was a fact to be proud of. As for the wealthy backers, we can only observe that in the partial list with which we were furnished of those who had contributed $100 or more to its funds, there were the names of many persons whose position in the community is by no means that of paupers.

The implication which America First has consistently sought to spread, in these advertisements and elsewhere, that it is sole spokesman for a vast majority of little men and women as against a mythical "handful of war-minded men" in seats of power, would be a great deal more convincing were it not for the committee's marked reticence about all its financial arrangements—a reticence not found among opposing groups in this field. But one hardly requires financial statistics. The vast majority of Americans are literate and vocal persons who do not need self-appointed committees to give them a voice; and they have shown over and over again, by letters, votes, polls and action that they do not share the timid defeatism and self-doubt which America First seeks to put in their mouths.

CLIPPING FROM THE
N .Y. HERALD TRIBUNE

DATE MAY 15 1941

FORWARDED BY N.Y. DIVISION

AMERICA'S BATTLE PAGE

In response to public demand, The News has started a Battle Page series on the role this nation should play in World War II. The space below has been divided equally between the two major groups with opposite viewpoints.

The organizations are free to say what they please without interference or editing by The News. They, on the other hand, accept full responsibility for the presentation of their views.

(Provided by the America First Committee, New York Chapter, Inc., 515 Madison Ave. and 3 E. 47th St., New York City)

Can Hitler Invade America?

Hanson W. Baldwin, Military Expert of the New York Times, says NO!

(The following paragraphs are taken from Mr. Baldwin's latest book, "United We Stand," published by Whittlesey House, New York. Every American, who wants to know the truth about our National Defense problems, should read this important book.)

"From the days of Horatius to the present, the fear of invasion has been used both legitimately and spuriously to arouse the public to the necessity of adequate defense. Most men will fight for their homes, their churches, their own land. The threat of invasion, the threat to security is therefore a definite challenge and one that any country that has not lost its virility is certain to meet. But too often the challenge is spurious; too often men or groups with ulterior purposes cry 'Wolf, wolf!' when there is no wolf; too often it has had to be used to arouse the people to other dangers that are no less real, if far less immediate.

FALSE INVASION THREATS HERE

"It has been so used in this country in the recent past. The author does not know a single responsible military or naval officer or government official who believes that this nation is threatened by direct invasion, even if Germany wins. Consider the difficulties:

"No potentially hostile European or Asiatic power possesses territory or bases in this hemisphere.

"The Atlantic is 3,000 miles across; from 4,000 to 7,000 miles of Pacific waters intervene between the continental United States and Asia.

"Invaders can reach this country only by ship or by plane; armies cannot swim to victory.

"No single power except Britain has a navy equal to our own. No two other powers are building as many combat ships as we are.

"A fleet is much more effective near its own bases. Its combat effectiveness and fighting power decreases the farther it gets from its own bases and the closer it approaches the enemy bases. Its effective combat operating range is generally reckoned at between 1,500 and 3,000 miles. This is not an absolute figure, however, and increases or decreases depending on the cruising radii of the ships, geographical factors, lines of communication, availability of mobile floating drydocks, etc. . . .

LINDBERGH WAS RIGHT

"By air, the problem is even more difficult, and Col. Lindbergh, as all military observers know, was perfectly correct when he said that the United States could not be invaded by air. President Roosevelt, in his famous geography-lesson speech, used air power as the big bad wolf apparently in order to shock the country into the need for defense. But his similes should not have been taken literally; his distance figures were misinterpreted. Air power has not yet shown its ability to hold territory or to consolidate conquests. It is a terrible engine of destruction, but alone it could not be the instrument of victory against America . . .

"Isolated bombing raids, submarine operations off our coast, hit-and-run surface raiders—yes, all these are possible, even probable, if war comes, but that is not invasion, and these things cannot conquer America.

"What of an army transported to these shores?

"It cannot reach here by swimming; it cannot reach here by air; the only carrier with capacity enough to transport the soldiers and the stuff of war is the vulnerable cargo ship. If our defensive forces on sea and in the air were sufficiently alert no army could ever reach these shores."

See You at—

AMERICA FIRST RALLY
MADISON SQUARE GARDEN

MAY 23

Speakers

CHARLES A. LINDBERGH
SENATOR WHEELER

Do your part to make this the greatest rally in the history of New York. Plan to come—bring your friends.

20,000 SEATS GENERAL ADMISSION FREE

(Provided by the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies, 8 W. 40th St., N. Y. C. Today's column provided by the New York Chapter)

The Air We Breathe

By ROBERT [illegible]ES

Who speaks for the isolationists? Their favorite organ is the Chicago Tribune. Is the publisher of this paper the seventh son of a seventh son? Let's see. At the darkest hour of the Union cause in the Civil War, Joseph Medill of Chicago, grandfather of the present publisher, wrote: "Everybody feels that the war is drawing to a disastrous and disgraceful termination. Money cannot be supplied much longer to a beaten, demoralized and home-sick army." That was early in [illegible]63, but on July 4th, 1863, Grant entered Vicksburg in triumph. Why assume that Mr. Medill's grandson is right about Britain today?

Hitler Says He Can Divide Us

Consider another leading isolationist—Col. Lindbergh. Not long ago the Colonel shook the dust of the United States from his feet, and retired to England. He repaid the courtesy of the English by accepting a medal from the Nazis whom he has always admired extravagantly. Now that he is back, most of us entertain the same grave doubts about Col. Lindbergh's perspective and balance which we had when he quit these shores.

Hitler boasts that he can divide the United States without landing a soldier. He says we are ripe for revolution. All that is needed is to stir up racial and economic hatreds. If he combed the country, he could find no better pawn than Lindbergh, and the Colonel would not even know he was being used.

The claim of isolationists that we can live happily within our own borders without foreign trade, without the respect of our neighbors, without constant insults and indignities from the dictators, without shrinking into a frightened, apologetic, contemptible third-class nation, is baseless.

Another delusion is that the annihilation of space by airplane, radio and other inventions necessarily draws the scattered peoples of the earth together in a closer communion of interest and sympathy. The fact is that unless aims are similar, closer association may increase animosities just as it does within families.

The isolationists reason thus: Three thousand miles of ocean protect us from invasion. Propaganda can't hurt us. The collapse of Britain would be sad but not fatal. Soft soap will keep the Latin-Americans friendly. Japan is a big bluff. Hitler rides the wave of the future, and there is no struggling against it. We can get along nicely with him if the right people represent us. The right people are the isolationists.

"Mein Kampf" the Bible of Lunacy

A character in the Bible expressed the pious wish that his enemy would write a book. Hitler has written a book, and no one who reads it can doubt the world-wide aims of his madness. "Mein Kampf" is the very bible of lunacy. In his ravings and bellowings over the radio we can hear the death rattle of civilization.

Don't Take Menace Seriously Enough

There is no use invoking the memory of such splendid Germans as Luther, Kant, Brahms and Beethoven, because the heroes of the German people today are Hitler, Himmler, Goering and Goebbels. The stock which gave us Muhlenberg, Carl Schurz, Wendell Willkie, and millions of others who are the very backbone of our nation, must still survive in Germany, and there must still be underground passages there like the ancient catacombs where the spirit of liberty and worship is kept alive. It would be folly, however, to underestimate the number of misguided young people who are crowding the older generation out of the picture.

After decades of debate, Lincoln forced the issue on the great question whether a nation half slave and half free can survive. Fifty years later, Woodrow Wilson pointed out with prophetic insight that a world half totalitarian and half democratic could not survive. Never forget that the basic aim of Nazis, Fascists and Communists is world domination!

Are we ready to stamp out the [illegible] which stands between us and the extinction of democracy? Most [illegible] do not take this menace seriously. They grasp it intellectually, but they are not as yet willing to make the supreme effort and sacrifice without which victory for democracy is impossible.

Democracy is handicapped in fighting dictatorships because its processes are slow, because we depend upon education rather than force to get results, and because while we take polls of public opinion, and reason with the opposition, the dictators suppress them and have ground out the implements of war.

Under Hitler no one has to be conciliated, because everybody has to work for him. There is no question of law, precedent, tradition, procedure, or discussion. The dictator commands and the slaves obey. Whoever interrupts this process is liquidated.

Hitler promises the same things which we claim are the fruits of democracy, and says that he will produce them quicker and cheaper without our checks and balances, but in the event of a Nazi victory, the advantages promised by Hitler will be poisonous because of the atmosphere in which they will be exercised.

All the comforts, discoveries and gadgets of this mechanical age, all outward, material things and, of course, all things of the spirit, are as ashes if they cannot be enjoyed in an atmosphere of freedom. That is why Hitler has nothing to offer to liberty loving people, why we don't want HIS kind of efficiency even if he can make it work among his own people, and why we cannot allow him to succeed against Britain.

AMERICA'S BATTLE PAGE

With this issue, The News discontinues America's Battle Page. If circumstances warrant, it may be resumed in the future

(Provided by the America First Committee, New York Chapter, Inc., 515 Madison Ave., New York City)

"The Yanks Are Not Coming"

William Allen White, editor of the Emporia Gazette, is one of America's most distinguished editors. He organized the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies.

On Dec. 23, 1940, Mr. White wrote a letter to Roy W. Howard of the Scripps-Howard newspapers. Here are the most important paragraphs in that letter:

"The story is floating around that I and our committee are in favor of sending convoys with British ships or our own ships, a silly thing, for convoys, unless you shoot, are confetti, and it's not time to shoot, now or ever.

* * *

"Still one more charge: It is not true, even remotely, that we favor repealing that portion of the neutrality law which forbids American ships to carry contraband of war into the war zone. That would be leading us to war and our organization and I personally are deeply opposed to it.

William Allen White

"If I was making a motto for the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies, it would be 'The Yanks are not coming.' We could not equip them, transport them, and feed them if they went. We have less than 200,000 ready, and we need them worse at home on the assembly belt than we need them in Europe.

"War would defeat the first and last end for which our committee is organized to defend America by aiding Britain, and would bring on a 30-year conflict. The 'Yanks are not coming,' because if they went to war they would lose our cause. That is my firm, unshakable belief . . . (They called Lindbergh a defeatist for saying this.—ED.)

* * *

"Moreover, I have sat in all our executive councils, all our policy-making committees, and I have never heard war as an alternative objective seriously discussed by any official group of our organization at any time. America will go to war or stay out of war not because we make Hitler mad, but only when, as and if Hitler thinks he can win the war. And so long as we arm behind the British fleet and England fights while we are, Hitler never will think he can win the war unless he starts war to slow down aid to Britain.

"ANY ORGANIZATION THAT IS FOR WAR IS SERIOUSLY PLAYING HITLER'S GAME."

For saying this, Mr. White was called an "American Laval" by one of the foremost members of the committee. Shortly thereafter, Mr. White resigned as chairman, but became honorary chairman.

We refer his advice to the American people and to the committee he once directed. That committee—the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies—now openly advocates convoys and sending the Yanks to Singapore and Asia.

LINDBERGH — WHEELER

Speak at the great America First Rally

MAY 23

You can make this the greatest rally in the history of New York. Come and bring your friends. By attending you can make your opposition to war a vital force in this fight for peace. YOU MUST SHOW THE PRESIDENT AND CONGRESS THAT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE STAND FIRMLY AGAINST ANY FOREIGN WARS. General Admission Free.

MADISON SQUARE GARDEN

20,000 Seats

We wish to thank the publisher and staff of the Daily News for making this space available to us during this campaign. In giving our neighbor and ourselves the opportunity to express our viewpoints on this vital issue of war without interference or restrictions of any kind, the Daily News has shown once again why it is one of America's truly great and truly free newspapers.

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE, New York Chapter.

(Provided by the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies, 8 W. 40th St., N. Y. C.)

STOP HITLER OVER THERE

The America First Commitee *argue from* the simplest basis of self-interest. But even here their arguments are wrong.

They believe that this *country can choose* between peace and conflict.

But Hitler has made it clear to any one who can read or listen that he will not give us this *choice*. He has made it very clear that he intends to conquer the world, and that the United States and South America are last on the list.

Hitler has already started doing to us what he has done to all of his intended victims before they were aware of it. He undermines his victims and softens them up before he attacks them. Through his Fifth Column in this country and South America he is now trying to undermine us. He had the nerve to boast that taking America would be an inside job.

Over There Or Over Here?

Our choice is not between peace and *conflict*; that would be easy. Our choice is between co-operating with the British and their allies to stop Hitler over there, or doing nothing and *having* to stop Hitler over here all by ourselves. The one practical question Americans should ask themselves is how can we get the most *safety for the least* risk. The answer is clear.

If we stop Hitler over there, Europe and *Asia are the battlegrounds*. We may be able to get by with sending the Allies a tremendous amount of military equipment and using the American Navy. It will mean some shooting, but we will have allies and the shooting will be a long way off.

But on the other hand, if we let *Germany*, Italy and Japan take the rest of the world—and now Joe Stalin seems anxious to cut himself in on the deal—we will be up against *five-sixths* of the world ruled by the gangsters. Just to illustrate how much stronger they would be than ourselves, they would have seven *times the* shipbuilding facilities that we would have. They would control certain necessary raw materials, could tell us that we can have *these raw materials* on their terms.

Not so long ago, the German Minister of Agriculture said that when Hitler had *established* his system of slavery in Europe, the American worker, with his high wages, couldn't compete, and when Hitler had caused forty *million unemployed* in the United States, Roosevelt would have to beg Hitler for terms.

Why Choose The Hard Way?

In order to protect the Western Hemisphere, this country would have to maintain a huge Army with every person undergoing *military service*; it would have to spend many times more then for military preparation than it is spending now, *and the freedom* that we know today would be sacrificed in perpetual warfare to protect the Western Hemisphere. The chances are that we couldn't do it.

The American isolationists, like the *isolationists* of France and Britain and other countries in Europe that are now defeated, want to do things the hard way. The French thought it would be too much trouble to defend their security in Czecho-Slovakia, so they counted on the Maginot Line. And now where is France? The British thought the English Channel would save them, and they woke up almost too late. But the ostriches in the *America First Committee* learn nothing and forget nothing, and so they would have us regard the Atlantic Ocean as our Maginot Line.

If Lincoln were alive today he would say to the ostriches in the *isolationist camp*, "A world cannot exist five-sixths slave and one-sixth free," meaning that the United States could not be an island of *freedom in a world of slavery*.

We notice that the America First Committee announces its Madison Square Garden meeting. We believe that leaders of the America First Committee are sincere patriots. But unfortunately *a man is known by the company* he keeps. If you attend their meetings you will find Bundists, Nazis, Communists and every subversive screwball you can think of. When you hear an audience hiss Roosevelt and Churchill, boo Great Britain, and by comparative silence *applaud* Hitler, Mussolini and Stalin, you can be sure you are in the wrong crowd.

THIS COUNTRY HAS DECIDED ON ALL-OUT AID TO BRITAIN AND HER ALLIES

We cannot give that aid unless we "deliver the *goods* to Britain now."

Write or Wire the President, your Senators and your Representatives that you are for CONVOYS!

America First Group Demands Vote on War

Demand that Congress grant American citizens the right to vote on the question—"War, or No War?" —was voiced and approved last night at the organization meeting of George Washington Chapter of the America First Committee.

The meeting was held in American Hall, Sixteenth and Valencia streets. The chapter includes residents of the Central Mission district.

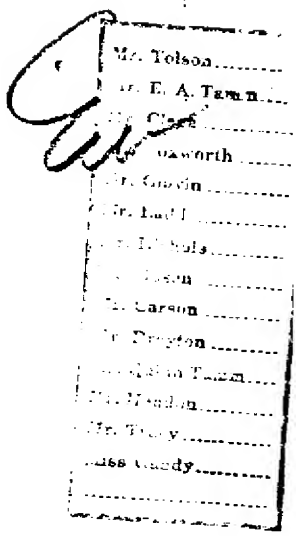
S. L. Brogden, director of organizations for America First in Northern California, presented the issue of a war referendum.

"In our democracy," said Brogden, "the government is permanent and the administration is temporary. We must stand by our government at all times, but this does not prevent us advising our administration; in fact, as good citizens we have the right to criticize our administration."

SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE

FORWARDED BY
SAN FRANCISCO DIVISION

MAY 17 1941



15,000 MEMBERS JOIN AMERICA FIRST IN A WEEK

More than 15,000 new members joined the Illinois America First committee last week, Mrs. Janet Ayer Fairbank, national vice chairman, reported yesterday. This brings to 218,000 the total state enrollment of 72 downstate and 21 Chicago chapters.

Committee officials announced several meetings for the week. A. Eustace Haydon, professor of comparative religion at the University of Chicago, will address an anti-war rally at 4 p. m. today in Graham Taylor hall, 5757 University avenue. His topic will be "The Real Defense of America."

Tomorrow evening, Dr. Anton J. Carlson, University of Chicago physiologist, will speak at a meeting in the Arlington Heights high school sponsored by the Arlington Heights chapter. Other meetings and speakers of the evening: J. Kentner Elliott, attorney, Glen Ellyn chapter, Acacia hall; Charles P. Chapin, busiman, Loyola-Edgewater rally, 6519 Sheridan road; John W. Masclter, student of propaganda, 736 Lake street, Oak Park. Maselter also will speak Tuesday night for the Rogers Park chapter at 1554 Devon avenue. His topic at the meetings will be "Is This Our War?"

CHICAGO DAILY TRIBUNE

5-18-4-1

FOR THE RECORD: William Griffin's orange-covered New York *Enquirer* ran a piece yesterday to the effect that the Rev. Edward Lodge Curran, president of the International Catholic Truth Society, was out to get John T. Flynn's job as head of the America First Committee's New York chapter. According to the *Enquirer*, the Rev. Mr. Curran's feelings were hurt when Mr. Flynn tried to withdraw an invitation to the priest to deliver the invocation at an American First rally in Brooklyn. The Rev. Mr. Curran, who insisted on going ahead with the invocation, is going to take the matter up personally with Gen. Robert E. Wood in Chicago, said the *Enquirer*.

CLIPPING FROM
P.M. NEW YORK DAILY
DATE MAY 19 1941
FORWARDED BY N.Y. DIVISION

America First Head Queried On Dr. Curran

Flynn Committee Asked for Showdown on Pro-Fascist, Anti-Semitic Support

The America First Committee, which earlier this month publicly rejected support from the German-American Bund, was bewildered yesterday as pressure increased from within and without for a showdown on the backing the committee has been receiving from pro-Fascist and anti-Semitic groups.

The problem of what to do about these groups, it was learned yesterday, has bothered officers of the committee for some time, but did not come to a head until last week, when John T. Flynn, chairman of the committee's New York chapter, tried unsuccessfully to persuade the Rev. Dr. Edward Lodge Curran, president of the International Catholic Truth Society and alleged supporter of Brooklyn's Christian Front, to refrain from speaking at a committee rally at the Academy of Music in Brooklyn last Wednesday night. The Brooklyn priest appeared amid muuch applause and delivered the invocation despite Mr. Flynn's request.

Since the Wednesday night meeting, which was attended by a large enough group of anti-Semites to make easy pickings for a number of hawkers of the Rev. Charles E. Coughlan's "Social Justice," Dr. Curran has left New York for a speaking tour in the West. Persons close to him say that he will stop in Chicago long enough to speak to Gen. Robert E. Wood, national chairman of the America First Committee, about ousting Mr. Flynn.

Flynn Withholds Answer

Mr. Flynn, confined to his home in Queens yesterday by a cold, refused to comment on the Curran episode. Meanwhile the situation was further aggravated by a letter sent to Mr. Flynn yesterday by the Fight for Freedom Committee, 1270 Sixth Avenue, asking whether the America First Committee, in view of its rejection of German-American Bund support, would also "repudiate the support given you by the Rev. Edward Lodge Curran and those associated with him in the Coughlin movement?" This, too, Mr. Flynn refused to comment on, saying that he would withhold his answer until he has time to study the letter when he returns to his office today.

Others associated with the committee here expressed the hope that the query might finally bring a showdown on the anti-Semitic question so that the committee can hold what is expected to be its biggest meeting, at Madison Square Garden this Friday night, without the stigma of suspicion of giving pro-Fascist groups a free ride on its bandwagon.

The Fight for Freedom Committee query to Mr. Flynn, which was addressed to the America First Committee office at 515 Madison Avenue, was signed by two members of the committee, Michael Williams, former editor of the Catholic magazine, "The Commonweal," and Dr. William M. Agar, visiting lecturer in theology at Columbia University.

Their letter, citing the America First Committee's repudiation of Bund, said that many people took that as an indication that "your committee would dissociate itself from all un-American elements."

Cite Dr. Curran's Presence

"It is, therefore, with considerable surprise and disappointment," the letter said, "that we note from the newspapers that the Rev. Edward Lodge Curran was asked to deliver the invocation at the May 14 meeting of the America First Committee held in Brooklyn. It is inconceivable to us that your committee does not know that Rev. Mr. Curran acts as an unofficial 'gauleiter' for the Brooklyn associates of Father Charles E. Coughlin.

The letter stated that Dr. Curran's picture was published on the front cover of "Social Justice" on July 31, 1939; that he made a radio address answering critics of Father Coughlin and that he spoke at several meetings at which known Christian Front leaders spoke. It concluded: "I think there is no reasonable d[oubt] of the fact that Rev. Edward L[odge] Curran is in sympathy with t[he] anti-Semitic, pro-Fascist activiti[es] the Christian Front and that[,] fact, he has been one of those [who] have given it an aura of relig[ious] respectability."

CLIPPING FROM THE
N .Y. HERALD TRIBUNE
DATE MAY 20 1941
FORWARDED BY N.Y. DIVISION

America First Unit Leader Arrives to Arrange Rally

EARL C. JEFFREY
. . . here to stay the way.

Jeffrey Sees Growth Of Support for His Anti-War Group

Terming war trend developments in Washington as the "greatest betrayal of the American people," tall and engaging Earl C. Jeffrey came to Rochester yesterday to lay the groundwork for organization of a local unit of the America First Committee.

Specifically, Jeffrey is seeking sponsors for a mass meeting here Saturday night which will be addressed by Senator D. Worth Clark of Idaho, successor to the late Senator Borah. Between now and then he hopes to have formed the nucleus of an active group of America First supporters.

National director of state organization for the America First Committee, Jeffrey, a Chicago advertising man, was outspoken in his enthusiasm for the manner in which he said the American public is rallying to the committee's fight. He listed four cardinal principles on which the committee's action is based:

1. Build an impregnable defense for America.

2. Keep out of foreign wars.

3. Give humanitarian aid to all countries—"the people ought to be fed if we can feed them, and if we can do so without becoming involved in war."

4. Give what we can to aid Great Britain, what we can give without impairing our own national defense.

Jeffrey confesses himself to having waged a strong battle between his emotions and his mind before he became actively associated in the America First movement. Of English descent, Jeffrey said he is certain England cannot be beaten by Germany, and added that most of the America First Committee believed the same and favored aid to Britain.

"For a time," he said, "I fought between strong emotional desires and the facts presented by my mind. Like many other people I was all for going out and licking the daylights out of Hitler—and I still want to see him licked—but when I considered the fact that if America enters this war it will simply mean prolonging the war to perhaps a 40-year struggle, I decided to give my full support to the America First Committee.

"The big issue today involves the very cornerstone of democracy—whether a candidate can go into office with definite promises to the people that he will do one thing, and then deliberately do something else. Both Willkie and Roosevelt in their campaigns promised us peace. Now they are deliberately taking us into war, and the actions of the Washington administration today constitute the greatest betrayal of the American people.

"But we are winning the battle. The common man now realizes that we are right and is rallying to us in ever increasing numbers. A long drawn out war can only mean great repercussions in post-war depressions, inflation and piling up of troubles that the people cannot stand.

"The tremendous effect on Washington of the huge amount of support given us at mass meetings throughout the country undoubtedly resulted in the cancelation of President Roosevelt's speech scheduled for May 14. If he had a stomach ache, we gave him that stomach ache. We don't know what he intended to say, but there were substantial rumors that he was either to declare an emergency or announce use of American convoys. Now he is going to speak May 27. You can be assured there will be no announcement of convoys, and he will not declare an emergency, but he will try something foxy. Whatever it is, we expect it will be one more step toward war."

Ranks Open to All

Jeffrey said the ranks of the America First movement were open to all, with four exceptions. It bars Communists, Fascists, Nazis and pacifists.

"If America gets into the war, we'll go out of business and support the government," he said, "for we are for America first. But we want to make sure beforehand that before we act in any direction, that action will be for the best interests of America."

During his overnight stay here, before leaving for Binghamton and Albany where similar mass meetings are being arranged, Jeffrey planned to confer with Dr. George H. Whipple of the University of Rochester School of Medicine, who is a member of the America First Committee, and other leaders.

NOT RECORDED
INDEXED 100 - 1712 - A

Democrat and Chronicl
Rochester, New York
May 21, 1941

EX-12

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
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Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

Lindbergh Denied Philadelphia Hall

Philadelphia, May 20 (AP).—Charles A. Lindbergh, scheduled to speak here May 29 under the sponsorship of the America First Committee, today was denied the use of the Academy of Music.

John Frederick Lewis, president of the Academy Corporation, said he refused to rent the Academy to the committee "because the audiences Lindbergh attracts are Communists and Nazis and enemies of our American form of government."

"The heads of America First Committee are not objectionable," he said; "they're isolationists and idealists, but the mobs that come to hear Lindbergh are lovers of Germany and haters of democracy."

MAY 21 1941

WASHINGTON POST
Page 1

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
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Mr. Nichols
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Mr. Carson
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Miss Gandy

Philadelphia Hall Barred to Lindy

PHILADELPHIA, May 20.—If Col. Charles A. Lindbergh makes his scheduled speech against American participation in the war for the America First Committee in Philadelphia May 29 he will not make it in the historic Academy of Music.

John Frederick Lewis, president of the Academy Corporation, said tonight the corporation had refused to rent the hall to the committee for the speech. He added:

"The audiences Lindbergh attracts are Communists, Nazis, and enemies of our American form of government. The heads of America First are isolationists and idealists, but the mobs that come to hear Lindbergh are lovers of Germany and haters of democracy."

MAY 21 '41

WASHINGTON TIMES-HERALD
Page 1

America First Units Launched in Boro

Announcement was made last night by William T. Leonard, executive chairman of the Brooklyn Chapter, America First Committee, that the Bay Ridge unit of the organization would be located at 7905 5th Ave. The Bay Ridge headquarters will be the unit for the 8th Congressional District.

Mr. Leonard also announced that headquarters had been opened at 766 Classon Ave. for the Prospect Heights unit. This headquarters will be the start of similar units in the 5th Congressional District.

Another announcement made from the headquarters of the Brooklyn Chapter at 44 Court St. stated that the Rev. Gideon Olson of the Bethlehem Lutheran Church had accepted the post of chairman of the speakers bureau.

CLIPPING FROM.
BROOKLYN DAILY EAGLE.

DATE. MAY 21 1941

FORWARDED BY NEW YORK DIVTS.

Plea to President Hour Plan Hailed

Mrs. Janet Ayer Fairbank, national vice chairman of the America First Committee, reported today that the group's plans for a "Plea to the President Hour" Friday have met with enthusiastic response.

Many Illinois units have prepared letters and telegrams to be sent the President during the mass peace hour from noon to 1 p. m., Mrs. Fairbank said.

Bulletins were sent Monday to the ninety-three units in the state urging members to join in the mass posting of letters and wires to the President before his scheduled "fireside chat" May 27.

If the deluge of protests abates the President may be led to believe public sentiment has changed toward war, Mrs. Fairbank warned today as she urged members to press the fight against pro-war interests.

12-4

THE CHICAGO AMERICAN

5-21-41

The Cleveland Press
June 16, 1941

America First Ruling Deferred

Court Waits Information On Internal Dispute

Common Pleas Judge Frank J. Merrick today continued once again the hearing of the America First committee suit, setting the new date as June 30.

He did this because national headquarters in Chicago had not yet sent any word as to which faction of the local group it recognizes, the John R. Osmun group or the H. Harrington Stoll group. Judge Merrick repeated today that he intends to follow the decision of the national office.

Internal troubles of the local America First committee came to light when Mr. Osmun filed suit against Mr. Stoll and other former officers of America First, who, he said, were deposed from office and then formed a group for their own, called the America First Committee of Ohio, Inc.

The suit contends the new organization has refused to give up more than $2000 it had collected, has declined to give up cards and records and is trading on the name of the original group.

Before the case was continued today, the attorney for the Stoll side dropped the contention that the Stoll group was the original one, said they never intended to contend that. Mr. Osmun is a former assistant U.S. attorney. Mr. Stoll lives at 2061 Carabel avenue, Lakewood.

Meanwhile, Mr. Stoll has organized the United States of America Foundation, which he terms a national organization with headquarters at Hotel Carter.

Objectives of the group, he says, are to preserve the independent sovereignty of the United States of America.

One of the aims of the body, as pointed out in literature distributed by Mr. Stoll, is to "discover and eliminate all subversive activities in this country now."

1 Col - 3½" - 5"

Osmun Wins Tilt In America First

Judge Merrick Rules In Factional Fight

The long, heated battle between the Stoll and Osmun factions of the America First Committee's local chapter came to an end today as Common Pleas Judge Frank J. Merrick ruled for the Osmun group.

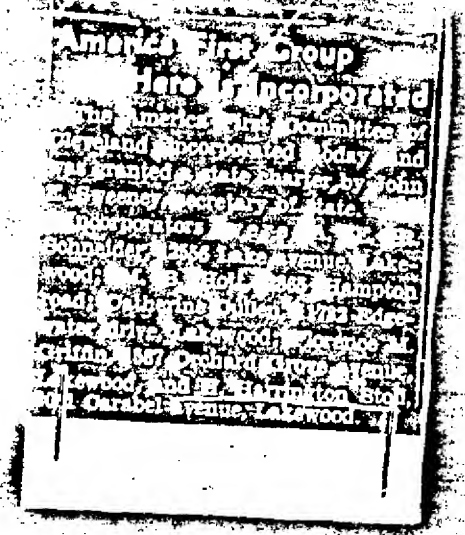
His decision came after the national board of America First sent a resolution from Chicago that it had held a special meeting and decided that the Osmun group should be recognized.

The controversy came into court after the action led by John B. Osmun, former assistant U. S. attorney, seized control of the local chapter, ousting H. Harrington Stoll, 2061 Delaware avenue, Lakewood, who had been chairman.

Mr. Stoll then went to Columbus and incorporated under a new name, America First Committee of Ohio. Mr. Osmun brought suit charging the Stoll group was trading on the original name, and declined to give up membership lists and other records of the original group and had refused to turn over money it had collected.

Judge Merrick's ruling gave the Osmun group exclusive use of the America First name and the exclusive right to collect money under the name. He also ordered the Stoll group to return the records. It could not be learned whether the Stoll group would continue to function separately.

The Cleveland Press
June 6, 1941



Lindy Will Talk In Philadelphia Despite Rebuff

PHILADELPHIA, May 21 (UP). —Despite a series of rebuffs, including refusal to use the Academy of Music, the America First Committee went ahead with plans today to have Charles A. Lindbergh talk at a meeting here May 29.

The committee negotiated for the use of the arena, a sporting center, after John Frederick Lewis, president of the Academy Corporation, told the group:

"The real reason for refusing to rent the Academy to you is that we don't care to rent it for such a purpose."

SCORES FOLLOWERS.

"The 'front' of the America First Committee here, as in other cities, consists of sincere American isolationists," Lewis said later. "But the audience such meetings attract is made up largely of lovers of Germany and haters of England—in other words, enemies of our form of government."

The committee also was shunned by an advertising agency, which refused advertising in trolleys and buses.

Likewise, a request to buy radio time was turned down by stations WCAU and KYW.

CLIPPING FROM THE
N.Y. EVENING JOURNAL AMERICAN

DATE MAY 21 1941

FORWARDED BY N.Y. DIVISION

Mr. Tolson
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Kramer

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WASHINGTON POST

MAY 21 1941

SEE DISBANDING OF AMERICA FIRST IN CASE OF WAR

If America becomes engaged in a "shooting war," disbandment of the America First Committee, it is understood here, will be proposed by its chairman, Brig. Gen. Robert E. Wood, retired—whether or not a declaration of war is involved.

Concern of Gen. Wood and other officers of the committee over the course ahead is reported in the current Newsweek in the "Periscope" department.

"America First Committee leaders are worried over the problem of just what constitutes war," the magazine says. "Gen. Wood and most other heads of the organization, while still hoping to help keep the country out of war, have long planned to enlist 100 per cent in the war effort whenever America becomes a belligerent. They plan to disband the organization and take steps that leave no doubt as to its leaders' essential patriotism. The trouble is that they can't decide just when this move should be made, fearing that the United States will just ease into war by successive steps—more patrols, 'state of emergency,' escorts, limited naval co-operation, etc."

It is understood that the magazine's summary represents the quandary in which leaders of the committee have found themselves.

CHICAGO DAILY NEWS

5-22-41

IOWA UNITS JOIN AMERICA FIRST NO WAR APPEAL

Thousands of members of America First units in Iowa have promised full coöperation in the "Plea to the President" hour, from noon to 1 p. m. tomorrow, according to a statement yesterday from America First headquarters.

Units in Clinton, Dubuque, Des Moines, and Sioux City, officials said, wired Chicago leaders of their plans for sending a torrent of letters and wires to the President during that period, urging that he keep this country out of war.

The Kiwanis club of Lake Forest will hear John W. Maselter, propaganda technique student, at 6:30 p. m. today at the Deerpath Inn, 255 East Illinois street, Lake Forest. His subject will be "*Is This Our War?*"

CHICAGO DAILY TRIBUNE

Want Tickets to America First Rally? See German-American Bund or Joe McWilliams

By Helen Canavarro

The America First Committee has announced that tickets for its rally against war, featuring Charles A. Lindbergh and Senator Burton K. Wheeler, tomorrow night at Madison Square Garden, may be obtained at its headquarters, 515 Madison Ave. and 44 Court St., Brooklyn. Reserved seats are $1, boxes $2 and balcony seats are free.

The Madison Square Garden box office will sell $1 and $2 seats tomorrow, if there are any left, and will also give out free tickets.

However, there are two other places where you can get tickets for the rally—for *nothing*:

¶ The German-American Bund, 178 E. 85th St.

¶ The American Destiny Party, 1591 2nd Ave.

I know. Yesterday, I got eight free tickets from the Bund office and six from the Destiny party. All with smiles.

The Brooklyn *Tablet*

My first try, the Brooklyn *Tablet*, 1 Hanson Pl., Brooklyn, was unsuccessful but the information clerk there was helpful enough to direct me to the Brooklyn office of the America First Committee.

The International Catholic Truth Society, 407 Bergen St., Brooklyn, also had none. But clerks there spent a good ten minutes telephoning around to see if they could get some.

At the New York State Economic Society, 505 Fifth Ave., my request for tickets met with raised eyebrows and a quick disclaimer of any connection with America First.

But that was the last of my disappointments. The next two places had plenty of tickets.

At 178 E. 85th St. is a grimy, unprepossessing building which is headquarters of the German-American Bund, the German-American Business League Inc. and the newspaper *The Free American* and *Deutscher Weckruf und Beobachter*.

The directory in the dark entrance hall said one flight up for all three. The arrow pointing to the elevator didn't look as if it meant business, so I walked up the wide noisy stairs. A door indicated that the three German-American groups share the same office.

'Guten Morgen!'

Two attractive maedchen were busy at their desks when I walked into the badly lit office.

I said "Hello," and one girl said "*Guten morgen?*"

"Have you any tickets for the Lindbergh talk Friday night?"

"*Wie viel wollen Sie?*" she asked.

I said I wanted quite a lot. She fished around in her desk, produced two, looked upset and called to someone in the back room.

Quickly, out came a smiling stout bald German in his shirt sleeves, with a cheerful greeting and a stack of tickets.

He also insisted on asking in German how many I wanted and when I said "Six, if you early." And he bowed me out with still more smiles.

Down a few blocks, at 1591 Second Ave. is the office of Joe McWilliams and the home of the American Destiny Party.

Over the street entrance door it says simply Club Haus. This is also the entrance to a bar and restaurant the menu for which features *weiner schnitzel*.

Up a wide flight of dark stairs again and I was right at the American Destiny Party. No activity here, either. Just an empty meeting room, in back, an uncarpeted, unshaded front office room filled with nondescript office furniture. A lone secretary, the large, housewifely type, sat at a tiny switchboard.

"I was told I might get some tickets for the America First Friday night rally here."

"Why certainly," she said. "How many?" She had no accent.

"I think six." And it was a deal.

She took the six tickets from a stack of 75 or more, put them in a neat bare envelope and advised me to get there early. I could also have more later, if I wanted.

CLIPPING FROM
P.M. NEW YORK DAILY
DATE MAY 22 1941
FORWARDED BY N.Y. DIVISION

America First Group in Cambridge Meeting

The Cambridge America first committee will hold the first of its organization meetings tomorrow, Friday evening, in Elks' Hall, 8 Magazine street, Central square, the organizing committee announced last night. The committee which has established headquarters at 580 Massachusetts avenue, in Central square, is to have for its first speaker tonight, William Gallagher. The meeting begins at 8 o'clock.

Boston Post

May 23, 1941.

America First Garden Rally To Be Guarded

More than 500 police were assigned to guard the scheduled rally of the America First Committee at Madison Square Garden tonight as anti-Nazi groups threatened to picket the meeting.

Efforts to picket the Manhattan Center the night of April 23, when the America First Committee held its first big New York mass meeting, were broken up.

This time the Social Democratic Youth organization has announced that more than 250 draft-age youths will conduct mass picketing outside the Garden.

REFUSED PERMIT.

F. H. Peter Cusick, executive secretary of Fight for Freedom, said the police had refused permission to place a picket line across the street from the Garden.

C. A. LINDBERGH
Speaks at Rally Tonight

Following this Ulric Bell, for the Fight for Freedom, telegraphed Mayor LaGuardia in Washington, asking that this order be reversed.

Speakers at the rally will include Charles A. Lindbergh, Senator Burton K. Wheeler of Montana, Norman Thomas, Socialist leader, and Kathleen Norris, novelist.

A nationwide radio hookup, said to be the largest on record in the present debate on whether America shall enter the war, has been arranged.

TO BROADCAST TALKS.

Locally, Lindbergh's speech will be broadcast from 9:30 to 10 p. m. over Station WOR. Senator Wheeler's speech will be broadcast by Radio Stations WEAF and WABC from 10:30 to 11 p. m.

John T. Flynn, chairman of the New York committee of America

American First Committee headquarters today, have been sold.

The garden has a capacity of 26,000. Indications were that this would be entirely filled, and that there would be an overflow crowd. Police said they were preparing to handle an outside crowd of at least 10,000.

Platforms have been erected on 49th st., oueside the Garden, and both Lindbergh and Sen. Wheeler are expected to appear there to make brief speeches.

LOUDSPEAKERS SET UP.

Loud speakers also will broadcast the speeches inside the garden to the crowds outside.

The America First Committee has announced a long list of sponsors of the rally. Among them are Mrs. Archibald Roosevelt, Mrs. Philip J. Roosevelt, Sinclair Lewis, Mrs. Bruce Barton, Mr. and Mrs. Charles Shipman Payson, Mr. and Mrs. Courtlandt D. Barnes, Jr., Senator D. Worth Clarke, the Most Rev. Bishop Shaughnessy, of Seattle, Lillian Gish and Senator Guy Gillette.

SEN B. K. WHEELER
Also Speaks Tonight

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Lad
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Gould
Mr. Carson
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Egan
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

G FROM THE
ENING JOURNAL AMERICAN
MAY 23 1941
ED BY N.Y. DIVISION

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Dreyton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

The Wrong Way

However vigorously we disagree with the views of Charles A. Lindbergh and the America First Committee, there is a distinctly unhealthy twist to developments in Philadelphia in connection with Mr. Lindbergh's scheduled speech there on May 29. He has been denied the use of the historic Academy of Music, chiefly on the ground that his followers are haters of democracy. Moreover, the committee's bid for paid trolley and bus displays has been turned down because the subject is "too controversial." And two local radio stations claim to have found a provision in the broadcasters' code which obliges them to refuse advertising time.

All of this, we submit, is entirely satisfactory to cynical Nazi propagandists. They will exploit it as proof that this country's vaunted freedom of speech is just another shibboleth to be discarded at will. Time and again, when evidence of suppression over here has cropped up in the news, the Nazis have made the most of it. They lampooned the controversy over Marian Anderson's right to sing in Constitution Hall. They caricatured the smear tactics used in the last Presidential campaign. And they have consistently sneered at the wrangling over Mr. Lindbergh's views, and at sporadic efforts to silence him, as proof of democracy's incipient breakdown.

No, the antidote for the ostrich-like isolation which the America First people advocate is definitely not censorship. Let them have their say—if there are those who will listen. Not to permit it comes under the heading of flattering the enemy by imitation.

MAY 23 1941

WASHINGTON POST
Page

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Kendon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

500 Police to Guard Lindbergh N. Y. Rally

NEW YORK, May 22 (N. Y. News).—Charles A. Lindbergh and Senator Burton K. Wheeler, Montana Democrat, will speak tomorrow night in Madison Square Garden at a rally, sponsored by the New York chapter of the America First Committee, which is expected to draw a packed house of more than 20,000 persons and an overflow crowd in adjacent streets. More than 500 police and a large detail of detectives will patrol the Garden.

MAY 23 1941

WASHINGTON TIMES-HERALD
Page

CITIZENS SEND MASS— APPEAL AGAINST WAR TODAY TO PRESIDENT

An appeal to Americans who still value their liberty to participate in the Plea to the President hour from noon to 1 p. m. today was made last night by Mrs. Janet Ayer Fairbank, vice chairman of the America First committee.

More than 250,000 members of 125 units in Illinois and Iowa have promised to send to Washington during that hour wires and letters protesting against any involvement in the war and against any steps which might lead the United States into the conflict.

"We urge all Americans who still value their liberty," said Mrs. Fairbank, "to join us in setting aside this one hour to write or wire President Roosevelt protesting our entry into another foreign war and also to tactics which might involve us in war. If you oppose our entry into the fight take part in this campaign to let the President know how the majority of the people feel. Help us to keep out of the war."

[Coupon to be mailed in connection with the Plea to the President hour appears on page 17.]

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CHICAGO DAILY TRIBUNE

5-23-

GRAFTON TRACES ISOLATIONISM TO HATRED FOR F. D. R.

Finds America First Here Rallying Point for New Deal Foes.

BY SAMUEL GRAFTON.

(New York Evening Post Correspondent.)

(This, the second of Mr. Grafton's articles written from Chicago, is printed by permission of the New York Evening Post.)

Chicago, May 23.—Young R Douglas Stuart, 25-year-old organizer and executive head of America First, is intensely proud that so many "practical" men are in his organization, manufacturers, engineers, people who "get things done."

I had wondered, while waiting in the anteroom of America First's unpretentious offices in the Board of Trade Building, just how clear in its own mind this organization of practical men could be. For on the anteroom table lies a pamphlet by Brig. Gen. Robert E. Wood, in which it is said that England cannot lose and therefore convoys are unnecessary. Beside this lies a pamphlet by Mr. Charles A. Lindbergh, in which it is said that England cannot win and therefore convoys are useless.

Young Stuart, utterly sincere, speaks glowingly of the need for improving our democracy at home. He wants a better break, economically, for the American people. "We want to preserve and extend our ideals here. We would lose them in a war." He takes Gen. Wood's line, that we must stay out and give our people an improved version of New Deal reforms.

Detest New Deal Reforms.

Yet the practical men, whom he admires, almost universally detest those reforms; they have flocked to isolation as one of the ways to stop the relentless march of change.

Take the hard core of the most resolute Roosevelt haters in Chicago, take the Chicago Tribune circle of influence, take Mrs. Janet Ayer Fairbank, once a prominent Democrat, who campaigned for Landon in 1936, "animated," she says, "by a desire to defeat Roosevelt," take Gen. Thomas S. Hammond, an eloquent anti-Roosevelt ian, and you have the hard core of articulate Chicago isolation.

Stuart, in his national America First office, talks of reform; Gen. Hammond, for the local America First office; of which he is chairman, speaks of his detestation of recent reforms. This is Chicago isolation, confused, tormented, determined not to save an England which is bound to lose and bound to win, as the only means of both promoting and stopping reform at home.

Don't get me wrong. I went to see Gen. Hammond at his plant in suburban Harvey; it was one of the finest and most illuminating experiences in my life.

Impatient with the World.

Here, in his small office at the Whiting Corporation, sits something like the traditional old-time American shipmaster, tough, hard, almost frighteningly able; a man who makes machines that cut through two-inch-thick slabs of steel like cheese, a man whose mind resents the foreign tangle and would like to cut through that, too, in the same buzz-saw style. I am afraid Gen. Hammond is rather impatient with the world.

He looks like a general. He was once a great Michigan football man; he looks like that, too. He does not seem to like to sit at his desk in his second-floor office amid his cluster of worksheds. We walked through the plant, talking. He does not

(Continued on page 18, column 1.)

GRAFTON TRACES ISOLATIONISM TO HATRED FOR F. D. R.

(Continued from First Page.)

merely stand off and point to a machine tool; he almost nuzzles it, getting close to the cooling spray and the jumping metal chips. "Look at those chips!" he says. "Look at them fly off." To the machine attendant: "Is this hard work?"

"No, sir. All automatic. Only work is putting the bar steel in to be cut."

Boasts of Accident Record.

"See!" The general's arm swings about, pointing to the high roof, the huge windows. "Nice place to work, isn't it? If we didn't have this war nonsense, we could build more units like this, give people a decent place to work. That's what they want." He points to a sign which boasts that the plant has now passed more than 800 days without a lost-time accident. "That's morale! See?"

"General, don't you think that, in spite of isolation, we've got to do something about Martinique, Dakar——"

"Appoint a nonpartisan board of military experts. See? Let them study it like a problem. If they say we have to do something, why do it. If not, not. Let's stop shooting off our mouths and talking about grabbing stuff, just like Hitler."

"Should the President appoint the board?"

"No. Congress. Get it out of politics. If the board says we need Martinique, buy the blank, blank place."

"And about help to England——"

"Sure, if we can spare it, give it to them. I'd feel better about them if they'd paid their debts. Let the same board say what we ought to do about England. I want to see her win, but not any hurt to us."

His mind tackles the problem. "If we are preparing to fight Germany, then aid to England makes sense. If we want peace, then it's the bunk. Tell you what we need."

Urges a Selling Campaign.

His mind rips into the thing again: "We ought to put on a good selling campaign about this country as the best place to live in in the whole world. Let's get some propaganda up about individual initiative and private ownership of property. That's what made us a nation of go-getters. We can compete with anybody in trade. We're not ready for war. If we cut out the war nonsense, we can put our money into machines for peaceful production, cut costs, give everybody jobs without this blank, blank leaf-raking. We could subsidize our whole foreign trade cheaper than war."

Thus the Whiting Corporation, at the height of our crisis, stands like a fortress of steel, fighting off the changing, eroding tides of time. Chicago business is younger than business in the East. It has a certain elemental Carl Sandburgian something about it. It does not believe that the world has changed. It does not believe we can't return to the normal way of life. Its isolation flows from its determination that there shall be no change.

It is utterly sincere. It can contemplate no future unlike the past. Something has changed in the world, but the roaring plants outside the city just don't believe it. They sense touch of Roosevelt in everything that ails the world. But these plants are not all of Chicago, by any means, and later I shall show how the city breaks into clusters and groups on the issue.

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carter
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Tamm
Mr. Gandy

CHICAGO DAILY NEWS

5-23-41

AMERICA'S BATTLE PAGE

In response to many requests, The News today resumes publication of America's Battle Page, presenting opposite views on the role this nation should take in World War II. The page was temporarily discontinued May 17 when the space was required for maps illustrating important events abroad. Owing to the need for such maps from time to time, the Battle Page hereafter will not appear on a set schedule. The News expects, however, to print it two or three times a week. The page is divided equally between the two organizations whose names appear below. They are free to say what they please without interference or editing by The News. On the other hand, they accept full responsibility for the presentation of their views.

(Provided by the America First Committee, New York Chapter, Inc., 515 Madison Ave. and 3 East 47th St., New York City)

You Can Prove The U. S. Wants Peace

As this Battle Page re-opens its columns, the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE can bring glad tidings to the people.

At last the great sovereign voice of the people in a democracy has been heard. For over a year a small minority—from 15 to 20 per cent. of our population—has been pushing us hotheadedly into war. They have not said they were pushing us to war. They have said they were trying to save us from war. They were telling us they wished to aid Britain, but without war. But now there are no more steps to take without war, and so they cannot deceive us longer. Now they clamor for war. AND SUDDENLY THE PEOPLE HAVE SEEN THE AWFUL TRUTH WHICH HAD BEEN HIDDEN FROM THEM BEFORE.

* * *

The stage was all set last week by the war-makers to put us over the precipice. But all over the land something happened. The farmer out on his Western farm got out his stub of a pencil and wrote to the White House: "You promised to keep my boy out of war. I am looking to you to keep that promise." On postcards, on scraps of paper, on the letterheads of great business houses, on perfumed stationery, the letters poured in on the White House and the Senators and Congressmen from every corner of the land.

This is still a democracy, and the voice of the people was raised against war—raised so loud and so strong that the march to war was halted . . . halted at least for the moment.

* * *

Now tonight—Friday night—AMERICA FIRST calls on all citizens of New York to assemble in Madison Square Garden to register one mighty protest here in this very heart of the war movement—a protest that no servant of the people dare misunderstand. Come in such numbers that Washington will know where New York stands.

Senator Burton K. Wheeler, the great leader of the fight against war in the Senate, and Col. Charles A. Lindbergh, whose brave telling of the truth has aroused the people, come to us after a swing around the country. They have given themselves without stint. Now you can do your part tonight. Go to Madison Square Garden.

Remember, it is not just a case of going to hear great and historic speeches. This is your chance to do your bit by making this meeting a great and impressive demonstration against war and for your country.

TONIGHT

Attend the Great AMERICA FIRST Rally

AGAINST WAR

Come early and make this the greatest meeting in the history of New York

Speakers:

Burton K. Wheeler — Charles A. Lindbergh
Kathleen Norris — Norman Thomas

MADISON SQUARE GARDEN

20,000 SEATS

GENERAL ADMISSION FREE — DOORS OPEN 7 P. M.

Come and bring your friends.

(Provided by the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies, 8 W. 40th St., New York City)

National Death

The Saturday Evening Post has been one of the chief isolationist journals of this country. This week it abandoned its opposition to our national policy of all-out aid to the Allies to stop Hitler over there.

The Post still believes that we should not have adopted this policy. With that we disagree. But, as the Post realizes, that is water under the bridge. Now that this policy has been adopted, and we are at work carrying it out, it is too late to turn back.

The peril now, says the Post, is not in making the wrong choice. The peril "is there whatever we choose to do. We cannot now escape."

After saying that there is peril in going on, the Post declares that the peril in going back "is no less, maybe even greater."

To go back, says the Post, "is to face the possibility of national death."

And still there are those who are trying to make us believe that we have a simple choice between peace and war! They are trying to make us believe that to stop our aid to the Allies, to turn back, would be to choose peace.

Those who would have us believe this have been friends of the Saturday Evening Post. It has been on their side; their spokesman. Now, it faces the truth and tells them that we have no such choice. It tells them that to turn back is to face the possibility of national death.

Will they continue to try to throw dust in our eyes, and their own, by harping on what are no longer issues?

What the President said six months ago is not an issue now.

What Wendell Willkie said in the campaign last Fall is not an issue now.

Nor are the horrors of war and the benefits of peace at issue now. There can be no sane issue where we have no choice.

Here is the issue now, as pointed out by the Saturday Evening Post:

Shall we take the risks involved in going forward the way we, as a nation, have chosen, or shall we turn back to the possibility of national death?

The Saturday Evening Post has been wise, patriotic and courageous in settling the issue for itself. It will not face the possibility of national death. It will accept the risks involved in going ahead.

How about you?

Those Who Cheer

If you go to the mass meeting at Madison Square Garden tonight, you will mingle with Nazis, Fascists and Communists. You will mingle with persons of all shades of opinion subversive to the United States and the democratic way of life.

We say this because these Communists, Fascists and Nazis have been numerous and prominent at other mass meetings held by the America First Committee.

We have advance notice that one group of more than 200 persons will be at the mass meeting tonight. It came in a letter from a man who may not be a German, in spite of his German name. He says, "We intend to be there, over 200 of us, and I dare you or any one else to smear us. What a surprise you would get."

We believe the leaders of the America First Committee when they say that they want no financial support from subversive elements. We believe that the America First leaders would prefer that persons of un-American ideals stayed away from America First rallies. But that is not the point.

The point is that un-American organizations have made appeals for contributions of money to America First. Un-American elements crowd America First rallies. They applaud America First speakers. They boo the President of the United States. They do not boo Hitler or Mussolini or Stalin.

At the rally in Mecca Temple, they cheered when a speaker said that the last free democracy in Europe will be defeated by Hitler.

Remember, these persons are not in sympathy with our American way of life.

Some of them belong to the Nazi Bund, which is pro-Hitler. They believe with Herr Hitler that the Nazi-Fascist world must break asunder the whole democratic world.

Some of them belong to the Communist Party. They supported Stalin when he made war on little Finland. But they boo mention of the United States defending itself by sending aid to Britain.

If these Nazis and Communists came to mass meetings of the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies and cheered what our speakers said, we would be sure there was something wrong—with us. What Hitler, Mussolini, Stalin and their friends in this country applaud cannot be good for America.

Bundists and Communists do not cheer serving America first.

TODAY TELL THE PRESIDENT, YOUR SENATORS AND REPRESENTATIVES THAT YOU ARE IN FAVOR OF CONVOYS, TO HELP STOP HITLER OVER THERE.

LEADER ASKED BY LINDBERGH

Wheeler Urges Peace Appeal by President

[Boston Herald-N. Y. Times Dispatch]

NEW YORK, May 23—Charles A. Lindbergh, making his second anti-war address in New York under the auspices of the America First Committee, joined with Senator Burton K. Wheeler of Montana tonight in attacking President Roosevelt's foreign policy and in demanding leadership at Washington to keep this country out of war and to return to isolationism.

Wheeler appealed to the President to issue an appeal for peace to the peoples of Germany, Italy and England, and to demand that the "war makers," among whom he classed Henry L. Stimson, secretary of war; Frank Knox, secretary of the navy; former Ambassador William C. Bullitt and Col. William J. Donovan with "the Hitlers in Germany and the Churchills in England," step down and out. He urged a "just" peace, not in the interests of either British tories and imperialists or of power or land-hungry dictators.

RECALLS PROMISE

The senator denounced "one-man government" and warned that the American people might lose faith in their government if the President "repudiates" his election pledges not to take the country into a foreign war.

Lindbergh also warned of the danger to our system of government from the same source, asking both Democratic and Republican leaders to take notice, and followed this with an appeal to his hearers to support him and his associates in the America First Committee in creating new leadership.

Both speakers asserted that Amer-

(Continued on Page Twenty)

Boston Herald
May 24, 1941

Leader Asked By Lindbergh

(Continued from First Page)

ica has nothing to fear from foreign invasion, providing it has the right leadership, and both asserted there was a growing development of public opinion throughout the country against the President's position on the war issue.

The Fight for Freedom Committee, the Friends of Democracy, and several other organizations were notified by police before the meeting that picketing would not be allowed. About 500 policemen were on duty.

Deputy Chief Police Inspector Louis F. Costuma estimated the audience inside at 20,000 persons. A crowd of 2000 persons was outside the building.

Five youth organizations, the League of Youth for Democracy, the Federated Council for Americanism, the Social Democratic Youth, Democracy's volunteers and the Student Defenders of Democracy, issued a statement declaring that "the right to picket is a constitutional one and to be arbitrarily denied this right is an infringement upon our civil liberties.

LACK LEADERSHIP

Lindbergh said Americans "should have no reason to fear."

"We lack only a leadership that places America first—a leadership that does for 130,000,000 people what Washington did for us when we were only 3,000,000—a leadership that tells us what it means and means what it says. Give us that, and we will be the most powerful country in the world. Give us that and we will be so united that no one will dare attack us."

Without mentioning the President by name, Lindbergh continued to allude to him in warning of the loss of democracy at home under the guise of protecting it abroad.

"We have been shouting against intolerance in Europe," he continued, "but it has been rising in America. We deplore the fact that the German people cannot vote on the policies of their government—that Hitler led his nation into war without asking their consent.

"But have we been given the opportunity to vote on the policy our government has followed? No, we have been led toward war against the opposition of four-fifths of our people. We had no more chance to vote on the issue of peace and war last November than if we had been in a totalitarian state ourselves.

"We in America were given just about as much chance to express our beliefs at the election last fall as the Germans would have been given if Hitler had run against Goering."

If the United States enters the war, Lindbeghh continued, our losses are "likely to run into the millions" and "victory itself is doubtful." He asked interventionalists to "stop and consider whether democracy, tolerance and our American way of life are likely to survive in such a struggle," adding, "or may we not find conditions as bad or worse after the war than they are in the dictator-

He said he opposed the war before it started because he knew England and France were "not in a position to win," and he "did not want them to lose," and that he now opposes Amercian intervention because he thinks the American way of life cannot survive our particpaiton.

Reporting on his recent Western trip, Lindbergh said he had found strength growing everywhere for the American First movement. Saying a cry is rising against war from every section of the country, he ended by urging his audience to join with the America First Committee to enable it to "create the leadership necessary" to spread American ideals abroad and defend the Western hemisphere from invasion without entering the war.

CAN DEFEND SELVES

Wheeler paid tribute to Lindbergh for braving the "warmongers' scorn and abuse," and urged support for him not only to "save your sons from the bloody battlefields of Europe, Asia and Africa," but also "to fight against one-man government, and denounced Nazism, Fascism, Communism, British imperialism, American tories "and all war-makers."

Joining with Lindbergh in reporting the country, both east and west, on the basis of a 7600-mile trip in 20 states, as overwhelmingly against war, he called "pro-English next to being pro-American," but said England was selfishly trying to get us into the war to fight for her interests, and insisted that we could defend ourselves without the aid of England, or the English fleet.

Wheeler ridiculed all theories that Hitler could invade this hemisphere, even if he took over the British fleet, or that he could subdue the United States by economic invasion.

"I am not afraid," he continued, "of any of these imaginary threats conjured up by those who want to take us into a jolly war. I am afraid that if President Roosevelt repudiates his election pledges to the American people—not to take us into a foreign war—that the American people will lose faith not only in the President but in their government."

The Senator expressed fears of the President waging an undeclared war, of the end of constitutional democracy, of inflation or debt repudiation, of trouble from wounded soldiers returning from the war, of post-war economic breakdown and of resultant dictatorship.

URGES PEACE APPEAL

Attacking "jingoistic journalists and saber rattling bankers in New York" for trying to push the President into war, he said the American people as a whole, and the people of the entire world also, look to Mr. Roosevelt for leadership for peace.

"The President of the United States," he continued, "could appeal to the world for peace—he could appeal not to Hitler or to Mussolini or Churchill but to the people of Germany, Italy and England. He could demand that the war-makers, the Hitlers of Germany, the Churchills in England andthe Knoxes and Stimsons step down and out. I believe he could dictate the peace of the world if he would. But first he must rid himself of those war makers that surround him—who refuse to understand the wishes of the people."

In closing, he said:

"Tonight most of the world is engaged in bloody battle. I ask in behalf of millions that the President of the United States, at the risk of being called an appeaser, appeal to all the people of the world to stop war—now—before it is too late."

PLEAS AGAINST WAR CHEERED AT GARDEN

Continued From Page One

anti-Nazi pickets and supporters of the America First Committee, that organization held its widely advertised "anti-war rally" in the Garden.

Crowds Arrive Early

The doors were opened at 5 o'clock and within an hour crowds had begun to stream into the auditorium in rapidly increasing numbers. By 7:30 most of the seats were filled. Men and women ushers passed out small American flags to each person, and the auditorium itself was hung with flags and red, white and blue bunting. At 7:35 the audience opened a musical program with the singing of "America."

One of the early arrivals was Joseph McWilliams, self-styled fuehrer of the Christian Mobilizers, whose appearance caused a mild flurry. Two ushers wearing the official arm band of the committee jumped from the platform and asked a patrolman to request McWilliams to leave, but the patrolman told them they would have to see a higher police officer. Then the matter was dropped.

McWilliams Again in Limelight

Another episode over McWilliams occurred after the meeting started, when John T. Flynn, chairman of the New York chapter of the America First Committee and chairman of the meeting, shouted that he had been told McWilliams was present, but that the committee was in no way responsible for his presence.

"What he is doing here, how he got in, or whose stooge he is I do not know," said Mr. Flynn, "but I do know that the photographers for the war-making newspapers always know where to find him."

Amid loud boos, hisses and cries of "throw him out," while detectives of the alien squad lined up alongside McWilliams' aisle seat in the seventh row center, a heckler stood up near by and began shouting back at Mr. Flynn. While McWilliams, who stayed in his seat and said nothing, remained, the heckler was ejected by the police. He declined to tell reporters his name.

The arrival of a delegation of about fifty persons carrying a large sign bearing the words "Copperheads of Westchester" was applauded.

A line of policemen surrounded the platform, and others stood against the wall around the hall, facing the audience.

Soon after 8 o'clock, the time scheduled for the rally to begin, the audience had almost reached the Garden's 22,000 capacity for such events.

During the musical program before the rally itself, Robert Crawford, song-leader, asked the audience if it wanted to sing "God Bless America." He was drowned out by a chorus of "Nos" and said "Let's drop it." A spokesman for anti-war groups said it was regarded as an interventionist song.

Lindbergh, Wheeler Cheered

Mr. Lindbergh and Senator Wheeler received an enthusiastic reception from a standing, cheering, flag-waving crowd when they made their entrance on the platform at 8:30 P. M, with Norman Thomas, Socialist leader, and Kathleen Norris, novelist, the other speakers. The ovation continued for five minutes. When it stopped the crowd in the north balcony started a chant, "We want Lindbergh," repeated over and over, during which Mr. Lindbergh rose and bowed. Then it began, "We want Wheeler" and continued until the Senator rose and waved.

Mrs. John P. Marquand, wife of the Boston novelist, opened the rally at 8:40 o'clock by calling on the audience to sing "The Star Spangled Banner" and then to recite "The People's Pledge to the Flag," which was done all standing with arms outstretched.

After saying the America First Committee repudiated any support the German-American Bund, the Communist or Fascist parties or their sympathizers might give "for the furthering of their ulterior political motives," Mrs. Marquand asserted the social philosophies of such organizations "are un-American and completely foreign to the spirit of religious and intellectual tolerance for which the America First Committee stands."

Mr. Lindbergh said Americans "should have no reason to fear."

"We lack only a leadership that places America first--a leadership that tells us what it means and means what it says. Give us that, and we will be the most powerful country in the world. Give us that and we will be so united that no one will dare attack us."

Without mentioning the President by name, Mr. Lindbergh continued to allude to him in warning of the loss of democracy at home under the guise of protecting it abroad.

Warns of Intolerance Here

"We have been shouting against intolerance in Europe," he continued, "but it has been rising in America. We deplore the fact that the German people cannot vote on the policies of their government--that Hitler led his nation into war without asking their consent. But have we been given the opportunity to vote on the policy our government has followed? No, we have been led toward war against the opposition of four-fifths of our people. We had no more chance to vote on the issue of peace and war last November than if we had been in a totalitarian state ourselves. We in America were given just about as much chance to express our beliefs at the election last Fall as the Germans would have been given if Hitler had run against Goering."

If the United States enters the war, Mr. Lindbergh continued, our losses are "likely to run into the millions" and "victory itself is doubtful." He asked interventionists to "stop and consider whether democracy, tolerance and our American way of life are likely to survive in such a struggle," adding, "or may we not find conditions as bad or worse after a war than they are in the dictatorships of Europe today?"

Reporting on his recent Western trip, Mr. Lindbergh said he had found strength growing everywhere for the America First movement. Saying a cry is rising against war from every section of the country, he ended by urging his audience to join with the America First Committee to enable it to "create the leadership necessary" to spread American ideals abroad and defend the Western Hemisphere from invasion without entering the war.

Mr. Lindbergh received a four-minute ovation at the end of his speech. There was a shower of torn paper from the north balcony. With his wife sitting behind him on the platform, he rose several times and waved to the crowd.

Senator Wheeler paid tribute to Mr. Lindbergh for braving the "warmongers' scorn and abuse," and urged support for him not only to "save your sons from the bloody battlefields of Europe, Asia and Africa," but also "to fight against one-man government in the United States."

The American people, he continued, resent the efforts of Lord Halifax, the British Ambassador, and "the royal refugees" to get us into the war "to save the British Empire."

Senator Wheeler also ridiculed all theories that Hitler could invade this hemisphere, even if he took over the British fleet, and that he could subdue the United States by economic invasion.

Undeclared War Feared

The Senator expressed fears of the President waging an undeclared war, of the end of constitutional democracy, of inflation or debt repudiation, of trouble from wounded soldiers returning from the war, of post-war economic breakdown and of resultant dictatorship.

Attacking "jingoistic journalists and saber rattling bankers in New York" for trying to push the President into war, he said the American people as a whole, and the people of the entire world also, look to Mr. Roosevelt for leadership for peace.

Mr. Lindbergh made few changes in his manuscript, but Senator Wheeler frequently departed from his, both interpolating and omitting sections. He modified his prepared speech by saying he was "sympathetic to the English" instead of "pro-English" next to being pro-American. He added the statement that Hitler would need at least 2,000,000 men to make "any kind of an invasion" of this country.

In his manuscript he left out the people of Japan, whom he included in those to whom he said President Roosevelt should appeal for peace over the heads of their leaders. He told the audience the British Empire was "tottering"—an adjective he did not write in his advance copy. Also he added the statement at the end of his speech that the American people want no convoys, want no substitute for convoys and want no war.

Mr. Thomas appealed "from the Roosevelt of today to the Roosevelt of yesterday" on the issue of war or peace, which he said was the only issue today. He doubted whether the Administration knew what it was doing in leading us to war, and sometimes thought it was making a great gamble and hoped to escape war.

The Socialist leader urged immediate efforts to bring about peace, saying that even if it failed it might drive a wedge between the dictators and their peoples. It might be successful now or if not eventually, he added.

Mr. Thomas led the audience in an ironical recitation of President Roosevelt's election pledge that American boys were not going to be sent into any foreign wars, the audience repeating each line after he said it.

Mrs. Norris spoke after Mrs. Ida O'Brien was introduced as New York State chairman of the Gold Star Mothers by Mr. Flynn, who said the meeting wanted to make sure there should be no more Gold Star Mothers here.

According to Mrs. Norris the American people have not been told what we should fight for in Europe, but have been "propagandized," but the America First Committee refuses to be frightened by Hitler or any one else.

"We know," she added, "that only one Navy will ever defend us and that's the American Navy."

The voices of our dead soldiers in the last war, she added, call to us: "Never again, never again, never again!"

Speakers Lauded by Flynn

Mr. Flynn said that the speakers were all Americans in contrast to the Madison Square Garden meeting of the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies two weeks ago, at which representatives of European nations conquered by the Nazis spoke.

Mr. Flynn said efforts have been made to "smear" and "discredit" the America First Committee by calling its members and supporters Nazis and fellow-travelers. Referring to Cardinal O'Connell of the Roman Catholic Church in Boston, whose "prayer and blessing" for the rally Mr. Flynn had just read, he asserted ironically that the Cardinal was a Nazi "because some misguided fool somewhere in Manhattan, with Nazi sympathies, manages to get a few tickets to one of our meetings."

"This organization seeks the support of the 100,0000,000 Americans who are against war," he said. "It is not crazy enough to want the support of a handful of Bundists, Communists and Christian Fronters who are without number, without influence, without power and without respect in this or any other community."

Other telegrams read to the audience included anti-war sentiments from Sinclair Lewis, novelist husband of Dorothy Thompson, interventionist columnist, Lillian Gish, motion picture actress, and Robert E. Wood of Chicago, national chairman of the American First Committee.

Among those on the platform were Mrs. Robert A. Taft, wife of the Senator; Mrs. Alice Roosevelt Longworth, Mrs. Wheeler, Mrs. Lindbergh, Mrs. Archie Roosevelt, Mrs. Philip Roosevelt, Michael Strange, William Gaxton, actor; Oswald Garrison Villard, Amos R. E. Pinchot, the Rev. James J. Gillis, editor of The Catholic World, and Professor Edward R. Elrner of Teachers College, Columbia University.

Station WOR and the Mutual system broadcast Mr. Lindbergh's speech; the NBC and CBS networks Senator Wheeler's.

A youth who identified himself as Frederick C. Langbein of 190 Harrington Street, Bergenfield, N. J., a member of the America First Committee, was ejected from the Garden by detectives, one of whom he accused of hitting him in the face. He insisted that he had done nothing but stand up and applaud. He said he had attended the meeting with his mother and father.

The overflow crowd, which listened to the speeches over amplifiers set up in Forty-ninth Street between Eighth and Ninth Avenues, was estimated at between 8,000 and 14,000 persons. The crowd gathered after the doors of the Garden were closed at 8:27 P. M. by order of the Fire Department to all ex-

tant holders of reserved seats. Previously tickets had been supplied to some of the crowd by the police, who said they had received them from the sponsors of the meeting.

Police orders forbade picketing outside the Garden, and most anti-Nazi organizations that had asked the right to picket contented themselves with flags and handbills at street corners. This was done by about fifteen organiz... from interventionist grou... venders of Father Coughlin'... cial Justice" magazine.

Twenty-two members of t... cial Democratic Youth of An... carrying signs urging all-out ... Britain, attempted to pick... were turned back by the po... Eighth Avenue and Fifty-... Street, where they got into t... return to their headquarters.

FORWARDED BY N.Y. DIVISION

LINDBERGH JOINS IN WHEELER PLEA TO U.S. TO SHUN WAR

22,000 at Madison Sq. Garden Peace Rally Cheer Leaders' Attacks on Intervention

ROOSEVELT IS ASSAILED

Call for Return to Isolation Stand Demanded—Move to Eject McWilliams Fails

Texts of the Lindbergh and Wheeler speeches, Page 7.

Charles A. Lindbergh, making his second anti-war address in New York under the auspices of the America First Committee, joined with Senator Burton K. Wheeler of Montana last night in attacking President Roosevelt's foreign policy and in demanding leadership at Washington to keep this country out of war and to return to isolationism. They spoke to a capacity crowd of 22,000 at Madison Square Garden. An estimated 8,000 to 14,000 listened at loudspeakers in the street.

Senator Wheeler appealed to the President to issue an appeal for peace to the peoples of Germany, Italy, England and Japan, and to demand that the "war makers," among whom he classed Henry L. Stimson, Secretary of War; Frank Knox, Secretary of the Navy; former Ambassador William C. Bullitt and Colonel William J. Donovan with "the Hitlers in Germany and the Churchills in England," step down and out. He urged a "just" peace, not in the interests of either British tories and imperialists or of power or land-hungry dictators.

"One-Man Government" Scored

The Senator denounced "one-man government" and warned that the American people might lose faith in their government if the President "repudiates" his election pledges not to take the country into a foreign war. Mr. Lindbergh also warned of the danger to our system of government from the same source, asking both Democratic and Republican leaders to take notice, and followed this with an appeal to his hearers to support him and his associates in the America First Committee in creating new leadership.

Both speakers asserted that America has nothing to fear from foreign invasion, provided it has the right leadership, and both asserted there was a growing development of public opinion throughout the country against the President's position on the war issue.

The audience was highly demonstrative and noisy, breaking into speeches with repeated outbursts of applause for every statement that America wants to keep out of war, for every mention of Mr. Lindbergh, Senator Wheeler and other isolationist leaders, for all isolationist slogans, and for all assertions that the United States is strong and mighty enough not to worry about its defense from any invader, even if Britain falls and the British fleet is taken over by Hitler.

It gave vent to its enthusiasm on the negative side with equally loud boos and hisses for President Roosevelt, for Wendell L. Willkie, for Secretaries Knox and Stimson, for Ambassador Halifax of Great Britain, for the British Empire, and for all other persons and organizations who favor all-out aid to Britain, or who argue that it is in the interest of the United States to keep Nazi Germany from defeating Britain.

While more than 800 policemen guarded the Garden inside and out, against threatened clashes between

CLIPPING FROM THE N.Y.TIMES

DATE

FORWARDED BY N.Y. DIVISION

Welcome, Brother --:- *By Frank C. Waldrop*

THAT old Communist, Fascist, labor baiter, scared millionaire, country bumpkin and confused Japanese spy, Mr. Sinclair Lewis, has just come over to the America First Committee.

Frank C. Waldrop

He has even fallen so low as to sponsor a rally at New York for such foreign agitators as Charles A. Lindbergh, Burton K. Wheeler and Kathleen Norris.

This calls for some explaining because, as you must know, Mr. Lewis's missus is in the papers all the time against Hitler and surely there must be some mistake.

Nope. No mistake. Mr. Lewis just happens to believe in America First after weighing all elements, even including the excellent living that cussing Hitler has produced for his missus.

MR. LEWIS is not alone as an intellectual who does not swallow the proposition to pin democracy down over all the earth with bayonets.

(He may be offended at being called an intellectual, and who could blame him, but there must be SOME word to indicate a fellow who thinks about abstractions for a living.)

He is not the only intellectual now standing with America First.

There was an incident in Washington only a week ago today that shook some certain persons like, as P. G. Wodehouse has so aptly put it, a jelly in a high wind.

THE incident was the appearance of Felix Morley before the ~~America~~ First Committee of Washington. Mr. Morley is also one who thinks about abstract matters for a living, though not all the time, for he is a college president.

For several years, Mr. Morley was editor of *The Washington Post*, a newspaper notably devoted to a foreign policy now commonly described as *interventionist*.

As editor, Mr. Morley was strong for the United States' entering the League of Nations, collaborating with Britain, and otherwise falling in with various schemes of what used to be known as "collective security."

ABOUT a year ago, Mr. Morley left Washington to become president of Haverford College, in Pennsylvania. And in his occasional writings ever since he has moved further and further away from intervention.

At that meeting of Saturday a week ago, he left his past entirely behind and announced:

1. Charles A. Lindbergh is a great American because, if for no other reason, he has the guts to stand up for what he really believes.

2. The America First Committee is on the right track in opposing these present steps toward war.

3. We should arm fully and completely for defense and prepare against the peace when we must—Mr. Morley didn't put it in these exact words—take over the world leadership the British Empire once exercised; not a brutal military leadership, but a leadership in commerce and industry.

4. The newspapers and the college professors are taking the weak and easy way out when they let an apparent flood of public opinion carry them into approval of the war policy now dominating the Administration here.

5. The America First Committee may now represent a minority public opinion but very shortly it will be a majority—said Morley—and he intimated the speed will be determined by the speed with which the Administration seems to move toward a shooting war.

THAT was no easy stand for Mr. Morley to take, no matter how easy it might now have become for Mr. Sinclair Lewis to go contrary to his missus.

Felix Morley is the son of an Englishman. He was educated in England. His brother, Christopher, is even now writing poems for the Bundles for Britain campaign. And Felix Morley genuinely wants America to help Britain win.

But—and this is the important thing—he does not want to see his country go into this foreign war. He fears it is about to. He has cast out and aside all his inherent emotional bias, therefore, and laid himself open to cruel accusations by friends and relatives, to say:

"Stay out of the war!"

IF YOU have been feeling the lack of heavy thinkers to offset the galaxy of twittering playwrights and poetists trotted out by the interventionists ever and anon to prove their project noble in purpose and approved among the laurel groves, we give you a new recruit to America First, Mr. Sinclair Lewis.

His Nobel Prize and long career as a great author weigh for much, even balanced against his bouncing missus.

And if you want a representative of high moral purpose, note Felix Morley.

Above all:

STAY OUT OF THE WAR!

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

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74

JUN 21 1941

WASHINGTON TIMES-HERALD
Page

Lindbergh, Wheeler Call for Leadership

Montanan Demands President Get Rid Of 'War Makers'

By the Associated Press

New York, May 23.—Charles A. Lindbergh and Senator Burton K. Wheeler joined tonight in a call for "adequate leadership" to keep the Nation out of the European war.

With the declaration that America could be the "strongest and most influential" country in the world, Lindbergh asserted that "we lack only a leadership that places America first, a leadership that does for 130,000,000 people what Washington did for us when we were only 3,000,000 people, a leadership that tells what it means and means what it says."

Saying that a "rising cry against war" was coming from the country, Lindbergh asserted: "It asks how this situation came about. It demands an explanation of what happened at the elections last November. It demands an accounting from a Government that has led us to war while it promised us peace."

Wheeler Assails "War Makers"

Senator Wheeler, Montana Democrat, demanded that President Roosevelt "rid himself of those war makers that surround him, who refuse to understand the wishes of the people," and said he believed that the President could demand that "the war makers, the Hitlers of Germany, the Churchills of England and the Knoxes and Stimsons, step down and out."

Lindbergh and Wheeler were the principal speakers at a rally of the America First Committee at Madison Square Garden.

In his prepared address, Lindbergh drew a parallel between the foreign policy of the American Government and that of the Hitler regime in Germany, saying that "we had no more chance to vote on the issue of peace and war last November than if we had been in a totalitarian state ourselves."

About 500 policemen stood guard. Officials of the Fight for Freedom Committee, the Friends of Democracy and several other organizations were notified by police that picketing would be prohibited.

An hour and a half before Lindbergh was scheduled to speak, Deputy Chief Police Inspector Louis F. Costuma estimated the audience inside at 20,000 persons. All tickets had been sold at 7:40 p. m. An overflow crowd estimated at 2,000 persons was outside the building.

Youths Issue Statement

Five youth organizations, the League of Youth for Democracy, the Federated Council for Americanism, the Social Democratic Youth Democracy's Volunteers and the Student Defenders of Democracy, issued a statement declaring that "the right to picket is a constitutional one and to be arbitrarily denied this right is an infringement upon our civil liberties."

L. M. Birkhead, National Director of the Friends of Democracy, charged in a telegram to Gen. Robert E. Wood, chairman of the America First Committee, that the rally was to be a focal point for "Nazi and Communist forces in the New York area."

Boos and loud yells resounded through the Garden when John T. Flynn, chairman of the New York Chapter of the America First Committee, disavowed any Nazi support of the rally and excoriated Joseph E. McWilliams, founder of the American Destiny Party and unsuccessful candidate for Congress in last fall's election.

Pointing out McWilliams, seated in the fifth row, Flynn, after declaring that all who urged peace were labeled as Nazis, shouted above the din:

"And right here, not many faces from where I am, is sitting a man named McWilliams. What he is doing here, how he gets in here, whose stooge he is I do not know, but I know the photographers of these warmongering newspapers can always find him when they want him.

Heckler Leaves by Request

"The America First Committee does not want the support of a handful of Bundists who are here, without respect, without power, in this community or any other."

Several persons seated near McWilliams, twice convicted of disorderly conduct for making anti-Semitic speeches in the German community of Yorkville, rose and shouted at Flynn. One especially loud heckler was asked to leave, which he did.

Two other persons in the rear of the Garden were escorted out when they jeered during a speech by Socialist Leader Norman Thomas.

Early in his speech, Senator Wheeler disavowed any Nazi or Communist support and described his followers as "simply pro-Americans."

"I was denouncing Hitler when Lord Halifax was shooting wild boar with Goering in Germany," Wheeler said. "I was denouncing Mussolini when Churchill was saying (in 1927) 'if I were an Italian I would be a Fascist.'"

At the outset Wheeler paid tribute to Lindbergh, saying that "upon him the warmongers have turned *their scorn and abuse, but he has* continued to fight the fight of peace and democracy."

Lindbergh reiterated the theme of other recent addresses, that he opposed "our entry into the war because I do not believe that our system of government in America, and our way of life, can survive our participation."

"From every section of our country a cry is rising against this war," Lindbergh said. "But it is a cry that reaches beyond the question of war alone . . . it echoes from the very foundations on which our system of government is built."

Wheeler expressid a fear "that if the President accepts the advice of that little coterie who surround him, most of whom never faced an electorate or met a pay roll or tried a lawsuit, he will wage an undeclared war. And then—constitutional democracy will end."

Lindbergh contended that democracy cannot be spread by force of arms.

"If we cannot make other nations wish to copy our American system of government, we cannot force them to copy it by going to war," he said.

"On the contrary, if we go to war to preserve democracy abroad, we are likely to end by losing it at home. There are already signs of danger around us.

"We have been shouting against intolerance in Europe, but it has been rising in America. We deplore the fact that the German people cannot vote on the policies of their government—that Hitler led his nation into war without asking their consent. But, have we been given the opportunity to vote on the policy our government has followed? We in America were given just about as much chance to exxpress our beliefs at the election last fall as the Germans would have been given if Hitler had run against Goering."

Lindbergh said he opposed the European war before it started because he felt it would be disastrous for Europe.

"I knew that England and France were not in a position to win," he said, "and I did not want them to lose. I now oppose our entry into the war because I do not believe that our system of government in America, and our way of life, can survive our participation."

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Lad
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy

WASHINGTON

MAY 24 19

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

War to Doom Democracy, Lindy Says

U. S. Being Led Into Conflict by Hitler Methods, He Warns

Lindbergh's Text on Page 6

By WILLIAM FULTON

NEW YORK, May 23 (C.T.P.S.). A cheering crowd of more than 22,000 packed Madison Square Garden tonight to hear a warning from Col. Charles A. Lindbergh that the people in this country were being led to war just as "Hitler led his nation into war without asking their consent."

Speaking before the largest gathering held on the Eastern seaboard by the America First Committee were the famous flyer, Senator Burton K. Wheeler, Socialist Leader Norman Thomas, Economist John T. Flynn and Kathleen Norris, well known author.

War Hysteria Ridiculed

Senator Wheeler ridiculed what he referred to as the war hysteria in this city, saying that some people seemed to think that Hitler's panzer divisions soon were going to roll down Broadway. He urged that President Roosevelt use his office to promote world peace and turn from the advice of "the warmongers and their satellites" in their "crusade of blood and destruction."

A near-riot occurred soon after the meeting started when Chairman Flynn, of the New York chapter, denounced Joseph McWilliams, who was sitting in the seventh row, as a local apostle of fascism.

There were shouts of "Throw him out!" and Flynn could not proceed for several minutes. A number of America First members encircled McWilliams menacingly, but he stayed in his seat.

Message Read

Flynn read a message from William Cardinal O'Connell, Archbishop of Boston, declaring that virtually the country's whole population was against continuation "this stupid and insane war."

There were also messages from Lillian Gish, the actress, and Sinclair Lewis, the author who once wrote a novel about dictatorship coming to America. Lewis' wife is Dorothy Thompson, one of the most avid interventionists in the movement toward war.

Socialist Leader Thomas attacked the Administration's leading war advocate, Senator Claude Pepper, of Florida, as a "Hitler on the floor of the Senate." He assailed the Senator for proposing in the Senate a war on five continents in the name of peace.

Lindbergh asserted that if the country was plunged into the conflict abroad in the name of saving democracy, we would likely end up by losing it at home.

Intolerance Attacked

"There are already signs of danger around us," he said. "We have been shouting against intolerance in Europe, but it has been rising in America. We deplore the fact that the German people cannot vote on the policies of their government—that Hitler led his nation into war without asking their consent. But, have we been given the opportunity to vote on the policy our Government has followed?

"No, we have been led toward war against the opposition of four-fifths of our people. We had no more chance to vote on the issue of peace and war last November than if we had been in a totalitarian state ourselves."

Colonel Lindbergh called for what he termed "an independent destiny" for America. This did not mean isolation, he said, but it did mean that the future of America would not be tied to the eternal wars of Europe.

"An independent American destiny means, on the one hand, that our soldiers will not have to fight everybody in the world who prefers some other system of life to ours," he continued. "On the other hand, it means that we will fight anybody and everybody who attempts to interfere with our hemisphere, and that we will do so with all the resources of our nation."

Senator Wheeler offered a plea that President Roosevelt lead a peace movement.

Leadership Needed

"Tonight the warmongers and their satellites demand that President Roosevelt assume leadership in their crusade of blood and destruction," he said. "They decry his leadership. Why? Because he has merely taken us to the brink of war. These sordid romanticists—jingoistic journalists and saber-rattling bankers in New York criticize the President for barely keeping his promises. Only war—blood—sweat—tears—and destruction can satisfy their lust.

"The people of all the world look to Franklin D. Roosevelt. They see him—a symbol of li—a champion of the downtrc—they see him as their knigl leader for peace.

"The President of the U States could appeal to the for peace—he could appeal to Hitler or to Mussolini Churchill but to the people of (many, Italy and England. could demand that the makers—the Hitlers of Gern—the Churchills in England the Knoxes and Stimsons down and out. I believe he c dictate the peace of the wor he would. But first he must himself of those warmakers surround him—who refuse understand the wishes of the ple."

Statement Attacks Meeting

On the stage were such not as Alice Roosevelt Longworth Mrs. Martha Taft, wife of Ser Robert Taft, of Ohio. Mrs. O'Brien, New York State c man of the Gold Star Mothers brought forward and introdu

Two hours before the me started, the Committee to De America by Aiding the Allies out a statement attacking meeting and claiming it had full support of Nazis, Commur and anti-Semitic organizations

Agents of the Friends of De racy, meanwhile, went arc outside the auditorium distr ing handbills linking Lndb with the Nazis and claiming meeting was packed with Hitle thusiasts. Six hundred police served order both inside and side the Garden.

WASHINGTON TIMES-HERALD
Page 1
MAY 24 1941

Texts of the Addresses by Lindbergh and Wheeler Before 22,000 at Garden Peace Rally

The texts of the addresses of Charles A. Lindbergh and Senator Burton K. Wheeler at the Madison Square Garden rally under the auspices of the New York Chapter of the American First Committee follow:

Charles A. Lindbergh

We are assembled here tonight because we believe in an independent destiny for America. Such a destiny does not mean that we will build a wall around our country and isolate ourselves from contact with the rest of the world. But it does mean that the future of America will not be tied to these eternal wars in Europe. It means that American boys will not be sent across the ocean to die so that England or Germany or France or Spain may dominate the other nations.

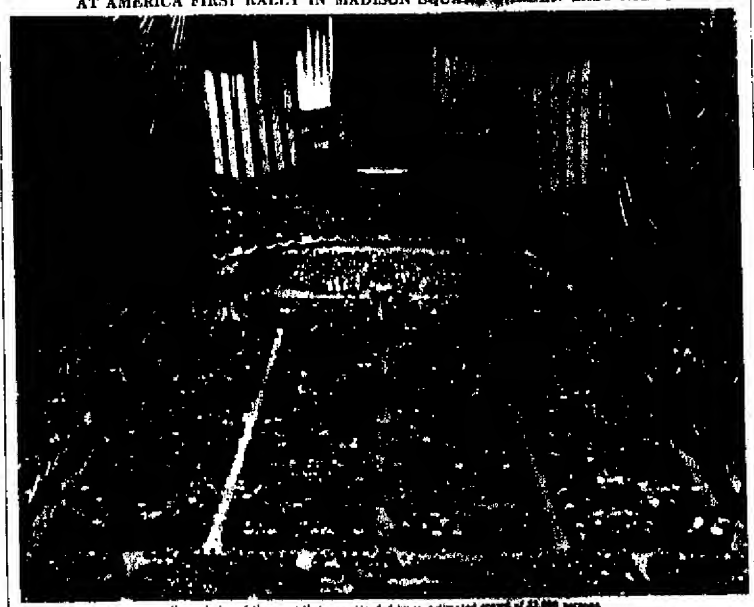
An independent American destiny means, on the one hand, that our soldiers will not have to fight everybody in the world who praises some other system of life to ours. On the other hand, it means that we will fight anybody and everybody who attempts to interfere with our hemisphere, and that we will do so with all the resources of our nation. It means that we rely on our own strength, our own ability and our own courage to preserve this nation and to defeat any one who is rash enough to attack us. It means that we have faith that these United States of ours can compete in commerce or in war with any combination of foreign powers, and that we are no more afraid of the Europe of Germany than our forefathers were afraid of the Europe of France or England or Spain.

No Reason for Fear

We in America should have no reason to fear. With adequate leadership we can be the strongest and most influential nation in the world. No other country has as great resources. None is as easily defended. We look only a leadership that places America first—a leadership that tells what it means and what it says. Give us that and we will be the most powerful country in the world. Give us that and we will be so united that no one will dare to attack us.

Our country is not divided today because we fear war, or sacrifice, or because we fear anything at all. We are divided because we are asked to fight over issues that are Europe's and not our own—issues that Europe created by her own short-sightedness. We are divided because many of us do not wish to fight again for England's balance of power, or for her domination of Iraq, Mesopotamia, or Egypt, or for the Polish Corridor, or for another treaty like Versailles. We are divided because we do not want to cross an ocean to fight on foreign continents, for foreign causes, against an entire world combined against us. Many of us do not think we can impose our way of life, at the point of a machine gun, on the people of Germany, Russia, Italy, France and Japan. Many of us do not believe democracy can be spread in such a manner. We believe that we are more likely to lose it at home than to spread it abroad by prolonging this war and sending millions of our soldiers to death in Europe and Asia.

AT AMERICA FIRST RALLY IN MADISON SQUARE GARDEN LAST NIGHT



General view of the event that was attended by an estimated crowd of 22,000 persons

On the rostrum: Left to right—Senator Burton K. Wheeler, Charles A. Lindbergh, Kathleen Norris and Norman Thomas

Wide World

war in which our losses are [illegible] Flynn, all of us on the Atlantic [illegible] against one man government in [illegible] nightlier. No nation dependent upon another is or can be an independent nation, and those who parade as Americans but who tell us that we are dependent upon the British Navy are unworthy of the name of American.

We are building a two-ocean navy. It will protect this hemisphere. Except for a few units it will be ready for service within two years. Unless Hitler can invade this hemisphere within the next few months he could never do it even though he captured the entire British fleet and the remainder of the French and Italian fleets and these fleets were his to command. This is not idle talk from a swivel chair expert—ask any top ranking, active, working American naval officer.

Let us examine the facts: If Hitler seized the British fleet tomorrow years would be required in which to train crews and officers to man these ships. Each man must be trained for his task; many require the greatest skill and longest experience. Likewise, to command and to manoeuvre fleets demands years of study and then more years of drilling aboard ship. And each of these planes, submarines and ships must drill with each other before a fleet has been trained for action.

Nazis Hold Week at Sea

Hitler has no fleet now and he will not have a fleet until long after we are ready for him, if he attempts to invade this country.

But, my friends, it is inconceivable that the British Fleet would ever come into Hitler's hands. In 1918 the Germans sank their whole fleet rather than deliver it to England. Without the British navy it would take Hitler at least seven years in which to build a fleet equal to ours.

To invade South or North America the invader must have a tremendously superior fleet. It is significant that the British and the French navies never attempted a coastal invasion of Germany. They always chose land operations.

Any of our naval experts will tell you the German fleet today is inconsequential. The British have humbled the Italian fleet. For Hitler to attempt an invasion of the Americas would be suicide. Transports carrying men require fleet protection. German submarines are small. They were designed to operate close to their base—within a few hundred miles of England. They could not be used to accompany transports in any great number, while American submarines are large. They are built for long range. They can cross the Atlantic and back without refueling. They could harass and sink transports over the entire route. No invader could maintain a supply line from Dakar to South America or from Berlin to New York. American bombing planes, protected by fighters, would meet any invaders.

Assume the Germans captured the British Fleet—where would he get the ships, where would Hitler get the ships to transport the troops? Two or three thousand transports for men, another thousand ships to carry the heavy tanks, the motor vehicles the military supplies that would be necessary. Tonight it is doubtful whether Germany could obtain a hundred small transports, or transport a hundred thousand men. Why, we would wipe out a hundred thousand men in no time. It would take at least two years to transport and land an army of a million men in Europe. Hitler knows this. He knows that he could not conquer England, even if he had the British Fleet.

Hitler knows that he could not conquer England, even if he had the British Fleet. He knows that he could not conquer America. He knows that he could not conquer Canada. He knows that he could not conquer Australia. He knows that he could not conquer New Zealand. He knows that he could not conquer South Africa. He knows that he could not conquer India. He knows that he could not conquer China. He knows that he could not conquer Japan. He knows that he could not conquer Russia. He knows that he could not conquer Europe. He knows that he could not conquer the world

On the rostrum: Left to right—Senator Burton K. Wheeler, Charles A. Lindbergh, Kathleen Norris and Norman Thomas

Times Wide World

of Germany, Russia, Italy, France and Japan. Many of us do not believe democracy can be spread in such a manner. We believe that we are more likely to lose it at home than to spread it abroad by prolonging this war and sending millions of our soldiers to death in Europe and Asia.

Democracy is not a quality that can be imposed by war. The attempt to do so has always met with failure. Democracy can spring only from within a nation itself, only from the hearts and minds of the people. It can be spread abroad by example, but never by force. The strength of a democracy lies in the satisfaction of its own people. Its influence lies in making others wish to copy it. If we cannot make other nations wish to copy our American system of government, we cannot force them to copy it by going to war.

Isolationism Seen Rising Here

On the contrary, if we go to war to preserve democracy abroad, we are likely to end by losing it at home. There are already signs of danger around us. We have been shouting against Nazi treason in Europe, but it has been rising in America. We deplore the fact that the German people cannot vote on the policies of their government—that Hitler led his nation into war without asking their consent. But, have we been given the opportunity to vote on the policy our government has followed? No, we have been led forward war against the opposition of four-fifths of our people. We had no more chance to vote on the issue of peace and war last November than if we had been in a totalitarian state ourselves. We in America were given just about as much chance to express our beliefs at the election last Fall as the Germans would have been given if Hitler had run against Goering.

This state of affairs should make every American—even the interventionists—stop and think before we plunge blindly into a second world war. There are many interventionists who actually believe that by going to war we can strengthen democracy throughout the world, and with it all the civilized virtues which we in this country support. Those people overlook our failure in the last war "to make the world safe for democracy." They overlook the persecution and the intolerance which followed that war in Europe. They do not seem to realize that the elements they dislike in Germany lie beneath the surface of every nation; that they are here in America just as they are in Europe, and that nothing is as likely to bring them out as war—especially a prolonged war.

I opposed this war before it was declared because I felt it would be disastrous for Europe. I knew that England and France were not in a position to win, and I did not want them to lose. I now oppose our entry into the war because I do not believe that our system of government in America can survive our participation or our way of life can survive our participation.

Plea to Interventionists

And here I address a plea to any interventionists who may be listening to me tonight. I ask them to consider what a prolonged war will bring. I ask them to consider what the last war brought to Europe—to Russia, to Italy, to Germany and now to France and England and even the smaller countries. I ask them to remember that we in America returned from that war with the loss of relatively few soldiers, but that now we face a war in which our losses are likely to run into the millions and in which victory itself is doubtful. I ask them to consider whether democracy, tolerance and our American way of life are likely to survive in such a struggle. Or may we not find conditions as bad or worse in America after a war than they are in the dictatorships of Europe today?

It is all very well to shout for war, to say that aggression must be stopped, that our ideals of democracy must be preserved all over the world. But when the shouting is over, then we will be faced with the reality of war. Some one must lay plans for invading Germany, for invading Japan, for invading possibly Russia, France, Italy and Spain as well. Some one must do the fighting; some one the dying. When we turn from sentiment and emotion to reality and action, the task we face is staggering. We find ourselves unprepared for war, about to enter a battle that will require us to cross two oceans and to invade nations with a far greater population than ours, nations with armies that have been trained for years, armies that have been hardened by generations of warfare, armies that are larger now than ours ever has been. We find ourselves in a position where we would have to force landings on hostile coasts against the prepared positions of the strongest military powers in the world.

Democracy is not likely to survive a conflict such as this will bring. Does any one think that freedom can exist even in America if we are forced into such a war? The United States is a nation of mixed races, religions and beliefs. We came from every part of Europe and from every portion of the earth. Here in this country, we have learned to live peacefully together. Here we have developed a racial tolerance such as the world has never known before. Here we have developed a unification in many ways never previously approached. Why must all this be jeopardized by injecting the wars and the hatreds of Europe into our midst? Why, in this second century of our existence, must we be confronted with the quarrels of the old world that our forefathers left behind when they settled in this country?

It is to answer these questions, it is to oppose intervention in this war, it is to preserve our American way of life, that you and I have assembled here tonight. We have assembled to show that in times of crisis there still are men and women in this country ready to give up their normal interests and their normal occupations so that our way of life and our right to determine it may survive.

Sacrifices Are Cited

Every one of us has made some sacrifice in attend the rally. You have given up an evening at home or with your friends. Senator Wheeler has come from Washington to talk to us. He represents the type of leadership that places America first. Mr. Thomas has added this engagement to an already crowded schedule. If all of our leaders had the courage, integrity and vision that these men have shown, this country would not be on the verge of war today. Mrs. Norris, Mrs. Marquand, Mr. Flynn, all of us on the America First Committee are contributing everything we can to prevent this war and to maintain the way of life we believe in for America.

I am glad to be able to tell you that our strength is increasing. This meeting is one of many. I have just come from the West, and I can tell you that in every State, in every city, on street corners and on farms, men and women are meeting, as we have met tonight. From every section of our country a cry is rising against this war. But it is a cry that reaches beyond the question of war alone. It is more penetrating than that. It echoes from the very foundations on which our system of government is founded. It asks how this situation came about. It demands an explanation of what happened at the elections last November. It demands an accounting from a government that has led us to war when it promised us peace. To both Democratic and Republican leaders, this cry should be a warning of an awakened spirit in our nation—a spirit that has carried us through times of crisis before, and that will carry us through times of crisis again.

We in America can make our nation an example for the rest of the world. We can spread our ideals in other countries. We can defend this hemisphere from invasion. And all of this can be accomplished without entering the war. With your assistance, we will create the leadership necessary to do it. The America First Committee asks your help in carrying out this program. We ask you to join with us in demanding that election promises be kept. We ask you to organize your community, to write to your Representative in Washington, to attend meetings of this kind whenever they are held. Our American ideals, our independence, our freedom, our right to vote on important issues, all depend on the sacrifice we are willing to make, and the action we take at this time.

Burton K. Wheeler

It is a great pleasure to come to the City of New York and address this great gathering of American citizens.

Keeping this nation at peace and free from foreign wars is the most noble and patriotic service that an American can render the republic. By these standards no man has served the United States more intelligently, more courageously, and more effectively than Colonel Charles A. Lindbergh. Upon him the warmongers have turned their scorn and abuse. But he has continued the fight of peace and democracy. To Colonel Lindbergh, I say—the greatest eventual glory comes not from wars won or lost but from wars prevented. Some day that glory will be accorded Colonel Lindbergh, and it was accorded his illustrious father and Old Battling Bob LaFollette.

I speak to you tonight not as a Democrat, not as a Republican, but as a plain ordinary citizen who is deeply interested in this country of ours. I am here to urge you to muster the courage to fight as you have never fought before—to fight to save your sons from the bloody battlefields of Europe, Asia and Africa to fight against one-man government in the United States.

Peace or war is not a partisan issue—it is an American issue.

I hate one man government. I was denouncing Mussolini when Churchill was saying in 1927 "if I were an Italian I would be a Fascist." I was denouncing Hitler when Lord Halifax was hunting wild boar with Goering in Germany.

Foes of U. S. Aided by

If there be one [illegible] the ranks of my [illegible] fare the Germans, the [illegible] Russians, or even the [illegible] tors to the destruction of [illegible] there. [illegible] Here in America [illegible] have contributed [illegible] defend [illegible] of the United States.

During the past [illegible] have trampled [illegible] through [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Herndon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

Kramer

War Will Doom U. S. Democracy, Lindbergh And Wheeler Assert

Advisers Want Roosevelt To Wage Undeclared Fight, Senator Charges

By the Associated Press.

NEW YORK, May 24.--Charles A. Lindbergh and Senator Wheeler, Democrat, of Montana predicted in speeches last night that United States participation in the European War would mean the end of American democracy.

They spoke in Madison Square Garden at a rally sponsored by the America First Committee and attended by a crowd estimated by police at 20,000.

Col. Lindbergh opposed United States entry into the conflict because, he said, "I do not believe that our system of government in America and our way of life can survive our participation."

It was Senator Wheeler's thought that "If the President accepts the advice of a little coterie who surround him * * * he will wage an undeclared war. And then—constitutional democracy will end."

Says U. S. Wants Accounting.

Col. Lindbergh pleaded for a leadership that would do "what Washington did for us when we were only 3,000,000 people, a leadership that tells what it means and means what it says."

The country, crying out against war, he said, "demands an explanation of what happened at the elections last November. It demands an accounting from a Government that has led us to war while it promised us peace."

Boos and yells echoed through the Garden when John T. Flynn, chairman of the New York chapter of the America First Committee, repudiated any Nazi support of the rally.

Pointing to Joseph E. McWilliams, founder of the American Destiny party who twice has been convicted of disorderly conduct for making anti-Semitic speeches in the German community of Yorkville, Mr. Flynn shouted:

McWilliams called "Stooge."

"And right here, not many paces from where I am, is sitting a man named McWilliams. What he is doing her, how he gets in here, whose stooge he is, I do not know * * *

"The America First Committee does not want the support of a handful of Bundists who are here, without respect, without power, in this community or any other."

Disavowing Nazi or Communist support and describing his followers as "simply pro-Americans," Senator Wheeler said "I was denouncing Hitler when Lord Halifax was shooting wild boar with Goering in Germany. I was denouncing Mussolini when Churchill was saying (in 1927) 'if I were an Italian I would be a Fascist.'"

Five hundred police stood guard inside of the garden during the meeting, which passed without incident except for the ejection of one heckler after Mr. Flynn's excoriation of McWilliams and of two others who jeered Norman Thomas, Socialist leader.

Washington Evening Star
May 24, 1941

60% AT GARDEN RALLY PRO-NAZI, MORRIS SAYS

America First Conclave Held Similar to Bund Session

At least 60 per cent of the persons who attended the anti-war rally sponsored by the America First Committee in Madison Square Garden last Friday night were members of or sympathizers with the German-American Bund, Newbold Morris, President of the City Council, declared last night. He spoke at the annual dinner of the Knights of Pythias, State of New York, given in honor of the present Grand Chancellor, David M. Engelson, at the Hotel Commodore.

Mr. Morris told the 800 members and guests of the order present that after observing most of the 20,000 persons enter the Garden for Friday night's rally he was convinced that "60 per cent" were of "the same type" as those who attended a rally in the Garden sponsored by the Bund in 1938. At that time, he recalled, he, as acting Mayor, had refused to cancel the Bund's permit for the rally, which was held ostensibly in honor of George Washington.

"The audience last Friday was of the same type and it made the same noises," Mr. Morris said. "In 1938 George Washington was their patron saint, but his spirit rebelled and their peanut Fuehrer is now serving a prison sentence. Now they are using Senator Wheeler (Burton K. Wheeler) and he doesn't seem to mind.

The "peanut Fuehrer" he referred to is Fritz Kuhn, former leader of the Bund.

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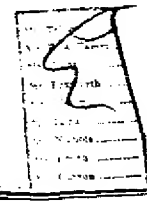


America First Head Would Give Up Area Below 'Bulge'

He Would Scrap the Monroe Doctrine and Surrender Territory Within Bombing Range of the Panama Canal

By Kenneth Crawford

CHICAGO, May 24.—Gen. Robert E. Wood, chairman of the America First Committee, submitted to questioning about his isolationist position for more than an hour today, with the following results:

Q. From what we have read, Gen. Wood, we understand that you opposed passage of the lend-lease bill but that once it was passed you accepted it and have since expressed approval of the provisions for helping the British in their war with the Fascist countries of Europe—with certain very important reservations.

A. Yes, we have accepted the lend-lease legislation with certain reservations. Our principal reservation is against interpretation of the bill as an authorization of convoys. We were given to understand by Administration senators favoring the bill that it did not authorize convoys—in fact, that the question of convoys was not involved. This, mind you, was not our own interpretation. It was the interpretation of senators speaking for the Administration.

Q. To be specific, now that the act is passed, you would have us sell to the British here in this country—but we would under no circumstances help get the goods across the Atlantic. No matter what happened you would stick to this because you think that any further measure of aid, such as convoying, would lead to our involvement in the war?

A. That is not quite my position. I would help the British to the extent of lending them or giving them cargo ships and even battleships—provided these ships were manned by British crews and flew the British flag. Provided, also, of course, that gifts of fighting ships did not, in the opinion of the President, weaken our defensive position. It is my opinion, however, that convoying by our own Navy under the American flag would lead us into war inevitably. I draw the line at convoying.

IN SHARP VARIANCE WITH FDR POLICIES

Q. Thank you for that summary of your position. The course you advocate is at sharp variance—is it not?—with the policy of the U. S. Government, which, while it is not committed to a policy of convoying goods to Britain, has made it completely clear that it feels we are already menaced by aggression from abroad and that we should ourselves take the aggressive to meet this threat—that is, leave no stone unturned to get military aid to Britain and China. In that case, if the people of America follow your advice and bring pressure on the Administration to change its interpretation of the lend-lease bill to conform with your policy, they will be advocating a very different course of action from that now being pursued. Do you agree?

A. Not entirely. The America First Committee has never opposed aid to Britain within the limits of the neutrality law. But we are unalterably opposed to convoys.

Q. Now let us presume that the American people have done what you want them to do—and the Administration has accepted your policy. Let us imagine that in the President's next fireside address he says: "The purpose of the lend-lease bill is to be interpreted as all aid short of war. We will not lift a finger to help Great Britain get the supplies of war. We are going to stick 100 per cent to hemisphere defense." That is what you want, isn't it?

A. To say that I would not lift a finger to help Britain get the supplies of war is an overstatement of my position. I am in favor of giving Britain the help that doesn't involve us in war. We can send all sorts of provisions and munitions without getting involved. Use of our Navy to escort these goods would be bound to involve us. If you mean: Am I against such escort service? the answer is yes.

RISK ON U. S. BECOMING A FASCIST STATE

Q. Do you think we risk turning into a Fascist state ourselves if we pursue the present policy of risking war with the Axis in order to aid Great Britain and China.

A. If we get into the war we will get Fascism, Communism or some other ism as the inevitable result.

Q. Now I think we have got the groundwork laid. If America follows the course you advocate do you consider Great Britain in any danger of defeat?

A. I have considered that Great Britain is in danger of defeat from the beginning. I agree with Col. Lindbergh on that. By this I mean that Great Britain is in danger of losing part of her Empire. I don't believe she is in danger of having to surrender the British Isles. I make a distinction between helping Great Britain defend England proper and underwriting a victory for the British Empire. These are two quite different things. To underwrite an Empire victory we would have to go into the war lock, stock and barrel and even then we might not be able to do it.

Q. Your policy means one thing if there is no danger of Great Britain's defeat. It means another if there is danger. We are trying to decide on the wisest policy to follow. You have emphasized facing realities in your speech. Is there or isn't there, in your opinion, a real chance that Great Britain will be defeated if we stop in our tracks and refuse to give her any more aid than the lending or giving of food and military materials in this country?

A. We are more than just lending and giving food and material. We are giving the British planes and ships. Even so, the danger of the British defeat remains very real.

Q. Before the Germans invaded and occupied Holland, Belgium and most of France your isolationist position was based on the opinion that the Germans could never get through the Maginot Line and therefore that talk of helping Britain as a necessity for defense of democracy was insincere. You said this many times, did you not?

A. No, I didn't say that talk of defending democracy was insincere. I did say that I didn't think the Germans could break through the Maginot Line. As a matter of fact, they never did; they flanked it. I assumed that the military experts were right when they said there was a little Maginot Line on the French flank but there wasn't.

ENGLAND MAY LOSE THROUGH ENVELOPMENT

Q. You concede now that Britain may lose the war if it cannot get enough food and supplies through the submarine and aerial blockade Is that correct?

A. Yes, Great Britain may lose the war by envelopment from all sides. But I do not believe Great Britain can be successfully invaded I have always contended that the islands could repulse any invader. She may be defeated by losses in other parts of the Empire—in the Mediterranean, for example. She may be so weakened that she will want to make a negotiated peace. Incidentally, I am of the opinion that the apparent German success in Crete does not mean anything so far as the defense of the British Isles is concerned. Crete was weakly garrisoned and its natural defenses are bad. That is not the case with England. The Crete affair doesn't prove any more about the vulnerability of England than did the German victory over Holland.

MORE

...Would Not Defend U. S. Trade in This Hemisphere

(Continued from Page 4.)

Q. Do you feel that there is a strong possibility, if not a probability, that if we don't go a step further in helping Britain, if we continue to require the British to pick up American cargoes in American ports and run them through the blockade, their shipping reserves may be whittled down to a point where they cannot get enough munitions through the blockade to carry on the war against the Axis or even enough food to eat? In other words, that they will have no choice but to accept the terms of a Hitler-dictated peace?

A. Let me say again that I am perfectly willing to help the British solve their shipping problem by any act short of convoy. I am even willing to strip our coastwise shipping to provide the British with merchant tonnage. Britain, I believe, may have to accept a negotiated peace but that will not mean outright surrender.

Q. You do not believe, do you, that Hitler, if Britain capitulates, will settle on anything less than his own terms. Has anybody ever persuaded Hitler to soften his terms except at the point of a cannon?

A. I don't believe the British will have to accept any terms Hitler demands. This will be like a business deal in which one of the parties is in a stronger bargaining position than the other. But if the stronger presses his advantage too far, the weaker refuses to do business with him.

HITLER-DICTATED TERMS FOR PEACE

Q. If your policy is pursued, then isn't there a strong chance that Britain will lose the war and that they will have to accept Hitler-dictated peace terms? Do you think this statement needs any qualification?

A. Yes, I think it does. I think it is probable that Hitler will get what he wants in Europe but that he will not be able to destroy the British Empire. I think he will probably get, besides what he wants in Europe, a part of the British Empire, not all of it. He probably will get the Mediterranean area, including Gibraltar, Malta and Egypt.

Q. Do you think Hitler would be satisfied with Europe and the Mediterranean in view of his repeated statements that he will be satisfied with nothing less than total defeat of Britain?

A. As I have said, I do not think he will be in a position to take all of the British Empire.

Q. Do you agree that a German victory over Great Britain would, in all probability, leave the world roughly divided among three great powers, each with its own sphere of political and economic influence—Germany, the U. S. A. and Japan?

A. I should add to those three Russia and Great Britain. I believe Britain will remain a world power.

Q. Even such a diversion would leave some territory in an area of uncertainty and perhaps controversy, for example, Greenland. The Administration has announced that it considers Greenland part of the Western Hemisphere and therefore subject to U. S. protection under the Monroe Doctrine. The Germans, on the other hand, may consider it a necessary outpost of their own continental defense. They may undertake to make it a North Atlantic Singapore. What would you do about Greenland?

A. Greenland is a part of the Western Hemisphere. I would defend it. In this I concur in the Administration's position.

ULD RISK WAR IN GREENLAND'S DEFENSE

Q. Would you risk war with Germany to establish the claim that Greenland is part of the Western Hemisphere?

A. I would risk war with Germany in reference to apy territory in the Western Hemisphere.

Q. In the event of a German victory, do you believe that we wi or will not be able to do business with Hitler?

A. In my opinion we shall be able to deal with him. Europe wi need us worse than we need Europe. He will have to deal with us.

Q. Will we have to deal with Hitler on his terms?

A. There will have to be mutual commercial understandings. H will not be able to impose his will upon us entirely or we on him. W will have the advantage in dealing with him because we have the re sources to be independent.

Q. Assuming that Hitler wins the war, needing raw materials fro the Western Hemisphere as he of course will, do you think he is mor likely to enter into barter deals with Latin-American nations or with w

A. He will trade where he can get the best terms. . . . deal witl both of us. It must be remembered, that Germany doesn't engage i barter trade from choice. Having no gold, she must exchange her fin ished products for the raw materials she needs. Actually, the Germa system is not simple barter, it is a matter of clearing accounts in good rather than gold. After this war, England may have to adopt barter, too

Q. Do you regard the Latin-American countries as democrati nations that naturally will be drawn into our orbit, or as dictatorship that may take more naturally to Hitler's way of doing business.

A. I lived in Latin America—in Panama—for many years and I know there are no democracies there—no democracies, that is, as we think of them. A South American doesn't go to the polls and freely cast a secret ballot. But trade isn't a matter of ideological attraction. It is a practical matter. Just as the Balkans are a natural customer of Germany, so Mexico and the Central American republics are natural customers of the United States. The continent to the south has to be divided up to be understood. Mexico and the nearby republics naturally do business with us. Argentina, Chile and Uruguay naturally deal with Europe. They are in the temperate zone, as we are, and raise the same things we do, whereas the countries near the equator sell us coffee and bananas and Mexico sells us metals. We have advantages of transport and communication in dealing with the nearby Latin Americas that Europe can never have. Brazil divides her trade, selling cotton in Europe and coffee to us.

WOULDN'T RISK MILITARY WAR FOR TRADE

Q. If it turns out that Hitler tries to muscle us out of the Latin Americas and exchange his own finished goods for raw materials, what will we do about it? You have said, I believe, that we should tolerate no unfriendly power in this hemisphere.

A. It all depends upon what you mean by muscling. If you are talking about a trade war, we shall have to fight him on the economic front in the Latin Americas—that is, we shall have to compete. I wouldn't wage a military war to expel a trade rival from South America. But I would wage war to expel any European power that tried to establish political sovereignty in this hemisphere. I would fight in a minute anyone who tried to establish a military or naval base here.

Q. How much of our Army and Navy would this require and for how long, in your judgment?

A. I haven't been in the military service for a good many years and I'm not competent to answer that. I will say this: that it depends upon how much of South America we defended. It would make a great difference whether we undertook to defend all of the South American continent or only the part as far south as the

MORE

Wood's Proposal Would Imperil U.S. Security

If Axis Had Half of South America, Lima Could Be Base Against Us

What are the physical realities of Gen. Robert E. Wood's project of handing over South America "below the bulge" of Brazil to the Axis?

A great many patriotic and defense-minded Americans have fallen into a state of understandable confusion on this point.

They look at the map and announce that Hitler would be further away from Bar Harbor in Rio de Janeiro than he is in Hamburg and let it go at that.

They forget that the U. S. A. does not begin at Bar Harbor, does not begin at New York, does not begin at Savannah—does not even begin at Miami. The U. S. A., defensively speaking, begins at the Panama Canal—the lifeline of the nation's naval operations; its point of impact from an enemy's offensive positions against us on the same land mass.

This was realized as long as 61 years ago by President Rutherford B Hayes—hardly a warmonger executive—when he wrote in a message to Congress regarding his alarm over the threatened control of the future Panama Canal by France:

"It would be . . . virtually part of the coastline of the United States."

Thus, in permitting occupation of the territory of the Americas by a strong and potentially hostile power, the question of peril to the U. S. A. is not a matter of how far the enemy's bases are from Washington or Keokuk, but of how far they are from Panama.

Axis—or Nazi—*Wehrmacht* established "below the bulge" of Brazil would be at several important points on the South American mainland within less than 1000 miles bombing range of the republic's "defense jugular."

Gen. Wood's proposition is thus comparable to an invitation from the British statesmen to Hitler to help himself to Western Egypt. Manaos in the Brazilian Amazon jungle, Iquitos on the upper Amazon Peru are no further from the Canal than Tobruk is, relatively, from Suez.

U. S. Would Lose Affluence

To get a clear picture, though, of the meaning of the hemisphere—and domestic—defense handicap Gen. Wood proposes to give to Hitler, we need to consider it in three phases:

¶ The Axis would be handed complete economic and political control over 70,000,000 people in the wealthiest, most productive, most progressive and most rapidly growing sections of Latin America—the areas most likely to develop in the next few decades in industrialization and democracy. This would mean that great countries like the Argentine, Brazil, Chile, most of Peru, Uruguay, and Bolivia with its enormous tin and metal deposits, would be totally and permanently removed from the sphere of U. S. influence. Washington would have no more chance of playing a part in their future economic development, of holding their sympathies or of affecting their diplomatic policies than it has today of winning an influence for itself in the Nazi-controlled Balkans.

¶ The military peril has been only vaguely suggested in the opening paragraphs of this article. Within two or three weeks after their entrance into South America, the Nazis, with their super-modern military gadgetry, would control the key more completely than Cortez with his horses, his armor, and his terrifying toy cannon controlled the Aztecs. Within a year or two after German occupation of "South America below the bulge," German technicians would be able to build the roads, the military airports, the railways, the submarine and naval bases, the shipyards, the communication and transportation systems by which a major attack could be launched northward toward the center of Yankee security at Panama.

It is silly even to talk of defending South America "at the bulge." If the Nazis were given a treaty line five miles below the bulge, why should they stay there? They would inevitably, unless the whole nature of the Axis conquering drive should disintegrate, seek at once to drive a few miles beyond the bulge, which would take them to strategic points like Manaos and Iquitos.

In this case, the only defense recourse the U. S. A. would have would be to throw a defensive army into northern Brazil and across northern Peru and Ecuador on a par with the kind of defensive armies the European powers have used to carry on their balance of power wars since the middle of the 19th century. The sacrifices to Hitler appeasement which Gen. Wood recommends would, in other words, condemn the U. S. A. inevitably and indefinitely to the kind of militaristic life which Europe has led for 100 years and which today is destroying her.

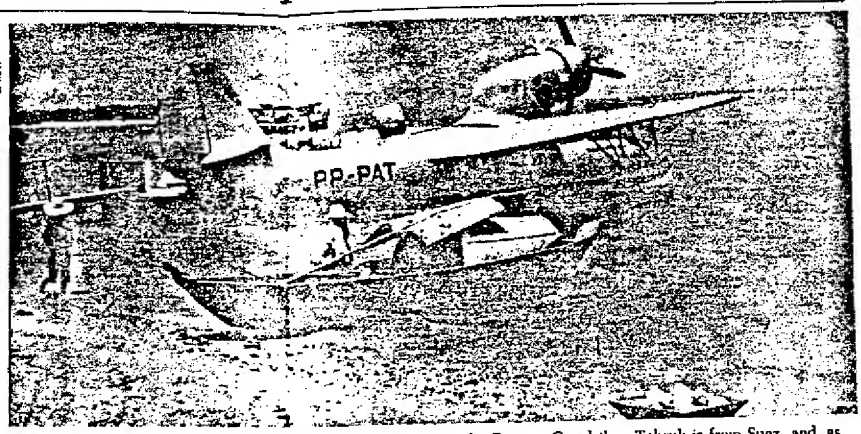
¶ Gen. Wood's appeasement recommendations would mean, if adopted, the official abandonment of the Monroe Doctrine. And, taken at its uttermost selfish terms as a policy of self-protection for the U. S. A., the Monroe Doctrine makes sense for the security of every man, woman and child in the U. S. A. and their future progeny.

The key sentences in the Monroe Doctrine read:

¶ "The political system of the allied (Axis, to 1941 readers) powers is essentially different . . . from that of America. . . . We owe it, therefore, to candor and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety."

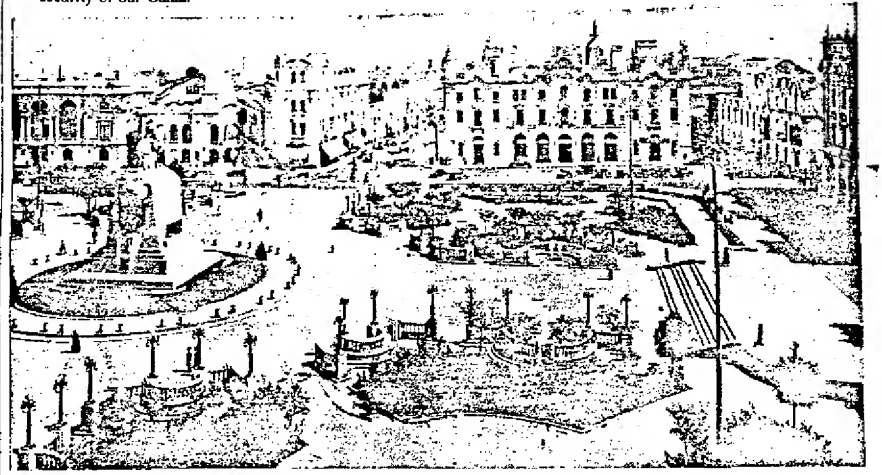
Gen. Wood of the America First Committee does not believe that our "peace and safety" would be endangered by having the Nazis with their dive bombers and Stukas, their gliders and parachute troops, their submarines and pocket battleships, their *panzer* divisions as our "good neighbors," five miles below Natal and Recife and less than 1000 miles below the Panama Canal.

What are the rest of us—including the rarer Monroe Doctrinaires—going to do about it?



Manaos, deep in Brazilian Amazon jungle, is little farther from the Panama Canal than Tobruk is from Suez—and, as this picture shows, it has air connections. Letting the Nazis have part of South America would obviously menace the security of our Canal.

Photo by Silva, Jr.



Under Gen. Wood's proposal to let the Axis take half of South America, Peru's great city of Lima might become a base for operations against the U. S.

Photo by Victor Leon

Christian Front Row May Split Isolationist Ranks

By James A. Wechsler

The aggressive role of Christian Fronters in the anti-war campaign may precipitate a serious split among American isolationists, it appeared yesterday.

Conflict between liberal isolationists (who believe that America can live alone and like it if we appease Hitler) and professional Coughlinites (who believe in appeasement for Fascism's sake) has been waged behind the scenes for many weeks. It broke out at Madison Square Garden Friday night when Charles A. Lindbergh brought his America First road company back to New York for a return engagement.

Center of the clash was John T. Flynn, pugnacious chairman of the New York chapter of the America First Committee. Mr. Flynn, who presided at the Garden meeting, is an ex-columnist for the *New Republic* and believes, among other things, that Bertrand Russell should have been allowed to teach at City College.

Uneasy in a bed which holds the Rev. Edward Lodge Curran and other Coughlinite emissaries, Mr. Flynn has been privately battling with the Frontmen. Before 22,000 people who filled the Garden Friday night he angrily put the finger on Coughlinites, Bundsmen and Communists and told them to go back where they came from. (*Most of* them came from Brooklyn where Front influence is strongest).

Ostensibly the target of Mr. Flynn's attack was Joe McWilliams, leader of the American Destiny Party, who stands on the extreme edge of the lunatic fringe. Only McWilliam's name was cited in Mr. Flynn's repudiation of pro-Fascist flag-wavers hiding behind America First's skirts.

The bulk of the Garden throng seemed sympathetic to Flynn's attack on McWilliams. There was only a smattering of applause for the Yorkville fuehrer who resembles an aging matinee idol and whose indiscretions (he never sugars his anti-Semitism) have embarrassed Father Coughlin's respectable spokesmen. McWilliams had to set up his own party because the Front found his presence too embarassing.

But Flynn's blanket blast against the Front, which has been blessed by Coughlin and his Eastern lieutenants, created knottier problems. It was again apparent in the Garden turnout that one of the strongholds of the America First Committee is the bailiwick of Dr. Curran. The Brooklyn *Tablet*, which preaches Front doctrine and publicizes Front activity, was presumably included within the scope of Flynn's attack.

The fact behind the furor is that Flynn has been battling hard to rid the America First movement of any tie with Coughlinites. And the Curran faction has been striving with equal vigor to rid the America First movement of Mr. Flynn.

When the America First Committee held a Brooklyn revival meeting a fortnight ago, Mr. Flynn was reported to be opposed to selection of Dr. Curran to deliver the invocation. Mr. Flynn lost. Then the New York *Enquirer*, which has reliable sources in Front circles, reported that Dr. Curran was out to get Mr. Flynn; and that the Coughlinite wing was angered not only by Mr. Flynn's role but by the presence of Norman Thomas, Socialist leader, on America First platforms.

Friday night Mr. Flynn won. Norman Thomas was one of the chosen oratorical quartet.

It was obvious that, while the bulk of the Garden crowd was ready and willing to turn thumbs down on Joe McWilliams, it was less unanimous on the subject of Dr. Curran, whose name was spouted into the Garden air by an unidentified heckler.

It wasn't clear whether the heckler was for him or against him. It was clear that the assemblage was split between those who think he is a great man and those who believe he is a slicker McWilliams.

There is no way of calculating the precise strength of the Coughlinite contingent in the America First movement. But in some areas (like Brooklyn) the movement has its primary backing in Coughlinite quarters, and the Brooklyn *Tablet* is virtually its house organ.

Despite this internal conflict the sponsors of the meeting seemed pretty pleased with the performance. Police estimated that 22,000 people were inside the Garden, 10,000 outside. It was the largest isolationist jamboree in this area.

At various intervals they yelled that they wanted Lindbergh or Wheeler for President, preferably Lindbergh. Nobody yelled "Thomas for President."

INDEXED
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DAILY
1941
FORWARDED BY N.Y. DIVISION
EX - 5

THE ATLANTA, GEORGIA CONSTITUTION

May 25, 1941

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Dalton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

ISOLATIONIST SALUTE—Shown at a New York rally of the American First Committee Friday night are (left to right) Senator Burton K. Wheeler, Charles A. Lindbergh, Kathleen Norris, novelist, and Norman Thomas, Socialist leader. All are outspoken isolationists. They are saluting—the American flag.

30

100-111--

AMERICA FIRST GAINING IN IOWA

Janet Ayer Fairbank, national vice chairman of the America First Committee, announced yesterday that the work of organizing Iowa —a task assigned to the Illinois chapter—is well under way.

Enthusiastic meetings, she said, have been held in Sioux City, Des Moines, Clinton and Dubuque. The Sioux City meeting adopted a resolution urging the national government to refrain from "any further steps which might involve the United States in war." Copies were sent to President Roosevelt and to the United States senators from Iowa.

Membership in the Illinois chapter has reached 27,000, it was announced.

This afternoon Dr. A. R. E. Wyant of Chicago will speak before the Hyde Park chapter in Graham Taylor Hall. His subject will be "Preserving Our American Way of Life."

Dr. Howard G. Swann of the University of Chicago will speak under the auspices of the Highland Park chapter.

THE CHICAGO AMERICAN

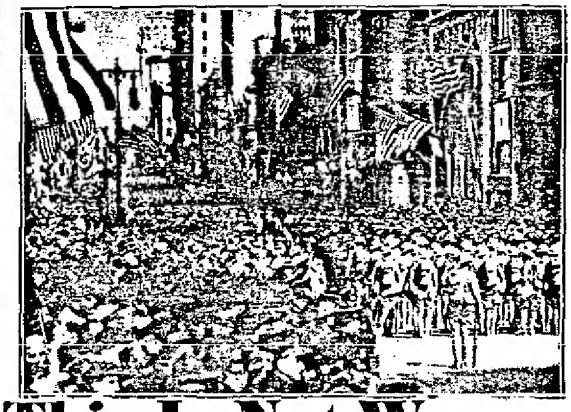
5-25-41

Mr Tolson
Mr E. A. Tamm
Mr Clegg
Mr Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr Nichols
Mr Rosen
Mr Carson
Mr Drayton

AMERICA'S BATTLE PAGE

In response to many requests, The News has resumed publication of America's Battle Page, presenting opposite views on the role this nation should take in World War II. The page was temporarily discontinued May 17 when the space was required for maps illustrating important events abroad. Owing to the need for such maps from time to time, the Battle Page hereafter will not appear on a set schedule. The News expects, however, to print it two or three times a week. The page is divided equally between the two organizations whose names appear below. They are free to say what they please without interference or editing by The News. On the other hand, they accept full responsibility for the presentation of their views.

(Provided by the America First Committee, New York Chapter, Inc., 515 Madison Ave. and 3 East 47th St., New York City)



This Is Not War....

But THIS Is!

Make your opinions count . . . TODAY . . . in the fight for peace.

Write or wire President Roosevelt at the White House, Washington, D. C.

Write or wire your Senators at the Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.*

Write or wire your Representative at the House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

Tell them you oppose convoys and war, that you do not want the widespread depression and misery —the probable destruction of our democracy—that war would cause.

Get others—your friends, relatives, associates in business, members of your church, social and civic groups—to write or wire today.

You must make your voice heard to save our way of life.

*Senators for New York State are Robert F. Wagner and James M. Mead; for New Jersey, William H. Smathers and W. Warren Barbour; for Connecticut, Francis T. Maloney and John A. Danaher.

(Provided by the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies, 8 W. 40th St., New York City)

F. D. R. Will Speak

Tomorrow night Franklin Delano Roosevelt will speak to the people of the United States as their President. Whatever he says will make history. Hard pressed on every front, the democracies desperately need weapons—now. The defense lifeline between the Americas and Britain is fraying thin. *Too many ships loaded from the arsenal of democracy are going down.* What shall we do?

In this crisis the President's shoulders bear a heavy load. Under our Constitution he is charged with the conduct of foreign affairs, as well as *being sworn* to guard our safety as Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy.

The American people have given the President these responsibilities under a mandate to speed aid to the Allies. Whether we voted for him or not, we are Americans. F. D. R. is our elected President. We await his speech to hear what our country must do to make sure of its own security by making sure that the aid we demanded is effective.

That aid is not being made effective now.

Rear Admiral William A. Glassford warned us only last week that the war is being lost in the Atlantic. Here is how this practical old sea dog, commanding the American Yangtse Patrol, sizes up our situation:

> *"There is only one thing that can be done and that is to see to it that the ships get safely across the ocean. How it is to be done remains to be seen, but whether by convoys or otherwise, we cannot permit the situation to continue with sinkings which are five against two of replacement."*

The Gallup Poll shows 71% of the American people favoring convoys if it appears that Britain will otherwise be defeated. That time now threatens. It may be later than we think.

We have all prayed that this war would not come to involve us. We have all hoped and prayed that our country might be spared. But for all our hopes and prayers it has pushed closer and closer to us. We can feel the hot breath of world war and world revolution from the east and from the west. We are surrounded.

Those who murdered liberty on one continent are stabbing into two others. They have sworn that *democracy must die everywhere.*

The dictators have parlayed their world war and world revolution across the board, grasping ever closer to the Western Hemisphere itself. With their fifth columns, their propaganda and their sabotage they have *already invaded South America and Central America.* THEY HAVE ALREADY INVADED US.

We cannot escape this challenge. We cannot meet it with words or with supplies on the bottom of the ocean. Yet meet it we must. We must meet it with action, effective action. Whatever the cost we must remove this threat to the *safety of our homes.* Tomorrow night F. D. R. will give us the facts and the leadership that only our elected Commander-in-Chief can give.

Will you strengthen his hand in meeting this menace?

A noisy minority would have the President take an ineffective and dangerous course. The great majority that knows where our safety lies must make itself heard.

Wire the President TODAY

that you will support wholeheartedly all courageous leadership he gives us Tuesday night for strong and quick action to stop Hitler over there.

Tell him that you believe that any compromise with the aggressors' Axis would be fatal to America.

Tell him that *you do NOT* believe our two oceans are enough to keep Hitler away from America.

Tell him that you do NOT want America to do too little and do that too late!

WIRE THE PRESIDENT TODAY

6,000 MORE JOIN AMERICA FIRST ANTI-WAR DRIVE

The Illinois America First committee enrolled 6,000 new members last week, bringing its total membership to more than 227,000, Mrs. Janet Ayer Fairbank, national vice chairman, announced yesterday. In addition, five new chapters were formed.

The new units, which raise to 93 the number of America First chapters in Illinois, were organized in Des Plaines, Orland Park, Harvard, and Carthage, and in the Morgan Park district in Chicago.

Dr. A. R. E. Wyant, Chicago physician, will discuss "Preserving Our American Way of Life" at a rally sponsored by the Hyde Park chapter of the America First committee at 4 p. m. today in Graham Taylor hall, 5757 University avenue.

36

CHICAGO DAILY TIMES

5-25-41

AMERICA FIRST TOLD OF PERILS TO FREE SPEECH

President Roosevelt's refusal to renew the army commission of Hugh Johnson, former NRA chief, "smacks of an effort to intimidate and suppress free speech in opposition to the President's wishes," Dr. A. R. E. Wyant, a retired physician and educator, said yesterday in an address before the Hyde Park chapter of the America First committee at 5757 University avenue.

"Has the reprobation of Charles A. Lindbergh been because of his exercise of free speech in opposition to the President's anticipated involvement in a foreign war?" Dr. Wyant asked. "Why talk about fighting abroad for freedom of speech and expression and deny it at home?"

Dr. Wyant said prowar forces are trying to cut off public debate on the question of peace or war for the United States by persuading the President to declare a national emergency. He warned that this would give President Roosevelt complete control of the radio and would muzzle the voice of the nonintervention-ist majority.

CHICAGO DAILY TRIBUNE

5-26-4

OUR DEMOCRACY.

Entry of the United States into the World War would doom democracy in America, Dr. A. Eustace Haydon, professor of comparative religion at the University of Chicago, asserted in a speech before an "America First" rally. In one breath he asserts that democracy is doomed if we go to war; in the next he says, in effect, that we have never had democracy.

"America must first build a true democracy before it takes up arms against the totalitarian form of government," he declared. Note the word "true." We must build up "true democracy"; therefore we haven't had it in the past. We haven't had democracy; but democracy is doomed if we get into the war. We are about to lose something we never had!

Nor is Dr. Haydon any more lucid when he argues against himself on our mission to spread democracy throughout the world. Having failed to establish it here, we must spread it throughout the world.

"Half of the world could not be long held in serfdom if the other half was radiant with the beauties of an actualized democracy." (Note the word "actualized".) We have made a terrible botch of the democratic process, according to Dr. Haydon. Democracy, as we have known it, is not worth defending.

"If we are really loyal to the ideal we are being called upon to defend," he said, "we must begin here by curing the inequalities of our own life—by economic justice; by eliminating the poll tax; by opening the doors for the Negro; by crushing anti-Semitism; by freeing our people from the fear of homelessness and unemployment, and by breaking the shackles of special privilege that fetter our freedom."

Truly, there have been flaws in our system. Truly, flaws still exist and always will. But over a century and a half our system has produced a higher standard of living, and culture for a greater proportion of our people than any other system has ever produced for any other people anywhere, any time. It has made us foremost among the "have" peoples of the world. It has given us riches that have aroused the envy of those who have not. Our system is in no great danger from within. The danger lies without. And it is no fanciful danger.

Perhaps what we have called "democracy" is really not democracy at all, as Dr. Haydon contends. But it comes nearer to conferring the benefits of democracy than any system that mortal man has so far been able to make function. It is not perfect. It never will be perfect. But there are many Americans who believe that, with all its faults, it is worth fighting for.

Dr. Haydon would fight to improve it. He would not fight to preserve it. Apparently he believes that—come what may—we will be left free to achieve the reforms he advocates. Apparently he believes that, regardless of the outcome of the war—if only we keep out of it—we will be free to continue to enjoy our eminence among the "haves" of the world; free to pursue the will-o'-the-wisp of Utopian democracy unhindered by Hitler's new world order. Apparently he believes that, regardless of the outcome of the war—if only we remain aloof—there will still be chairs of comparative religion in American universities.

There are few spots on this globe at the moment where Dr. Haydon could practice his calling. There will soon be none, if those who believe as he believes, prevail.

CHICAGO DAILY NEWS

5-27-

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Egan
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

Rm. Knarr

'AMERICA FIRST' TO HEAR LECTURER

BERKELEY, May 26. — Franklin Sinclair, lecturer writer, will speak Thursday evening before the local America First Committee in a mass meeting at the Garfield School, Vine and Sacramento Streets.

Sinclair, who formerly was a college lecturer in economics and once served as special investigator in the Farm Credit Administration, recently was appointed State chairman of the California America First Committee.

He is a graduate of the University of Minnesota.

OAKLAND TRIBUNE

FORWARDED BY
SAN FRANCISCO DIVISI

MAY 27 1941

'AMERICA FIRST' HEADS MINIMIZE ROOSEVELT TALK

Push Effort to Isolate U. S.; Coe Differs, Urges 'Closing of Ranks.'

(Continued from First Page.)

defense of the America First Committee, not the national policy of effective action for the defeat of the totalitarian powers.

F. D. R. Statement Disregarded.

Disregarding such epochal declarations by the President as that over and beyond our naval patrols now helping insure delivery of supplies to Britain, the United States will use "any and all further methods or combination of methods" that can or should be used, and that are "now being devised by our military and naval technicians" for delivery of the goods to Britain, the committee statement says:

"The President's speech last night was the least warlike of any of his utterances since election."

Despite President Roosevelt's declaration that the United States will "actively resist" Hitler's "every attempt to gain control of the seas" and intends to keep him away from "any point in the world which could be used or would be used as a base of attack against the Americas," the America First statement argued that the Chief Executive's address showed the results of tremendous isolationist opposition.

Opponents of America First philosophy and tactics, upon learning of the statement, declared this afternoon that clearly the isolationist organizaion felt it could justify its existence longer only by attempting to believe that the President's speech did not say what it did.

Chat Is Called 'Long.'

The text of the America First statement follows:

"The President's speech last night was the least warlike of any of his utterances since election. It bears unmistakable evidence that he has begun to listen to the American people.

"Last night's fireside chat was one of the longest ever made by the President. It was not as clear as it was long. This, undoubtedly, because it was an impossible attempt to satisfy the war party, Winston Churchill, and the noninterventionists. But it is the first time since election that the President has recognized so clearly the tremendous opposition of the American people to our involvement in foreign wars.

"In contrast with his more recent statements, the emphasis of his speech last night was on American defense rather than saving the world. To the extent the President adheres to the actual defense of America he will have a united nation behind him.

"It is important to remember that the declaration of emergency adds little, if at all, to the President's powers, and to whatever extent it does it relates solely to home affairs. The President has no power whatever to declare war or to carry on armed hostilities without the consent of the Congress.

'War or Peace' Held Issue.

"The President quite properly avoided any direct statements which would infringe upon the constitutional power of Congress to declare war. The main issue facing the American people is still war or peace. On that issue the people of the United States must make their wishes known, in no uncertain terms, to the President and the Congress of the United States.

"The America First Committee urges the carrying out of the defense measures contained in the President's proclamation. The America First Committee also urges all Americans, in the interest of democracy and the welfare of this nation, to do everything in their power to maintain peace and avoid participation as a belligerent by this country in the European war now raging. We shall redouble our efforts to crystallize public opinion in support of the President's pledges to keep America out of other people's wars."

CHICAGO DAILY NEWS

5-28-

Still Isolationist, Says 'America 1st'

Leaders of the America First Committee, following a hastily convened parley in the Palmer House today, issued a statement seeking to minimize the significance of President Roosevelt's address, and asserting that the isolationist organization will now "redouble" its efforts.

The statement, issued by Brig. Gen. R. E. Wood, retired, national chairman, in the name of the national executive committee, was in sharp contrast to that of another nationally prominent America First leader, in Miami, Fla.

Close Ranks! Coe Pleads.

Charles Francis Coe, author and attorney, chairman of the recent much-publicized America First rally addressed by Former Governor Philip La Follette of Wisconsin, called in Miami for a closing of the ranks.

"By the President's speech the die is cast," Mr. Coe declared today. "Only one course remains to good Americans. Each must put his shoulder to that of his neighbor and keep his eyes fastened upon the sole objective, which is preservation of our homeland and institutions.

"In whatsoever capacity I can serve, I am ready to do so without equivocation, reservation or complaint."

Secrecy Veils Session Here.

The session of the America First Committee leaders here was conducted in extreme secrecy. Secretaries of three of the leaders declared in advance that it was to be held but that they did not know where. Reporters who went to the committee's national headquarters in the Board of Trade Building were given to understand by attaches that the meeting was under way somewhere in the suite of committee offices there.

After the formal statement of the committee was issued it was disclosed to newspapermen that the meeting was in Room 791 of the Palmer House. When the reporters arrived at the Palmer House no member of the America First group could be found.

That the session had been a long one was indicated by the fact that the statement, issued just before 1 p. m., came two and a half hours after the meeting was reported by committee attaches to be under way. It was understood that in addition to Wood, Mrs. Janet Ayer Fairbank, vice-chairman of the national committee, and R. Douglas Stuart Jr., director, were there.

The identity of others present was not learned.

The "executive committee" statement asserted that to the extent the President adheres to what it terms "the actual defense of America," he will have "a united nation" behind him. It says the committee urges the carrying out of the "defense measures contained in the President's proclamation."

But it makes clear that its idea of "defense" is the familiar isolationist

(Continued on page 4, column 3.)

CHICAGO DAILY NEW

5-28-41

McDonough Asks Ban on Peace Rally

State Education Department officials were urged today by William F. McDonough, former president of the Association of State Civil Service Employes, to close the doors of Chancellors Hall to a peace meeting of the America First Committee tonight.

Writing "as an individual" to Commissioner Ernest E. Cole, McDonough asked cancellation of the permit under which U. S. Senator D. Worth Clark, Idaho Democrat, was to speak against U. S. intervention in the war.

Permit Already Issued

The office of Dr. Lloyd L. Cheney, assistant commissioner of education who has supervision over the hall, said the permit was obtained by Mrs. Frank Bernhardt, president of the Albany Chapter of Mothers of America.

"There doubtless are halls and meeting places which may be used for any purpose, but state buildings should not, it seems, be used for dividing public opinion in times of national emergencies," wrote Mr. McDonough.

"Chancellors Hall," he continued, "should never be the scene of words or actions disrespectful to the government or to government officials."

The Education Department, under rules of the Board of Regents, is permitted to lease the hall to outside organizations at a $50 fee, the price Mrs. Barnhardt agreed to pay for tonight's meeting.

No Action Expected

Filling in the permit application form, she said the nature of the program would be a "peace meeting." A "collection" is to be taken during the night to defray expenses, she said.

There was little prospect McDonough's letter would gain headway, although education officials indicated no action either way. Commissioner Cole is out of town.

McDonough asked that use of the hall be prohibited to "any group whose motives or whose patriotism is questioned by millions of Americans as wholly improper."

"The theories and principles enunciated by speakers such as Lindbergh, Wheeler and Clark . . ." he wrote, "are distasteful to loyal Americans if not actually helpful to the enemies of American freedom."

McDonough, a World War veteran, is a member of the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies. He is an executive in the State Agricultural Department.

CLIPPING FROM THE KNICKERBOCKER NEWS
ALBANY, NEW YORK
DATE 5/28/41
FORWARDED BY THE ALBANY OFFICE

America First' Meet

A chapter of the America First committee is to be organized tonight at 8 o'clock at a meeting in Corinthian Hall, 4793 Mission street, according to announcement from the Northern California headquarters of the committee.

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SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICL

FORWARDED BY
SAN FRANCISCO DIVISIO

MAY 28 1941

MAY 28 3 38 PM '41

RECEIVED

CHICAGO.--THE AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE SAID TODAY THAT PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S SPEECH EMPHASIZED DEFENSE OF AMERICA "RATHER THAN SAVING THE WORLD," AND INDICATED THAT THE PRESIDENT HAD RECOGNIZED "THE TREMENDOUS OPPOSITIONOF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE TO OUR INVOLVEMENT IN FOREIGN WARS."

A STATEMENT ISSUED AFTER A MEETING OF THE AMERICA FIRST EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, HEADED BY R. DOUGLAS STUART, JR., NATIONAL DIRECTOR, AND GEN. ROBERT E. WOOD, ACTING NATIONAL CHAIRMAN, READ IN PART:

"THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH LAST NIGHT WAS THE LEAST WARLIKE OF HIS UTTERANCE SINCE THE ELECTION... IT WAS NOT AS CLEAR AS IT WAS LONG, THIS UNDOUBTEDLY BECAUSE IT WAS AN IMPOSSIBLE ATTEMPT TO SATISFY THE WAR PARTY, WINSTON CHURCHILL AND THE NON-INTERVENTIONISTS....WE SHALL REDOUBLE OUR EFFORTS TO CRYSTALLIZE PUBLIC OPINION IN SUPPORT OF THE PRESIDENT'S PLEDGES TO KEEP AMERICA OUT OF OTHER PEOPLE'S WARS."

5/28-RS333P

AMERICA FIRST UNITS IN 2 STATES ASKED TO INTENSIFY WAR FIGHT

America First committee groups in Illinois and Iowa were called on yesterday to intensify their drive to enroll new members and to continue writing President Roosevelt in opposition to convoys and this country's entrance into foreign war. Mrs. Janet Ayer Fairbank, national vice chairman of America First, also urged the chapters to conduct telephone campaigns to rally sympathizers.

"The President's proclamation that an unlimited national emergency exits," Mrs. Fairbank said, "does not take away the right of free speech, and does not infringe on the right of assembly, or the right to petition congress. Therefore, all citizens have a constitutional right to express their point of view on all subjects freely. I feel convinced that if we all work hard enough, we can succeed in keeping the country out of this war."

Harold E. Fey, field editor of the Christian Century magazine, will speak at 8 p. m. today at the Lincoln Park chapter's rally in the North Side auditorium, 3730 Clark street. The subject of his talk is: "Americans Can Still Choose Peace."

CHICAGO DAILY TRIBUNE

5-30-41

FREEDOM OF INFORMATION AND PRIVACY ACTS

SUBJECT: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

FILE NUMBER: 100-4712

PART: 17 OF 19

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

FILE DESCRIPTION

BUREAU FILE

SUBJECT America First Committee

FILE NO. 100-4212

SECTION NO. 3

SERIALS Sub A

AMERICA FIRST TELLS OF GAINS IN MEMBERS SINCE FIRESIDE CHAT

More than 6,000 new members have joined the Illinois America First committee since President Roosevelt's fireside chat Tuesday, Mrs. Janet Ayer Fairbank, national vice chairman, announced yesterday. She said the 98 units in Illinois now have 236,000 members. New chapters were formed last week in Midlothian, Maywood, Warrenville, Yorkville, and Streator, Ill. The Iowa America First committee reported an addition of 2,000 new members since the President's speech, Mrs. Fairbank said.

Memberships and contributions may be sent to headquarters of the Illinois America First committee at 122 South Michigan avenue, she said.

J. Kentner Elliott, a Chicago attorney, will address the Loyola chapter of the America First committee at 6519 Sheridan road at 8 p. m. tomorrow. Walter F. Boye, an attorney and author, will speak at the same hour before the Oak Park chapter in the unit's headquarters at 736 Lake street in the suburb.

CHICAGO DAILY TRIBUNE

ASSAILS CHARGE BY WAR MONGERS OF LACK OF UNITY

Contrary to claims of interventionists, the American people are united in their stand for the defense of the United States, J. Kentner Elliott, attorney, asserted last night in a speech before the Loyola chapter of the America First committee at 6519 Sheridan road.

"There is no lack of unity among the American people," Elliott said. "At no time in our history has our determination to defend to the utmost our country and perpetuate our way of life been more universal than it is now. Our differences are only as how best to accomplish this end."

At a meeting in the Oak Park chapter club rooms, 736 Lake street, Walter F. Boye, author and attorney, attacked the interventionists for attempts to lead the country into war by subtle methods. His subject was "Plowing Under Democracy."

Dr. D. S. Swain, secretary general of the Order of St. Paul, an Episcopal group of McNabb, Ill., will speak at 8 o'clock tonight at a meeting of the Park Ridge America First committee at Prospect and Stewart avenues, Park Ridge. Dr. Anton J. Carlson of the University of Chicago also will speak at the meeting.

CHICAGO DAILY TRIBUNE

6-3-41

Local news

Daisy Harriman draws a bead on 'America First'

By HAZEL MACDONALD

Mrs. J. Borden (Daisy) Harriman dashed about between showers today, dropping a few well-chosen words here and there for:

1. The Committee To Defend America, of which she is national vice-chairman. ("Chicago people I know on the America First Committee seem awfully embarrassed at the subversive company they find themselves keeping. Now in the East, all the America Firsters are from the out-and-out subversive element.")

2. British War Relief Society, which feted her at luncheon—unrationed—in the Casino Club.

3. Her book, "Mission to the North," just out. ("And don't say 'late minister to Norway'—makes me sound as if I were dead—say former minister," she cautioned the young woman who introduced her for a radio broadcast.)

Mrs. J. Borden Harriman

ADDRESSES HOUSEWIVES

Daisy Harriman came in over WLS just after a swing version of "My Heart At Thy Sweet Voice" and an aspic salad. She was wearing a blue redingote-type ensemble with that square-shouldered distinction that once made Charlie Dawes, encountering her in a hotel elevator in Paris, mistake her for Mary Garden—only woman in his experience with a back like that, he said.

Mrs. Harriman snuffed out a cigaret—"Don't say I smoked; I don't approve of smoking for my grandchildren"—and told the listening housewives of the radio audience about her collection of first editions.

"I had to leave them all in Oslo, except the government code book," she said.

NORWEGIANS DUPED

She affirmed that the Norwegians were betrayed by their native sense of fair play into refusing to believe the Nazis' intentions were anything but honorable. This even though the German ambassador treated the diplomatic corps to a showing of official horror-films of the demolition of Warsaw and Nazi engineers openly made a survey of the Oslo airport "for a commercial airline."

Sentiment in this country has crystallized and clarified remarkably since President Roosevelt's "full emergency" declaration, Mrs. Harriman observed. "All the people wanted was leadership," she said.

CHICAGO DAILY TIMES

47

6-3-41

'AMERICA FIRST' IN N. Y. HIT BY CATHOLIC GROUP

'Unfair, Partisan Use' of Quotation About War Is Charged.

BY FRANK SMOTHERS.

A stinging rebuke to the New York chapter of the America First Committee has been delivered by officers of the administrative board of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, it was disclosed in Washington today.

Charging "unfair, partisan use" of an excerpt from a recent statement of the board on the war, a letter addressed to America First in New York by Msgr. Michael J. Ready, general secretary of the N. C. W. C., declared:

"Men and women motivated by common decency and simple honor do not stoop to such deceit in promoting a cause deemed worthy."

Msgr. Ready stated in the letter that the chairman of the N. C. W. C. administrative board, which is composed of 10 archbishops and bishops, had directed him to send it.

Quotation Used in Leaflet.

He was directed, Msgr. Ready wrote, "to protest the unfair, partisan use of the statement (of the board) by quoting a few sentences out of the context and to condemn the devious tactics of endeavoring to use the influence of the board in favor of the America First Committee."

Msgr. Ready disclosed that the America First quotation was included in a leaflet distributed in New York May 18 "at the Telephone Ladies' Corporate Communion Breakfast." It bore the address of the "America First Committee, New York Chapter, Inc., 515 Madison avenue and 3 East 47th street."

The leaflet of the isolationist organization summarized a statement issued by the archbishops and bishops of the N. C. W. C. administrative board April 26 as calling "for prayers for the victims of war, for a just peace and for the guidance of America's civil authorities." Then, lifting part of one paragraph from the context, the leaflet quoted the board as follows:

"The will of America today is set on peace, not war, as the aim of our defense program. The strongest defense weapon with which we can equip the American soldier is a clear vision of the kind of peace that constitutes our ideal. An august voice has sounded again and again in an America still at peace, as well as in a Europe already at war, applying to the conditions of our day the Gospel message of peace on earth to men of good will."

Peace Points Left Out.

A reading of the next sentences in the actual statement of the board, and other strong passages, shows that the America First quotation suppressed the meaning of its authors.

Immediately after the sentences chosen by America First for its uses, the statement cited "five essential points of world order and therefore of enduring world peace" laid down by Pope Pius XII in his Christmas allocution of 1939. They are far removed from Hitler's project of peace in his New Order.

The America First leaflets mentioned the board's allusion to the Pope's five points on peace—but in no way quoted or described them.

As cited in the board's statement, the Pope's five points were:

"First—The assurance to all nations of their right to life and independence—the will of one nation to live never justifying the death sentence of another.

"Second — Progressive disarmament, spiritual as well as material, and security for the effective implementing of agreements to this end.

"Third — Juridical institutions guaranteeing loyal fulfillment of peace terms and providing for revisions called for by changing conditions.

"Fourth—Satisfaction of the fair demands of national and racial minorities.

"Fifth—A deep sense of responsibility for the observance of the precepts of justice and charity among men and nations."

'True Peace' Desired.

Those who "dismiss high-minded statements of principle as hopelessly idealistic in what they would call a world of hard facts can find no comfort in the pronouncements of the Pope," the archbishops and bishops declared.

Having emphasized that what they desire is "true peace and true freedom," they concluded:

"We shall pray for an early peace; we shall pray for a world-wide peace; we shall pray for a peace, not based on the oppression or the destruction of peoples, but for a peace that will guarantee the rights and the honor of all nations and satisfy their vital needs. And in our prayers we shall not forget fervently to beg God to guide and strengthen our President, our Congress and all our civil authorities in the overwhelming responsibilities of this tragic hour."

Headed by the Most Reverend Edward Mooney, archbishop of Detroit, as chairman, the administrative board includes Archbishops Francis J. Spellman of New York, John Gregory Murray of St. Paul and John T. McNicholas, O. P., of Cincinnati. Also members are Bishops John B. Peterson of Manchester, N. H., John A. Duffy of Buffalo, Francis C. Kelley of Oklahoma City and Tulsa, John Mark Gannon of Erie, Hugh C. Boyle of Pittsburgh and Edwin V. O'Hara of Kansas City.

CHICAGO DAILY NEWS

47

6-3-41

AMERICA'S BATTLE PAGE

In response to many requests, The News has resumed publication of America's Battle Page, providing options whom on the role the nation should take in World War II. The page was temporarily discontinued May 17 when the space was required for more interesting events abroad. Owing to the need for such news from time to time, the Battle Page hereafter will not appear on a set schedule. The News expects, however, to print it two or three times a week. The page is divided equally between the two organizations whose names appear below. They are free to say what they please without interference or editing by The News. On the other hand, they accept full responsibility for the presentation of their views.

(Provided by the America First Committee, New York Chapter, Inc., 515 Madison Ave. and 7 East 47th St., New York City)

CHARITY BEGINS AT HOME

"We will accept only a world consecrated to freedom of speech and expression—freedom of every person to worship God in his own way—freedom from want—and freedom from terror."
—President Roosevelt.

Should We Fight to Save the World . . . While These Things Continue at Home?

"Freedom of Speech . . . Freedom of Worship . . . Freedom from Terror."

The anti-Catholic, anti-Semitic Ku Klux Klan raises fiery cross to warn Negroes against exercising their constitutional right to vote at St. Petersburg, Fla. Negroes have NO FREEDOM OF SPEECH, NO FREEDOM FROM TERROR in the South.

"Freedom from Want."

A share-cropper's family—one of the third of our population "ill-clothed, ill-fed, ill-housed."

Write to the President, your Senators and Congressman today.

Tell them YOU WANT DEMOCRACY TO WORK PROPERLY AT HOME BEFORE YOU FIGHT FOR IT ABROAD.

(Provided by the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies, 8 W. 40th St., New York City)

Who Wants Disunity?

Since the President's speech declaring an unlimited emergency American ranks have been closing.

On last Monday's Battle Page we presented an extraordinary example of that unity, of the way in which in a crisis American partisanship really does end at the water's edge.

We presented the statements of five American leaders who call for unity in this crisis. These men have all been candidates for the Presidency of the United States. Altogether they received 132,648,945 votes for the highest office in our land.

The President who voiced our foreign policy is the only man in our history to be entrusted with that power by the people for a third term. One of those calling for a closing of the ranks behind that policy was his opponent in the last campaign, the present head of the Republican party. Two of the others also have opposed the President vigorously on other issues. Now they call for us all to stick together behind our elected Commander-in-Chief. Such is the American Way.

Who are the strongest against the President's policy?

HITLER

Berlin, May 29 (U.P.)—The German press castigated President Roosevelt today as a Jewish-influenced warmonger, and an official Nazi spokesman denied that the President spoke for the American people when he laid down United States foreign policy Tuesday night.

MUSSOLINI

Virginio Gayda, Il Duce's stooge, called the President's speech "Plethoric, subtle, alarmist, aggressive and yet extremely equivocal and confused." He said, "The President continues his game of offering hopes and even aid in exchange for dollars and pieces of English territory."

MATSUOKA

After studying the President's speech, Japanese Foreign Minister Yosuke Matsuoka conferred with the German ambassador and then reaffirmed Japan's loyalty to the Axis.

AMERICA 1ST SETS FOUR S. F. SESSIONS

Rapidly completing its organization work in San Francisco, America First Committee from its headquarters at 57 Post Street yesterday announced a series of four meetings to be held during the latter part of this week. They are:

Tonight — George Washington chapter, Irish-American Hall, Sixteenth and Valencia Streets, 8 o'clock; William Paca chapter, Fugazzi Hall 678 Green Street, 8 o'clock.

Thursday night — Lafayette chapter, Corinthian Hall, 4793 Mission Street, 8 o'clock.

Friday night — Benjamin Franklin chapter, Alexandria Hall, 380 Eighteenth Avenue, near Geary, 8 o'clock.

SAN FRANCISCO EXAMI

FORWARDED BY
SAN FRANCISCO DIVISI

JUN 4 - 1941

AMERICA FIRST GROUP DENIED USE OF SCHOOL

Kezar Stadium Also Barred to Committee by Park Board; Lindbergh Invited to Talk

The San Francisco Board of Education, by unanimous vote, yesterday denied the request of the America First Committee for use of Marina Junior High School as a meeting place tomorrow night.

At the same time John J. Taheny, regional director of the America First Committee, disclosed that his committee had been denied use of Kezar Stadium by the board of park commissioners.

The committee, Taheny said, had hoped to have Charles Lindbergh as chief speaker and had every assurance that the famous flyer would have accepted their invitation had they succeeded in obtaining the stadium for the meeting.

PROGRAM DECLARED.

Philip Lee Bush, president of the board of education, said the board's action followed an established policy of refusing use of schools for meetings on controversial issues.

Taheny said the park commission based its refusal on the grounds that Kezar is restricted to recreational uses only. The commission's refusal was contained in a letter replying to a request for a June date at which a mass meeting was planned, said Taheny.

"I shall ask a committee of our group to investigate both refusals," Taheny said.

VETERANS OPPOSITION.

Opposition to use of the school was voiced before the board by W. L. Wilson and M. C. Herman, leaders of the Veterans of Foreign Wars. Herman asserted the group is "trying to disrupt American unity." Wilson declared veterans would attend if the meeting were held and added there "might be disorder."

Taheny, an attorney and leader of the United Irish Societies, said the two veteran leaders were "rather presumptuous" if they undertook to represent the opinion of the VFW.

"We have members of the veterans' organizations in our committee, and I don't think that these two men could presume to speak for them," Taheny said.

SAN FRANCISCO EX...

FORWARDED BY
SAN FRANCISCO DIVIS

JUN 4 - 1941

AMERICA FIRST WARNS OF DEATH IN F. D. R.'S PATROL

Norman E. Saunders, member of the America First committee speakers' bureau, charged last night that "the blood of any American youth lost on so-called neutrality patrols will be a direct result of broken promises to the parents of America." He spoke at a meeting of the Near North Side chapter at 33 East Oak street.

"If the American people suffer a military defeat," said Saunders, "that defeat will be chargeable to the fact that the President defended foreign investments of banking interests in preference to the physical welfare of the American people."

Two meetings have been scheduled by the America First committee for the Chicago area tonight. The Rev. John A. O'Brien, professor of law at Notre Dame university, will speak in Gary church, Gary, Ind., at 8 o'clock. Dr. Howard S. Swann, University of Chicago psychologist, will speak at the Park Ridge University club in the Pickwick building, Park Ridge at the same hour.

47

CHICAGO DAILY TRIBUNE

6-5-41

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

America First Claims Big Membership Gains

CHICAGO, June 6 (I.N.S.). Large gains in membership during the last month were announced today by the America First Committee, and Mrs. Janet Ayer Fairbank, national vice chairman, claimed the gains proved "that public opinion is solidly against America's entrance into the war." In four weeks, Mrs. Fairbanks said, the Illinois chapter alone has increased its membership by 250,000, bringing the State's enrollment to 450,000.

JUN 6 - 1941

WASHINGTON TIMES-HERALD
Page 2

SPREAD OF WAR BUTCHERY HIT BY FATHER O'BRIEN

Urges America to Work Toward Peace.

America can render the warring nations of Europe its greatest service by bringing the combatant leaders to the peace conference table, the Rev. John A. O'Brien, professor of graduate apologetics at Notre Dame university, asserted in a speech last night in Seaman's hall in Gary.

The audience of about 1,000 cheered Father O'Brien frequently and there were bursts of applause when he mentioned Col. Charles A. Lindbergh and Senator Burton K. Wheeler, leaders in the first to keep the United States out of the overseas struggle.

No Profit In War, All Agree.

The Notre Dame professor was introduced by the Rev. Harold Schmidt, pastor of the Chapel of the Dunes. The meeting was sponsored by the America First committee.

Dr. O'Brien said the greatest disservice to humanity would be action by the United States to spread the war to untouched areas and "increase the butchery of the masses in all lands."

"No nation profits from modern war," he said. "Hitler, Daladier, and Roosevelt proclaimed this before the war, and agreed that death and destruction would be the only victors."

United for Peace, He Says.

He asserted that the warring nations forgot this and were led like sheep to slaughter to cover up their leaders' bankruptcy as statesmen. He said the American people were never so united in their wish for peace as at present.

"No amount of war mongering, of inflammatory speeches stirring hatreds and fears, of Utopia plans for reforming the world, can budge them from their determination not to be pulled into the horrors of Europe's never ending feuds," Dr. O'Brien said.

Manifest Will "Ignored."

He asserted that the real American unity was in the desire for peace, and that President Roosevelt was ignoring the manifest will of more than a hundred million citizens while he proceeds "by every form of indirection, camouflage, and subterfuge to drag the nation closes to the brink of Europe's war."

"You have declared, Mr. President, that our defenses are weak," he continued. "Why strip them further by sending so much defense material abroad? Are you more interested in bolstering up the tottering British empire, with its domination over 500 million people, than in protecting the lives, welfare, and peace of the American people?

"Is American policy being shaped in Washington or at 10 Downing street? Why do you permit a British ambassador to tour our country, spreading propaganda to break down our neutrality law?"

Dr. O'Brien made it plain he was not talking as a representative of the Catholic church or of Notre Dame, but as an American citizen.

CHICAGO DAILY TRIBUNE

47

6-6-41

A...ERICA FIRST ENLISTS 250,000 MORE FOR PEACE

4 Week Gain Gives Illinois Chapter 450,000.

Growing sentiment against United States involvement in the European war was seen yesterday by officials of the America First committee as they announced a membership increase of 250,000 in the Illinois unit during the last four weeks.

This gain brought the total enrollment to 450,000, according to a report made public by Mrs. Janet Ayer Fairbank, vice chairman of the Illinois chapter. Forty new chapters have been added during the same period, Mrs. Fairbank said, bringing to 100 the units affiliated with the Illinois committee.

3,000 Join Drive in Day.

"Within the last few weeks as many as 3,000 membership cards have poured into the committee offices in one day," she asserted. "An average force of 20 volunteer workers is busy 12 hours a day sorting cards and mailing literature. Other members are enrolling by the thousands in smaller units thruout the state.

"This is certainly proof that public opinion is solidly against our entrance into the war. America First rallies are drawing larger audiences nightly."

List All Illinois Chapters.

The complete list of chapters affiliated with the Illinois chapter, which includes part of Indiana in its territory, is as follows:

In Chicago—Auburn Park, Austin, Belmont, Christopher Columbus, Edgewater, Hyde Park, Lakeview, Lincoln park, Logan square, Loyola, Morgan Park, near north side, Rogers Park, south side, south shore, southwest, University of Chicago, Uptown, Woodlawn, Parkway.

Outside Chicago—Ambraw, Arlington Heights, Aurora, Bloomington, Blue Island, Breese, Bremen, Carthage, Champaign, Chicago Heights, Chillicothe, Cicero, Clarendon Hills, Clinton, Decatur, De Kalb, Des Plaines, Earlville, East Chicago, Ind.; Elgin, Elmhurst, Evanston, Fox Lake, Freeport, Galena, Galesburg, Gary, Ind.; Glen Ellyn, Glencoe, Harvard, Highland Park, Hinsdale, Elmwood, Indiana Harbor, Ind.; Johnson City, Joliet, Kankakee, Lake Forest, La Salle, and Peru, Libertyville, Lockport, Lombard, Lyons, Maywood, Mokena, Moline, Minooka, Morris, Morrisonville, Naperville, Northwestern university; Oak Park and River Forest, Orland Park, Park Ridge, Palatine, Palos Park, Peoria; Pittsfield, Pontiac, Quincy, Riverside, Rockford, Rushville, Springfield, Sterling, Streator, Sycamore, University of Illinois, Warrenville, Waukegan, West Highlands Youth, Wilmette, Winnetka, Yorkville, McComb, Benton, La Grange, Midlothian, Purdue.

The America First committee offices are at 122 South Michigan avenue.

CHICAGO DAILY TRIBUNE

47

6-6-41

Mr. Tolson .....
Mr. E. A. Tamm ....
Mr. Clegg .....
Mr. Foxworth .....
Mr. Glavin .....
Mr. Lad .....
Mr. Nichols .....
Mr. Rosen .....
Mr. Carson .....
Mr. Drayton .....
Mr. Quinn Tamm ....
Mr. Hendon .....
Mr. Tracy .....
Miss Gandy .....

Wheeler Fears U. S. Backs a Loser

Pittsburgh, June 6 (INS).—Senator Burton K. Wheeler yesterday called on American people who, he said, "do not want to back a loser," to face the "hard cold facts" and speak out against intervention in the European war.

The United States cannot force the "four freedoms" upon the world, "at least not in our generation," the Montana Democrat declared in broadcast address at a rally sponsored by Pittsburgh's America First Committee.

"The American people must speak. They must let the President know—that they expect him to stand by his pledges—that they expect him to continue his resistance to war . . ."

WASHINGTON POST

JUN 7 1941

100-371[illegible]-D

7 AMERICA FIRST RALLIES IN 2 DAYS TO AID WAR FIGHT

Seven America First rallies sounding the keynote "Stay Out of War" will be held in Chicagoland tomorrow and Tuesday, according to Mrs. Elizabeth Landa, speakers' bureau chairman.

Dr. Howard G. Swann, University of Chicago physiologist, and Mrs. Janet Ayer Fairbank, national vice chairman of America First, will speak tomorrow night in Burlington, Ia.

Other rallies tomorrow night and speakers: Glen Ellyn, Acadia hall, the Rev. John A. O'Brien of Notre Dame university; Oak Park, 736 Lake street, the Rev. William H. Medler; 6519 Sheridan road, Loyola chapter, Mrs. Vincent Session, ex-DAR officer. Tuesday's rallies and speakers: Afternoon—1333 North Laramie avenue, Austin Home Defense women, Mrs. Fielding L. Marshall. Night—1854 Devon avenue, Rogers Park chapter, Charles Chapin; 1441 North Halsted street, 43d Ward United Republicans, Norman E. Saunders.

100-411-4

CHICAGO DAILY TRIBUNE

6-8-41

AMERICA'S BATTLE PAGE

In response to many requests, The News has reserved publication of America's Battle Page, presenting opposite views on the role this nation should take in World War II. The page was temporarily discontinued May 17 when the space was required for maps illustrating important events abroad. Owing to the need for such maps from time to time, the Battle Page hereafter will not appear on a set schedule. The News expects, however, to print it two or three times a week. The page is divided equally between the two organizations whose names appear below. They are free to say what they please without interference or editing by The News. On the other hand, they accept full responsibility for the presentation of their views.

(Provided by the America First Committee, New York Chapter, Inc., 515 Madison Ave., 3 East 57th St. and 111 B'way, New York City.)

IT IS HAPPENING HERE NOW!

Frightening the poor of America is still going on. The War-Making committee is still picturing hapless Americans with Hitler's soldiers standing behind them here in America. This is the shameful invention that has been used to scare Americans into sending their young manhood to the bloody battlefields of Europe. Hanson Baldwin, famous military expert of the New York Times (war-making newspaper) says: "I do not know a single responsible military or naval officer or government official who believes this nation is threatened by *direct* invasion even if Germany wins." Of course there are "irresponsible" government officials who peddle that fraud to scare people.

But there are some things that resemble Hitler which ARE HAPPENING RIGHT NOW IN AMERICA.

"Sorry, Mister. The Government's Taking Over Now"

In Washington today there is a bill before congress. It has been presented by the WAR DEPARTMENT, with the approval of the PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES. It gives the President the right to send his officers or troops into any factory, shop, property in America, take it over, without limit in time and for any price he fixes, and run it under government officers.

This is not something that may happen after the war if we lose. This is something that is happening now. In Washington they call this bill the BRASS-KNUCKLE BILL.

This is the way a war to bring democracy to Europe goes along in America. Our first step is to destroy democracy here.

Creamless days, gasless Sundays, soaring prices, confiscatory taxes, crushing national debts—and now OWNERLESS FACTORIES AND SHOPS.

WHAT WILL BE THE NEXT STEP TO IMITATE HITLER HERE?

It is urgent that you write or wire the President today. Get others to write or wire. Urge him to work for peace now. Only by peace can we retain our democracy.

(Provided by the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies, 8 W. 40th St., New York City)

They Trusted Hitler

Hitler now says we should trust him. He says he can't imagine why we think he wants to attack us. He sobs that he hasn't enough transport to attack us anyway. The wolf is talking softly now. He thinks he has found another Little Red Ridinghood.

He said he had no designs on Austria. He annexed it.

He said that if he got the Sudetenland there would "be no further territorial problems in Europe." Then he marched into Prague.

Poland trusted his non-aggression treaty. He took Poland.

Scandinavia trusted his peaceful promises. He took Denmark and Norway.

Holland and Belgium trusted his word. They were blitzed.

You have seen this picture of what happened to a trustful isolationist country in THE DAILY NEWS before: A Belgian mother flees with her children from their devastated home.

We do not need to call the roll of the other Red Ridinghoods. We know that when the wolf's words drip honey, that is the time to watch out. That is the time he thinks he is getting ready for the kill.

Already Hitler is waging war on the Americas. A year ago we had to rush two cruisers because of a self-confessed Nazi plan to seize Uruguay for the Reich.

Military Fifth Columns are in Brazil, Bolivia, Chile and Columbia, champing at the bit because Britain still holds out.

A couple of months ago THE DAILY NEWS exposed the blueprint of an Axis drive in which "Germany is to send warplanes via Dakar, Africa, to assist revolutionary movements in Argentina."

A negotiated peace now would only let Hitler consolidate his gains for his final assault on us. We would be dupes to trust his soft words. No, Grandmother, we see your sharp teeth.

A COINCIDENCE? LINDY AND HITLER USE SAME IDEA

Analysis Shows Similar Phrasing in Reference to River 'Frontiers.'

BY FRANK SMOTHERS.

A coincidence of Lindberghian and Hitlerian phrase-making about the Mississippi River was brought to light today by comparison of an address by Charles A. Lindbergh and an interview with Adolf Hitler.

The Hitler interview was with John Cudahy, former United States ambassador to Belgium—an interview that President Roosevelt in his press conference last Friday linked with appeasement efforts pushed by Berlin in this country.

Not published until June 6, the Hitler-Cudahy conversation took place at Berchtesgaden May 23, Cudahy reported. That was six days before Lindbergh made the speech in question, in Philadelphia, May 29.

In that address at an America First rally, Lindbergh remarked:

"If we say that our frontier lies on the Rhine, they can say that their's lies on the Mississippi."

"They" clearly referred to the forces of Hitler.

Cudahy in his account of his Hitler interview of May 23, wrote:

"He (Hitler) said he had never heard anybody in Germany say that the Mississippi River was a German frontier in the same spirit that the prime minister of Australia has referred to the Rhine as a frontier of that country."

The Cudahy interview was published simultaneously in Life Magazine and several score American newspapers, including The Daily News.

Comparison of the phrases by Hitler and Lindbergh about the Rhine and Mississippi, and the aforementioned sequence of dates involved—May 23 when Hitler was interviewed, May 29 when Lindbergh spoke and June 6 when the Hitler interview was published—have caused much speculation here and in Washington as to whether the American flier or the German Fuehrer first conceived the striking words about the rivers.

CHICAGO DAILY NEWS

6-9 41

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

Lindbergh Denies He Hinted At Overthrow of Government

By the Associated Press

New York, June 9.—Charles A. Lindbergh, spokesman for the America First Committee, said today that any statement that his recent speech in Philadelphia was directed toward President Roosevelt was untrue.

Lindbergh said that his call for a "change in leadership" was aimed at interventionists—"the leadership of the opposition which we (the Nation) have been following in recent months."

"Neither I nor anyone else on the America First Committee advocates proceeding by anything but constitutional methods," he said.

Lindbergh's remarks were made in reply to a telegram from William E. Moore, managing editor of the Baltimore Sun, received at the committee's office which said:

"Since you recently began using the phrase that the America First Organization is 'seeking new leadership in Washington,' it has been noted that other foremost speakers for the America First Committee are using the same phrase. Gov. La Follette used it here in his speech last night (Thursday). The Sun would be glad to print your explanation of the meaning of this phrase, and how a new leadership could be set up under our constitutional form of government before the next election."

Lindbergh replied:

"In reply to your telegram of June 8, my reference to the need for new leadership applied to the leadership of the interventionists which the Nation has been following in recent months.

"This is obvious if you read the paragraph of my Philadelphia address in which I asked, 'is it not time for us to turn to new policies and to new leadership?' In many press reports my question was removed entirely from its context. Neither I nor anyone else on the America First Committee advocates proceeding by anything but constitutional methods. It is our opposition (the interventionists) which endangers the American Constitution when it objects to our freedom of speech and expression. Under the Constitution, we have every right to advocate a leadership for this country which is non-interventionist and which places the interests of America first. This is, in fact, the primary objective of our committee. We believe that a non-interventionist and fundamentally American leadership is of vital necessity to the security and welfare of our country."

WASHINGTON POST
Page 11

JUN 10

WARNS OF FOUR 'THREATS' IN FD TALK

Four "potential and dangerous threats" to the American way of life were contained in the latest Roosevelt "fireside chat," the Rev. William M. Medler of Hyde Park Lutheran Church said last night at an America First rally.

He warned that repeal of the neutrality act, convoys, intervention in the war and totalitarian government or dictatorship are ahead unless the people unite against them. He said:

"It is the zero hour. There is a graver battlefront menacing the American people today than that of Europe, Asia or Africa. It is the battle for our own freedom, our independence, our traditional Democratic way of life and government.

"We are facing a stern battle today to save our own democracy from those of our own citizenry who would jeopardize and destroy it."

HITS WAR LOGIC.

Dr. Howard G. Swann, University of Chicago physiologist, addressing a large anti-war rally in Burlington, Ia., declared arguments being presented by interventionists steering this country to war are without logical merit.

From the same platform Mrs. Janet Ayer Fairbank of Chicago, national vice-chairman of the America First group, asserted:

"Many foreigners have been arriving in New York during the past few years and have brought with them the panic and terror of war-torn Europe. The result of all this has tended to make the east more war-minded than ever before. Such a condition is not prominent in the west."

"FACTS DISTORTED."

Dr. Swann told his many hearers that intervention arguments would not bear scrutiny in the light of cold facts. Talk of imminent invasion, he said, is not sustained by military experts.

THE CHICAGO AMERICAN

6-11-41

'AMERICA FIRST' ORGANIZES HERE

Thirty Attend Initial Meeting; Armstrong Seeks Speaker for Rally

To plan a big keep-out-of-war rally, probably for the last week in June, and to organize a chapter of the America First Committee in Springfield, about 30 persons met at the home of O. K. Armstrong last night.

Mr. Armstrong will leave for Washington tonight, and while there will try to arrange for an outstanding keep-out-of-war speaker—perhaps Senator Burton K. Wheeler, Senator D. Worth Clark of Idaho, Senator Gerald Nye, or Ex-Governor Phil La-Follette.

Tipton Chairman

Tentative plans are to have the rally either in White City ball park or the Shrine Mosque. Mr. Armstrong predicted an attendance of 4000 to 5000 persons.

Sesco V. Tipton, who has been named organizing chairman for America First in Springfield, had called the meeting.

Those who have signed the application for a charter for an America First chapter here include: Mr. Tipton, Mr. Armstrong, W. Clifton Hayes, Mary R. Coussens, Joseph E. Ray, E. H. Hartley, Mrs. Hartley, Mrs. John A. Krall, Mrs. George Kastendieck, Francis X. Ruscha, Mrs. Edward Ruscha, E. L. Williams.

The keep-out-of-war group will meet against next Thursday evening, June 19, at 8 o'clock, in the circuit court room in the court house, to complete plans for the mass meeting.

Name Committees

Mary R. Coussens was made secretary of the group. The Reverend W. H. Upton, pastor of the Congregational church, and Mrs. Krall, were made the speakers' committee.

Mr. Hayes, Ben Van Hook, and Mrs. Dryden Small were appointed to decide on the place of meeting.

Others present last night included Mr. Krall, Dr. D. O. Cowgill of the Drury faculty, Mrs. B. B. Brodhacker, Arthur Rummill, Mrs. Murt S. Crumpley, the Reverend W. C. Armstrong, Julian Lark, Mrs. F. O. Hartley, R. L. Terr, Dryden Small, Thora Shepard and P. L. Hayes, and most of the applicants for the America First chapter.

Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. C[illegible]
Mr. F[illegible]
Mr. G[illegible]
Mr. L[illegible]
Mr. N[illegible]
Mr. Ro[illegible]
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

100-4712

CLIPPING FROM
SPRINGFIELD LEADER AND PRESS
SPRINGFIELD, MISSOURI
DATE: June 11, 1941
FORWARDED BY THE KANSAS CITY
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25

Mr. Tolson
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Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Mendon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

Who's Running This Show?

'Peacemakers' Declare War on Sister Group

There's war on the peace front! An offensive has been launched by the American Peace Mobilization, which appears to be the extreme left wing, against the America First Committee, which includes all the rest of the peace front from Herbert Hoover to Norman Thomas.

The objective seems to be: Who's gonna boss the peace show?

The bugle was blown last night by Dr. Walter Scott Neff, New York secretary of APM, as he exhorted an audience of 400 at the National Press Club to a crusade against the America First Committee.

Dr. Neff charged that the committee's aim was "Latin-America first" and said that it represents "as much a danger as our war-mongering administration."

America First has kept aloof from the APM, which has been described in Dies Committee testimony as having been organized by the Communist Party.

Dr. Neff charged that the Administration "has followed carefully a scheme to involve us in this struggle. . . . Now we are ready for the final plunge."

The meeting adopted a resolution condemning the Government for taking over the strike-bound North American aircraft plant at Inglewood, Calif.

CH-13

JUN 11 1941

WASHINGTON NEWS
Page 11

3 AMERICA FIRST RALLIES DEMAND U. S. SHUN WAR

Warnings Issued on Loss of Democracy.

Demands that the United States keep out of the European war and initiate a peace movement now were made last night at three rallies of the America First committee. A warning also was voiced that if America enters the war its democratic form of government will be replaced by national socialism.

The meetings were held in Acacia hall, Glen Ellyn; 736 Lake street, Oak Park, and 6517 Sheridan road, under the auspices, respectively, of the Glen Ellyn, Oak Park, and Loyola chapters of the committee. A total of nearly 1,000 men and women attended the rallies.

Father O'Brien Urges Peace.

The Rev. John A. O'Brien of Notre Dame university, speaking at the Glen Ellyn meeting, said:

"In the interests of the people of Britain, of the overrun countries of Europe, as well as the common masses of Germany and Italy, and in our own interests as well, we should put on a vigorous peace offensive. We should demand that the war leaders get around a conference table before a civilization built up over 2,000 years is reduced to dust and ashes.

"Now is a propitious time to besiege our President, senators, congressmen, and our fellow citizens to unite in presenting a solid American front for peace."

Fruit of Last War Cited.

America gained nothing but dead from the last war, and can gain nothing more from involvement in the present war, Dr. O'Brien said. He assailed as war mongers Secretary of the Navy Knox, Secretary of War Stimson, Secretary of State Hull, and Senator Claude Pepper of Florida and urged that if they do get America into the war "they ought to be placed aboard the first convoys."

The principal speaker at the Oak Park rally was the Rev. William H. Medler, pastor of the Hyde Park Lutheran church. He said America faces a greater peril than war itself

CHICAGO DAILY TRIBUNE

6-11-41

AMERICA'S BATTLE PAGE

In response to many requests, The Press has removed publication of America's Battle Page, frequently sporadic stand on the role this United should take in World War II. The page was temporarily discontinued May 31 when the space was required for maps illustrating important events abroad. Owing to the need for such maps from time to time, the Battle Page [illegible] will not appear in its present form for a short time. The Press, however, in spirit is two or three times a month. This page is divided equally between the two organizations which jointly sponsor it. They are free to say what they please without interference or editing by The Press. On the other hand, they accept full responsibility for the presentation of their views.

(Provided by the America First Committee, New York Chapter, Inc., 515 Madison Ave., 8 East 57th St. and 111 Broadway, New York City)

A SLUR ON THE PRESIDENT

The President's friends among the war-makers are saying some strange things about him. Two of the columnists of the war-making bund printed a story this week in which they make the following amazing statement.

The President, they say, is deeply affected by his pledge not to send our army and navy into the war. He feels he must keep that pledge. But he thinks he would be relieved of that pledge if the Germans were to shoot at the American flag or an American ship first. Therefore, say the columnists, the President is going "to be smart." He is going to keep his word to the American people by "not shooting first," but he is going to play the game of the war-makers by "provoking the Germans to shoot at us first." He is going to keep on sniping at them *until they* open fire.

This, of course, is actually accusing the President of the United States of cunningly practicing the most shocking duplicity on the American people. If AMERICA FIRST made a charge like that against him, it would be denounced. But AMERICA FIRST does not endorse that charge.

The President did not promise the American people that "he would not shoot first." He promised he would not take them into a foreign war. And this, of course, includes not provoking foreign nations to shoot at us. The President knows that. And we believe he will act upon that understanding with the honorable course and not with the deceitful plan urged upon him by the war-bund.

Notre Dame Professor Asks: "Why Crucify Our Youth?"

By JOHN A. O'BRIEN, PH. D.
Of the University of Notre Dame, South Bend, Ind.

The supreme service that America can render to the world is to bring the warring leaders to the peace table *now*.

The supreme disservice would be to enlarge the area of slaughter and destruction, and fasten still deeper the institution of war upon the helpless peoples of the world.

Daladier, Hitler, Roosevelt acknowledged before the outbreak that the only victors would be destruction and death. Military victory and defeat are alike sterile. They solve no problem of justice or right.

Herein lies the unspeakable tragedy of war—it is meaningless, utterly, abysmally meaningless.

"War," declared Pope Pius XII, "settles nothing." Truer words were never spoken. The British bomb, starve and kill a million Germans. The Germans slaughter a million British. What problem of right or justice have they solved? The butchery of two million human beings has not brought them closer to the solution by so much as a hair's breadth.

This is the cancer that vitiates all the pleading of the interventionists. It is the ugly worm festering in the Dead Sea apples they are trying to sell to America.

More than a thousand students at Notre Dame University, coming from virtually every State in the Union, petitioned the President not to sentence them to death in Europe, Asia and Africa by dragging America into the European slaughter. They echo the voice of all those who must do the bleeding and dying. Why crucify the youth of America on the cross of hate and insanity? Why butcher them like cattle? Why yield to the insanity of modern war? Why plunge America into national suicide?

Our duty is crystal clear. Stay out. For the welfare of the British, the over-run nations, the common masses in Germany and Italy, and for America, let our government play the Christ-like role of peacemaker, not after the world is in ruins, but now.

Write to the President, your Senators and Congressman today.

Get others to write or wire today.

Impress them with your desire for peace and democracy and your opposition to foreign wars.

By writing today you can do your part to help keep the country out of war.

(Provided by the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies, [illegible] W. 40th St., New York City)

SMALLPOX DOCTRINE

After the President's national emergency speech, we pledged ourselves to work for unity. The American people had spoken on policy through their elected Commander-in-Chief. The time for debate on policy was over. This last the America "First" half of the Battle Page apparently agrees with. It has made no effort to debate. Instead it has come out in open attack on America and our American Government.

A week ago on the Battle Page the America "First" Committee presented Ku Kluxers and share-croppers as samples of our level of democracy, belittling on that count America's right to fight for liberty. Last Monday, as the Government moved with overwhelming public support to end a wildcat Communist strike that was robbing us of a fifth of our war-plane production, America "First" presented a cartoon of an American businessman being seized by an American soldier. It pooh-poohed worry over Hitler's storm troopers, headed the cartoon, "There are some things that resemble Hitler which ARE HAPPENING RIGHT NOW IN AMERICA."

Does America "First" really think the American Government and the American doughboys are more of a menace to our country than Hitler's storm troopers?

Which threatens YOUR security?

THIS OR THIS?

Just Hitler Troopers — American Doughboys

Why can the America "First" Committee find nothing good to say about our country? Why does it attack America, our Government, our doughboys? In time of danger does the American eagle foul his own nest? Could Goebbels himself do a better job for Hitler?

Reporting early Italian Fascism, William Bolitho wrote: "There is no serious doctrine in these things, nothing but bad faith and practical maneuvers. . . . There is no more a doctrine of Fascism than a doctrine of smallpox."

AMERICA FIRST RALLY BARRED BY MACPHAIL

Row Over Use of Ebbetts Field Revealed in Letter

A controversy between the Brooklyn Chapter of the America First Committee and Leland Stanford (Larry) MacPhail was revealed yesterday when the group said it had tried to rent Ebbets Field, home of the Brooklyn Dodgers, for an anti-war rally, but that permission had been refused by Mr. McPhail, president of the ball club.

William T. Leonard, advertising man, who is executive chairman of the Brooklyn chapter, made public a letter he had written Mr. MacPhail, asking an apology for "offensive and insulting language" allegedly used last Wednesday when Mr. Leonard telephoned him about renting Ebbets Field. For his part, Mr. MacPhail stood pat, and said the home of the Dodgers never would be used for any "propaganda" rallies.

Mr. MacPhail is chairman of the Brooklyn division of the New York Chapter of the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies.

Declaring that "those who attempt to browbeat any one they do not agree with are usually followers of a totalitarian idea," Mr. Leonard expressed astonishment that Mr. MacPhail should "insult" the "thousands of members of this committee in Brooklyn."

"I am 100 per cent American and have no tolerance whatever for any Bundists, Communists or any other fellow-travelers of any nature or description," Mr. Leonard wrote.

"No comment," Mr. MacPhail said when asked about the incident. Then he went right ahead and explained:

"Mr. Leonard called me and asked for the field and I told him he couldn't have it, whereupon he began to tell me who he was and who I was and what they were going to do to me. Then I told him what I thought of him and the America First Committee. They are not going to get Ebbets Field for any America First rally."

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CLIPPING FROM THE
N. Y. TIMES
DATE JUN 14 194
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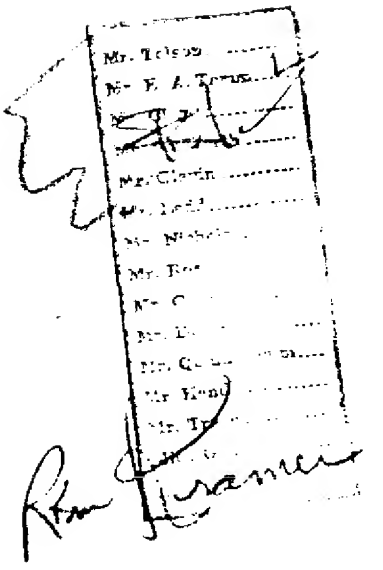

AMERICA FIRST SPEAKER ASSAILS FOREIGN POLICY

Dr. Anton J. Carlson, University of Chicago physiologist, told an America First rally last night at 3730 North Clark street that "a foreign policy differing radically from the Monroe doctrine should not be adopted thru guile and propaganda in a period of fear and hysteria."

The way of democracy, he said, is to place all the cards on the table and decide the issue when minds are calm.

"In my experience and judgment," said Dr. Carlson, "racial animosities are intensified by war, not minimized. We disregarded the advice of Washington in 1917. Are we myopic enough to repeat in 1941?"

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120

CHICAGO DAILY TRIBUNE

6-14-41

BANKER LAUDS U. S. RESTRAINT

The fact that the United States has not become involved in the war despite the intense emotional pull toward the suffering peoples of Europe is a great tribute to American common sense, J. Sanford Otis, vice president of the Central Trust Company, told the Peoria Rotary Club.

Speaking under the auspices of the America First Committee, of which he is national treasurer, Otis called the European war:

"A war which has its origin in the complex racial, social and economic conditions of Europe and in which we are still unprovoked."

GAIN GROUND.

He asserted the America First organization has definitely gained ground in its no-war crusade.

United States Senator Burton K. Wheeler, leader of the noninterventionist forces at Washington, will return to Chicago next week to address an America First mass meeting in Highland Park. Mrs. Janet Ayer Fairbank, national vice chairman of the committee, predicted more than 1,600 persons will crowd the Highland Park High School Auditorium next Sunday night to hear the vigorous Montanan.

WOOD TO PRESIDE.

Gen. Robert E. Wood will preside at the meeting, for which handbills and letters are being circulated by the Highland Park chapter. Wheeler's last appearance in Chicago was April 27 when he spoke at the Chicago Arena before a crowd of 10,000.

Senator Wheeler is scheduled to speak next Saturday evening at Dubuque, Ia., in the Loras College Stadium under auspices of the newly organized America First chapter, which has recruited members in two weeks' time.

THE CHICAGO AMERICAN

6-5-4

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

5 'America First' Speakers Ready to Start New Drive

CHICAGO, June 16 (C.T.P.S.).—The America First Committee, continuing with renewed vigor its battle to keep the United States at peace, announced yesterday its most extensive speaking campaign yet undertaken.

For the next three weeks, five noninterventionist leaders—Charles A. Lindbergh, Senator Burton K. Wheeler (D.), of Montana; Senator Gerald P. Nye (R.), of North Dakota; Senator Bennett Champ Clark (D.), of Missouri, and Senator D. Worth Clark (D.), of Idaho—will stump all sections of the United States, rallying public opinion against war.

Between Monday and July 4 the America First speakers will address 14 antiwar rallies in 10 States.

Senator Nye will open the campaign tomorrow night at Cincinnati, Ohio.

Senator D. Worth Clark will address the first of three California rallies Thursday night in San Diego.

Lindbergh will speak Friday night in Los Angeles, and will return to California July 2 for an address in San Francisco.

Senator Wheeler has six addresses scheduled during the three-week campaign. He will open his tour next Saturday in Loras College stadium at Dubuque, Iowa, when he will be interviewed over a nation-wide radio hookup.

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WASHINGTON TIMES-HERALD
Page B

AMERICA FIRST SLATES SIX RALLIES

The America First Committee swung into high gear today for its supreme effort to keep America out of war.

Six rallies will be held in the Chicago area tonight and Wednesday. In other sections of the country, Col. Charles A. Lindbergh and Senators Wheeler, Nye, Champ Clark and D. Worth Clark will address fourteen rallies in ten states between now and July 4.

Loyola chapter will hold a rally at 6519 Sheridan road tonight, with Miss Gertrude Coogan, economist and analyst, as the speaker.

LEGIONNAIRE TO SPEAK.

Other rallies will be held tonight in Oak Park and Evanston. Charles W. Vail, attorney and legionnaire, will talk about "Debunking the War Propaganda" at 736 Lake st., Oak Park.

J. Sanford Otis, vice president of the Central Public Company and treasurer of the America First Committee, will speak in the community house of the Ridgeville Community Park district, 908 Seward st., Evanston.

On Wednesday night Mrs. V. O. Joyce, history teacher at Hyde Park High School, will speak on "British Propaganda" at a Rogers Park chapter meeting at 1554 Devon av.

PETTINGILL IN ELGIN.

Mrs. Fielding L. Marshall will address the Near North Side chapter, 33 E. Oak st., on the same night, and Samuel B. Pettingill, former Indiana congressman, will speak at a mass meeting sponsored by the Elgin chapter in the Masonic Temple there.

Senator Gerald P. Nye will speak tonight in Cincinnati, and in Kokomo, Ind., Wednesday night.

THE CHICAGO AMERICAN

6-16-41

BATTLE OF CRETE CITED AS PROOF OF U. S. SAFETY

Speaker Says Air Power Can Beat Invader.

The battle of Crete proved that the hysterical scream of the interventionists—"America will be invaded!"—is utterly fantastic, J. Sanford Otis, treasurer of the national America First committee, asserted last night. He spoke before the Evanston chapter of the committee in the suburb's Community house, 908 Seward street.

J. Sanford Otis.

"That battle proved that the side with the most planes in the air can protect its bombers while they attack naval or military objectives," he told the audience.

What This Means to Us.

"Think what that means to us. With an adequate air force, we can get more planes into the air from our land bases than any invading fleet—or combination of fleets—could launch from aircraft carriers."

Otis branded as "silly" the theory that America would be invaded economically.

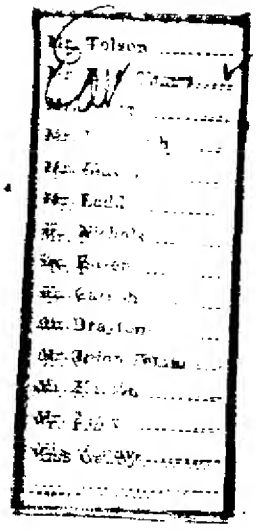
"England and Germany are neighbors," he said. "As neighbors it is better for them to settle their own disputes rather than for us to waste millions of men and most of our resources to establish peace between them—and then try to maintain that peace.

Want to Trade with Us.

"Germany, England, Italy, and Japan all want to trade with us. And buying and selling is not a one way street. It takes two to make a trade, and we have plenty with which to bargain."

CHICAGO DAILY TRIBUNE

6-17-41



8 AMERICA FIRST MEETINGS TO BE HELD THIS WEEK

Eight America First meetings, three of them scheduled at 8 o'clock tonight, will be held in Chicagoland this week, it was announced yesterday by officials of the Illinois chapter. These meetings will be followed by an anti-war rally Sunday in Highland Park with Senator Burton K. Wheeler [D., Mont.], and Samuel B. Pettengill, former congressman from Indiana, as the speakers.

Pettengill will address the Elgin chapter of America First tonight in the Elgin Masonic temple. The Rogers Park chapter will hear Mrs. V. O. Joyce, history instructor at Hyde Park High school, speak on "British Propaganda" in a hall at 1554 Devon avenue. Mrs. Fielding L. Marshall of the America First speakers' bureau will speak before the near north side chapter at 33 East Oak street.

Other speeches this week are: Thursday, Dr. Howard G. Swann, University of Chicago physiologist, Gary, and John W. Maselter, business man and lecturer, Lombard; Friday, Prof. John A. O'Brien, Notre Dame university, 3730 North Clark street; J. Sanford Otis, national treasurer of America First, East Chicago, and Walter F. Boye, attorney and author, Elmhurst.

CHICAGO DAILY TRIBUNE

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

EXPECT THRONG TO WELCOME WHEELER

Preparations were being made today to handle an overflow crowd when Senator Burton K. Wheeler brings his anti-war drive to the Chicago area Sunday night. The non-interventionist leader will address a meeting sponsored by the America First Committee at the Highland Park High School auditorium.

On Saturday night Senator Wheeler will speak at a similar gathering in Dubuque.

Gen. Robert E. Wood, national chairman of the committee, will preside at both meetings Senator Wheeler's talks will be broadcast.

Mrs. Philip Johnson, chairman of the Highland Park chapter, said additional chairs have been placed to accommodate more than 2,000 persons in the auditorium. She added that amplifiers will carry the talk outside.

In an America First meeting last night at 1554 Devon av. Mrs. Thomas E. Joyce, history teacher at Hyde High School, demanded that investigation of subversive groups in this country include a study of the "Union Now" movement and the English - Speaking Union: She said:

"The 'Union Now' and 'English-Speaking Union' comprise a traitorous movement intended to destroy the American Constitution. Their membership should be made known to the American public and their source of income disclosed to every opponent of subversive groups."

THE CHICAGO AMERIC

6-19-41

AMERICA'S BATTLE PAGE

In response to many requests, The News has resumed publication of America's Battle Page, printing opinions alone on the role this nation should take in World War II. The page was temporarily discontinued when the space was required for more illustrating important events abroad. Owing to the necessity of using it from time to time, the Battle Page hereafter will not appear on a set schedule. The News expects, however, to print it two or three times a week. The page is divided equally between the two organizations whose names appear below. They are free to say what they please without interference or editing by The News. On the other hand, they accept full responsibility for the presentation of their views.

(Provided by the America First Committee, New York Chapter, Inc., 515 Madison Ave., 3 East 47th St. and 111 Broadway, New York City)

The War Bund Never Learns

The WAR BUND is shouting for war. It wants blood. It hires three-quarters of a page in the newspapers and shouts at the President, "What are you waiting for, Mr. President?"

There was a war bund in France and Britain. When Hitler attacked helpless Poland, the war birds screamed: "We must save democracy in Poland. To war!"

The British and French were stirred. The French politicians told them the Maginot Line was impregnable; that France's Army was the greatest in Europe. The British politicians told Britons her Navy was invincible.

French and British people were told Germany was weak. She did not have food, oil, steel. She had no Navy. Britain's Navy and France's Army would bottle Germany up and starve her into submission. There would be little fighting—the blockade would win.

But these French and British politicians lied to their people. France's Maginot Line was not impregnable. Her army of valiant men was helpless because it had no tanks, guns, planes. It marched on foot. The Germans came at it with armored trucks, huge tanks, an overwhelming air force. The French stood with their guns in their hands. The German tanks rolled over them. The French politicians knew Germany would have mastery of the air the first day fighting started. They did not tell their people. The people went to war because they were deceived—lied to about their strength. AND FRANCE—ONCE MIGHTY FRANCE—WAS CRUSHED IN A FEW WEEKS.

The people of Britain were not told the truth. Churchill said in his speech last week that when Britain entered the war "she was short of every essential supply and particularly of those special classes of weapons—anti-tank guns and tanks—which have proved themselves vital in modern war." She was even more lamentably short of planes. Churchill says that NOW. But the people of Britain were not told that WHEN THE WAR STARTED. Yet these politicians, knowing all this, took their people into war.

The tragic fruits of that folly are before us. Before the war began, Germany was planning to attack Poland. She cared not for Poland, but needed it as a pathway to the grain fields of Russia and the oil fields of Romania. Hitler was driving at Russia. But Britain and France said, "If you attack Poland we will attack you." That drove Germany to make terms with Russia. Then Britain and France declared war and sat down to starve Germany without any fighting. They did not save Poland's freedom. Instead, they lost the freedom of France and pulled down in the ruin the freedoms of Norway, Denmark, Holland and Belgium. ALL BECAUSE THEY WERE NOT PREPARED FOR WAR. AND THE ONLY COUNTRY THEY SAVED WAS COMMUNISTIC RUSSIA.

Now American war birds are trying to commit here the same terrible blunder—to take the American people into war thousands of miles away in Europe and Asia—AND WITH FAR LESS EVEN THAN FRANCE AND BRITAIN HAD.

Mr. Morgenthau cries out: "The time has come to fight." The War Bund Committee says: "What are we waiting for?" WE ARE WAITING FOR SOME WEAPONS AND WE WILL NOT HAVE ENOUGH FOR YEARS.

The only force that can stop the war birds is the people. The one agency through which the people can express their opposition to war is the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE. The way YOU CAN STOP the war birds is to join the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE. JOIN TODAY.

You Can Join the America First Committee
Fill Out and Mail This Form

The America First Committee,
515 Madison Avenue,
New York City.

I wish to enroll as a member of the America First Committee. I am an American citizen. I believe in the American form of government and am not affiliated in any way with any foreign power or subversive organization.

Name_____

Address_____

City_____ State_____

(The America First Committee is supported entirely by voluntary contributions, but you need not contribute to become a member.)

Write the President, your Senators and Congressman today. Tell them you are opposed to foreign wars—demand that they keep their sacred pledges to you to keep the country out of war.

Get others to write or wire. Your letters or telegrams are needed to keep America at peace.

(Provided by the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies, 8 W. 40th St., New York City)

American Action

In his speech declaring an unlimited emergency President Roosevelt stressed the sound old American doctrine of Freedom of the Seas. He pledged America to see that our supplies are delivered across the oceans. He said, "This can be done; it must be done; and it will be done."

The Axis torpedo that blasted the Robin Moor out of South American waters was a bald challenge to American policy. Berlin has gone out of its way to underscore that challenge. Berlin has said in effect, "We can sink everything in sight; we must sink everything in sight; and we will sink everything in sight."

Quite a change from the soft words of Adolf on May 23, when he said in an interview, that he had no intention of attacking America. Even while Adolf was speaking so softly the hulk of the Robin Moor was already at the bottom of the ocean, had been for more than two days. For all he knew the 46 men, women and children aboard, mostly Americans, were rotting in the water, too. So much for Adolf's soft words.

Remember, the Robin Moor was sunk by piracy, contrary to a treaty solemnly entered into by the Reich, ourselves and others. It was bound for South Africa, was not in any belligerent zone. It carried no munitions, only a general cargo for civilian use, including brassieres and one case of .22-caliber pop-guns.

To satisfy Adolf, it seems, we should not only keep our ships out of belligerent zones, but seal our ports. Next he may be claiming the right to sink ships in our harbors.

This Axis challenge cannot be allowed to go unanswered. It must be answered by American action. We have every faith that it is being answered. In his speech, F. D. R. said:

"We will not hesitate to use our armed forces to repel attack."

The American people are behind you, Mr. President, in whatever action may be needed to keep this attack from our shores.

BROKEN PLEDGE

We have been asked by our friends why we let America "First" beat us by appealing for members and funds on the Battle Page. We have not done so because we entered into a gentleman's agreement with America "First" not to use the page for such solicitation. On last Monday's Battle Page America "First" broke its pledge.

Mr. Tolson .....
Mr. E. A. Tamm ..
Mr. Clegg .....
Mr. Foxworth .....
Mr. Glavin .....
Mr. Ladd .....
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Mr. Rosen .....
Mr. Carson .....
Mr. Drayton .....
Mr. Quinn Tamm ..
Mr. Hendon .....
Mr. Tracy .....
Miss Gandy .....

SHALL WE FIGHT FOR RED RUSSIA? GEN. WOOD ASKS

Dictatorship on Both Sides, He Asserts.

Gen. Robert E. Wood, acting national chairman of the America First committee, said yesterday entry of communist Russia into the war should settle once and for all the intervention issue here at home. He added that the war party can hardly ask the people of America to take up arms behind the Red flag of Stalin.

At the same time Mrs. Janet Ayer Fairbank, national vice chairman, announced that increasing anti-war sentiment in Iowa had added 300 members to the newly organized chapter in Des Moines. She said several new chapters have been organized in Iowa.

Course Becomes Clearer.

"With the ruthless forces of dictatorship and aggression now clearly aligned on both sides," said Gen. Wood, "the proper course for America becomes even clearer. We must continue to build our defenses and take no part in the incongruous European conflict.

"With Stalin—the mortal enemy of the small democracies—now in the picture, and with Finland fighting on Hitler's side, new questions of national policy are presented which our government must decide at once.

He Asks Questions.

"In the name of the four freedoms are we now to undertake a program of all-out aid for Russia? Are we to produce the guns, planes, and tanks which will be used against Finland? Are we to continue our aid to Britain without some assurance that everything we send will not be relayed to Stalin in accordance with the Churchill pledge of aid?

"Are we now to welcome communists to the factories of our country? Are we going to close the Finnish consulates? Or are we at last to return to a constructive program that is essentially and traditionally American?"

Dr. Howard G. Swann, University of Chicago physiologist, asserted last night that if President Roosevelt "chooses to align himself with Russia, now that she is at war with Germany, the wave of public opinion will win the battle for America First. He spoke at a meeting of the Oak Park America First chapter at 73 Lake street, Oak Park.

Urban G. Willis, principal of Pullman Technical High school, last night told the Loyola chapter of America First that "the America nation is united on the point of national defense, but it is not united on sending an armed force to fight in Europe." The meeting was held at 6519 Sheridan road.

CHICAGO DAILY TRIBUNE

6-24-41

PUT WAR ENTRY UP TO U. S., URGES AMERICA FIRST

Drop Disguises, Leaders Ask Administration.

Three leaders of the America First committee called on the Roosevelt administration last night to strip away what they described as the window dressing which has disguised the road to battle as a path to peace and to put the plain question "Do You Want War?" to the American people.

These leaders, Gen. Robert E. Wood, acting national chairman, and Gen. Thomas S. Hammond and Mrs. Janet Ayer Fairbank, chairman and vice chairman, respectively, of the Illinois chapter, reiterated their demands that the United States build an impregnable defense but at the same time avoid the age old quarrels of Europe.

They held that the American people, altho confused by "administration shadow boxing with frozen foreign assets, ejected consuls, and other camouflage side issues," would vote an overwhelming "No" against sending American boys to die on foreign battle fields in defense of England.

Stand Unchanged, Says Wood.

"I wish it were possible to settle this matter thru a simple referendum on the question of peace or war," said Gen. Wood. "Leaders of our committee feel that the people are confused concerning the main issue by the current side issues. But they see no evidence of the people weakening in their desire to stay out of the European war."

Gen. Hammond concurred in Gen. Wood's statement and said that since the last war, when the nation saw boys unprepared for war pitted against those who had been prepared, he had worked to awaken the country to its military needs.

"A country that wants peace must watch its neutrality and be prepared to fight on land, sea, and in the air," he said. "The people should realize that talk of winning a war in the air is just talk. They should know that if a military victory is to be won eventually some one must go and dig the enemy out with a bayonet."

Efficient Defense Urged.

Mrs. Fairbank said she believed a general referendum on the question of war would show more than 90 per cent of the American people against involvement in the European conflict.

She said America First speakers would continue to demand that the country build efficient defenses and "stay home and concern ourselves, behind this protection, in building the greatest country in the world for our citizens."

"At this time, when dictators are ruling so much of the world," she said, "the necessary curtailment of democratic processes which war brings might well mean destruction of our republican form of government. We ask that all citizens support the principles on which the gov-

Mr. Tolson
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Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

CHICAGO DAILY TRIBUNE

6-19-41

AMERICA FIRST RALLY WARNED ON AID TO REDS

Residents of Crystal Lake, McHenry county, were urged last night to support the America First committee's stand against war "before you are called upon to sacrifice your sons for Stalin." The appeal was made by Walter T. Woodcock, Elgin, Ill., publisher, who addressed 235 persons at Crystal Lake's first America First committee meeting.

"International gangsters are using the press, radio, and movies to inflame hatred in American minds so they can ease us into another money war," Woodcock said. "President Roosevelt undoubtedly is preparing another fireside chat in which he will ask us to take Japan and Finland to save democracy."

Mrs. B. C. Bacon, temporary chairman, and P. R. Frederick, secretary of the new chapter, presided at the meeting.

120

CHICAGO DAILY TRIBUNE

America First Speakers Lash At Communism

Bennett Clark Says Entry Into War Would Assist 'System of Heathenism'

The first meeting of the America First Committee since the outbreak of German-Russian hostilities was held last night in Columbus Hall, 1 Prospect Park West, Brooklyn. The burden of the speeches that the United States now has less reason than ever to enter the war since it would be fighting on the side of Communism and, in the words of Senator Bennett Champ Clark, Democrat, of Missouri, would be "helping one system of heathenism against another."

The Rev. Dr. John A. O'Brien, professor in the graduate school of the University of Notre Dame, told the 3,000 persons gathered in the hall that "the American people can't be driven by propaganda, trickery or deceit into fighting to maintain the Christ-hating despot, Stalin, in his tyranny over 180,000,000 enslaved people."

Classes Stalin With Hitler

Dr. O'Brien continued: "The propaganda that we must eventually enter the war to save democracy and Christianity has now received its death blow. For in duplicity and cruelty Stalin is the equal of Hitler and surpasses him in his hatred of Christianity, of our system of private ownership and in our democratic way of life. In asking the American people to turn our weapons against brave little Finland, the one country which has honored its obligations to America, to maintain on his bloody throne the worst butcher of Christians in the world, Churchill (Prime Minister Winston Churchill) does violence to the feelings of our people."

Dr. O'Brien charged the Roosevelt administration with leading the country to the brink of war and declared that the "overwhelming majority" of the American people are opposed to this country's involvement. He argued that involvement would injure Britain since it would deprive her of the supplies of war materials this country is now sending.

Quotes Cardinal O'Connell

He ended with a plea to President Roosevelt, saying in part: "If you will not listen to those authentic voices of the American people, Lindbergh, Wheeler, Nye, Clark and all those valiant pleaders for peace, I beg of you Mr. President, listen to that venerable prelate, the dean of the hierarchy of the Church in America, Cardinal O'Connell, when he pleads: 'There is no doubt in my mind that the American people desire a cessation of this stupid and brutal war and I may add that no one can doubt their desire to keep out of the conflict.'"

Senator Clark said: "What profit is it to a God-fearing people to gain dominion over the earth in union with Communism and lose our souls?" He asked why American money "made by the toil and sweat of her taxpayers should be po[ured] out to protect Russia." He decl[ared] that four-fifths of the Amer[ican] people are opposed to this nat[ional] involvement and repeated the a[rgu]ment that war would bring a d[ic]torship and exhausting fina[ncial] burden to generations of Americ[ans].

Another speaker was the Rev [Dr.] Gideon Olson, pastor of the B[e]lehem Lutheran Church, who as[ked] "Shall American might make [the] world safe for Communism? [Shall] we aid a nation whose policy du[ring] centuries has been one of oppre[ssion] of all people under its sway?"

America First Committee

NOT RECORDED INDEXED

CLIPPING FROM THE
N .Y. HERALD TRIBUNE

DATE JUN 25 1941

FORWARDED BY N.Y. DIVISION

Mr. Tolson .....
Mr. E. A. Tamm .....
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Mr. Ladd .....
Mr. Nichols .....
Mr. Rosen .....
Mr. Carson .....
Mr. Drayton .....
Mr. Quinn Tamm .....
Mr. Hendon .....
Mr. Tracy .....
Miss Gandy .....
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LOMBARD HOLDS 'AMERICA FIRST RALLY TONIGHT

An America First rally will be held at 8 o'clock tonight in the Lombard village hall. Several hundred residents are expected. The speaker will be John W. Maselter, a student of propaganda analysis, whose topic will be "This Is Not Our War."

Harry Fleege, Lombard village president, will preside, and Jerome Alderman, former president, will introduce the speakers. Also joining in the program will be the Rev. Russell Lambert of the Methodist church and the Rev. William Frazier of the Congregational church. Lombard has no America First chapter and the meeting is sponsored by the Chicago chapter and the Lombard Peace council.

Dr. John A. O'Brien, a professor in the graduate school of Notre Dame university, will speak on "Peace or War" tomorrow at a luncheon meeting in the Hotel Sherman of the Executives' Club of Chicago. Dr. O'Brien is director of the Newman Foundation at the University of Illinois and the author of several books, the latest being "The Faith of Millions."

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CHICAGO DAILY TRIBUNE

6-19-41

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
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Mr. Drayton
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

S. F. Set To Greet Lindy

Preparations for the America First rally at Civic Auditorium Tuesday night at which Charles A. Lindbergh will be the featured speaker were completed yesterday.

United States Senator David Worth Clark, who is also to appear on the program and the flyer were expected to confer here tomorrow.

Lillian Gish, stage and screen actress who has been active in the America First Committee's Nationwide programs against involvement of the Unietd States in the European war is scheduled to arrive Tuesday morning and confer with her colleagues.

SAN FRANCISCO EXAMIN

WARNS THAT WAR MONGERS DRIVE TOWARD CLIMAX

A desperate but steadily decreasing number of war mongers are still beating the war drums furiously in an effort to force the United States into war, it was asserted last night in a statement issued by the America First committee. The statement mentioned three events of the last 48 hours as being significant of a climactic propaganda effort. They were:

1. Stories appearing in nearly all London papers that the United States may enter the war soon. One London paper intimated that Independence day should be the day on which the United States should join Great Britain in war.

2. A radio talk by Secretary of the Navy Frank Knox last night in which he asserted that now is the time for the United States navy to clear the Atlantic of German submarines.

3. A proclamation by Mayor Kelly calling on all Chicagoans and all organizations, whatever ceremonies their program calls for, to arrange to listen to an Independence day address by President Roosevelt at 4 p. m. [Chicago time] July 4.

Contents Not Indicated.

The President has not given any advance information as to what his address will contain. In previous talks he denounced the axis powers in no uncertain terms.

R. Douglas Stuart Jr., national director of the America First committee, said:

"It is now clear that America is not going to be hoodwinked a second time and that the Independence day celebration this year will see Americans saved from the designs of the war makers and the 'Union Now' group."

Three Other Speakers.

Three speakers who addressed America First committee rallies in Chicago and suburbs last night called upon President Roosevelt to strengthen America's defenses and denounced aid to Russia.

J. Kentner Elliott, attorney who spoke before the Oak Park chapter meeting at 736 Lake street, in the suburb, are putting a new dress on old 'Mrs. Emergency' and the slogan now is 'fight to save communism.'"

Miss Gertrude Coogan, economic analyst and author, addressed the Evanston chapter meeting in the Ridgeville Community house, 909 Seward street, in that suburb. She recalled former Russian-German collaboration to show the dictators' promises cannot be trusted.

Norman E. Saunders, addressing the Loyola chapter meeting at 6519 Sheridan road, declared: "The present administration can have national unity the minute it institutes an American policy for Americans and by Americans."

Mr. Tolson .....
Mr. E. A. Tamm .....
Mr. Clegg .....
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Mr. Drayton .....
Mr. Quinn Tamm .....
Mr. Headon .....
Mr. Tracy .....
Miss Gandy .....

AMERICA'S BATTLE PAGE

This page, which appears occasionally in The News, presents opposite views of the role this nation should take in World War II. The page is divided equally between the two organizations whose names appear below. They are free to say what they please without interference or editing by The News. On the other hand, they accept full responsibility for the presentation of their views.

(Provided by the America First Committee, New York Chapter, Inc., 515 Madison Ave., 5 East 57th St. and 511 Broadway, New York City)

ARE YOU A UNION NOWZER?

Some shrewd men have said that when this war is over—assuming we get into it—one of three things will happen to us:

We will go socialist or communist.

We will go fascist.

We will join the British Empire.

In Washington and London is a group of radicals of the Laski-Tugwell brand who envision what may be called the NEW ORDER in America and London. They are powerful now in both countries.

In New York, Washington and London is another group—conservative—which has another plan—UNION NOW. This is a plan which in essence proposes to put an end to the *Independence of the United States.* Many of the most influential and vocal leaders of the movement to hurry America into this war are also leaders of this UNION NOW MOVEMENT. In the British Parliament last week when a British member expressed disapproval of *UNION NOW*, from all over the Chamber came cries of "Shame! Shame!" They recall the cries which greeted Patrick Henry's famous speech—cries of "Treason! Treason!"

Briefly the plan of the NOWZERS is to get the United States to join the British Empire. Of course they do not put it that way. They say the United States and Britain will *unite* to form one country. We will become citizens of a great empire—which they will call the British-American empire. But in reality we will be a *dominion just as* Canada, Australia, South Africa are.

Of course England will be a dominion too. Our Senate and House will become a local legislature to legislate for our dominion. But our foreign affairs and the common affairs of "our" empire will be in the hands of a new legislature in which we will have representatives. Our Congress will then take its place on the level of a state or provincial legislature, while the over-all Congress or Parliament will have representatives from England *and all her sister dominions,* including the United States.

This over-all parliament—sitting half-time in London and half-time in Washington—will rule "our" empire. Here are some of the pretty features of this plan:

1. England—our sister dominion—will hold on to her king, queen, dukes, lords and earls. They will form part of "our" empire constitution.

2. England will hold on to her colonies—India, Malay, *the Gold Coast, and countless other places all over* the world—395,000,000 *subject* peoples, part of "our" empire, but belonging to our sister dominion, England. Our chief interest in them will be to go to war every time one of them gets rambunctious or is threatened.

3. Our trade barriers will come down so that the factories of Britain's home towns and her colonies—one worked by semi-pauper labor and the other by semi-slave labor—can *pour their goods across our borders to compete with our plants.*

It's a great scheme if we are suckers enough to take it. But are we? ARE YOU A NOWZER?

STAND UP FOR AMERICA. RESIST THESE ATTACKS UPON HER INDEPENDENCE. TALK TO YOUR FRIENDS, WRITE TO YOUR NEWSPAPERS. ABOVE ALL, WRITE YOUR SENATORS, CONGRESSMEN AND THE PRESIDENT. TELL THEM YOU ARE FOR AMERICA AND AGAINST GOING TO WAR.

(Provided by the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies, 8 W. 40th St., New York City)

Hit Hitler Now

A Statement by the Executive Committee of the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies.

The turn of the war today involves the greatest peril to this country since Germany struck. The attack upon Russia is part of the Battle of Britain and the Battle of America. If Hitler defeats Russia quickly, he will have unlimited oil supplies and will be that much stronger to attack Britain and the United States. Also if his defeat of Russia is complete and a Quisling government is in control at Moscow, Germany may even have a base in Siberia, across the Strait from Alaska. There are Russian submarines at Vladivostok and a Russian air force which could be used by Germany.

So far Japan has been lukewarm toward her Axis obligations because there was no way in which Germany could assist her. If Germany wins it will control Russian military equipment in Siberia and Germany can go to Japan's aid against China, Singapore, the Dutch East Indies and the United States in the Pacific.

On the other hand, so long as Russia holds out, Britain and the United States will be given a breathing spell to prepare and an opportunity to take the initiative in the Battle of Britain and the Battle of America. Presumably Germany is unable to wage air war on two fronts at the same time—she has neither the planes nor the gasoline.

The United States should, therefore:

1. Send to Britain for use over the English Channel or in Egypt or anywhere else every army and navy plane that the President finds can be spared and the maximum product of our factories to enable Britain to continue the offensive which she has so well started.

The delivery of this equipment should be protected by American naval forces.

Our planes should be manned by American pilots to whatever extent Americans will volunteer for such service and every obstacle should be removed in the way of British recruitment in this country.

2. The United States should take over the job of cleaning up the Atlantic, sinking on sight the German submarines, surface raiders, etc. that are destroying the freedom of the seas.

There should be full participation by this country in the Battle of the Atlantic. This would release British naval forces for service in the Battle of the Mediterranean and elsewhere.

3. We urge the occupation of such bases in the Atlantic and Pacific as may be necessary for the defense of America.

4. Realistically, while reaffirming its opposition to Communism as such, the United States should give whatever assistance it can to Russia in Russia's resistance to Germany.

5. Without taking our eyes off the main target, which is the Battle of the Atlantic, the United States should make whatever arrangement is necessary with China, the Dutch East Indies, Britain in the Far East and Russia, so that Japan may be immobilized as an Axis partner.

We are a practical people; we are not concerned with hypothetical states of war based upon rules which Germany has discarded. Let us be bold, therefore. We are interested in the most practical and forceful measures we can take today and the next day and the next day to contribute to a defeat of the Axis powers.

This Spy Suspect Likes the America First Idea

By John Kobler

As U. S. Attorney Harold M. Kennedy began the presentation of his evidence to a federal grand jury yesterday in the spy case, PM learned that at least one of the 29 defendants has been an admirer of the America First Committee.

He is Heinrich Carl Eilers, the glassy-eyed little seaman born in Brunschweig, Germany, a naturalized American and a former steward on the S. S. *Manhattan*, who lived with his cousin at 441 E. 76th st. He pleaded not guilty Monday to charges of transmitting U. S. military secrets abroad.

At the American First-Lindbergh rally in Madison Square Garden this spring Ray Platnick, PM photographer, spied Eilers in a box amid other German-Americans. He wore an AF armband and averted his face when Platnick began shooting his way.

Platnick has positively identified Eiler's rogues gallery full-face as that of the man in the box.

An America First press agent was ask "Is there a Heinrich Carl Eilers on you membership list?"

"No. There's a Henry Eiler, but the a dress is different."

Heinrich Eilers

"May I ha Eiler's address?"

"I couldn't gi you that. I would want to annoy innocent man."

"Are your mem berships open to in spection?"

"Certainly not."

None of the sp case defendants ha yet put his $25,00 bail, nor is any e pected to. The total amount is $625,00 With Axis funds frozen and suspicion boun to fall on any friend or relative who puts u a bond, this sum is not likely to be forth coming. The three women defendants wi remain in Manhattan's Woman's House of Detention until trial time, the men in th Federal House of Detention.

Arraignment of three more defendants bringing the total to 32, was postponed 2 hours yesterday. The three are Adolph Henry August Walischewsky, steward on the Moore-McCormack liner *Uruguay*; Otto Dold, second steward on the American ex port liner *Excalibur*; Paul Fehse, a ship's cook, already serving a year for failing to register as agent of a foreign government.

Odds-on chances are that the seven who pleaded guilty Monday will testify for the Government.

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Lad
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

CLIPPING FROM
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Lindbergh Assails Russia as Worst Possible U. S. Ally

Tells Peace Rally He Is Ready to Fight For American Defense

By the Associated Press.

SAN FRANCISCO, July 2.—Charles A. Lindbergh, denouncing Russia and European entanglements, pleaded for "an independent destiny for America" amid prolonged applause at an overflow mass meeting sponsored by the America First Committee here last night.

The crowd filled the 12,000 seats of the Civic Auditorium before the meeting began and overflowed into the street where they listened to outdoor loudspeakers. About 7,000 seats were free.

The audience roared its loudest approval when Mr. Lindbergh declared:

"I would a hundred times rather see my country ally herself with England, or even with Germany with all her faults, than with the cruelty, the Godlessness and the barbarism that exist in Soviet Russia. * * *

"But there is one thing upon which we can agree, upon which we are not divided, and that is that we are ready to fight for America if the need should ever arise."

Lindbergh quoted Jefferson's statement that the countries of Europe "are nations of eternal war" and reiterated Washington's warning "against European entanglements."

Mr. Lindbergh responded with engaging grins to the ovation which greeted him and his wife, the former Anne Morrow, as they took their places on the platform with other speakers: Author Kathleen Norris, Actress Lillian Gish and Senator Clark of Idaho.

But his mouth wore grim lines when he spoke of "interventionist propaganda," commenting:

"A refugee who steps from the gangplank and advocates war is acclaimed as a defender of freedom. A native-born American who opposes war is called a fifth columnist."

INDEXED

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CH-18

THE WASHINGTON EVENING STAR
July 2, 1941

100-4712

Mr. Tolson .....
Mr. A. Tamm .....
Mr. Clegg .....
Mr. Foxworth .....
Mr. Gurnea .....
Mr. Ladd .....
Mr. Nichols .....
Mr. Rosen .....
Mr. Carson .....
Mr. Dalbo .....
Mr. Quinn Tamm .....
Mr. Harbo .....
Mr. Tracy .....
Miss Gandy .....

MRS. FAIRBANK WARNS AGAINST U. S.-SOVIET TIES

Mrs. Janet Ayer Fairbank, vice chairman of the America First committee, yesterday said in a letter sent to chapter heads that "if the war makers had their war, Americans might be bombing Finland with the Russians."

"This," she continued, "might have happened in spite of the fact that Finland is the only country which, until its enemy occupation, made regular payments on its debt to the United States as they came due.

"London newspapers are already suggesting that Soviet military supplies may be obtained from the United States, under the lend-lease act. There is no question that if we enter the war as an ally of England, we will find ourselves entangled with Russia in an alliance sure to be unpopular to a people believing, as we do, in the republican form of government."

14

CHICAGO DAILY TRIBUNE

7-3-41

AMERICA'S BATTLE PAGE

This page, which appears occasionally in The News, presents opposite views of the role this nation should take in World War II. The space is divided equally between the two organizations whose names appear below. They are free to say what they please without [illegible] the other hand, they accept full responsibility for the statements.

[illegible] or editing by The News. On [illegible] for the presentation of their views.

(Provided by the America First Committee, New York Chapter, Inc., 515 Madison Ave., 2 East 47th St. and 111 Broadway, New York City)

(Provided by the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies, 3 W. 16th St., New York City)

REMOVE KNOX!

Article I, Section 8, U. S. Constitution:
The Congress shall have power:
To declare war . . . To raise and support armies . . .
To provide and maintain a navy . . . to make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces.

This is the CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES which gives the power to Congress—*and to Congress alone*—to declare war and to make the rules for the army and navy of this country.

THIS IS COL. FRANK KNOX. He is Secretary of the Navy. He took an oath to support the Constitution. Yet in Boston, June 30, in a speech, he declared that "now was the time to strike," that we should use our navy NOW to "clear the Atlantic of the German menace." In other words, he advocated without consent of Congress, sending our navy under his command to start shooting it out with German subs, surface vessels and planes in the Atlantic Ocean. This sworn high officer proposes to defy the Constitution, to defy Congress and to start war with Germany on his own hook.

HERE ARE A BRACE OF GRIM FACTS. FACT NO. 1. The Gallup poll says 76 per cent. of the people oppose war and only one in four favors it. Congressman Hamilton Fish made a carefully guarded poll of his New York District—the President's own—and 27,000 voted against war, 3,000 for it. Only one in ten favored it. The Daily News poll thus far taken shows only three out of ten favor it in New York State. THE PEOPLE ARE OPPOSED TO WAR.

FACT NO. 2. Military Critics of all interventionist papers now say Lindbergh is right—the United States, after two years of preparation, has nothing to fight with—an army with no weapons—about 300 tanks against Germany's countless thousands—about 500 bomber planes against Germany's 30,000—no big guns—only a handful of machine guns—no modern anti-tank guns—no modern anti-aircraft guns.

Frank Knox knows this. YET HE WANTS TO DRAG THE AMERICAN PEOPLE TO WAR—a million young men with no weapons in their hands.

WHO IS FRANK KNOX?

He ran for vice president in 1936 on the Republican ticket. He is Secretary of the Navy in this Democratic administration. He is essentially a violent and loose talker. In 1936 he was carrying on a campaign of terror, telling the people the savings banks and insurance companies were all doomed, just as he is now saying that Hitler will invade us. Here is what his present colleagues, the Democrats, thought of him. In the Daily News Battle Page in 1936 the Democratic Party said:

"Knox is galloping around the country as the nominee of a major political party . . . Dazed and amazed by the unexpected honor the Colonel is indulging in absurd exaggerations that both shock and disgust intelligent people . . . Knox's campaign of terror is failing to impress the electorate, except to demonstrate his unfitness for public office. It is about time he put away his cowboy suit and started playing with grown-ups."

Alsop and Kintner as well as Pearson and Allen charged that the Navy under the Colonel's command has started shooting at German boats. Senator Wheeler demands that he be removed from the Cabinet. It is appalling to have this dangerous man in a post of such grave responsibility. HE SHOULD BE REMOVED AT ONCE.

Write your Senators and Congressman today. Urge them to act for the removal of this Secretary Knox who is striving to defy the Constitution, Congress and the American people. Urge that Knox be replaced by a Secretary who stands FOR America, FOR the Constitution, FOR the people, and FOR THE DEFENSE OF AMERICA.

Who Votes For Sin?

Speaking the other day of Representative Ham Fish's straw vote on war, F. D. R. said that voting on such polls was like voting on sin. He illustrated with the story of Calvin Coolidge, who is supposed to have returned from church and told Mrs. Coolidge that the preacher spoke on sin.

"What did he say?" asked Mrs. Coolidge.

"He was agin it."

Now the DAILY NEWS is asking a husky sample of New York State voters, "Shall the United States enter the war to help Britain defeat Hitler?" Although we declined to take part in watching the tabulation, we have every faith in the integrity of the count. We just don't feel the poll clearly raises a question that is at issue.

In the first place, it assumes that we are not at war.

Whether you call it war or not, Hitler has been attacking this country and this country's interests for years. He has attacked with everything in his arsenal except an expeditionary force. He has attacked economically and diplomatically. He has attacked with spies, propaganda, sabotage and the organization of armed fifth columns. In times past, that would have been called war.

In Times Past This Would Have Been Called War

Whether you call it war or not, the United States has responded to defend itself against Hitler, responded with overwhelming public support. Army and Navy expansion is aimed at him. Axis funds have been frozen, Axis consuls sent home. With the overwhelming support of the people, the Congress and the Administration, we are pledged to the defeat of Hitler by the Lease-Lend Act. We are giving ships, tanks, planes, guns, food; we are giving all material aid to the Allies, withholding all these from Hitler. In times past, that would have been called war.

And at this point the NEWS asks, "Shall we enter the war?"

First tabulations of the poll show the "anti-war" vote somewhat less than the Gallup polls have found. But the chief thing we know about polls is that the result depends upon how the question is put.

3 to 1: F. D. R. Right or Hasn't Gone Far Enough

The latest Gallup polls show 85 per cent. of the American people in favor of American convoys. They show that by 3 to 1 the American people feel F. D. R. has been right or has not gone far enough in his aid to Britain. This, after the unlimited emergency speech in which he promised all necessary steps to see that our cargoes got to Britain and said military dispositions were being taken.

But when Dr. Gallup asks these same people a question worded like the question being asked in the NEWS poll, he finds that they vote by 3 to 1 against our entrance into the war at this time.

In voting this way aren't they voting against an A. E. F.? And aren't many voting against an A. E. F. because they don't see how it could be effective?

Dr. Gallup himself has explained the seemingly different trends of his polls thus: "From a score of surveys, the Institute has found that the term 'entering the war' generally means only one thing to the American public—the dispatch of men as in 1917."

The Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies does not advocate a declaration of war. Therefore, when in advance of its poll the NEWS courteously asked us, along with America First, "as leading interventionist and isolationist organizations," to watch the tabulation, we suggested that the question be altered to raise a clear-cut issue between us. Specifically, we suggested the addition of a second question, such as Shall the United States use its Navy in the Battle of the Atlantic?"

The Issue: Shall We Use Our Navy in the Atlantic?

That is the issue actually before the American people.

Stated in this way, the voter would have known exactly what he was being asked to vote on, and those who follow the poll would know what the results meant.

America First Groups in Illinois Grow to 100

With the addition of units in Ottawa, Downers Grove, Taylorville and Carrollton, the number of chapters of the America First Committee in Illinois and the Chicago district has reached 100, Mrs. Janet Ayer Fairbank, national vice chairman, announced yesterday.

The link of chapters, reaching from Johnson City in the south to Libertyville on the north, forms a strong chain in the anti-war crusade, Mrs. Fairbank said.

As a sample community, Mrs. Fairbank pointed to Kankakee, where the chapter is headed by Leslie Hinkle. In his report, Hinkle said:

"The entire district is 90 per cent opposed to involvement in any foreign conflict, an' there is little danger of any deviation from these figures."

Hinkle charged that Wendell Willkie is taking orders from President Roosevelt and relaying them to Willkie's "stooge," Joseph Martin, to be passed on to Republican committeemen.

The following America First meetings have been announced in the Chicago district:

Crystal Lake Chapter, I. O. O. F. Club, Crystal Lake, Monday night; Norman E. Saunders, businessman and lecturer.

Loyola Chapter, 6519 Sheridan road, Monday night; John Mourant, teacher of history, economics and philosophy.

Evanston Chapter, 908 Seward av., Evanston, Monday night; John W. Maselter, student of propaganda and research.

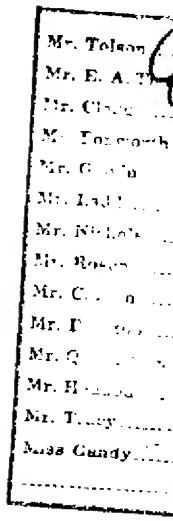
Oak Park Chapter, 736 Lake st., Oak Park av., Monday night; speaker not chosen.

Princeton Rotary Club, Princeton, Ill., Tuesday night; J. Sanford Otis, vice-president of the Central Public Company and treasurer of the National America First Committee.

THE CHICAGO AMERICAN

114

7-6-41



America First Has Three Rallies Against War Tonight

Staff speakers of the America First committee will address three anti-war rallies tonight, all starting at 8 p. m. John Mourant will address the Loyola chapter at 6519 Sheridan road; John W. Maselter will speak before the Evanston chapter at 908 Seward street in the suburb; and Norman E. Saunders will address the Crystal Lake chapter in the I. O. O. F. hall in Crystal Lake. The Oak Park chapter also will hold its regular meetings tonight at 736 Lake street, Oak Park.

CHICAGO DAILY TRIBUNE

7-7-41

U.S. Called Tool of Imperialist Britain; Communism Viewed as Worse than Nazism

America Firsters Cheer Mrs. Van Heineman's War Indictment.

BY WAYNE WHITTAKER.

The American people are the most cowardly, white-livered people in the world if they follow their leaders into war to help Great Britain defeat Hitler.

The Selective Service Act is an unholy thing.

Willkie was driven out of Chicago on his last visit here.

The British government is selling diamonds to the German toolmakers to aid in the manufacture of munitions.

The British imperialists taught the Indians to scalp the American colonists.

The former allies of the United States would throw the bones of American soldiers from the graves in Flanders Field if the rent was not paid regularly.

Hitler did the Rumanians a favor by driving out King Carol and they are grateful to him.

Hitler's taking land from the Poles does not differ morally from the American colonists taking land from the Indians.

100 at Oak Park Meeting.

The above statements were made by Mrs. Lyri Van Heineman in the course of an address and question period before the Oak Park chapter of the America First Committee last night in the group's headquarters at 736 Lake street in the suburb. Approximately 100 persons cheered the speaker.

"America is the finest nation in the world," said Mrs. Van Heineman, a fashionably dressed woman with flashing brown eyes. "I ought to know. I have traveled all over the world and made speeches in South America. Are we going to be led into a war to save British imperialism like a lot of cowards, a lot of dupes, a lot of geese?

"What would our forefathers who fought to break away from Europe say? What would they think of an American president who threw himself into the ocean to welcome a British ambassador to this country?"

References to Roosevelt as the "great white father" evoked cheers and whistles from the crowd.

"We don't have any leaders today," she said. "They have all gone into their holes. And remember this: You hired them and you can get rid of them."

Warns of Propaganda Warning.

Mrs. Van Heineman warned against British propaganda that would teach the American people to hate the Nazis.

"In the last war the British spent $350,000,000 to spread propaganda here," she said. "Lord Northcliffe, himself, said we were a lot of sheep. They spread lies, lies. Now the British are spending $500,000,000 for propaganda in this country. Are we going to fall for the same old bunk?

"Now you see young men marching down the streets in uniform—victims of that unholy thing, the Conscription Act. Our boys marched once before to make the world safe—so safe that there is no democracy today. As you see those boys marching remember that Churchill, himself, said that the world would never have been in its present chaotic condition if we had not entered the last war. He wrote it."

Mrs. Van Heineman, who said she was born in Ohio and was the daughter of a Civil War veteran, warned against appeals to patriotism at this time. As she spoke a large American flag stood at her right. On the wall behind her was a gold American eagle with two smaller flags and on either side large silhouettes of George Washington and Abraham Lincoln.

"There is a hospital in Canada today filled with 1,300 basket cases," she said. "They contain the heads and torsos of what were once beautiful young men, just as beautiful as the sons of you mothers in the audience tonight. You tell the warmongers to romanticize those basket cases. Tell that to Dorothy Thompson, who would sacrifice a million lives."

She reminded her listeners that England ruled the world for 400 years that "weren't so good."

"Remember that when people stick their fists in you face and ask: Who would you rather have win this war, Hitler or England? Why should either one win? Just ask them that. And remember that it was the English who taught the Indians to scalp your ancestors."

She recalled the hatred for the Kaiser in this country during the World War.

"They are trying to stir up the same hatred for Hitler today," she continued. "I remember how I hated the Kaiser. I knew he must be destroyed." She paused, lowering her voice to a soothing tone. "Don't you know you can't destroy ideals? You can't destroy a people. You must put new ideas to work."

Mrs. Van Heineman said she made speeches for Willkie during his campaign—Willkie "who sold out to the warmongers." The name of Willkie was booed.

"Willkie was driven out of Chicago the last time he was here," she said. (Later, during the question period, a woman asked to hear more about Willkie being driven from Chicago. Mrs. Van Heineman said that he wasn't "really driven out" but "practically driven out.")

Compares Hitler and Colonial U. S.

Also, during the question period, a woman asked if there was any difference between Hitler taking land from the Poles and the American colonists taking land from the Indians.

"Not morally," replied Mrs. Van Heineman, smiling. "Of course, maybe the Indians weren't using the land."

During her speech she dramatized a scene at the ceremonies over the Treaty of Versailles where, she said, Clemenceau spat into the face of Woodrow Wilson. Asked during the question period to enlarge on this, and where she obtained the information, she replied:

"Oh, I read it somewhere. I've forgotten just where, but it is really true. Clemenceau grabbed Wilson by the tie, shook him and spat right in his face. That was the kind of allies we had."

Titters and Frowns Mark Isolationist Rally by Loyola Chapter.

BY DON NEWTON.

Frowns and whispers marked the meeting of the Loyola chapter of America First last night, when 75 persons, mostly women, gathered to hear an instructor in a girls' school inveigh against the Communists, the warmongers and the British.

James O'Hare, acting chairman, called the meeting to order a half hour late, after the last stragglers arrived at the vacant store under the Loyola "L" structure on Sheridan road. The America Firsters scattered through the space, which could hold 150 people, in groups of two and three, talking in low tones. Nobody wore America First buttons except the group leaders, although they were offered free with the literature.

The group was reminded time after time to "write, write, write your congressman, your senators and the President. Write your Democratic congressman as well as your Republican congressman."

The Audience Titters.

After a salute to the flag, a lovely, black-haired girl read the minutes of the last meeting. She was the only person present under 30. The speaker was introduced as Dr. John Mourant, instructor of political economy and history at St. Xavier's College for Women on the South Side.

"I have spent the last eight years in girls' colleges," Dr. Mourant began in a high, pleading voice. "I don't want you to expect a high-binding speech with inflammatory oratory. I will leave that sort of thing to Secretary Knox."

The audience tittered, and were treated to an hour of instruction on what to guard against, who started the war (it might not have been Hitler, Dr. Mourant suggested), and the futility of any fight we might make against Germany. Of the two evils, Mourant stressed, communism was much worse than nazism.

Reds Better Organized.

"Communism is better organized than nazism," Mourant said, as residents of the Loyola community stopped to stare through the uncovered windows. Some grinned, although the doors were closed and they could not hear what was said. A few glowered at the meeting and the speaker. Nobody returned the stares.

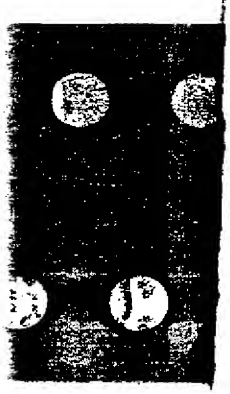
"The Nazis would hardly get the support of the Negroes, Jews and other non-Aryan groups in this country," Dr. Mourant continued painstakingly. "The Nazi creed is built on a philosophy of race, you see."

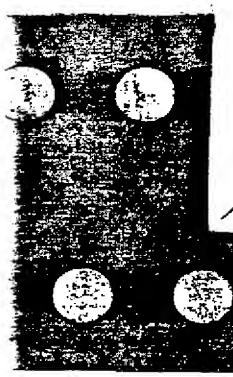
"The Nazis tell businessmen what to do," Dr. Mourant syllogized. "So does this government, to some extent." (Titters and whispers.)

"But at the same time there is no loss of the natural right of private property under the Nazi system," Dr. Mourant said, "whereas under communism everything is pooled and religion is extirpated on every hand."

Whispers and nods of approval broke out when Dr. Mourant emphasized: "There is not much democracy in England. England is a political democracy—but not a social democracy."

Chairman O'Hare, who had read





Mr. Tolson
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Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
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Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
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Miss Gandy

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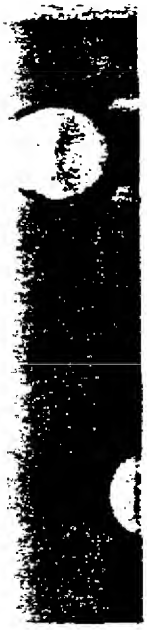


Gen. Wood gets a challenge.

Gen. Robert E. Wood, acting national chairman of the America First committee, was challenged today by Fight For Freedom, Inc., to debate with an unnamed young man who has recently volunteered for army service.

The challenge, made public by Courtenay Barber Jr., acting director of the Fight For Freedom organization in Chicago, condemned Gen. Wood's view that the occupation of Iceland was "another step to edge us into war."

"His view is shocking evidence of plain and fancy ignorance," Barber's statement said. "The general seems to take his cue from the well-known colonel and his morning paper. This is regrettable, and we recommend that the general and other Chicagoans adopt our motto:

"'Billions for defense, not two cents for Tribune!'"

CHICAGO DAILY TIMES

7-9-41

THE ATLANTA, GEORGIA JOURNAL

JULY 10, 1941

Free Wheeler

WHILE A great many good Americans feel that Senator Burton K. Wheeler has used up more than his share of free speech, we do not believe any appreciable number of Atlanta citizens would bar him from expressing his views so long as there is no law compelling them to listen to them. No doubt there are some who wish to hear Senator Wheeler and perhaps Colonel Lindbergh, who, it now appears, will be an added attraction at a later date, if and when the City Auditorium or some other hall is secured for the speaking.

The right to free speech is guaranteed under the Constitution of the United States. The right to speak in the Auditorium of the City of Atlanta seems to be, and properly, within the discretion of the Mayor and Council. While we are fed up on Senator Wheeler speeches, we are willing for all and sundry, who would like to hear him, to listen to him whenever and wherever they please. But we cannot shed any tears over Senator Wheeler's failure to secure as big an auditorium as he thinks he rates, because we feel sure the Senator's difficulties in getting a hall are of his own making.

No man in public life has spoken more often or more recklessly or with less regard for the responsibilities that are enjoined by the privilege of free speech. His stubborn refusal to acquiesce in the will of the majority and his abusive mouthings against the administration's war policy, arrived at by democratic processes, have disgusted many patriotic Americans. Indeed the Senator's abuse of free speech has driven some good Americans to the extreme of wishing to deny him the right to speak at all. The Senator is the victim of his own larynx. He is talking himself out of an audience. Which is the best answer to those who would forbid him to speak in Atlanta.

And now, just as we were signing off on Senator Wheeler and his bill of rights, comes a friend bearing a piece of America First propaganda, delivered to his home in Atlanta by the postman, *franked by B. K. Wheeler as United States Senator.* This long, yellow card, carried free through the mails because of Senator Wheeler's misuse of his franking privilege, brings the printed isolationist arguments of Wheeler (in bold type), Ex-President Hoover, Former Ambassador Joseph P. Kennedy, Ex-Colonel Charles A. Lindbergh and Senator Gerald P. Nye. Underneath Senator Wheeler's page-one appeal for letters to the President against our entry into the war, a line in parentheses says: "Not printed at Government expense." Nothing is said about the cost of distribution. Wheeler's name in the place where a stamp should go takes care of that.

If Senator Wheeler would change the subject of his address to "A Frank Discussion of Franking," the America First Committee, which seems to include Bailey Stortz, secretary of the Senate Interstate Commerce Committee (Senator Wheeler, chairman), might have less trouble in securing the Atlanta City Auditorium.

Truly, Burton K. is a Free Wheeler.

THE ATLANTA JOURNAL 7-11-41

Liberties Union Backs Wheeler on Auditorium

Contends Hall Should Be Available, 'No Matter How Unpopular' Talk May Be

The American Civil Liberties Union Friday joined the America First Committee in its efforts to secure the Atlanta City Auditorium for Senator Burton K. Wheeler's "Alternative to War" address.

The union wired Mayor LeCraw and City Council's building and grounds committee as follows:

"The American Civil Liberties Union, whose sole object is to protect constitutional liberties, and is in no way concerned with the subject of Senator Wheeler's address, urges you to grant the application.

Urges Freedom of Hall

"The use of the municipal auditorium for public forums, we hold, should be free from discrimination against any group, no matter how unpopular or how distasteful its pronouncements may be. The American Civil Liberties Union stands on the general principle that all thought on matters of public concern should be freely ex-

Turn to Page 10, Column 5

Liberties Group Backs Wheeler On Auditorium

Continued From Page 1

pressed without interference. Public buildings are erected by the taxpayers of the entire community and should, therefore, be open to use by minority groups who are taxed like others for their erection and maintenance."

The buildings and grounds committee is scheduled to meet July 18 to pass on the committee's application for a date. Senator Wheeler originally was scheduled to speak here July 10 but gave it up when he was unable to obtain the Auditorium.

Meanwhile citizens of Atlanta were being flooded with franked postcards from Senator Wheeler urging them to write the President and protest "our entry into the European War."

While on the front of the card there was a statement — "not printed at public expense" no mention was made of the postal expense.

SDD:

AMERICA FIRST RALLIES LASH ICELAND AEF

The landing of an American expeditionary force in Iceland and efforts of interventionists to put America in war as an ally of Russia, were attacked by speakers addressing America First Committee rallies in Chicago and Elmhurst last night.

Speaknig before the Lincoln Park chapter of the committee at 3730 N. Clark st., J. Kentner Elliott declared:

"War mongers tell us to hate and suppress communism in the United States, but would have us fight for it in Europe.

"Now the interventionists have caused us to invade Iceland. They say it is an 'outpost of our defense.' Given a free hand they would presently establish 'outposts' on the moon as protection from Mars."

At the Elmhurst meeting John W. Maselter said:

"The dispatching of American troops to Iceland was made in the face of President Roosevelt's speech in Philadelphia last October in which he declared that our army, navy or air forces would not be sent to fight in foreign lands outside of the Americas except in case of attack."

Demands Isolation to Save America

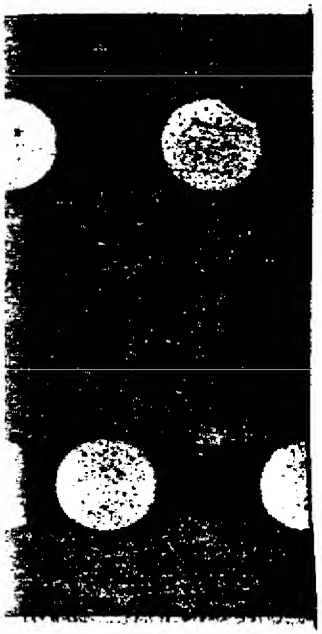
The United States needs isolation now more than at any other time in its history, Capt. William J. Grace, chairman of the Citizens Keep America Out of War Committee, said last night at the organization's weekly meeting in the La Salle Hotel. He declared:

"The Russians say they have the Nazis stopped. If the Germans collapse under the combined British and Russian attack, who will stop the Bolshevik doctrines from spreading all over Europe and destroying Christianity?

"If the Russians lose, how will we be able to stop them from swarming out of their country and flooding the America?

"The only solution is to close the western hemisphere against both sides. Isolation is the right policy for America."

THE CHICAGO AMERICAN



AMERICA FIRST CAMPAIGNS FOR MORE MEMBERS

An intensified drive to enroll new members in the Illinois America First committee was announced yesterday by Mrs. Janet Ayer Fairbank, national vice chairman. Present members of each of the state's 101 America First units will receive five membership cards with requests that they return them signed by new members, Mrs. Fairbanks said.

She urged all persons who believe that the United States can serve itself best by staying out of war and making its defenses so strong that no country would attempt an invasion to get in touch with either the Illinois America First committee at 122 South Michigan avenue, Chicago, or the chapter or unit nearest their home.

Seventy-eight heads of America First committee chapters thruout the nation met with national leaders of the organization yesterday in the Palmer House. Gen. Robert E. Wood, national chairman, and R. Douglas Stuart Jr., nation[illegible] director, addressed the meeting, which was called to discuss administrative procedure and methods to better carry out the America First program.

CHICAGO DAILY TRIBUNE

7-13-41

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

Removal of Knox Urged For Plea to Clear Atlantic

By the Associated Press.

CHICAGO, July 14.—A resolution adopted by 118 representatives of 10 American First Committee chapters urged that Secretary of the Navy Knox be removed from office because of his recommendation that the Navy be used to "clear the Atlantic of the German menace."

Secretary Knox's call for such action in a recent Boston address was viewed at a meeting yesterday by committee representatives as one which "advocated that the American Navy intervene in the present war now."

This, the resolution said, was in disregard of constitutional provisions that Congress has the sole power to declare war and for that reason "we do declare it to be the sense of this group that the Secretary of Navy is no longer a fit person to hold his present high office and should be removed. * * *"

114

Remove Knox! America First Heads Demand

Secretary of Navy 'Violating His Oath,' Resolution Charges

CHICAGO, July 13 (C.T.F.S.). Removal of Secretary of the Navy Frank Knox was demanded here today at a meeting of 118 representatives of the America First Committee, representing key chapters of the isolationist organization.

A resolution condemning the conduct of the Secretary of the Navy in advocating intervention of the American Navy in the war was passed as the group met to discuss general policies of the anti-interventionist group.

Knox, by his outright advocacy of undeclared war, is violating his oath of office, the resolution declared, "and should be removed from that office."

Text of Resolution

The text of the resolution, introduced by Joseph Forshaw, chairman of the St. Louis chapter of the America First Committee, reads as follows:

"Whereas, the Constitution of the United States provides that Congress has the sole power to declare war; and

"Whereas, the Secretary of the Navy, in public utterances, has advocated that the American Navy intervene in the present war now; and

"Whereas, such intervention of the American Navy would constitute actual and open war without the consent of Congress; and

"Whereas, by his solemn oath of office, the Secretary of the Navy has sworn to uphold the Constitution of the United States;

"Now, therefore, be it resolved: That we, the representatives of chapters of the America First Committee from San Diego, Calif., to Boston, Mass., do condemn and repudiate the unauthorized utterances and conduct of the Secretary of the Navy and by reason of his outright advocacy of undeclared war, in defiance of the Constitution, we do declare it to be the sense of this group that the Secretary of the Navy is no longer a fit person to hold his present high offices and should be removed from that office."

Senator George Praised

The chapter heads also passed resolutions praising Senator Walter F. George, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, for his recent strong statements opposing entry of the United States into war, and opposing unalterably the proposed changes in the draft law which would allow the President to send a new A.E.F. to Europe.

Chairmen of America First chapters in Baltimore, Boston, New York, Bridgeport, Conn., San Diego, Minneapolis, Pittsburgh, Detroit and Cincinnati were among those attending. Gen. Robert E. Wood, national chairman presided.

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
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Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

JUL 14 1941

WASHINGTON TIMES-HERALD
Page

114

Hope Hitler Attack Will Change Rep. Hill's Stand

SEATTLE, July 14.—Hugh DeLacy, president of the Washington Commonwealth Federation, expressed hope that the new world situation created by Hitler's unprovoked invasion of the U. S. S. R. will cause Congressman Knute Hill to reconsider his support of the America First Committee.

Congressman Hill was scheduled to address a mass meeting here under the auspices of the America First Committee.

"Without the least desiring to detract from Congressman Hill's reputation as a progressive or his right as an American citizen to speak his convictions," said DeLacy, "his friends cannot but wonder whether the congresesman in speaking under the auspices of Mr. Lease and the America First Committee is willing to appear in the same light as Mr. Lindbergh, who recently announced at an America First meeting in California that he would 'one hundred times' rather see our country ally itself to Germany than aid the Soviet Union.

"We hope that through consideration of the new world situation created by Hitler's unprovoked invasion of the U. S. S. R. will convince Representative Hill, as it has convinced thousands of his well-wishers, that President Roosevelt's pledge of aid to Britain, China and the Soviet Union is the only policy which can free our nation from the danger of having eventually to stand alone against a Nazified world."—E. McG.

CH-13

INDEXED
NOT RECORDED

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This is a clipping from page 1 of the Peoples World for

JUL 15 1941

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

'Bold Patriot' Has Big Idea: Lindbergh for President

BY DON NEWTON.

A Lindbergh-for-President speech brought applause at the meeting of the Loyola chapter of America First last night, and even a housewifely woman who dozed through most of the meeting roused herself long enough to clap vigorously.

The Lindbergh partisan and speaker of the evening was Carl O. Sands, identified only as vice-chairman of the Lincoln Park chapter of America First. Twice during the evening Mr. Sands expressed fear that he might go to jail.

"If my beautiful wife has to work when I am in jail," said Mr. Sands at first, "I mean to carry on this fight to keep America out of war."

'He Will Brave Jail.'

Another time he drew applause when he cried: "If this means jail for me, this is what I am going to do."

The meeting started 45 minutes late. It was held in the usual place, the vacant store under the Loyola "L" structure, and the group of 48 America Firsters and two curious people attracted the usual curious stares from the passers-by.

"I looked forward to the day," Mr. Sands said, waving his pencil, which he called the "sword of the spirit"—"to the day when America shall dare again to nominate and elect a man to the Presidency, a man who has appeal and lack of retaliation.

He Refers to Lindbergh.

"I refer to the man who dared join America First—the man who followed his father in a barnstorming tour around the country in the terrible days of 1917 and 1918—I refer to former Col. Charles A. Lindbergh."

The speaker, a tall, thin man, betrayed a slight lisp as he implored the audience to write to their friends in Minnesota to vote for Lindbergh in the coming senatorial race against Gov. Stassen, "a man with a large neck who said 'We want war.'"

Acting Chairman James O'Hare gave a halting resume of the war situation to date, referring to the Secretary of the Navy as "Fireball" Knox. Mr. Sands said of Knox: "That man must go."

Sell Social Justice.

Shock and cries of "Oh" and "Ts, ts" came forth when Mr. O'Hare said that "he understood" that at a recent meeting of the USO in Washington, the suggestion had been made to place the magazines, Life and Time, in each Army barracks. The magazines are notoriously pro-war, he asserted.

Social Justice, Father Coughlin's anti-Semitic magazine, was sold to the America Firsters outside the meeting place. A reference made by one of the audience to how "the Jews want us to get into this war" was discounted by a Harvard law student present, who said "In my class the Jews are 100 per cent against war."

A belligerent young insurance salesman drew applause when he pointed to the continued growth of the Loyola chapter. Attendance last week was 75. Last night the tally was 48.

Again members of the audience were enjoined to write their congressmen. Mr. O'Hare said the "mail has reached a dangerously low point."

CHICAGO DAILY NEWS

7-15-41

AMERICA'S BATTLE PAGE

This page, which appears occasionally in The News, presents opposite views of the role this nation should take in World War II. The space is divided equally between the two organizations whose names appear below. They are free to say what they please without interference or editing by The News. On the other hand, they accept full responsibility for the presentation of their views.

(Provided by the America First Committee, New York Chapter, Inc., 515 Madison Ave., 3 East 47th St. and 111 Broadway, New York City)

YOU ARE AGAINST WAR

You told the DAILY NEWS you are against going into this war to help Britain defeat Hitler. Only one out of three in the "war capital"—Manhattan—is in favor of that war. In Queens only one out of five favors it.

You are no different from AMERICANS in other parts of the country, save that in other states it is only one in five or six or ten who favors war.

Who is that one fellow in three or ten who favors war? And while you meditate that question, keep this in your mind. You are against war—but YOU ARE NOT GOING TO HAVE ANY CHANCE TO DECIDE THE ISSUE. It is going to be decided for you. And it is going to be that minority—that one fellow out of three, that one fellow out of ten—who is going to tell you whether you will go or not, when you will go and where.

You are not going to get a chance to settle the question by a declaration of war by Congress. That is not the way this minority is going to push you into this war. It is going to be done one inch at a time, one decision at a time. Not one of these advances, none of these decisions taken singly will mean war. But the total result of all of them when added up will mean this—that one fine morning you will wake up and find yourself at war.

Who is doing this? Your leaders in Washington are doing it and they are being supported in this effort with money, with shouts, with vilification by a small minority of the American people.

AND THE TIME HAS COME TO KNOW WHO THESE WAR-MAKERS ARE. Who are the leaders? Who is putting up the money? Who is inspiring all this shameful vilification of Americans who are trying to save their country from the blood-letting in Russia and Britain? Who is this one fellow out of three who is dragging the three fellows to war?

Senator Wheeler has demanded an investigation of the war-makers. The American people have a right to know who they are. The British agents here, some of them like Sir Josiah Wedgewood, who openly and brazenly insult an American senator? The agents of other foreign and racial groups who are trying to drag America into the wars of Europe at the probable cost of America's own liberties? WHO ARE THEY? *Tell your congressmen and your senators that you want to know.*

War-Makers Hatch New Scheme To Push Draftees Into War Zones

Each week the war-makers contrive some new scheme in the name national defense. But that is a scheme to add another step to the trip the dark path to war. The latest is (1) to break faith with the men who were drafted by forcing them to stay in the Army, not only beyond the year of service, but as long as the emergency lasts; (2) to give the President without a declaration of war the power send them to Europe, Asia or Africa. WHY? TO DEFEND AMERICA? NO!

The only purpose is to take you into one of those fatal decisions which, added up, will mean war. If you want to keep out of this war there is only one way to do it—balk every step these war-makers propose to put deeper into Europe.

Congress is YOUR SERVANT. In the end these congressmen are answerable to you. Because you have been speaking up, Congress has at last summoned up the manhood to talk up for AMERICA and tell the President he cannot have our boys to send to China, to Northern Africa, to Russia, to Britain, to Dakar. For the moment that snake is dead.

But the other one—the plan to hold the boys in the Army indefinitely—that is still squirming and spitting its poison. Congress is against it. So the President, the War Bund, the smearers, with all the money of the Government, the defense contracts, have gone to work on these congressmen and senators.

The only one who can scotch this snake is YOU. YOU VOTED AGAINST GOING TO WAR. Now write to your senators, to your congressmen, to the President—TODAY, WITHOUT DELAY, and demand that the plan to hold the selectees beyond their year of service be killed and at once.

(Provided by the Committee to Defend America, 8 W. 40th St., New York City)

Vas You Dere, Sharlie?

At last Charles A. Lindbergh finds that spiritual things count. He hates Godlessness. Of course, he found he hated Godlessness just in time to keep step with the Nazi Party Propaganda line. Hitler is trying to pose as a defender of the Christian faith. Hitler has stuck the knife in Pal Joey. So now Lindbergh publicly hates Godlessness in Russia—to cry down American aid against Hitler.

How different things used to be when Germany and Russia were dividing the swag! Then Pal Joey was a full-fledged partner in the "Wave of the Future."

We welcome Lindbergh's new view. But Lindbergh is helping Hitler's attempted build-up as defender of the faith. Does Lindbergh wash his hands of Nazi Godlessness?

After Hitler attacked Russia the German Catholic bishops, in a pastoral letter read from every pulpit, assailed Nazi attempts against the Church which are threatening the very existence of Christianity in the Reich. Did you read it, Mr. Lindbergh?

Hitler has done his best to throttle religion in Germany. Do you remember the wholesale persecution of the nuns, Mr. Lindbergh, on phony money charges, the wholesale persecution of priests and lay brothers on phony charges that are unprintable?

Do you remember the plea to Hitler of the Protestant chaplains of the German Army, telling of 1,300 pastors arrested, charging that the State and Party were waging a death struggle against Christianity, Catholic and Protestant?

Do you remember the ringing Encyclical of the late Pope Pius XI, denouncing the Nazi regime for its infamies against the Church and against the dignity of man?

Do you remember, Mr. Lindbergh, the eloquent pastoral letter of the Norwegian bishops, the persecution of the churches in Holland and the other occupied countries, the Nazi-ravished altars of Poland?

Do you remember that when you took your Goering medal, brave Pastor Niemoller had languished for more than a year in Nazi prisons and concentration camps? That just ten days earlier a Nazi stooge mob had smashed the windows of Cardinal Innitzer's palace and assaulted Catholic priests and women on the streets of Vienna? That the Party was at that time readying the Reich for the most awful pogrom in modern history?

Others spoke up like men against this Godlessness.

Vas you dere, Sharlie?

Come to the

STOP HITLER UNITY RALLY

AND BLOCK PARTY

Tonight, July 17

WENDELL L. WILLKIE, presiding

Sidney Hillman, Matthew Woll, Frank Grillo, Frederick Umbey, Gladys Swarthout, Burgess Meredith, Others

Block party: 35th St. and Eighth Ave., 6:30 P. M.

Rally: Air Cooled Manhattan Center, 34th St. & 8th Ave., 8 P. M.

Sponsored by Labor Divisions, New York Committee to Defend America and Fight for Freedom, Inc.

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

Anti-War Weekly Has First Printing

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn., Aug. 7 (C.T.P.S.).—The Minnesota Beacon, an antiwar weekly newspaper, published its first issue yesterday, four-page, tabloid size, printed on magazine paper. The press run was 10,000 copies, of which 1,500 went to paid-in-advance subscribers. The subscription rate is $2 a year. The first issue was distributed principally to America First Committee supporters, business men, and the Dewey-for-President organization in Minnesota.

AUG 7 1941

WASHINGTON TIMES-HERALD

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
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Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Headen
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

America First Radio Talks Announced

Charles A. Lindbergh will take to the air again Saturday in opposition to America involvement in a "shooting war," it was announced yesterday at the America First Committee.

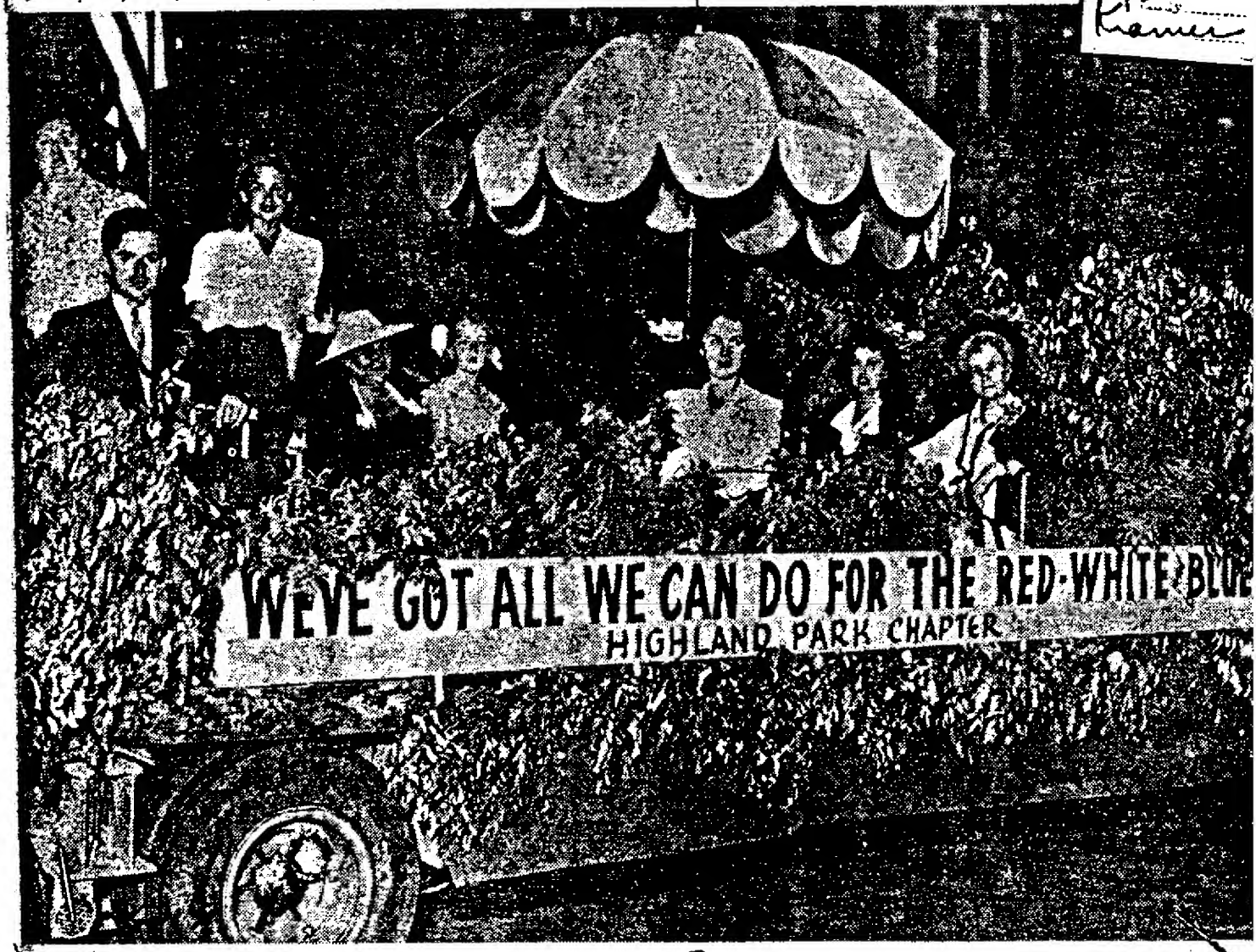
The famous flyer will be heard over Station WRC in Washington from 9:30 to 10 p.m. Saturday and former Ambassador to Belgium, John Cudahy, will be heard in an antiwar broadcast at the same time and over the same station Sunday.

Representative Anton J. Johnson (R.), of Illinois, will speak from 7 to 7:45 o'clock tonight over WOL on the subject of "Shall the United States Enter the Shooting Stage of the War?" under the auspices of the America First Committee.

"A Plea for Honesty" is the subject of a radio address tonight from 10 to 10:15 o'clock over WOL by Representative C. W. Bishop (R.), of Illinois, who also is sponsored by the American First Committee.

AUG 2 - 19

EVANSTON 'PARADES FOR PE



Highland Park's entry, which won first prize in the Evanston America First parade last night.

113

THE CHICAGO AMERICAN

SUBURB PARADES ANTI-WAR SPIRIT; RALLY IS TONIGHT

La Follette and Lyons to Speak in Evanston.

(Picture on back page.)

A motor parade thru Evanston and other north shore towns was a colorful prelude last night to the anti-war rally which will be held tonight in Evanston Township High school auditorium under sponsorship of the America First committee. Sixty-five floats participated in the parade.

Former Gov. Philip F. La Follette of Wisconsin and Richard J. Lyons, Illinois Republican leader, will speak at the rally. They will be introduced by Mrs. Janet Ayer Fairbank, national vice chairman of America First.

Community Singing.

The program will open at 7 o'clock with music by the Zion Junior band under direction of David McElroy, conductor. Stanley Erickson, accordionist, will entertain between band numbers. At 8 o'clock Desault B. Kirk, Chicago Civic Opera baritone, will lead the audience in community singing and present two solo numbers. The Rev. William H. Medler, pastor of the Hyde Park Lutheran church, will deliver the invocation at 8:30 o'clock and the speakers then will be presented.

As the motorcade passed thru Fountain square in Evanston last night it was reviewed by Carl Ekman, acting chief of police of the suburb; Stanford Calderwood, magazine publisher, and Richard Hobson of the Evanston Daily News-Index.

Wins Float Prize.

First prize for floats was awarded to a patriotic tableau entered by the Highland Park chapter of America First. The winning automobile was one driven by William P. Ulrich, 1037 Sheridan avenue, Evanston.

Mrs. Fairbank announced yesterday that Senator Gerald P. Nye [R., N. D.] will address a midwest anti-war rally sponsored by the Chicago chapter of America First. The meeting will be held next Wednesday in the Chicago arena, 400 East Erie street.

CHICAGO DAILY TRIBUNE

8-7-

Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
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Mr. Ladd
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

Attack on F. D. Stirs 'Impeach' Shouts

By United Press

PITTSBUGH, July 19—An America First Committee mass meeting last night shouted for impeachment of President Roosevelt after Congressman Stephen A. Day of Illinois charged him with failing to uphold the Neutrality Act.

Rep. Day called Harry Hopkins, lend-lease administrator, "a secret agent of Roosevelt, a stooge who would sell out America and who lives in the White House."

He accused the President of failing to uphold the "law of the land" by failing to invoke the Neutrality Act in the Russo-German war. The audience of about 1000 voiced continuous demands for impeachment of the President.

JUL 19 1941

WASHINGTON NEWS
Page 9

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
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Mr. Drayton
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Miss Gandy

Shipstead Talks Today For America First

Senator Henrik Shipstead (R.), of Minnesota, will speak in Minneapolis today at 9:15 p.m. under the auspices of the America First Committee. His talk will be heard here over Radio Station WJSV.

WASHINGTON TIMES-HERALD
Page 2

107

AMERICA FIRST OUSTS TWO FOR ANTISEMITISM

Northern California Unit Tells of Dismissing Pair Accused of Propaganda Against Jews

John J. Tehaney, regional director in northern California for the America First Committee, announced yesterday that George Baker, chairman of the George Washington Chapter in the Mission District, has been dismissed from the organization.

"Baker and Sam Brogden, who was dismissed in May," charged Tehaney, "have been dispensed with because they head a small clique which has been trying to disrupt the organization, largely through anti-Semitic propaganda.

DISPUTE TOLD.

"The principal reason for the action against Baker was his refusal to halt his propaganda, after he had been called to task for this attitude last Monday night.

"He meanwhile has joined up with Brogden, who was ousted on May 27, in a new organization called 'The No Foreign War Coalition, Inc.' and announced his new affiliation at the Thursday night meeting of the George Washington Chapter at 454 Valencia Street."

CHAPTERS FORM.

Tehaney added that the number of San Francisco chapters of the America First Committee now totals nine, with the formation of a new one, the Burton K. Wheeler Chapter, named for the noted isolationist Senator, which held its first meeting Thursday night at Desiano Hall, 2455 Lombard Street.

He dismissed the flurry over the Brogden-Baker group as "unimportant and of no consequence."

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Dalton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

BK Kramer

SAN FRANCISCO EXAMI

FORWARDED BY
SAN FRANCISCO DIVIS

JUL 19 1941

AN OPPORTUNITY FOR AMERICA FIRST.

In the America First movement the people of the United States have an organization bound together solely by principles of national policy. In this respect there has been nothing properly comparable to the rise of America First since the formation of the Republican party. In this respect, too, the movement has a quality of integrity which distinguishes it from either of the major political parties.

Today the Democratic party is nothing but a political machine. Its greatest strength in the north lies in the boss ridden metropolitan cities. It exists for corruption and by corruption. It buys votes with doles and political favors. These are all that hold it together.

The Republican party, having had little in the way of spoils to distribute for many years, is far more reputable. The Republican apple is mostly sound, but it is not without its rotten spots, especially in the east, where it has long been under the influence of the wealthy and the socially ambitious.

The position of America First today is very strong. The public has confidence in its leaders and in their integrity and every poll proves that the committee is expressing the will of the vast majority of the people from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The committee, if it will, can contribute a great deal toward returning the government of this country to the people.

America First should resolve now to indorse those candidates for the senate and the house of representatives who have stood by America in her hour of need. There will be a national election a year from November. Candidates for reelection who have helped push America toward war, who have participated in the conspiracy to send American soldiers to Europe and Africa, must be defeated. Candidates who can be trusted to keep faith with their constituents must be elected. To achieve that end will require careful study and organization. It is not too soon for America First to start its preparations.

CHICAGO DAILY TRIBUNE

7-21

CLEVELAND PLAIN DEALER, CLEVELAND, OHIO
July 22, 1941

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Lad
Mr. Nich
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

America First Here 'Welcomes' Probe

The Greater Cleveland chapter of the America First Committee last night at is headquarters at 1227 Prospect Avenue S. E. adopted a resolution welcoming an investigation of the organization by the United States Senate.

John B. Osmun, chairman of the chapter and former assistant United States district attorney, said the action was taken in response to the request made Sunday by a group of World War veterans at the Veterans Facility at Brecksville in a letter to Vice Presient Henry A. Wallace.

In its resolution, a copy of which Osmun said would be sent to Vice President Wallace, the chapter suggested that "the warmongers" be investigated also.

The resolution, as given by Osmun, follows, in part:

"We welcome any form of investigation by anyone. The accusation that Senators Wheeler and Nye and the America First Committee are doing anything in line with what Hitler would have them do is typical of the smear campaign inaugurated by the administration at the instigation of British propagandists and our own warmongers, encouraged by the hatred-inspired, revenge-seeking Communists. * * *

"Of the three, Germany, Russia and England, the latter two have proved themselves to be America's worst enemies. * * * *

NEGRO SUPPORT FOR AMERICA FIRST.

A colored people's division of the America First organization is being formed under the leadership of J. Finley Wilson. The movement ought to have a pronounced success. There is no divided national loyalty among the Negroes of this country. They are Americans from 'way back, with no ties which bind them to one or another of the European belligerents. If any group in this country can view our international relations with an eye solely to the welfare of our country it should be the Negroes. With the fewest exceptions their ancestors have been in this country for 150 years or more.

In a letter addressed to prominent colored people in various parts of the country Mr. Wilson has called attention to the peril which war presents to all the minority groups in America. The warning is a timely one. It is no accident that the Ku Klux arose after the last war. The klan was born of the disillusionment, the economic distress, and the social unrest which were the direct consequences of the war. The race riots at about the same time in Chicago and other cities had much the same origin. If our country gets into the present war the same sort of consequences are to be expected, but the scale of intolerance may be expected to rise far higher.

We started the last war with a negligible national debt. Today the debt approximates 50 billion dollars. In the last war the government spent something like 40 billion dollars. Congress has already appropriated more than that amount for armament and that is only the beginning. If we get into this war we can hardly expect to emerge with a debt of less than 200 billion dollars. Inflation or repudiation or both would follow. Hitler and his movement of intolerance followed inflation in Germany because the middle classes which might have checked his rise had been wiped out and were without hope.

Great wars lead to great depressions. If we get into this war it will be the greatest of all wars and may well be followed by the deepest of all depressions. In such circumstances the minority groups always suffer the greatest hardships. Their people are the first to be fired and the last to be hired.

The Negroes of this country have no connection with Europe and can look at our problem with clear eyes. The Negroes, like all of us, have an immense stake in the preservation of peace. As Mr. Wilson well said, war will imperil the position of all minority groups and set the country back 50 years. He has reason and experience on his side.

CHICAGO DAILY TRIBUNE

Mr. Tolson .....
Mr. Tamm .....
Mr. Foxworth .....
Mr. [illegible] .....
Mr. [illegible] .....
Mr. [illegible] .....
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Mr. [illegible] .....
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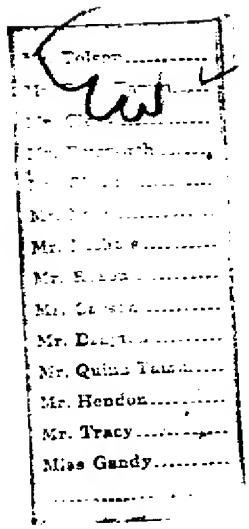
Mr. [illegible] .....
Mr. [illegible] .....
Miss Gandy .....

7-23-4



This Is Subversive Action

As clear as day is the certainty that our army cannot be a political club. When it is a political club its discipline as an agent of the Government is gone. It is then no longer an army; it is a Praetorian Guard, a body of Mamelukes, usurping power over the government which should control it. Instead of a servant it becomes a master and as the Praetorians and the Mamelukes ever were, a capricious and tyrannical master.

It is for this sound reason that army regulations, navy regulations also, forbid the writing of personal letters to influence official action. The letters draftees have been writing to Washington to protest against extension of their service period are offenses against army law, as they should be. Draftees may not have known this, though ignorance of the law is never an excuse, and they have, as General Marshall says, been egged on by outside forces. At the same time this must be stamped out if there is to be a disciplined army.

Fomentation of these letters is a subversive activity. Internal evidence in the letters themselves, similar phraseology, recurring expressions of similar attitudes, show that groups of them have come from common sources. The Wheeler and Taft America First Committee bears a responsibility in this. It has been urging protest of service extension as one of its varied attempts to spread confusion among the American people and weaken American defense.

Wheeler and Taft, by making public such letters, as Wheeler has done, and by press-agenting the movement, as both of them have done, have directly encouraged soldiers in the army to write these letters. They go too far, even for immune Senators, when they attempt to spread disruption in the army. The guilty soldiers are subject to military law; it is too bad that the guilty Senators are not likewise amenable to military discipline.

SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE

FORWARDED BY
SAN FRANCISCO DIVISION
JUL 24 1941

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Hollomen
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

AMERICA FIRST ORGANIZATIONAL WORK DISCUSSED

Sixty chapter chairmen and representatives of the speakers' bureau of the America First committe met last night at 122 South Michigan avenue to report progress in organizational work of that group.

Janet Ayer Fairbank, national vice chairman, was in charge of the meeting and urged that a special effort be made to interest the nation's farmers in the committee's work. P. R. Fredericks, chairman of the Crystal Lake chapter, supported this plea by declaring that the farmer is overwhelmingly in favor of America First "since, unlike men living in the city, he can think independently."

There also was a discussion of the Union Now movement by John W. Maselter of the speakers' bureau.

CHICAGO DAILY NEWS

1-24-41

'AMERICA FIRST' GETS BACKING IN NEW MAGAZINE

Anti-Semitic Publication Carries Letter 'Signed by Robert E. Wood.'

BY FRANK SMOTHERS.

The battle of "America First" has new more enthusiastic champions, it was learned today, than a new magazine with strong convictions, published in Englewood, Colo.

The magazine is "The American Citizen." Its initial issue, for July, which reached Chicago today, plunks hard for "America First." It plunks equally hard for the well-known anti-Semitic book, "The Octopus," and the similar broadside, "War Guilt and Warmongers."

Half of the back page of the opening issue is devoted to an advertisement, or public notice, reading:

"Now is the time for Americans to Unite for Peace. Join the America First Committee today. Contact the Colorado chapter of the America First Committee immediately. 637 18th street, Denver, Colo., Cherry 7493. Your help is needed."

'Robert E. Wood Letter.'

Half of the rest of the page is given over to a letter, purporting to be signed by Robert E. Wood, acting chairman of the America First Committee, Chicago, to Dewey McKinley Taft, editor of the magazine.

The letter begins:

"Colonel Lindbergh has asked me to express his thanks for your kind communication. Such sentiment as yours means a great deal to him personally as well as to the America First Committee."

After six paragraphs telling of the writer's beliefs regarding the "fight to preserve America," it concludes:

"We hope you will keep in touch with us and you will ask your friends to become members of the committee. Meanwhile, write the President. Write your congressman, your senator. Continue to demand that there be no war. Do it NOW!"

The letter as published does not indicate whether Gen. Wood knew of Taft's connection with the magazine or of the magazine's existence. The magazine is not mentioned.

Character Magazine Protests.

The news of the publication of the new magazine came as a shock to Chicago members of the National Council on Education for Character and Citizenship, whose magazine has carried to title "The American Citizen" for more than a year. The council's publication was started in 1934 with the title "Character."

Horace A. Young, attorney for the council, said steps will be taken either to ask or force the Colorado group to discontinue using the title. He reported the council as especially embarrassed by the Colorado publication inasmuch as the Chicago magazine is devoted to the improving of education and character.

America First's Statement

At national headquarters of the America First Committee here, a spokesman, asked concerning the magazine pushing its cause in Colorado, declared:

"We have absolutely no connection with it nor do we subscribe to its policies. No advertisement was solicited of us or of the Colorado committee. It must have been run without authorization."

Certainly, however, the magazine is doing its best—as it sees it—for the committee.

The words "America First" or "Americans First" are hammered home to its readers on different pages. "Defend America First" appears as a slogan heading the cover-page. "'America First' News" is the heading of one of its columns. "Were it not for the 'America First Committee' and its Lindberghs, Nyes and Wheelers—your sons would now be dying on foreign battlefields and going to watery graves in the seven seas," this column states.

"Jobs for Americans First" heads another column. It concludes: "Refugees are at work everywhere in America, and every time a job is filled by one of them, an American is thrown out of work."

It Attacks Many 'Foes.'

The magazine cracks at many foes. Among them: "Royal 'democratic' English," Frances Perkins, "Communism," Walter Winchell, President Roosevelt.

An announcement in the magazine offers subscriptions to it, combined with "your choice of 'Octopus' or 'War Guilt and Warmongers.'"

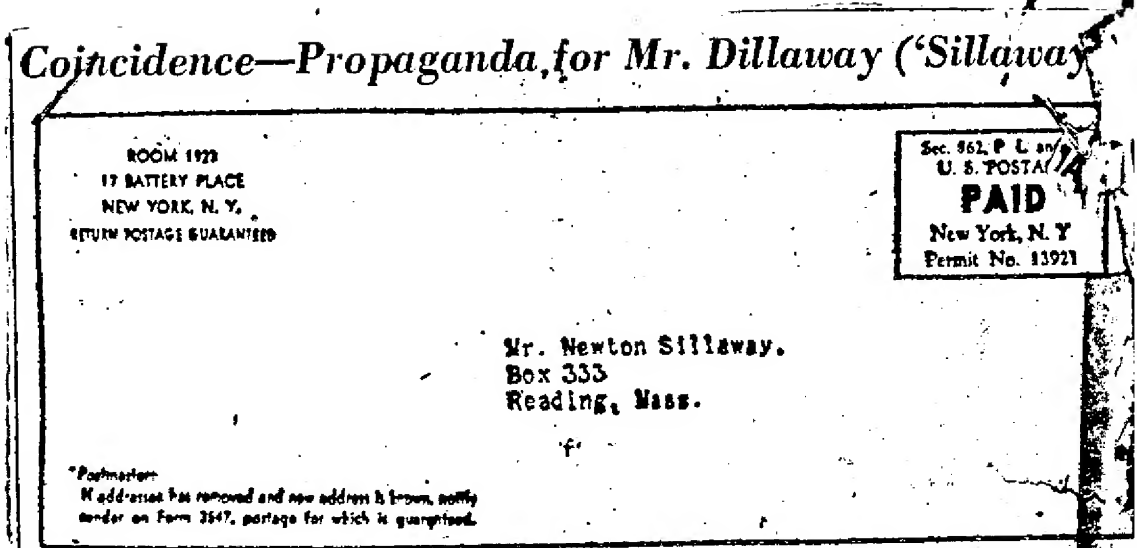
The author of "The Octopus" is the Rev. Frank Woodruff Johnson. The yellow-backed volume is a hair raiser about "the Jews." E. N. Santmyer is author of "War Guilt and Warmongers." It is similarly anti-Semitic.

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

CHICAGO DAILY NEWS

7-26-

Coincidence—Propaganda, for Mr. Dillaway ('Sillaway



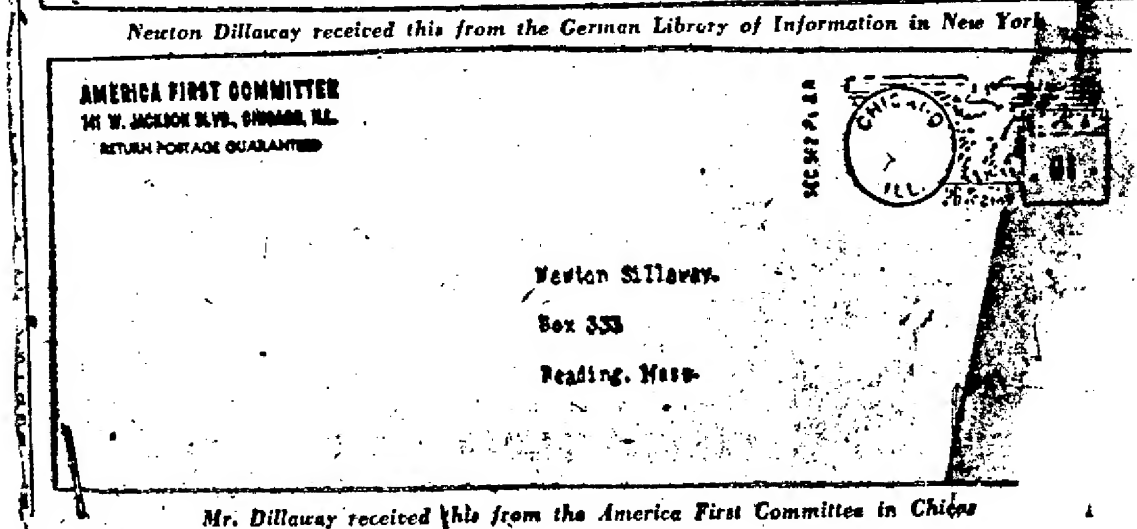
ROOM 1929
17 BATTERY PLACE
NEW YORK, N. Y.
RETURN POSTAGE GUARANTEED

Sec. 562, P. L. and
U. S. POSTAGE
PAID
New York, N. Y.
Permit No. 13921

Mr. Newton Sillaway.
Box 333
Reading, Mass.

*Postmaster:
If addressee has removed and new address is known, notify sender on Form 3547, postage for which is guaranteed.

Newton Dillaway received this from the German Library of Information in New York



AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
141 W. JACKSON BLVD., CHICAGO, ILL.
RETURN POSTAGE GUARANTEED

CHICAGO ILL. 7 SEP 11 AM

Newton Sillaway.
Box 333
Reading, Mass.

Mr. Dillaway received this from the America First Committee in Chicago

Mr. Dillaway ('Sillaway') Gets Propaganda From 2 Sources

Newton Dillaway, writer, of Reading, Mass., made public yesterday photostatic copies of two envelopes received by him, one containing propaganda from the German Library of Information in New York and the other from the America First Committee in Chicago. Both envelopes were addressed to his postoffice box and both misspelled his name as "Sillaway," as indicated in the accompanying reproductions.

Mr. Dillaway drew no conclusions from the coincidence, but noted that he had been receiving "Sillaway" addressed envelopes from the German Library of Information for nearly a year before he received the one from the America First Committee about five months ago.

The communication from the America First Committee, containing printed matter, arrived during the debate in Congress over the lease-lend bill, and urged opposition to the legislation. Mr. Dillaway has heard nothing further from the America First Committee after this first letter. The propaganda from the German Library of Information, consisting largely of "Facts in Review," a publication with a circulation of 80,000, ceased several weeks ago with President Roosevelt's order closing Axis consulates and propaganda agencies.

Speaking for the America First Committee, Page Hufty, director of organization, said that a check of records in national headquaters in Chicago showed that the name of Dillaway or "Sillaway" was sent to the committee on Feb. 18 by a private individual who recommended the Reading, Mass., man as a good prospect to receive the committee's literature and an application for membership.

Mr. Hufty said that the name was recorded on the committee's mailing list as "Sillaway" and that presumably this was the spelling given to the committee. He remarked, however, that the letters "S" and "D" frequently are transposed, since they are adjacent on the keyboards of all standard typewriters.

Mr. Dillaway explained that he had been receiving batches of propaganda mailed from the German Library of Information, Room 1923, 17 Battery Place, for more than a year, although he had never solicited it.

Several weeks before the passage of the lend-lease bill, he said, he received the envelope from the America First Committee's national headquarters, 101 West Jackson Boulevard, Chicago, containing literature urging defeat of the bill. He said he had never received any material from the committee before or since. He added that he submitted photostats to the House committee investigating un-American activities (Dies committee).

Mr. Hufty said that the committee's files showed that a "kit" went to "Sillaway," containing a form letter urging him to support the organization, an application for membership, a card soliciting contributions and several current items of the committee's literature.

Mr. Hufty said that the committee undoubtedly had among its records the name of the person who sent in the name of Dillaway or "Sillaway." He said, however, that the filing system used by the committee made it impossible to get this information without a search requiring at least a week.

Mr. Hufty said that the committee had bought a list of names from a private organization in at least one instance for mailing purposes, but that the bulk of its mailing list has been compiled from names sent in by members and supporters of the committee.

Mr. Dillaway, a retired stock broker, has written two books, "The Gospel of Emerson" and "Prophet of America," and published them himself. He classifies himself as an interventionist.

Wheeler Answers Roosevelt Charge

WASHINGTON, July 25 (UP).—President Roosevelt's assertion at a Hyde Park press conference that Senator Burton K. Wheeler had gone "too far" and was on "dangerous ground" in attacking United States' international policies drew from Senator Wheeler today the response that the President feels that any one who opposes United States entry into the war goes "too far."

"Of course, the President feels that anybody who opposes our involvment in war goes too far," Senator Wheeler retorted. "Some time ago, I challenged him to come to Congress and ask for a declaration of war. I said if Congress granted his request, I would go along with the war effort but that otherwise I expected national unity for peace.

"They (the Administration) know that the people are not with them and the President ought to know that those postal cards had nothing to do with pending legislation concerning extension of the draft but they were only sent out to ask people to request him to keep the promise he made that he would not take this nation into war."

100-4[illegible]
CLIPPING FROM THE
N. Y. HERALD TRIBUNE
DATE JUL 26 1941
FORWARDED BY N. Y. DIVISION

Negro Papers Lambast Lindbergh as 'Subversive'

Criticize Negro Leaders for Allowing Their Names to Be Used by the Pro-Hitler 'America First Committee'

Two prominent Negro weeklies, the New Jersey Herald News of Newark, and the Norfolk Journal and Guide of Virginia, carried editorials in their July 26 issues condemning Charles Lindbergh and other leaders of the America First Committee. The publications called the Lindbergh clique "jim-crow" and "subversive."

Under a satirical heading "America First is Colored Now," the Herald News said:

"Our editor in charge of our 'Things to Throw in the Wastebasket' department was in a quandary the other day upon noticing in the mail a letter from an America First Committee whose chairman and secretary are no other than the noted gentlemen J. Finley Wilson and Perry W. Howard, with national offices at 612 F Street, Washington, D. C. . . .

"We didn't see the names of Charles A. Lindbergh and Burton Wheeler on the stationery; all the names were of colored men, bishops, and doctors and judges and political leaders. Lindbergh and Wheeler were absent from the roster of names, but the stuff of the letter was theirs.

"Lindbergh's the guy who a few months ago was spouting over the radio that the white races should get together—Germans, Hitler and all—and stop the rising tide of color. He's still the guy who keeps the medals Hitler gave him.

"Why, even the America First Committee is jim-crow. At least, the one that sent the letter that puzzled our editor in charge of 'Things to Throw in the Wastebasket,' department."

LEADERS CONDEMNED

Criticizing J. Finley Wilson and Perry Howard, prominent Negro leaders for permitting their names to be used by the America First Committee, the Journal and Guide said:

"It is a great pity that Messrs. Wilson and Howard have selected the name of Col. Charles E. Young (late Negro army officer) who had a distinguished record in the United States Army, to identify their branch or division of the America First Committee.

"We do not believe they want to endanger their country's sovereignty, but it is possible to gravely endanger these through the type of campaign the America First Committee is conducting against the present administration's program for national defense.

"Shortly after Germany attacked Russia, Col. Lindbergh, chief platform man for the Committee, gave the Nazis a clean bill of health as compared to the Soviets, revealing his interest in Hitler."

The Guide referred to such activities of Lindbergh as "subversive." It also condemned Wheeler and other members of the America First Committee.

INDEXED

NOT RECORDED

100-4712A

This is a clipping from page 5 of the Daily Worker for

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

ANARCHY SEEN IN U. S. STAND ON INDO-CHINA

America First Committee's Leaders Say Interference Is 'Monstrous Doctrine'

America's attempt to interfere in the Japanese-French Indo-China dispute is tantamount to "international anarchy," the America First Committee charged last night.

A sharp message of protest was sent to Acting Secretary of State Sumner Welles by the organization's entire executive committee —John T. Flynn, Mrs. John P. Marquand, Amos R. E. Pinchot, H. Dudley Swim and Edwin S. Webster, Jr.

'NEW AND DANGEROUS.'

Criticizing Welles' stand in the Indo-China crisis, the protest said:

"By that stand you in effect lay down the new and dangerous doctrine that if a foreign power acquires bases of another foreign power, this may be construed as an attack on our country and *treated accordingly.*

"It is clear that this monstrous doctrine is equally repellent to common sense, international law and the interests of American security and defense.

"If we claim the right to intervene to prevent Japanese acquisition of bases in Indo China, Japan has an equal right to intervene to prevent our acquisition of bases in Brazil. Your proposition is obviously one of international anarchy.

CREATING 'ATTACK'

"We do not believe that inviting a war that must be waged with lines of communication 7,000 miles long is a proper measure of defense."

The Administration is trying to create the impression this country is being attacked, the protest added, and to get America into a war "the people do not want."

PING FROM THE
EVENING JOURNAL AMERICAN

JUL 27 1941

ARDED BY N.Y. DIVISION

THE WASHINGTON POST
JULY 27, 1941

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Carson
Mr. Egan
Mr. Gurnea Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

Denunciation Of Japan by U. S. Called 'Anarchy'

New York, July 26 (AP).—The executive committee of the New York chapter of the America First Committee wired Acting Secretary of State Sumner Welles today that the Government's denunciation of Japan as an aggressor in French Indo-China constituted "international anarchy."

The telegram declared Welles' statement of Thursday on the Japan-Indo-China affair laid down a "new and dangerous doctrine that if a foreign power acquires bases of another foreign power this may be construed as an attack on our country and treated accordingly."

"Your proposition is obviously one of international anarchy," the telegram added.

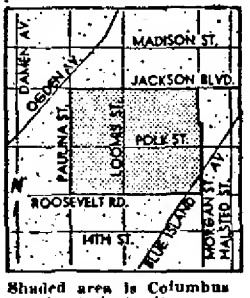
It also asserted that if this country claimed the right to intervene to prevent Japanese acquisition of bases in Indo-China, Japan had an equal right to prevent the United States' acquisition of bases in Brazil.

94

Mr. Tolson .....
Mr. E. A. Tamm .....
Mr. Clegg .....
Mr. Foxworth .....
Mr. Glavin .....
Mr. Ladd .....
Mr. Nichols .....
Mr. Rosen .....
Mr. Carson .....
Mr. Drayton .....
Mr. Quinn Tamm .....
Mr. Hendon .....
Mr. Tracy .....
Miss Gandy .....

AMERICA FIRST ENROLLS 1,600 IN FOREIGN AREA

The Christopher Columbus chapter of the America First committee, which is located in a community populated by 11 different nationalities, has built up a membership of 1,600 in two months, Mrs. Janet Ayer Fairbank, national vice chairman of America First, announced yesterday.



Shaded area is Columbus chapter's territory.

The chapter's area, bounded by Morgan and Paulina streets, Jackson boulevard and Roosevelt road, contains Italians, Irish, Greeks, British, Germans, Russians, and descendants from the several Balkan countries, Mrs. Fairbank said. The chapter was organized by Peter Greenfield, 1226 Taylor street, a railway switchman. The day he started organizing an America First chapter he signed up 100 members.

CHICAGO DAILY TRIBUNE

7-27-41

America First Leaders Welcome Coughlinites

July 28 Issue of Social Justice Prints Letters from Mrs. Wheeler, General Woods Calling for Support from Pro-Nazi Anti-Semites

Father Coughlin's anti-Semitic, pro-Nazi street rioters are still welcomed with open arms by the American First Committee which is rooting in this country for a Hitler victory.

Social Justice, Father Couglin's personal organ, in its July 28 issue proudly prints two letters from American First Committee leaders who give assurances that, contrary to reports, "there never has been any discrimination against Father Coughlin's followers."

One letter is signed Lulu Wheeler, wife of pro-Nazi Senator Burton K. Wheeler, and the other by General Robert E. Wood, one of the heads of the committee.

Mrs. Wheeler's letter, addressed to a Coughlinite who wrote her following press reports that the committee had broken with Father Coughlin, said: "I am afraid that you are a victim of newspaper propaganda, because there never has been any discrimination against Father Coughlin's followers."

General Wood's letter was similarly addressed to a Coughlinite who had written him.

"I have not rejected the Christian Social Justice movement," writes the general. "I welcome their support in our common objective. This whole report (of rejection) has come about through the magnifying of what was a very small incident which happened at a rally in Highland Park."

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 10-4-85 BY 53 7ma/LP #24193

This is a clipping from page 1 of the SUNDAY WORKER for JUL 2 1934
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

NOT RECORDED
INDEXED 100-4713

Coughlinites Make Bid For Farmers

Form New Organization in Mid-West; Try to Capitalize on Unrest

(Special to the Daily Worker)

FRANKFORT, Ind., July 27.—Coughlinite and America First forces this week invaded the farm field in their drive to paralyze American defense efforts by promoting pro-Nazi sentiments.

Both groups jointly held a meeting here recently to launch their new organization, the National Marketing Quota Protest Association, and named Lamont O'Hara its president.

Participating in formation of the organization were officers of the National Farmers' Guild, long known as Father Coughlin's farmer organization.

Blessings on the new organization were pronounced by Robert Spencer of Monticello, Ind., president of the National Farmers' Guild and the Indiana Farmers' Guild.

The new organization is exploiting the resentment of farmers to a new 49-cent penalty set by the AAA on all wheat marketed in excess of allotments.

A national referendum favored the marketing quotas, but many farmers charge that the vote was taken while they were in the fields, and that they did no know a 49-cent penalty would be levied.

Farmers are also aroused at new acreage cuts announced by AAA, which has decreed that an additional 7,000,000 acres will be cut out of wheat next year.

With Coughlinites now seeking family-sized farm support, many farmers remember that E. K. Kennedy, formerly of the National Farmers' Guild, and Cal Ward, former editor of Coughlin's "Social Justice," both testified in Washington for a price-fixing bill which would have discriminated sharply against the small farmer.

NOT RECORDED
100-47124

INDEXED

This is a clipping from page 5 of the Daily Worker for JUL 28 1941

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

FIVE SUBURBAN AMERICA FIRST GROUPS TO MEET

Five suburban chapters of the America First committee will carry on the anti-war crusade with meetings to be addressed by prominent noninterventionists within the next few days.

The Oak Park chapter, 736 Lake street, will hear Norman Saunders tonight, while Urban G. Willis talks before the Evanston chapter in the Ridgeville Community house, 908 Seward street.

Wilbur Helm, economist and investment adviser, will speak before the Elmhurst chapter at 122 Addison street tomorrow night. John W. Maselter will appear in the village hall to address the Downers Grove chapter.

On Wednesday night Gilbert Laue will address the East Chicago-Indiana Harbor chapter in the East Chicago Bank building, Indianapolis boulevard and Chicago avenue.

CHICAGO DAILY TRIBUNE

1-28-41

HEIL HUTCHINS---CHICAGO UNIVERSITY AIDE FOR 'AMERICA FIRST' OUSTS ANTI-NAZI INSTRUCTOR

By Carl Harris

(Special to the Daily Worker)

CHICAGO, July 29. — The disclosure that a University of Chicago instructor had been fired for his opposition to President Maynard Hutchins' pro-Nazi edicts hit the campus like a bombshell this week.

Richard Scammon, 26-year-old research secretary in the university radio department revealed that he had been discharged because he had dared to challenge Gen. Robert E. Wood, millionaire "America First" chief, to a debate.

Indignant professors at the school have voiced the belief that the order to fire Scammon had come directly out of Hutchins' office after the young anti-fascist instructor had made his views public. Scammon said he was forced to resign, after he was called in and told to "get out or else."

Thus the Hutchins' "academic freedom" bubble exploded with a loud detonation and the U. of C. prexy made it clear that Hitler tactics will be used if necessary.

Hutchins' chapter in "higher education" borrowed from Goebbels and Gov. Talmadge came as no surprise to those who have been watching the rise of the university head as the intellectual hatchetman for the appeasement ring. Today, Hutchins is the bright boy of America First, representing the recent efforts of the pro-Nazi organization to cover up its "back-to-barbarism" line with the fig-leaf of respectability. The U. of C. chief became an official spokesman for the America First Committee just about the time that Henry Ford's name was officially taken off its stationary.

URGED "PEACE" PLAN

It was only about two weeks ago that Dr. Hutchins proposed his "plan." In brief, he proposed that action on the western front be paralyzed while Hitler is given every opportunity to carry on his invasion of the Soviet Union without any interference from the British. This was called a plan for a "negotiated peace," and couldn't have been more neatly blue-printed by Hitler himself.

The Chicago University head, who is supposed to be carrying "the torch of enlightenment" here, makes no bones about his alliance with the most reactionary pro-fascist elements of Chicago. His program is designed to build more than just an architectural relationship between the Gothic towers of the U. of C. and the Gothic spires of Tribune Tower.

REACTIONARY RECORD

Hutchins sees eye-to-eye on the movement back to the Middle Ages with the Tribune's chief, Col. Robert R. McCormick, who has been called "one of the finest minds of the Fourteenth Century."

Hutchins' 12 years as president of the university has been a record of reaction in education. He has allowed full "academic freedom" to turn back the clock of learning at the big institution on Chicago's South Side.

The University of Chicago is endowed with $71,000,000, most of which is Rockefeller money. In the field of "pure Aristotelian philoso-

INDEXED

NOT RECORDED

100-4712-4

This is a clipping from page 5 of the Daily Worker for JUL 30 1941

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

phy, Hutchins has attempted to turn the students' body and faculty into metaphysical jitterbugs. And in the political field, the prexy is just another Standard Oil office boy.

It is true that the Rockefeller family, like the McCormick family, is divided in its political sympathies. However, Hutchins is the mouthpiece for the dominant Rockefeller interests just as the Tribune is the spokesman for the dominant McCormick group — both of which regard Hitler's downfall as the greatest possible catastrophe.

Handsome Hutchins, who took his U. of C. post at the age of 30 and was considered a child prodigy, is fauned over by the wealthy fascists of Chicago's Hyde Park. He is frequently a guest in the homes of the South Side stockyards magnates, some of whom grace the U. of C. Board of Trustees.

Thus Hutchins provides the intellectual mayonnaise for the America First - Christian Front - Nazi fund axis. He and his artist wife even pose as "liberals."

Back in 1931, Hutchins, speaking before the American Association of University Professors, declared that "the only question that can properly be raised about a professor with the institution to which he belongs is his competence in his field. His political views, his social attitudes, his economic doctrine, these are not the concern of his university. . . ."

Professors and students this week recalled these words with a horse laugh.

The Scammon case was a clear test of the Hutchins brand of "academic freedom." The young instructor was fired briefly after two years at the university, coming there as graduate of the University of Minnesota, with a master's degree from the University of Michigan.

There is plenty of fumbling among the faculty and students about braving the purge system and coming to a showdown with Hutchins and his Hitler - style "higher learning."

LYONS ACCEPTS AMERICA FIRST BID FOR SPEECH

Richard J. Lyons, Illinois Republican leader, yesterday accepted an invitation to speak at an America First rally next Thursday in the Evanston Township High school. He will share the platform with Former Governor Philip F. La Follette of Wisconsin.

Lyons, a resident of Libertyville, campaigned for governor in 1940, and at that time urged a strong defense but no foreign wars. America First officials said that Lyons' acceptance, coupled with La Follette's appearance, assures an overflow crowd in the auditorium, which seats 3,300. Plans are being made to accommodate those unable to gain entrance by installing loud speakers outside the hall.

Wilbur Helm, America First speaker, last night told the Elmhurst chapter, meeting at 122 Addison street in the suburb, that "certain men would put us in this war by declaring continued emergencies just to maintain power."

CHICAGO DAILY TRIBUNE

136

7-30-

The Mistake of 'America First'

Treason is defined in the Constitution as taking up arms against the United States, or giving "aid and comfort" to our enemies.

Few Americans would deny that Hitler is our enemy. Because of him and his menacing encirclement pact with Japan, we are engaged in a gigantic armament effort. Because of him, we are shipping arms to every nation actively opposing him.

In the legal sense, "aid and comfort" means actual aid, positive support. And as our own armed forces are not at present in the fight, a few might argue that, in the legal sense, the word "enemy" does not apply.

But there is also the moral sense. Morally, even materially, this is already our war. We have made up our minds. Hitler and all his works are abhorrent to us. We have "frozen" German assets. We have "blacklisted" German firms. We have seized German ships. We have withdrawn our ambassador from Berlin. We have closed German consulates here. We have tracked down and arrested German agents. We have drawn together the American nations in a defense treaty. We are arming Britain to the utmost possible extent, and helping China and Russia. We are repairing British warships. We are maintaining with our Atlantic fleet safe and open communications with Iceland, and we do not intend to let Hitler use either the Cape Verde or the Azores islands. We have established bases in the British West Indies and Canada. We have occupied Greenland and Iceland. We are negotiating for bases in South America. Our government has given us its promise that the goods we give Britain will be delivered, not sunk. We are pledged not to let Britain succumb. We are committed, formally and positively, to the defeat of Hitler. In all except manpower, we are at war with him today, and anyone who does not recognize it is simply refusing to face the facts.

This is a free country—thanks be to God and to the valor of our ancestors. Each may speak his mind. Of partisan politics, we have made, for some, a career; for the rest, a favorite sport. But the moment the safety of the nation is threatened, partisanship can be regarded as a sport no longer. It becomes something much more serious. For most of us are agreed that, at the ocean's edge, where we meet the open seas and the aims of other peoples, partisanship must stop, and loyalty to country must supersede mere pride of opinion or loyalty to party.

In the present emergency, the only serious opposition to the national policy comes from a determined minority group calling itself the America First Committee. The very name is false, for it insinuates that its adversaries do not put America first. This group has set itself, by public argument and agitation, to block, if it can, the national policy, and even to reverse it.

CHICAGO DAILY NEWS

b7C

61

7-30-41

To this end, its speakers and writers have cast away all restraint. They have sought deliberately to misrepresent the motives and assail the character of the President and the members of his cabinet. Though we had a national election only last November, they demand that we accept their "new leadership." Upon virtually every phase of our defense program they have cast doubt and suspicion. In so doing, they have worked, indirectly, to obstruct the draft and to lower the morale of our armed forces—that morale which, in a fight, is as essential as arms and training. One of their leaders, himself a United States senator, has even dared to suggest that our soldiers might refuse to obey orders! It has seemed at times as if no specious claim was too bold for them, and no insinuation too base, so long as it tended to disunite the country and to destroy confidence in our form of government and our constitutionally chosen leaders.

Hitler's interest is that American opinion be confused and divided, in order to hamper defense, cripple aid to Britain, dull patriotism and paralyze the national will. And what is our own interest? It is, surely, that our people, in the crisis, should stand united confidently and courageously behind their government. We do not doubt that they do so stand, and will so stand. But that is despite the America First Committee.

If the committee were composed only of known Bundists and Fascists, it could do little harm. Everyone would then understand its motives and resent its purposes. We know what similar groups did to national defense in Norway, Holland, Belgium, France, Rumania and Yugoslavia. But unfortunately, some of the committee's leaders, and a considerable number of its members, are honest citizens, who, in their partisanship, their pacifism or their blindness, have convinced themselves, somehow, that they are actuated by the purest patriotism. They overlook the consideration that, in thus organizing opposition to the national policy, they have provided, however unintentionally, a rallying point for every Fifth Columnist in the land. Indeed, the mistake of the America First Committee is that, in furnishing, however innocently, a cloak for these disloyal elements, it has dressed subversion in the garb of respectability.

CHICAGO DAILY NEWS

7-30-41

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

PLEASE RETURN TO
DIVISION OF
PRESS INTELLIGENCE
COMMERCIAL NAT'L. BANK
BUILDING - ROOM #304

NO.

SYMBOL SA

Telegraph (D)
Macon, Ga.

DATE

JUL 30

Strange Coincidence

A gentleman by the name of Newton Dillaway lives at Reading, Mass. His post office box is 333.

For several years he received mail from the German Library of Information, which has recently folded up under orders from the president.

The peculiar thing is that the German propaganda organization always spelled the man's name "Sillaway."

He now discloses that when the lend-lease bill was under debate in congress he received some literature from the America First committee, urging him to oppose this legislation and, strange to say, the America First committee also misspelled his name. He was addressed as "Sillaway."

The embarrassing question has been raised as to whether the organization for which Senator Wheeler has been stumping the country was using the address files of the German propaganda organization as a mailing list. If so, to what further extent is the America First committee tied up with Nazi propaganda?

About the best excuse the America First committee can put up is that on a standard typewriter the "D" and the "S" stand side by side and it was just a coincidence that typists for America First and for the German Library of Information struck the same wrong key.

It sounds a little thin and folks are known by the company they keep.

No "Foreign" Wars

All Countries Interested in Defeat of Hitler

To the New York Herald Tribune:

I have just received a letter from Mr. John T. Flynn asking me to join the America First Committee. You might be interested in my reply:

"I would like to take this opportunity to tell you that I believe the America First Committee is acting on absolutely false premises. This is exemplified by the statements made in your principles and implied in your recent letter. In the first place, there are no foreign wars. War is a cancer of the whole world, and it must be treated surgically to effect a cure.

"The present conflict is as much our responsibility as that of any other nation, in fact, more our responsibility. In 1917 we went into the war on perfectly reasonable and legitimate grounds and should have made it a war to end war. The crime of the century was America's loss of the peace. We utterly neglected our responsibility to establish and maintain the machinery for world order. We cannot preserve our democracy by letting Hitler destroy the democracies of Europe one by one. We cannot defend the Western Hemisphere or our own country if the British Empire goes down. There would not possibly be time to build such a defense before 1946 or maintain it after 1946 in the face of a German or Japanese dominated world.

"I believe that these are the premises upon which we must decide our action in this present world crisis. Hitler must be stopped and every nation must learn that nothing can be gained by military aggression. We must establish order in the world based on law and justice, and America must take a leading role in establishing and maintaining it."

FRANK I. MELENEY, M. D.

New York, July 21, 1941.

Mr. Tolson .....
Mr. E. A. Tamm .....
Mr. Clegg .....
Mr. Glavin .....
Mr. Ladd .....
Mr. Nichols .....
Mr. Rosen .....
Mr. Carson .....
Mr. Drayton .....
Mr. Quinn Tamm .....
Mr. Hendon .....
Mr. Tracy .....
Miss Gandy .....

b7C

CLIPPING FROM THE
N. Y. HERALD TRIBUNE

DATE AUG - 1 1941

FORWARDED BY N. Y. DIVISION

CLEARING OCEAN BY U. S. CALLED UNDECLARED WAR

America First Speaker Assails Willkie.

R. Douglas Stuart Jr., founder and national director of the America First committee, asserted last night that the war party proposal to "clear the Atlantic now" is in reality a demand that "our navy and our air force enter the war immediately as a full belligerent, carrying out the will, not of congress, but of Secretary of the Navy Knox."

In a nationwide radio speech Stuart lashed at Secretary of the Interior Ickes for using the "technique of Goebbels" in attacking those with opposing views. He took to task Wendell L. Willkie for his refusal to debate the question of war or peace with Norman Thomas, Socialist leader, and declared that entrance into war would be a repudiation of the views of 80 per cent of Americans.

Cardinal American Principle.

"Here, then, is the threat that strikes at the very heart of the American way," said Stuart. "For if there is one cardinal principle upon which this government is based, it is the principle of majority rule. The day Americans surrender this historic precept will be the day when our democracy can be pronounced dead."

"As usual," the speaker said, "the war party couches its proposals in soft, disarming terms. 'Clear the Atlantic now,' they urge. What they mean to say is that our navy and our air force should enter the war immediately as a full belligerent, carrying out the will, not of congress, but of Secretary Knox.

"Once this were done, they know there would be no turning back. We would be at war. Congress and the American people could only lapse into sullen silence—their only function being to honor the dead and pay the bills, as the war went its long and weary course.

Must Frighten Opponents.

"How can the war party hope to achieve so monstrous a purpose? So base a fraud? Not by American methods, certainly; not by free speech and fair debate—rather by means as tawdry as the very end they seek. For they well know they cannot succeed until they frighten into craven silence every person who would honestly oppose their way."

Of Willkie's refusal to debate Thomas at Elwood, Ind., Stuart said, "Mr. Willkie replied, of all things that there are no issues. These are strange words coming from one who has been touring the country trying desperately to answer Charles A. Lindbergh.

"Can the real reason be that he dare not face his home town friends who heard him accuse the President of warlike views so short a time ago? Or is he simply determined still to keep the issue from the people—even the people of his own Elwood?"

CHICAGO DAILY TRIBUNE

8-2-4

Wood Warns Against War

Economic Upheaval Stressed by 'America First' Speaker Here

American entry into the war would cause our country to suffer because at its conclusion an economic upheavel is certain to follow and bring a lowering in our standards of living, according to Gen. Robert E. Wood.

Gen. Wood, principal speaker at the America First Committee rally last night in the Oakland Auditorium theater, declared:

"These people who urge our entry in war are not really Americans. They are internationalists, and they don't face facts.

ENORMOUS COST

"War costs an enormous amount of money and human life," Gen. Wood said, "and when it ends calls for reorganizations just as drastic as war preparation itself."

Gen. Wood said that America had been on the verge of war twice in April and June due to the efforts of "warmongers."

"Regarding the warmongers," he said, "there is no need for their fear of economic invasion. Many prominent business men in our eastern States say that America can compete in world trade even if Europe is dominated by Hitler. They have no doubt of America's ability to care for herself."

Police arrested two persons outside the auditorium for distributing literature without a permit and refusing to pass on when so ordered.

CHAIRMAN COMPLAINS

They are George Beers, 28, of 2583 35th Avenue, and Miss Ruth Wood, 27, of 2632 Channing Way, Berkeley. They were distributing handbills entitled "Victory Over Hitler." The complaint was made by Guy M. Wright, rally chairman.

Other rally speakers were Phillip Bancroft, Walnut Creek rancher and former U. S. Senate candidate, and Joseph Scott, Los Angeles attorney.

Gen. Wood, acting national chairman of the American First Committee, is a retired Army man who served in the quartermaster corps during the [illegible]. He is a Scott [illegible]. Many [illegible]

OAKLAND TRIBUNE

FORWARDED BY
SAN FRANCISCO DIVIS

AUG 8- 1941

America 1st Chief Blasts War Party

"The united determination of the American people that we shall not enter war abroad is as strong today as it was when the war began."

So said R. Douglas Stuart Jr., founder and national director of the American First committee, in a stirring radio speech broadcast last night over a nationwide network from the National Broadcasting Company's Chicago studios. He declared:

"Try as they may, the war party cannot question or refute it. Month after month, by every authentic test, by every reliable poll, the evidence has piled up against them. Not the bare majority—not two-thirds, but four-fifths of the American people stand agreed on this one ground—that we shall not enter Europe's war.

MINORITY TAKING US IN.

"By every rule the people's will should be decisive. Yet, how foreign to the democratic way is the spectacle which confronts us. The more the people's opposition to the war has grown, the closer the minority has brought us to the brink.

"This is the threat that strikes at the very heart of the American way. For, if there is one cardinal principle upon which this government is based it is the principle of majority rule. The day Americans surrender this historic precept will be the day when our democracy, and all it stands for, can be pronounced dead.

"The wilful few who cry for war

Continued on Page 2, Column 1.

R. DOUGLAS STUART JR.
Blasts U. S. 'war party.'

THE CHICAGO AMERICAN

8-2-41

America First Chief Blasts War Minority

Continued from First Page.

know their limitations. They can never have their way while majority rule prevails. Why else do they shun every suggestion that the people, those who would do the fighting and dying, be allowed to vote?

"Why do they so steadfastly refuse to place the issue before Congress in the constitutional way?

"The answer is simple enough. The only thing these 'fighters for democracy' have to fear is democracy itself."

Stuart declared that spokesmen of the "war party" have been repudiated by the American people and are afraid to "face the test."

CITES POLL EVIDENCE.

Citing the evidence that has piled up to support the America First Committee's claim that Americans want no part of the European conflict, he said:

"The Gallup poll, week after week, reveals its consistent anti-war majority of 80 per cent. Every survey bears this out. Newspapers, members of Congress and a committee of college presidents headed by Robert Maynard Hutchins of Chicago, all have conducted exhaustive tests in widespread areas. Always the result has been 70, 80 and, in some cases, 90 per cent solid opposition to our entry into Europe's war."

Attacking what he termed the war party's attempt to couch their proposals in "soft, disarming terms," he added:

"They urge us to 'clear the Atlantic now,' a suggestion which sounds attractive to the unwary. What they mean to say is that our navy and our air force should enter the war immediately as a full belligerent."

NEED REASON AS GUIDE.

Stuart declared the rashness of those who want war is explained by the depth of their emotions, but added that the people need reason, not emotion, to guide them now. He asserted:

"No modern war can be waged successfully without the wholehearted and enthusiastic co-operation of 90 per cent of the people. We may enter war without that approval, but the nation will suffer if we do."

He closed, urging that the nation adopt the symbol: "A—as in America—strong and unafraid."

THE CHICAGO AMERICAN

8-2-41

COUGHLIN PREACHES OPEN TREASON: CALLS FOR HITLER VICTORY IN HIS FASCIST PAPER

By Lawrence Emery

Open treason to the United States is being preached today by Father Charles E. Coughlin through his personal organ Social Justice which is campaigning violently in this country for a Hitler victory.

The fascist priest has already put himself on record with the threat that **"if the United States were to fight as a military ally of Soviet Russia" he would regard it "as a Christian duty to warn Catholic youth of America not to fight."**

Coughlin brands any one today speaking against Hitler as an enemy of democracy, and has even gone so far as to threaten to split the Catholic church in this country unless it sides with the Nazi war machine.

HITLER DIATRIBE

In taking issue with Bishop Joseph Hurley of the Roman Catholic Diocese of St. Augustine, Fla. who in a recent address denied that the Soviet-Nazi war is a "holy crusade against Communism" and declared that the Nazis remain the No. 1 enemy of America, Coughlin's Social Justice in its July 14 issue said:

"Bishop Hurley said that the Nazis are the No. 1 enemy of America and of the world. By his own statement Bishop Hurley, and those for whom he spoke, stand indicted today as Enemy Number One of American democracy."

In the same issue the paper "warned" that if the National Catholic Welfare Conference for whom Bishop Hurley spoke continues to support his views "only one result will eventuate—a schism in the ranks of the Catholic Church."

100 PER CENT FOR NAZIS

Father Coughlin took his side unqualifiedly with the Nazi war machine in the July 7 issue of his paper in which he sought to wrap his pro-Hitler stand in a holy crusade against Communism.

"We are either with Communism or against Communism," proclaimed Social Justice. "We are either with those opposing Communism or against those opposing Communism." Coughlin stands 100 per cent with Adolf Hitler—even though he feels impelled to create a false issue to justify his embrace of mankind's worst enemy.

And as Coughlin embraces Hitler, so he embraces the two other outstanding champions of a Hitler victory in America: ex-Colonel Charles A. Lindbergh who still wears his Nazi medal, and Senator Burton K. Wheeler: "These two men we applaud and revere," wrote Social Justice in its July 7 issue.

The feeling here is mutual, and the America First Committee welcomes Coughlin's followers with open arms. In the July 28 issue of Social Justice two letters from leaders of the America First Committee are proudly published. One signed by Lulu Wheeler, wife of Senator Burton K. Wheeler, declares "there never has been any discrimination [by the committee] against Father Coughlin's followers."

AMERICAN FIRST TIES

The other, signed by General Robert E. Wood, says: "I have not rejected the Christian Social Justice movement. I welcome their support in our common objective."

The radio priest is now actively campaigning for a revival of the terrorist Chrisitian Front and is becoming more and more outspoken in his vicious anti-Semitism.

"We are opposed," says his paper, "to having atheistic Jews impose their code of life upon our political structure, our social structure, our economic structure and our national structure."

Social Justice for July 28 declares that this is a "Jewish war" and proceeds to proclaim that "it is time for Americans to recognize that Washington, D. C., is being dominated by a Jewish concept of life and that our people are being regimented into a totalitarianism which is best described as a 'Jewish democracy'."

This declaration is picked up word for word from the Nazi propaganda mill in Berlin and is identical with the "line" of the fascist "racist theoreticians" who refer to Franklin D. Roosevelt as "President Rosenfeld."

VILE ANTI-SEMITISM

The same issue prominently displays a letter which demands: "Why must we fight to avenge the Jews?".

And on this vile issue of anti-Semitism there is a pro-Hitler united front forming in the United States which recognizes Lindbergh as its logical leader.

Joe McWilliams, street brawler who openly calls for pogroms, has

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This is a clipping from page 3 of the SUNDAY WORKER for
AUG 3 1941
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

said: "Lindbergh is on our side. We must not hinder him. Blaming the war on the Jews," he added, "is the best weapon we've ever had. And nobody can use it better than me."

BACK TOKIO AGGRESSION

Francis Moran, a Christian Front leader in Boston, has likewise said: "Wait until Colonel Lindbergh is ready to take over . . ."

Coughlin now is embracing Hitler's Far Eastern Axis partner. Violently opposing recent steps by the United States to curb Japanese aggression, Social Justice for August 4 says:

"Japan announces her empire policy of 'Asia for the Asiatics.' What is wrong about that ambition of theirs?"

The same issue opposes violently the action of sending troops to Iceland on the ground that "Hitler already has decided that this island fortress is outside the Western Hemisphere!" Yet the paper itself admits that the action was taken "to defend the island base and, incidentally, our own shores, from threat of attack or invasion."

The conclusion is inescapable: Social Justice would welcome a Hitlerite invasion.

One of Father Coughlin's greatest heroes is Francisco Franco. The latest issue of Social Justice calls the hangman of the Spanish people a "keen observer and great soldier." It prominently features his recent "warning" to the United States and makes this comment: "That Franco is definitely on the side of the Axis in the fight against Russia is a certainty. And where Franco goes, there goes Salazar of Portugal. Does the United States comprehend that Franco's speech indicates a united Europe?"

Social Justice hopefully predicts a Hitler victory in Europe and declares that when it comes "Europe will have crawled out of the ditch and will be able to bask in the sunshine of freedom . . ."

TABLET ECHOES COUGHLIN

Echoing Social Justice is The Tablet published by the Roman Catholic Diocese of Brooklyn which, in its current issue, demands editorially on its front page: "Why must Hitler be stopped?"

The paper also asks: "Why must we denounce Japan . . .? Why must Americans aid the USSR?

The Tablet carries the same note of open treason as does Social Justice. In its letter column this is found:

"If Catholics must die, let it be as martyrs of a truly atheistic government [of the United States] that must throw off its mask eventually . . ."

And in the same letter column is a communication from a priest urging Tablet followers to refuse armed service by becoming conscientious objectors.

Lest there be any doubt that Social Justice and its allied forces of anti-Semites and terrorists are 100 per cent for Adolf Hitler, the latest issue of Father Coughlin's paper declares editorially that there is little hope for the world "unless the German forces can overcome Russia and successfully invade England by the end of September . . ."

REPORTS HEAVY DEMAND HERE FOR ANTI-WAR TRACTS

America First Distributes 2 Million Pieces.

Two million pieces of America First literature have been distributed by the Chicago America First committee since January, Mrs. Janet Ayer Fairbank, national vice chairman of the committee, announced yesterday.

Speeches of prominent citizens leading the fight to prevent the United States' involvement in the war, interviews with well known economists on the question, "Can Hitler Cripple America's Economy?" cartoons, automobile stickers, and mimeographed letters have been passed out to interested citizens in such heavy volume that the demand hardly can be met, Mrs. Fairbank said.

The Various Subjects.

Included in the various forms of literature available are the principles of America First, and the speeches of Gen. Robert E. Wood, acting chairman of the national America First committee; of Col. Charles A. Lindbergh; of the Most Rev. Francis J. L. Beckman, archbishop of Dubuque; of John T. Flynn, author and economist; of Robert M. Hutchins, president of the University of Chicago; of Joseph P. Kennedy, former ambassador to Great Britain; and of United States Senator Burton K. Wheeler.

Also available are interviews with Bernard M. Baruch, head of the war industries board in 1918; Raymond Moley, one of President Roosevelt's original brain trusters; and George N. Peek, former New Deal agricultural adviser.

Three Suburban Meetings.

During the coming week three suburban meetings will be held under auspices of the Chicago America First committee.

Tomorrow night Attorney Hugh O'Neill Jr. will address the Oak Park America First chapter, and Walter F. Boye, attorney and author of the book, "Steps Short of War Mean War," will speak before the Arlington Heights group. Wednesday night, Dr. Howard G. Swann, University of Chicago physiologist, will speak before the Park Ridge America First committee.

CHICAGO DAILY TRIBUNE

8-3-41

No-War Rallies in 3 Suburbs

Walter F. Boye, Chicago attorney, will argue that "Steps Short of War Mean War" at an America First Committee rally in the new park fieldhouse in Arlington Heights tonight.

This is a week of rallies for the antiwar group. A parade in Evanston tomorrow night will announce a Thursday night meeting in Evanston Township High School, when former Governor Philip F. LaFollette of Wisconsin and Richard J. Lyons, prominent Illinois Republican, will share the platform.

Hugh O'Neill Jr., Chicago attorney, warned that if the government's priorities on steel and aluminum lead to preferences on labor, the rank and file of America's workers will be bound into slavery, at an America First meeting in Oak Park last night.

He asserted that if America must go to war, it is to our advantage to have the Axis powers fight in this hemisphere rather than on European soil.

THE CHICAGO AMERICAN

AMERICA FIRST DENIES LINK TO 'RACIAL' REVIEW

Anti-SemiticMagazineNow Crossed Off Mailing List, Director States.

The America First Committee, through its director, R. Douglas Stuart Jr., today formally denied any connection with The American Citizen, a magazine published in Englewood, Colo., and exhibiting definite indications of anti-Semitism.

The magazine as related in The Daily News July 26, also contained an advertisement for America First and a letter signed by Robert E. Wood, its acting chairman, asking for support from Dewey McKinley Taft, the editor, and his friends.

"The letter signed by Gen. Wood," Mr. Stuart wrote today, "was in the first place a mere form letter written in response to a letter from Mr. Taft, who expressed interest in America First as an individual. The letter from Gen. Wood did not mention the American Citizen, let alone solicit its support. In fact, Gen. Wood and the committee did not know of the magazine's existence at the time the form letter was written.

"The magazine was at one time, and for a brief time, on the committee's mailing list. This was before it started to publish anti-Semitic advertisements. When those advertisements were discovered by a member of the national headquarters, the publication was immediately crossed off the mailing list."

Meanwhile the National Council on Character and Citizenship, of which Thomas H. West, Chicago attorney, is chairman, was conducting its own investigation. Its interest lay in the fact that the council also publishes a magazine called The American Citizen and does not wish to be confused with the Colorado publication.

CHICAGO DAILY NEWS

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
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Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
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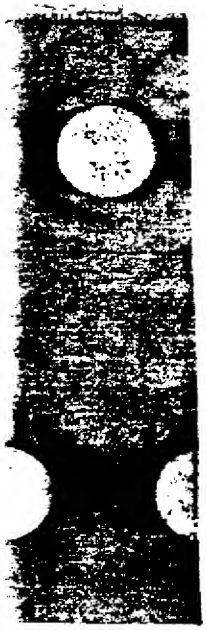
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy



Lindbergh to Speak in Cleveland Saturday

CHICAGO, Aug. 4 (C.T.P.S.). Charles A. Lindbergh, a leader in the fight to keep the United States out of the European war, will speak Saturday night in Cleveland, Ohio, it was announced today at national headquarters of the America First Committee.

AUG 5 1941

136

WASHINGTON TIMES-HERALD
Page

1p-5-8

LINDBERGH TO SPEAK AT NO-WAR RALLY IN CLEVELAND SATURDAY

Charles A. Lindbergh, a leader in the fight to keep the United States out of the European war, will speak Saturday night in Cleveland, O., it was announced yesterday at national headquarters of the America First committee, which will sponsor the meeting.

R. Douglas Stuart Jr., director of the committee, said the sponsors hope to have a United States senator join Lindbergh on the Cleveland platform.

Officials of the Evanston chapter of America First announced that a parade will be held in the suburb tomorrow night to promote the Thursday meeting at which former Gov. Philip F. La Follette of Wisconsin and Richard J. Lyons, Illinois Republican leader, will share the platform in the Evanston Township High School auditorium.

Hugh O'Neill Jr., Chicago attorney, last night addressed a meeting of the Oak Park chapter of America First at 736 Lake street in the suburb. The Arlington Heights America First committee, which meets tonight in the new park fieldhouse, will hear Attorney Walter F. Boye at 8 o'clock.

CHICAGO DAILY TRIBUNE

ANTI-WAR RALLY IN EVANSTON

The Evanston chapter of the America First Committee will sponsor an anti-war rally in the Evanston High School tomorrow night.

Cars and floats from nearly every America First chapter in the Chicago area will move from Calvary Cemetery, on Chicago av. in the south end of the suburb, at 7 p.m.

The cavalcade will move north on Chicago av. to Davis st., west to Fountain square, north on Sherman av. to Central st. and west on Central to Crawford av.

A feature will be junior musicians in gold and blue uniforms, under the leadership of David McElroy. A $30 prize has been offered for the best float, and $20 for the outstanding automobile.

WILL WARN OF SECOND AEF.

Judges will be Carl Ekman, Evanston chief of police; Charles Cheadle and Walter S. Lovelace.

Rally speakers will include former Governor Philip F. La Follette of Wisconsin and Richard J. Lyons, former Republican nominee for governor and United States senator.

LaFollette will speak on "The Course of True Americanism," and will warn that plans are being made for an American Expeditionary Force—plans that will be put into effect unless the people forcibly voice their objections.

Lyons said he would stress the fact that intolerance grows in war hysteria, and would point out the serious consequences of breeding intolerance here under the guise of stamping it out in the rest of the world.

MUSIC ON PROGRAM.

Music will be provided at the rally by the Zion Junior Band, and Stanley Erickson, accordionist, will be on the program. Master of ceremonies will be Desault B. Kirk, Chicago Civic Opera Company baritone.

He will lead the audience in singing, and will sing two solos, "Old Man River," and "Stout Hearted Men." The Rev. William H. Madler of the Hyde Park Lutheran Church will give the invocation, and Mrs. Janet Ayer Fairbank, national vice chairman of America First, will preside.

THE CHICAGO AMERICAN

8-6-4

Just Another Slap at F. D. R.—America 1st Rally in Evanston

America First, with two popular orators on the program, brought out some 3,000 people to an anti-Roosevelt rally in the Evanston Township High School Auditorium last night.

It was supposed to be an antiwar rally, but the bits Evanstonians cheered were the familiar echoes of the 1936 and 1940 campaigns in which President Roosevelt and his cabinet were ridiculed.

The war is just another incident of "power politics," said Philip M. LaFollette, former governor of Wisconsin, an effort by the British governing class to maintain itself in power. And that class, he said, through its stupidity, cupidity and selfishness, is responsible for getting the courageous British common people into its present plight. It is also anxious to drag the United States into the war so that, after the fighting is over, the United States will not have become the dominant factor in the world.

It is futile to take a hand in the war, LaFollette said, for various reasons—the risk of defeat, the ensuing depression, British perfidy.

"And there is one thing I am sure of," he continued. "Europe is coming out of this war a united whole, wiping out all the petty political divisions that have kept it wrangling for centuries. Whether the dominating power will be England or Germany I do not know, but whichever it is, it will not be interested in the welfare of the United States."

Roosevelt and Churchill have both followed the policy of misleading their own peoples while not deceiving the enemy, he said.

"The Roosevelt administration has traveled the road to war," he continued, "under a smoke screen of pledges of peace. The 'war' policies, minus peace talk, have been constantly exposed to Europe in general and to Britain in particular, but for home consumption here it has been 'peace' policies minus the trappings of war."

Churchill has reversed this process, he continued, promising American participation to his people, but toning that promise down in his utterances for America.

Richard J. Lyons of Libertyville, a former Republican candidate for various offices, defended freedom of the press, which he said is threatened in the United States, by telling the story of Thomas Cooper, who in the early 1800's fought the alien and sedition laws.

Cooper, he recalled, was convicted of publishing "false, scandalous and malicious writing" against the government, Congress, the President and his cabinet "with intent to defame them or bring them into contempt or disrepute." He served a term in jail and paid a $400 fine. As a result of the fight, Lyons indicated, the laws were repealed and it is now permissible to publish "false, scandalous and malicious writing" against the President and his cabinet.

84

CHICAGO DAILY NEWS

9-8-41

Evanston Rally Protests War 'Road to Ruin'

A demand that President Roosevelt keep his peace pledges and take the country off the road to war met a lusty vocal indorsement last night at an anti-war rally in Evanston High school auditorium.

Those who voiced the demand and urged that the American people do likewise were Richard J. Lyons, Illinois Republican leader, and former Gov. Philip La Follette of Wisconsin. The meeting was sponsored by the America First committee. Mrs. Janet Ayer Fairbank, vice chairman of the committee, presided.

Lyons warned that the present European conflict was caused by the placing of unlimited power in the hands of one man. He was cheered when he urged that his listeners speak out now against the possibility of the United States going down the same road to ruin.

Fears One Man Rule.

"Unless this trend is stopped," Lyons said, "and congress takes over its entire duties, that same power the dictators of Europe now have may be placed in the hands of one man in this nation.

"If that happens, good-by to the kind of America that you and I have always known. That must not happen here. It cannot happen if the people in this audience and elsewhere contribute what little they can."

Lyons said war mongers who would suppress all opposition to their own conceptions of America's foreign policy are not patriotic.

"They would impair the rights of fellow citizens to express their views," he continued. "The day congress passes a resolution declaring war no patriotic American questions the wisdom of the course. But up to that moment, the individual is free to debate, join societies and committees.

President Must Choose.

"It is no mark of patriotism to be pro-British just as it is no mark of disloyalty not to be pro-British because, after all, we are not part of the British empire—we are the United States of America."

La Follette asserted that President Roosevelt has reached a point where he must choose between his peace promises to the American people and his innuendo pledges to the British.

"The Roosevelt and Churchill regimes have at least one bond in common," La Follette said. "Both have violated a basic principle of free government. Instead of pursuing the

[Continued on page 8, column 6.]

EVANSTON RALLY CHEERS PROTEST AGAINST WAR

Lyons Warns of Dangers in One Man Rule.

[Continued from first page.]

policy of being frank with their own people and deceiving the enemy, they have reversed the process.

"The Roosevelt administration has traveled the road to war under a smoke screen of pledges of peace. Day by day, month by month, the American people have been dragged nearer and nearer to outright war on the soothing assurance that the 'Yanks are not coming.'"

"At this critical crossroad the President is cruising in 'northern waters of the Atlantic," La Follette continued. "He has apparently taken two of the four freedoms with him. All the American people can learn is what is fed them from the British censor in London. The British can be told. Stalin, Hitler, and Mussolini can find it out. Only the American people must be kept in ignorance. Again, another illustration of the synthetic secrecy manufactured in the White House."

CHICAGO DAILY TRIBUNE

5-8-41

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Overton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

Lindy to Speak At Ohio Peace Rally Tonight

CLEVELAND, Ohio, Aug. 8 (C.T.P.S.).—Charles A. Lindbergh will speak here tomorrow night at an antiwar rally sponsored by the America First Committee in the Cleveland Auditorium. He announced today that his subject will be "Government by Representation or Subterfuge."

Lindbergh will share the platform with Senator D. Worth Clark, Idaho Democrat, who has joined the fight to keep the United States out of the war. Representative Martin Sweeney, of Ohio, will preside and R. Douglas Stuart, national director of the America First Committee, will speak briefly.

Attorney John B. Osmun, chairman of the local America First Committee, said a police detail had been assigned to take care of the crowd expected at the auditorium, which seats 22,000.

The speech will be the eighth made by Lindbergh under the auspices of the America First Committee, and officials said that he had spoken to 169,000 persons.

107

AUG 9 19[illegible]

WASHINGTON TIMES-HERALD

LINDBERGH SEES WAR 'HYPOCRISIES'

He Tells America First Rally in Cleveland False Pledges Accompany Each Step

FINDS 'INCIDENTS' PLANNED

Government Makes No Effort to Follow People's Stay-Out 'Mandate,' He Declares

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

CLEVELAND, Aug. 9—Charles A. Lindbergh charged tonight that American defense policy was marked by hypocrisy and subterfuge.

Speaking at a rally of the America First Committee in the Public Auditorium here, he asserted that "the war party" was scheming to create "incidents" to force the United States into war in Europe or Asia "under the guise of defending America."

Mr. Lindbergh specifically charged that President Roosevelt and the Administration had not even tried "to follow the mandate of our people to stay out of war." High government officials "have made every effort to evade that mandate," he asserted. He also accused the President and the Administration of withholding important information from the people.

Although arrangements were made to accommodate a crowd of 10,500, fewer than 5,000 were in the hall when the speech started.

Says War Vote Was Refused

"In the past we have gone on the assumption that our country was governed according to the will of the people," he said. "We were taught that government by the people was inseparable from the freedom and liberty for which our forefathers fought.

"We were taught that, as American citizens, we inherited the right to know about, and to vote upon, the fundamental policies of our nation. In the past we have elected candidates to office to represent us and not to rule us. In the past our President was responsible to our representatives in Congress. And the Supreme Court sat, incorruptible, as a final safeguard for freedom and justice.

"But now the question arises whether we any longer have a representative system of government in this country, whether we any longer have the right to know about and to vote upon the fundamental policies of our nation.

"We are faced with the stark fact that we have been carried to the verge of war against the opposition of a majority of our people, a war not of defense but of attack, a war not in America but in Europe and Asia.

"We are faced with the realization that our President consults our representatives in Congress with less and less frequency and that, while the direct attempt to pack our Supreme Court failed, its membership has now changed indirectly through retirement.

"We are faced with the knowledge that the most important issue of our generation, that of peace or war, that of defense or attack, has not been placed before a vote of our people."

Says People Were Misled

Recounting steps alleged to have brought the country closer and closer to active participation in the war, Mr. Lindbergh said they were all accompanied by "false promises." Repeal of the arms embargo, he recalled, was pictured as a means of keeping the United States out of war, the lease-lend bill as a means of insuring victory without participating in the war. Other "steps short of war" enumerated were the transfer of planes, warships and cannon and selective service.

"These are not only proofs of the subterfuge in our present government," he continued. "Not many months ago our President told us that 'convoys mean shooting and shooting means war.' Then we were informed that our Navy was not 'convoying,' but that it was being used to 'patrol' the seas. The American people were misled.

"The hypocrisy and subterfuge that surrounds us comes out in every statement of the war party. When we demand that our government listen to the 80 per cent of the people who oppose war, they shout that we are causing disunity.

"The same groups who call on us to defend democracy and freedom abroad demand that we kill democracy and freedom at home by forcing four-fifths of our people into war against their will. The one-fifth who are for war call the four-fifths who are against war the 'fifth column.'

"Men and women of Ohio: The war party's plan is clear. Since this country will not enter war willingly, they plan on creating incidents and situations which will force us into it. The interventionists know that if our defense program is extended far enough into Europe or Asia they can get us into a foreign war under the guise of defending America.

"They now say, with all the power of their propaganda, that we must occupy Africa in order to defend America. They say that we must control islands lying off the coast of the Eastern hemisphere. They want us to send our soldiers to the East Indies, the Cape Verdes, the Canaries, Madeira, the Azores, Scotland, Ireland and possibly England as well.

"And they know that if our occupation of Iceland doesn't bring on the shooting, the occupation of these other places will."

Asserting that freedom was in danger in America, Mr. Lindbergh charged that "agents of a foreign power" were encouraged to speak and travel our land while use of the same lecture halls was denied to members of the America First Committee.

"I will tell you where freedom lies," he continued. "It lies in the meetings of fearless men and women throughout this land, in meetings such as we are holding here in Cleveland tonight; in hundreds of similar meetings in every section of the United States.

"Freedom for us does not lie on any Soviet battlefield, or on any coastline of Europe, Africa or Asia. It lies today in the question of whether or not the action of our government is controlled by the will of our people. If we are represented in Washington we are free men; but if we are ruled by Washington, we are not.

"The issue today is even greater than the issue of war or peace. It is the issue of whether or not we still have a representative government; whether or not we in the United States of America are still a free people, with the right to decide the fundamental policies of our nation."

CLIPPING FROM THE
N.Y.TIMES

DATE AUG 10 1941
FORWARDED BY N.Y.DIVISION

'Subterfuge' Government Leading Nation Into War, Says Lindbergh

Cleveland, Aug. 9 (AP).—Charles A. Lindbergh charged tonight that the nation was operating under a policy of government by subterfuge leading to war.

"I fully realize that the charge of subterfuge is serious in the extreme," he told an America First rally, "but let me recall to your mind a few facts that lie behind it."

First, he asserted, Americans were told that repeal of the arms embargo would be the surest way to keep out of war. Next, he added, the country was told that to sell arms on a cash-and-carry basis would insure victory for the Allies.

Lease-Lend Promises.

"They were emphatic in saying no one asked us to lend money or to send troops abroad," he continued.

"It was only last Spring that the lease-lend bill was passed, again with promises that it would keep us out of war; but by that time we were informed that we had to lend arms to insure victory."

Lindbergh asserted that while the American people were promised peace, the British were told the United States would enter the war. He charged that President Roosevelt had not renewed his election promise that American boys would not be sent to fight in a foreign war. He said the American people were misled by substituting the word "patrol" for "convoy."

"They Shout 'Disunity.'"

"The hypocrisy and subterfuge that surrounds us comes out in every statement of the war party," he asserted. "When we demand that our Government listen to the 80% of the people who oppose war, they shout that we are causing disunity.

"The same groups who call on us to defend democracy and freedom abroad demand that we kill democracy and freedom at home by forcing four-fifths of our people into war against their will. The one-fifth who are for war call the four-fifths who are against war the 'Fifth Column.'

"Since this country will not enter the war willingly, they plan on creating incidents and situations which will force us into it. The interventionists know that if our defense program is extended far enough into Europe or Asia they can get us into a foreign war under the guise of defending America.

"We are told that we must fight for the freedom of mankind. But the greatest battle for freedom is being fought right here in America today. If we cannot maintain our freedom in the New World we cannot force freedom on the Old World. What is freedom if it is not the right of a free people to vote on the issue of foreign war?"

Reiterating his contention that it "would be disastrous, both for America and Europe, if we took part" in the war, Lindbergh said:

"But the issue today is even greater than the issue of war or peace. It is the issue of whether or not we still have a representative government; whether or not we in the United States of America are still a free people, with the right to decide the fundamental policies of our nation. This is an issue that strikes to the foundations of our way of living, our government and our rights as citizens."

Charles A. Lindbergh

Clark Hits Foreign Policy.

Senator D. Worth Clark (D-Ida.) who shared the platform with Lindbergh, contended Roosevelt was in some ways carrying on undeclared war.

"Iceland," he declared, "has been taken by force from helpless little Denmark, and we are now rattling a rather dull saber at Japan.

"The only reason that full-dress, undeclared war has not been embarked upon is because the great voice of the American people shouts 'NO!'"

Clark accused a "supine Congress" of passing the War Power Act, under which "the President was given power to carry on an undeclared war anywhere on earth."

CLIPPING FROM THE
NEW YORK DAILY NEWS

DATE AUG 10 1941
FORWARDED BY N.Y. DIVISION

(141)

Lindbergh Says U. S. Nears War By 'Subterfuge'

Tells America First Rally Interventionists Intend to 'Create' Incidents

CLEVELAND, Aug. 9 (AP).—Colonel Charles A. Lindbergh charged tonight that the nation was operating under a policy of government by subterfuge leading to war.

"I fully realize that the charge of subterfuge is serious in the extreme," he said in an address prepared for an America First rally, "but let me recall to your mind a few facts that lie behind it."

First, he asserted, Americans were told that repeal of the arms embargo would be the surest way to keep out of war. Next, he added, the country was told that to sell arms on a "cash and carry" basis would insure victory for the Allies.

"They were emphatic in saying no one asked us to lend money, or to send troops abroad," he continued. "It was only last spring that the lease-lend bill was passed, again with promises that it would keep us out of war, but by that time we were informed that he had to lend arms in order to insure victory."

Charges Hypocrisy

Colonel Lindbergh asserted that while peace was promised to the American people, the British were told the United States would enter the war. He charged that President Roosevelt had not renewed his election promise that American boys would not be sent to fight in a foreign war.

He said the American people were misled by substituting the word "patrol" for "convoy."

"The hypocrisy and subterfuge that surrounds us comes out in every statement of the war party," he asserted. "When we demand that our government listen to the 80 per cent of the people who oppose war they shout that we are causing disunity.

"The same groups who call on us to defend democracy and freedom abroad demand that we kill democracy and freedom at home by forcing four-fifths of our people into war against their will. The one-fifth who are for war call the four-fifths who are against war the 'fifth column.'"

"Battle for Freedom"

"Since this country will not enter the war willingly," he said, "they plan on creating incidents and situations which will force us into it. The interventionists know that if our defense program is extended far enough into Europe or Asia, they can get us into a foreign war under the guise of defending America."

The flyer asserted: "We are told that we must fight for the freedoms of mankind. But the greatest battle for freedom is being fought right here in America today. If we cannot maintain our freedom in the New World, we cannot force freedom on the Old World. What is freedom if it is not the right of a free people to vote on the issue of foreign war?"

Reiterating his previously voiced contention that it "would be disastrous, both for America and Europe, if we took part" in the war, Colonel Lindbergh said:

"But the issue today is even greater than the issue of war or peace. It is the issue of whether or not we still have a representative government; whether or not we in the United States of America are still a free people, with the right to decide the fundamental policies of our nation. This is an issue that strikes to the foundations of our way of living, our government and our rights as citizens."

Senator D. Worth Clark, Idaho Democrat who shared the Cleveland public hall platform with Colonel Lindbergh, contended that President Roosevelt is in some ways carrying on undeclared war.

"Iceland," he declared in his prepared address, "has been taken by force from helpless little Denmark, and we are now rattling a rather dull saber at Japan.

"The only reason that full-dress, undeclared war has not been embarked upon is because the great voice of the American people shouts 'No.'"

113

CLIPPING FROM THE
N. Y. HERALD TRIBUNE

DATE AUG 10 1941
FORWARDED BY N. Y. DIVISION

5 AMERICA FIRST RALLIES LISTED; 3 ARE TONIGHT

While America First officials completed arrangements for an address by Senator Gerald P. Nye [R., N. D.] at an anti-war massmeeting Wednesday night in the Chicago Arena, five additional suburban rallies were announced yesterday by the America First speakers' bureau.

Three rallies will be held tonight. The Rev. C. W. Tedrahn, pastor of the Markham Evangelical church, will address a meeting sponsored by the Oak Park chapter of the America First committee at 736 Lake street in the suburb. The Rev. William H. Medler, pastor of the Hyde Park Lutheran church, will speak before the Evanston America First chapter at 908 Seward street in Evanston, and Miss Gertrude Coogan will address the Glen Ellyn chapter at 413 Main street, Glen Ellyn. All meetings will start at 8 p. m.

The Junior chapter of Park Ridge will hold its first anti-war rally at 8 p. m. Wednesday in the Park Ridge fieldhouse, Talcott road and Cumberland avenue. J. Benjamin Owens of Marquette university and John W. Masselter, Chicago attorney, will speak.

The Rev. John A. O'Brien, professor of law at the University of Notre Dame, will address a rally sponsored by the Arlington Heights chapter of the America First committee at 8 p. m. Friday in the New Park fieldhouse.

More than 8,000 persons are expected to hear Senator Nye Wednesday night. Gen. Robert E. Wood, national chairman of America First, will introduce him.

CHICAGO DAILY TRIBUNE

3-11-41

O'BRIEN AND NYE WILL SPEAK AT ANTI-WAR RALLY

The Rev. John A. O'Brien, associate professor of the graduate school at Notre Dame university, will share the platform with Senator Gerald P. Nye [R., N. D.], at the anti-war massmeeting tomorrow night in the Chicago arena, 400 East Erie street. This was announced last night by officials of the America First committee, sponsors of the rally. The Rev. Dr. O'Brien shares with Senator Nye the distinction of being a leading anti-war speaker in the middle west.

America's destiny away from European battlefields was stressed last night by speakers at meetings of suburban America First committees. In Glen Ellyn Miss Gertrude Coogan, a Chicago investment counselor, declared that this country will be kept out of war if the American people continue to oppose the present armament program, which she said was designed not for defense but to drag us into the war.

The Rev. William H. Medler, pastor of the Hyde Park Lutheran church, told the Evanston group that if the United States entered the war, for which it is unprepared, the country would be ruined financially and democracy would be lost. In Oak Park the Rev. C. W. Tedrahn, pastor of the Markham Evangelical Lutheran church of Markham, declared that this country should be able to imitate the Swiss and remain neutral, particularly with the advantage of the Atlantic ocean.

CHICAGO DAILY TRIBUNE

NYE AND DR. O'BRIEN SPEAK AGAINST WAR IN THE ARENA TONIGHT

Senator Gerald P. Nye [R., N. D.] will speak tonight at an anti-war rally sponsored by the America First committee in the Arena, 400 East Erie street. His subject will be "Cheating."

The North Dakota nonintervention-ist will be joined on the speaker's platform by the Rev. John A. O'Brien, professor in the graduate school at the University of Notre Dame, who also is strongly against this country's meddling in Europe's squabbles. The speakers will be introduced by Gen. Robert E. Wood, acting national chairman of America First, who will preside at the meeting.

America First officials said that delegations from Indiana, Michigan, Iowa, and Wisconsin, as well as representatives from downstate chapters, are expected to attend. Doors of the Arena, which has a seating capacity of 8,000, will be opened at 7 p. m.

A program of organ music and community singing led by Carl Craven, America First song leader, will entertain earlycomers until 8 o'clock. Gen. Wood will introduce Dr. O'Brien at that time.

Parking lots in the immediate vicinity of the Arena will accommodate several thousand automobiles, America First officials said. A special detail of 50 police will be assigned to handle traffic near the hall.

[Senator Nye, upon his arrival in Chicago last night, predicted that senate investigation may prove existence of movie war plot. Story on page 10.]

CHICAGO DAILY TRIBUNE

5-13-4

America first 'volunteer' fined

Arrested last Friday at an America First rally, William Berkowitz, said by police to be an ex-convict, was fined $100 on a disorderly conduct charge today by Municipal Judge James J. Corcoran in Evanston.

Witnesses said that Berkowitz was busily engaged in passing out America First handbills at the meeting, held in the Evanston township high school, and that sponsors of the rally requested his arrest. He pleaded not guilty in court today.

113

CHICAGO DAILY TIMES

8-13-41

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr Tracy
Miss Gandy

F. J. Libby to Address Antiwar Rally Tonight

Frederick J. Libby, executive secretary of the National Council for the Prevention of War, will address a meeting at 8:30 p.m. today of the Washington chapter of the American First Committee in the Friends Meeting House. His topic is announced as "Can We Prevent More Icelands?"

AUG 22 1941

WASHINGTON TIMES-HERALD

Sen. Nye to address America First rally

U. S. Sen. Gerald P. Nye of North Dakota will speak at a meeting sponsored by the America First Committee in the Chicago Arena tonight. His appearance, scheduled for approximately 9 P. M., will be preceded by a two-hour program furnished by Carl Craven, tenor, and the Rev. John A. O'Brien, professor in the graduate school of Notre Dame university.

113

CHICAGO DAILY TIMES

Nye Exhorts America First To Fight F. D. R.'s 'War Plans'

BY FRANCIS J. CONNOR.

America First advocates, under the urging of Senator Gerald P. Nye (Rep., N. D.), Senate isolationist leader, were resolved today to thwart any attempts of President Roosevelt to have Congress declare an outright national emergency.

The North Dakota senator last night exhorted an audience in Chicago Arena to "stand by their guns and fight" what he predicted as the next step of the Roosevelt administration declaration of a national emergency.

Nye was roundly applauded by his audience, estimated at 7,000 by the Arena management.

"The next move—if they dare make it—will be for the administration to appeal to Congress to declare a national emergency so the President can break down existing laws and send troops into service outside of this hemisphere," Senator Nye said, and begged his listeners to fight this next step."

Makes 2-Hour Speech.

Nye's prediction climaxed a two-hour speech in which he accused President Roosevelt and high administration officials of "cheating" the citizens of the country by preaching peace when, he charged, "it is quite clear that our government has rather deliberately proceeded step by step toward involvement in Europe's suicide."

As is usual at America First rallies, the audience booed at every reference to the President by name, and cheered loud and long at every mention of Charles A. Lindbergh and Senator Burton K. Wheeler, first-water isolationists.

"Senator's Dire Warnings."

Some of the senator's assertions that drew the most applause were:

"We have been told we would lose our foreign trade if we permit a 'new deal' to take hold in Europe. If we stood to lose all of our foreign trade, I say the saving of it would not be worth the spilling of the blood of one solitary American boy on foreign soil. For years our foreign trade has constituted only between 3 and 4 per cent of our total economic dependency."

"The greatest enemies of Great Britain are those American interventionists who keep telling Britain: 'Stay in there and fight and in a few weeks we will be over there to help you.' It has reached the point where Great Britain is afraid to consider a negotiated peace because it might be displeasing to persons in Washington, D. C."

"If Japan should make a success of her undertaken conquest of China, the day will come when the histories of the world must record that no one gave larger help to Japan than did the United States, by reason of the President's failure to invoke the laws of neutrality which he himself praised."

Nye was preceded as the principal speaker by the Rev. John A. O'Brien, Notre Dame University professor, who said he appeared on the program as an American citizen and was speaking "neither for Notre Dame nor the Catholic church." He told the audience:

"Under the guise of saving Christianity, civilization and democracy abroad, we are being pushed into a loathsome partnership with the greatest enemy of Christian civilization in the world today—Soviet Russia."

CHICAGO DAILY NEWS

8-14-41

AUG 14 1941

LOS ANGELES EXAMINER

America First Chief Answers State Legion

There are no communists, bundists or "affiliate of any foreign government or agency" in the membership of the America First organization in Southern California.

That was the declaration last night of John L. Wheeler, chairman, America First Committee of Southern California and son of Senator Burton K. Wheeler of Montana.

He made that point clear in a telegram to Robert F. Garner Jr., just elected Department Commander for the California American Legion, in which Wheeler said the Legionnaires could "rest assured no person other than an American citizen can be a member of America First."

The telegram was inspired by a resolution adopted at the state American Legion convention in Sacramento Tuesday requesting that an investigation be made to determine if Communists or bundists were among America First members.

Wheeler telegraphed Garner that America First believed:

"1. It is our duty to keep America out of foreign wars.

"2. Not by acts of war abroad but by preserving and extending democracy at home can we aid democracy and freedom in other lands.

"3. We must build defense at home so strong that no foreign power or combination of powers can invade our country or jeopardize our national interests.

"4. We believe in aid to Britain and to the people of occupied countries as the humanitarian duty of a strong, free country at peace."

In conclusion Wheeler said:

"Standing as we do for truly American principles, we feel certain that if the American Legion were truly advised it would not lend itself to any smear campaign which has for its purpose the intimidation of American citizens."

141

Mr. Tolson .....
Mr. E. A. Tamm ...
Mr. Clegg .....
Mr. Foxworth .....
Mr. Glavin .....
Mr. Ladd .....
Mr. Nichols .....
Mr. Rosen .....
Mr. Carson .....
Mr. Drayton .....
Mr. Quinn Tamm...
Mr. Hendon.....
Mr. Tracy .....
Miss Gandy .....

Peace Group Head Would Impeach Knox, Stimson

Frederick J. Libby, executive secretary of the National Council for the Prevention of War, last night called for the immediate dismissal of Secretaries Knox and Stimson by President Roosevelt, and warned that if the Chief Executive does not act, "the American people, through their Representatives, must impeach the two Cabinet members."

Speaking under the auspices of the America First Committee, in the Friends' Meeting House, 2111 Florida Avenue Northwest, Libby charged that Knox "is not a fit person to hold office" and that Stimson, "an old man, is not fit to prepare this Nation for a crisis."

Libby then read excerpts from a brief which he said had been prepared in anticipation of impeachment proceedings in the House of Representatives.

WASHINGTON POST

WASHINGTON CITY NEWS SERVICE

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
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Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

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COMMUNICATIONS

NEW YORK.--JOHN T. FLYNN, CHAIRMAN OF THE NEW YORK CHAPTER OF THE AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE, SAID THE JOINT STATEMENT ISSUED BY PRIME MINISTER CHURCHILL AND PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT "IS A LOT OF WORDS--A COVER-UP STATEMENT."

"THEY DIDN'T MEET TO DRAW UP A STATEMENT SUCH AS THEY ISSUED," HE SAID. "THEY SHOULD BE FRANK AND TELL THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WHY THEY DID MEET AND WHAT THEY ACTUALLY DECIDED TO DO. WHAT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE SHOULD LIKE TO KNOW IS WHAT CHURCHILL DEMANDED AND WHAT ROOSEVELT PROMISED."

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96

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tam
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Beaun
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tan
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

Nye Declares Leaders Are 'Cheating' U. S.

Notre Dame Cleric Joins in Assailing Campaign for War

CHICAGO, Aug. 13 (C.T.P.S.). Senator Gerald P. Nye (R.), of North Dakota, asserted tonight that "the American people are seeing today how some of their leaders, those in whom they placed largest confidence, have been misleading and cheating the people of the one remaining great democracy upon this earth."

In a speech at the Chicago Arena, under auspices of the America First Committee, Senator Nye recalled the acts through which the Administration has carried the United States to the brink of war while mouthing "beautifully honeyed words" of reassurance.

Compliments Nation

He complimented America on clear thinking which has kept the country from being stampeded into battle, and held that the United States is winning the war to stay out of war.

Also on the program, over which Gen. Robert E. Wood, acting national head of America First, presided, was the Rev. John A. O'Brien, professor in the graduate school at Notre Dame University. He urged the ouster of "those two war provacateurs, Secretaries Stimson and Knox, because they are the real enemies of America's peace."

The supreme service possible is to halt the stupid and brutal mass slaughter, Father O'Brien held, and urged President Roosevelt to bring the warring leaders to the peace conference table.

"Truth in Ash Can"

"Oh, Americans, tho
who have not yet done
Senator Nye, "look back
whole mad period, when
been relegated to the
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been made to rule our
and see how far astray
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razor edge of one vote on the
bill of draft service.

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WASHINGTON TIMES-HERALD
Page 6

Fascist Groups Push Appeasement Campaign in Municipal Elections

By Harry Raymond

Local fascist organizations—openly or secretly supporting Hitler's campaign for conquest of the world—have begun, since the Nazis launched their attack against the Soviet Union, an intensive drive to influence the municipal election campaign.

A super-roundup of groups taking political guidance from the fascist priest Charles Coughlin and his magazine, Social Justice, has thrown itself into the mayoralty race, backing Tammany candidate William O'Dwyer and attempting to force Mayor LaGuardia, candidate for re-election, into a position of conciliation of the forces of fascism at home and abroad.

Centering around the America First Committee, New York's fascist movement is divided into seven specific organizations:

1. Flying Squad for Americanism.
2. The Christian Front.
3. American Fellowship Forum.
4. Social Justice Party.
5. The American Rock.
6. Committee for Religious Recovery.
7. Paul Revere Sentinals.

These groups, under the guise of fighting for peace, have formed a central guiding organization, known as Americans United, behind an isolationist facade composed of Senators David I. Walsh and Gerald P. Nye, Domestic Relations Court Justice Herbert A. O'Brien and William Griffin, publisher of the Enquirer.

All of these men are listed as speakers at recent Queens County rallies of Americans United.

Behind the scenes at these rallies, pulling the string, were Bernard O'Aby, Father Coughlin's lawyer; Robert Harriss, Coughlin's broker, and William Goodwin, Coughlin's local representative and a Queens

(Continued on Page 4)

(Continued from Page 1)

local Democratic leader.

The immediate declared objective of the fascist front, according to the pro-Coughlin Brooklyn organ, the Tablet, is to stop all American aid to Britain and especially the Soviet Union.

In the municipal election campaign, the fascist front has set itself the objective of capturing or influencing the old-line politicians.

In Queens the American Rock Party, headed by Goodwin, has planned a series of street meetings to gather 100,000 signatures to a petition demanding a permanent councilmanic committee to investigate "un-American" activities among city employes.

The aim of this movement, according to Mae E. Tynan, one of its leaders, is to:

"Put a good Democratic Mayor in City Hall and you will have no worry about Joe Stalin's Communists or any other un-Americans undermining our civil service system."

In the recent past, the Mayor conceded partially to the attacks of the pro-fascists and appeasers by launching an investigation of his own and ousting from city positions employes and officials named in the red-baiting attacks.

Progressives are insisting that LaGuardia cease his appeasement policy in municipal affairs. They insist he can gain their support only by openly and vigorously opposing the local fascists in their attack on progressive government and fair labor relations.

AWAIT MAYOR'S MOVE

They are awaiting the Mayor's next steps in this matter.

LaGuardia was obviously angered by the remark of Joseph McWilliams, founder of the fascist Christian Mobilizers, who said the Mayor was "nothing but a Jew trying to turn City Hall into a Red Kremlin."

Observers believe that LaGuardia by acting firmly against the fascist front of appeasers before, can be assured of the old support which elected him by overwhelming majority in 1937 over Tammany candidate Jeremiah T. Mahoney.

An example of a proper two-fisted attitude against the local fascists and other brands of appeasers, according to observers, was set recently by Larry MacPhail, president of the Brooklyn Dodgers Baseball Club, when he refused to rent the baseball field for a Lindbergh rally.

William T. Leonard, Christian Fronter and sponsor of the rally, threatened to boycott the Dodgers and "abolish night baseball" if the field could not be obtained for the rally. MacPhail stood firm, saying: "The America First outfit is the only group which has adopted tactics resembling the Hitler technique to force the club to alter its policy with respect to use of the field. I have no use for William Leonard, Lindbergh, the Bund, Christian Front, etc."

INDEXED

This is a clipping from page 1 of the Daily Worker for AUG 15 1941

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

PACT A REBUFF FOR CHURCHILL, SAYS GEN. WOOD

Peace Demand Being Felt, America First Finds.

Three leaders of the America First committee last night saw evidence in the joint statement issued by Prime Minister Winston Churchill of England and President Roosevelt that the administration has begun to listen to the demand for peace made by 80 per cent of the American people. The America First leaders are Gen. Robert E. Wood, acting national chairman; Mrs. Janet Ayer Fairbank, vice chairman, and R. Douglas Stuart Jr., director and founder.

"If there are no secret agreements beyond the signed declaration, this joint statement is evidence that President Roosevelt realizes he must listen more carefully to the American people than to Winston Churchill," said Gen. Wood. "It would seem that the English prime minister has suffered a diplomatic rebuff. Having come for a conference of war, he returns with a program for peace.

"Devoid of Commitments."

"The statement is utterly devoid of commitments on the part of the President. There is no promise of convoys, of troops, or of further occupation of distant points. The significance of the statement is in its mildness. Its effect is calculated to allay the fear of the German people. Notably absent are Churchill's customary threats and promises of vengeance.

"Instead he has finally consented to state the English war aims. He sets forth a plan for peace which may find a receptive hearing even in Germany—if the statements are made in good faith."

Mrs. Fairbank held that the significant point in the statement was that President Roosevelt made no pledges which would involve the United States in the fighting. She said the statement, judged on its face value, indicates that President Roosevelt realizes that the overwhelming majority of American people do not want to go to war.

"The eight points of the present statement and the 14 points of Woodrow Wilson in the last war have much in common," said Mrs. Fairbank. "However, the American people are more cynical and a lot more realistic than they were in 1918.

Cites Fate of 14 Points.

"If Mr. Roosevelt's eight points are to be taken seriously as a peace pledge, then it is well for citizens of a democracy to dwell on the fate of Mr. Wilson's 14 points. The people should realize that once the war is won, the eight will inevitably follow the 14 into oblivion."

"We all knew that Churchill went fishing," said Stuart, "but from what they tell us the big one got away. I only hope that what we read in the papers is true. It would be a shock for the American people to learn that it is all a fish story. Along with 80 per cent of the people, I hope that we will not learn later of secret agreements."

CHICAGO DAILY TRIBUNE

LET'S MAKE OWN FOREIGN POLICY, O'BRIEN DEMANDS

The Rev. John A. O'Brien, University of Notre Dame professor who will speak tonight at an anti-war rally in Arlington Heights, said yesterday that the people of the United States must join in a demand that the foreign policy be framed not at 10 Downing street, London, nor at the Kremlin in Moscow, but at Washington, D. C. He added that the people should urge that this policy reflect the will of the American people and not the wishes of foreign statesmen.

The Arlington Heights meeting, which will be held in the new park fieldhouse, is under sponsorship of the America First committee. George Glow, chairman of the Arlington Heights chapter of America First, will preside.

"The American people," said the Rev. Mr. O'Brien, "are sick at heart at the spectacle of an administration, solemnly sworn to peace, which instead of lubricating relations with European powers has made them yield spark after spark with the apparent intention of setting off the explosion of war."

CHICAGO DAILY TRIBUNE

1-2

8-15-41

WASHINGTON CITY NEWS S[illegible]

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. [illegible]
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

Aug 18 4 21 PM '41
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F B I
COMMUNICATIONS

CHICAGO.--GEN. ROBERT E. WOOD, CHAIRMAN OF THE AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE, URGED TODAY THAT PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT "MAKE A FRANK AND FUL- DISCLOSURE IMMEDIATELY" OF EVERYTHING DISCUSSED WITH PRIME MINISTER CHURCHILL.

WOOD QUOTED BRITISH NEWSPAPER REPORTS AND LISTED OTHER ALLEGED INDICATIONS THAT "THE ENGLISH PEOPLE SEE IN THE JOINT DECLARATION ASSURANCES ON THE PART OF PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT THAT AMERICA WILL SOON FOLLOW UP THE PROPOSED PEACE POINTS BY ACTIVE PARTICIPATION IN THE WAR."

"THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE ENTITLED TO KNOW THE FULL FACTS," WOOD SAID. "SECRET AGREEMENTS MADE BY THE PRESIDENT HAVE NO PLACE UNDER OUR CONSTITUTION AND DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM. IFNHE HAS SOUGHT PERSONALLY TO COMMITNTHIS NATION TO WAR HE SHOULD ADVISE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE SO THAT SUCH PURPORTED OREATY MAY BE CONSIDERED -- AND REPUDIATED -- BY THE SENATE, IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE CONSTITUTION."

8/18--R418P

Fascist Groups Unite Behind Lindbergh

Survey Shows Coughlinites, Anti-Semitic Outfits Throughout Country Support Pro-Hitler Program of America First Committee

By John Arnold

America is criss-crossed and honeycombed with virulent little home-grown circles of furiously producing and disseminating anti-Semitism and the Nazi creed of violence. They flood the mails with their horrors and the poisonous stream of their influence flows into many high places.

For many years efforts have been repeatedly made to unify and centralize these innumerable bands, but without success. It is the nature of each little fascist to be his own fuehrer until such time as a man of sufficient proportion appears who can command and dominate them all.

That man has now appeared. His name is Lindbergh. A unifying center has been found. It is the America First Committee.

The treasonable work of that group to block an American anti-Hitler front has won the support and the allegiance of every anti-Semite and every fascist in the country, from Charles E. Coughlin and Henry Ford down to the chin-whiskered William Dudley Pelley and New York's street brawler Joe McWilliams.

McWilliams has said: "Lindbergh is on our side. We must not hinder him . . ."

Francis Moran, a Boston leader of the terrorist Christian Front, has told his followers: "Wait until Colonel Lindbergh is ready to take over."

Father Coughlin's personal organ, Social Justice, has proclaimed that Senator Wheeler and ex-Colonel Lindbergh "... must be supported ... for to them, following the war, will we look for leadership."

In a recent issue Social Justice proudly displayed two letters from leaders of the America First Committee under this line: "America First Committee Still Welcomes Coughlinites."

The men who now bestow their full allegiance upon the ex-colonel with the Nazi medals makes no secret of their ultimate aim: a world dominated by Hitler.

Coughlin's Social Justice said this in its June 30 issue: "Hitler's declaration of war on Stalin points the way for America."

POGROM CALLED

William Dudley Pelley's weekly Roll Call for June 30 wrote as follows in the typical florid style of the goateed anti-Semite "Great days are around the corner of the hours. A world with the Judeo-Communistic menace laid will be a world in which universal mischief makers are cataclysmically cooped. Humanity shall have the chance to breathe the pure air of Aryan integrity and sincerity again. Hitler with Russia's inexhaustible resources at his back will be a Hitler strong enough to challenge combinations of all other nationalities on the face of the globe."

Another America First supporter, the Rev. Luke Rader, fascist evangelist of Minneapolis, made this forecast recently: "After this country enters the war, we will have the bloodiest civil war ever experienced by any nation. Every international Jew will be eliminated, for the people of this country will attend to that. We Americans are very tolerant, but we've had enough of

This is a clipping from page 5 of the Daily Worker for AUG 19 1941
Clipped at the Seat of Government.

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the Frankfurters, the Ben Cohens, etc."

Still another America First backer, the so-called National Workers League of Detroit which inherited the dregs of the notorious Black Legion, wrote this in a recent issue of its confidential bulletin: "Fellow citizens! Don't you often feel a primitive urge to get your hands around the throat of one of these 'democrats' who believe in Union Now with England? It seems murder does have some patriotic values."

Lest it be believed that these are but the expressions of crackpots or of a lunatic fringe, it should be known that these groups now backing America First are in turn backed, supported and encouraged by men within the halls of Congress.

The Hour, anti-fascist newsletter published here, revealed in its Aug. 2 issue that George Paganelli, editor of a violently anti-Semitic paper called Christian Defender, has recently been in conference with members of the Congressional appeasement bloc.

Paganelli's paper recently published this: "Just a bit of warning to Jews: Once sales (of Social Justice) are effectively and finally stifled, then will also have come the time to resort to means other than the soapbox, the court and peaceful assembly."

REP. RANKIN IN IT

The Hour reports as follows:

"George Paganelli . . . held conferences last week in Washington, D. C., with Congressman John E. Rankin of Mississippi and Ex-Congressman John C. Schafer of Wisconsin. Under discussions were plans for promoting and consolidating anti-Semitic sentiment in the United States and the use of this Nazi tactic as a political weapon in this country.

"When Paganelli returned from Washington to New York City, he boasted to fascist intimates about conferring with anti-democratic politicians at the capitol.

"According to Jew-baiter Paganelli, Congressman Rankin advanced the following formula for keeping America out of the war and preventing further aid to the Allies: 'Blame the war on the Jews. Label this a Jewish war, a war brought about by international Jewish bankers. Spread this around the country and our battle is won.'

"Ex - Congressman John C. Schafer," The Hour further reveals, "undaunted by his recent defeat in the Wisconsin elections, is building a secret organization which he hopes will be the focal point for anti-democratic, anti-Semitic feeling in the United States. He told Paganelli that he hopes to enlist the support of large numbers of World War veterans and that he will soon start for the Middle West on a speaking tour. He intends to make Washington the headquarters of his Fifth Column organization."

PRO-HITLER ROSTER

The Hour also reports that Paganelli "has been maintaining close contact" with Senator Robert Reynolds of North Carolina, now chairman of the powerful and strategic Senate Committee on Military Affairs.

Other Congressmen either identified with the America First Committee directly or applauded in the fascist press of this country are Martin Dies, Senator Nye, Hamilton Fish and Stephen A. Day

Hitlerism must not only be fought on the battlefields of Europe. It must be combatted at home. Its focal point in the United States today is the America First Committee.

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

Elmhurst Holds 'First' Rally

An open-air rally under auspices of the Elmhurst Chapter, America First Committee, will be held this evening in the Du Page County suburb with the Rev. William H. Medler, pastor of the Hyde Park Lutheran Church of Chicago, as the principal speaker.

Following a program of band music and community singing the meeting will begin at 8 p. m. in the Elmhurst softball park.

Tomorrow evening a similar meeting, also outdoors, will be held in the Lombard softball field.

THE CHICAGO AMERICAN

8-31-41

'Rebirth of Freedom At Home' Urged at America First Rally

Vassar Head Deplores Churchill-Roosevelt Pact; Sees Huge War Toll

By the Associated Press.

NEW YORK, Aug. 21.—Dr. Henry Noble MacCracken, president of Vassar College, says "What our country needs is not empire abroad but a rebirth of freedom at home, if government by the people is not to perish from the earth."

Dr. MacCracken, analyzing the eight-point agreement signed recently by President Roosevelt and British Prime Minister Churchill, spoke last night at an America First Committee rally in Carnegie Hall.

At the outset, he said he believed the President's expressed intention to keep the Nation out of war, but added that if the United States was committed "to the final destruction of Nazi tyranny, that certainly would be war."

Sees Senate Snubbed.

Dr. MacCracken said he deplored "the sudden and melodramatic element in the meeting with Winston Churchill, and the apparent attempt to commit our country to what is in effect a treaty, without the constitutional provision of a two-thirds concurrence of the United States Senate.

"The eight-point treaty is signed officially by the British government through its Prime Minister, and by the President of the United States, who under our system has no such authority as the Prime Minister. It is, first and last, a Churchill treaty, therefore."

Continuing, he asked, "If we go to war now, what kind of war would it be? About that question the war party has left us in doubt. Three hundred billions of dollars, 10,000,000 men under arms, 100,000 airplanes, thousands of ships, and an equipment so vast that we could not make it before 1945.

40 Million Dead Seen.

"But that is the least of the It will cost millions of Ame lives, the total starvation of rope so far as blockade can complish it, with no doubt 40 000 deaths from starvation, total destruction of European by bombing, the exhaustion of resources in oil and metals t complish this.

"And in the meantime, wh us? How much democracy w left in these United States, for five years we have, like many, become a militarized * * *"

He asked if this Nation win such a war, and if it "is it well that we should wir

"We had a President once prayed for peace without vict he said. "I confess myself of Wilson's mind. For I do n how such a victory could le with any idealism to carry o points of the sea treaty. I we should be an empire, ei part of the British empire, a would have us be, or an ican-world empire, the old pendent United States gone."

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
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Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
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Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

Tom Fraser

America First Group Fears Phil La Follette

NEW YORK, Aug. 21—Philip F. La Follette, former governor of Wisconsin, called upon Americans last night to maintain "confidence in their own judgment" to determine whether this country is in danger. He spoke at Carnegie Hall under the auspices of the American First Committee.

Other speakers included John T. Flynn, chairman of the New York chapter of the committee; Author Michael Strange and Dr. Henry Noble MacCracken, chairman of Vassar College.

141

AUG 21 1941

WASHINGTON NEWS

WHEELER TO MAKE LABOR DAY TALK AT ST. CHARLES FETE

Senator Burton K. Wheeler [D., Mont.], leader of the senate noninterventionist forces, will give the Labor day address Monday evening at the 37th fall festival in St. Charles, it was announced yesterday.

Wheeler will speak as a representative of the America First committee. There will be a talk on the preceding day by a representative of the Fight for Freedom committee. Wheeler's address, which will climax the festival, will be given in the natural amphitheater in Pottawatomi park on the banks of the Fox river.

153

CHICAGO DAILY TRIBUNE

8-22-

ASSAIL SECRECY OF ROOSEVELT'S OCEAN PARLEYS

Three America First speakers last night joined in denouncing the secrecy surrounding the meeting of President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill of England. The speakers also warned of increasing taxes and held that army morale could be bolstered by operating draft laws under a frank and open process.

Dr. Brent D. Allinson of the American university, Washington, D. C., spoke at a meeting of the Lincoln Park chapter in the north side auditorium, 3730 North Clark street. He held that congress had not authorized any one to say or think that the President has authority to pledge resources of and power of American people to underwrite English victory.

The Rev. William H. Medler, pastor of Hyde Park Lutheran church, said the joint statement of Churchill and the President may well be the prelude to another 10 billion dollar tax ride and the prolog to a shooting war. He spoke at an open air rally in Elmhurst.

Attorney Walter F. Boye, speaking at a meeting in Lombard, said that any indication of low morale in the army comes from broken pledges by leaders in Washington in the draft extension.

CHICAGO DAILY TRIBUNE

8-23-41

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Headon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

MAKE LABOR DAY AMERICA FIRST DAY AT FESTIVAL

Labor day—next Monday—also will be "America First day" at the 37th annual fall festival in St. Charles, officials said yesterday. Senator Burton K. Wheeler [D., Mont.] will address an anti-war rally at 8:30 p. m., in the natural amphitheater at Potawatomi park. The festival starts Friday.

The amphitheater will seat 7,000 persons, but loudspeakers thruout the 40 acre park will carry Wheeler's address to the throng of visitors expected for the final day of the festival. In addition, the speech will be carried by the Mutual Broadcasting system. Gen. Robert E. Wood, acting chairman of America First, will introduce Senator Wheeler.

Two America First rallies are scheduled for tonight. Attorney Walter F. Boye will address the Oak Park chapter at 736 Lake street, and Harry A. Veeneman will speak before the Evanston chapter at 908 Seward street. Both meetings start at 8 o'clock.

CHICAGO DAILY TRIBUNE

8-25-41

LEGION LEADER LAUDS RED ARMY STAND

(Special to the Daily Worker)

LONG BEACH, L. I., Aug. 22.—High praise for the fighting qualities of the Red Army was voiced by Commander Robert C. O'Grady of the Long Beach American Legion Post at a joint rally by the Council for Soviet Relations and the United Service Organizations.

The rally, well attended by Long Beach residents, was held at the Masonic Temple last Tuesday night.

Other speakers were Rev. Thomas L. Harris, National Secretary, American Council on Soviet Relations, and Yeung Liu Ping-Mo, member of the China Aid Council.

Meanwhile, efforts of the pro-Hitler America First Committee to hold a public rally at Long Beach were blocked yesterday by Mayor Charles M. Emerson.

INDEXED
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page 5 of the

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tam
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Pennington
Mr. Quinn
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nordon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

Lindbergh to Talk In Oklahoma, Even 'If in a Pasture'

Oklahoma City, Aug. 26 (AP)—Charles A. Lindbergh will speak in Oklahoma Friday, "even if he has to use a cow pasture," a spokesman for the America First Committee said today after the city council canceled a permit for use of the Municipal Auditorium.

"If we can't get a place here we'll go somewhere else, but we definitely will speak, and it will be in Oklahoma," added Herbert K. Hyde, a former United States district attorney and Oklahoma City chairman of the America First Committee.

The council acted unanimously on protests submitted by two local American Legion posts, the Women's Ambulance and Transport Corps of Oklahoma, Harmony Chapter, No. 3, of the American War Mothers, and the Knights of Pythias.

Councilman A. P. Van Meter, moving the cancellation, said:

"We're not denying the right of free speech by refusing to rent a public building.

"Let him go elsewhere to speak; and when he gets tired talking, he can go home."

Does It Mean America First?

With the avowed intention of opening offices in Pine Bluff, representatives of the America First Committee arrived this week.

With Lindbergh as its spokesman, the Committee has established chapters over the United States. Granting the sincerity of Lindbergh and his friends who form the Committee, the fact remains that to the colors of the Committee flock in countless numbers the very Fascists, Nazis, Communists and members of the Bund which the Committee in its literature points out are not eligible for membership. Commentators in national publications point out repeatedly that the open meetings of the Committee in industrial centers draw heavily on these subversive elements as an audience.

It is not that the Committee in spite of itself has the support of these classes that is alarming, it is the fact that a growing strength is shown by an organization whose every publication, every public meeting is cheered by well-wishers to the Axis.

The Committee views the future with dark prophecy. It charges, through its spokesmen, that the President is deliberately leading the United States into war. It bewails our lack of preparation, and frankly gives its credo; that America could not properly defend itself from invasion. It condemns the lease-lend bill, and rather oddly, advocates humanitarian aid to occupied countries, saying nothing of humanitarian aid to those democracies still fighting. It is not strange that such a creed of faith finds an appreciative audience among the sects and cults that would glory in the downfall of Britain, as well as those sincere United States citizens who believe the Committee may keep us out of a foreign war.

The great pity is that the Committee which draws so heavily on prophecy for its principles did not exhibit a little of this foresight during the pre-Munich period. There was no Committee then urging that we arm our manhood and create a mechanized army that is unbeatable.

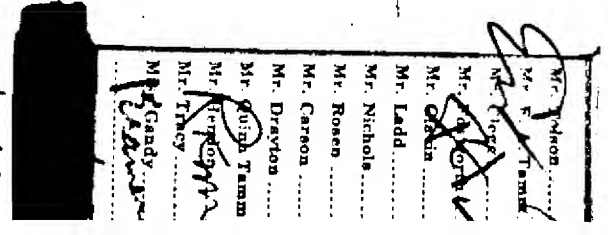
The America First Committee has flooded the rural mailboxes of Arkansas with its literature. It now attempts to establish itself in towns the size of Pine Bluff. It may succeed, but its motives should be submitted to the closest scrutiny. Its aims are clear: to instill in the American mind the fact that the European war is none of our business and that it will have no effect on us whether Britain wins or not.

At that point, prophecy, not solely the perogative of the America First Committee, becomes the property of anybody who wants to predict.

We believe and dare to prophesy that the downfall of Britain will create a world in which not only the America First Committee will find itself silenced, but also all groups who have an opinion and the desire to express it.

The Graphic urges all Pine Bluffians to examine most thoroughly the principles and practices of the Committee before giving their support to an organization so vulnerable to the charge of fifth column activity.

—Agnes Watson.



What Do You Think?

By WALTER SORRELLS

Hereafter and henceforth The Commercial will offer to publish all information concerning the America First committee available . . . at the regular open rate of seventy cents an inch . . . or more.

The organization of a chapter in Pine Bluff is news. But the aims and purposes of that chapter are propaganda. In other words the America First Committee has no definite objective . . . that is, no obvious objective, except to try to harness public opinion, for the purpose of using it to force their doctrines, and policies on Congress.

In other words, nothing can be made out of the America First Committee except a lobbying organization nation-wide in scope.

* * *

In order that there might be no misunderstanding later on, we do not consider information concerning the America First committee as having any news value, hence regular open advertising rates will be charged.

And neither do we consider such action as having any relation to censorship or suppression of news, as it is the paper's privilege to determine what is news and what is free publicity, or propaganda, and the fact that the editor doesn't always do a very good job of making a distinction is beside the point.

* * *

Beside the editor's desk there is a large wooden box . . . two feet wide, three feet deep, and three feet long. Once a day that box is filled up with what the editor considers free publicity, and propaganda.

The one exception is promotional matter for worthy projects of a public and non-profit nature. And of course that gets us back to the policy that the editor must of necessity decide causes that are worthy.

* * *

It will not be our intention to go into the merits or demerits of the America First Committee. It is enough for us that the organization is engaged in trying to influence the members of Congress, and that we consider propaganda . . . for good or for bad.

As far as The Commercial is concerned this paper doesn't care who joins or why. That is a matter over which we have no control and have no desire to control. But what the committee offers for publication in The Commercial is our business.

And it shall be our business to interpret as advertising information concerning this movement, since it has no value to The Commercial as news.

Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr Quinn Tam
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

155

PINE BLUFF SAYS GOODBYE

Hats off to the patriotism and the common sense of the people of Pine Bluff, and to the quick action of the American Legion.

Mr. and Mrs. Don Lohbeck, representatives of the America First Committee, left Pine Bluff at 3:20 o'clock Sunday afternoon, headed presumably for headquarters in St. Louis. Sunday morning's Graphic carried a resolution of the American Legion condemning the activities of the America First Committee. Mr. Lohbeck read the resolution, according to persons living at the boarding house where the America Firster was staying, and very shortly announced his intention of leaving Pine Bluff. In washing his hands of Pine Bluff, he left in his room reams of America First literature, which happily has reached the bonfire.

So there will be no America First offices in Pine Bluff. We can only hope that throughout the South, America First will be equally discouraged.

Saturday afternoon Mr. Lohbeck paid us a call that lasted well over an hour. We were glad of the opportunity to talk with an accredited representative of the organization, and for the benefit of those who did not hear the polished, practiced speec hof Mr. Lohbeck we want to pass on a few of his statements. First Mr. Lohbeck made it plain that the Committee does not care who wins the war. At least that's what he said. What he implied is another matter. For an hour he condemned Great Britain for imperialism, sloth, indifference, self-interest, and oppression of minorities. He charged Roosevelt with deliberately keeping the American people in the dark about conditions in Europe and blundering us into war. He said that America is making self-sacrifices and that Canada is making none. He condemned France for corruption, Russia for ineptness, America for its inability to defend itself. Leaders and nations all over the globe came in for their share of criticism, with one exception. Hitler and Nazi Germany were not mentioned.

It is our considered opinion that the America First Committee, at least in the person of Mr. Lohbeck, is totally pro-German in sympathy. It may not recommend our throwing up our hands as it so strongly recommends for Great Britain, but it regards a German victory in the present war as a fair and equitable settlement to the battle, none of the blame for which is laid at Germany's door.

Mr. Lohbeck, when questioned about the "negotiated peace" he so strongly urges Roosevelt to sponsor, thought that Germany should be left in control of all Europe, England should surrender some of her colonies to the Nazis, give self-determination to India, and make friends with National Socialism. He did not regard a German victory over all of Europe and Great Britain as any threat to our security. When questioned about Hitler's rather well-known penchant for not keeping promises, he stated that Hitler's action upon victory would be "just a guess," but that he saw no reason for us to be concerned.

Our only concern, Mr. Lohbeck said, is to arm ourselves, and watch over the Western Hemisphere.

Mr. Lohbeck goes about his business of watching over the Western Hemisphere and "opening offices" for the America First Committee, and we of the Graphic are happy that his Committee found no welcome here. We express our gratitude to the American Legion and the principles for which it stands. Their published resolution echoed the opinion of a vast majority of the citizens of Pine Bluff, but it was their alertness and their firm expression of disapproval of the Committee that sent its representatives to greener pastures.—A. Watson.

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Trotter
Miss Gandy

America First Committee Will Be Formed Here

Don Lohbeck, Organizer For National Group, Is Here To Form Local Chapter

A chapter of the "America First Committee," an organization which has received much publicity since the current European war began, will be organized in Pine Bluff soon, if plans of Don Lohbeck, organizer for the patriotic group, succeeds.

Principles of the America First Committee, according to Lohbeck, who has organized recently chapters all over the nation, include two main factors. To stay out of war and to prepare the United States an adequate defense.

He said, in explaining the program of the nationwide peace organization: "We believe that this is not our war now being fought in Europe and there is nothing to gain by entrance of the United States, unprepared, into a war that has been going on in Europe for over 2,000 years.

"We contend that if we enter the war in Europe that will be the first step toward a loss of democratic government at home. The statement that if we failed to enter the war, it would mean a heavy loss of foreign trade is mildly mis-represented. If we entered the war but for two months, the cost would be greater than the revenue we would collect from foreign trade for ten years.

"It is the consensus in Washington," he continued, "that thus far only the America First chapters, throughout the United States have kept us out of war. This is the first time in the history of the United States that the people have expressed themselves so strongly when they were in a crisis.

"By polls through newspapers and other disinterested organizations, we have found that 80 per cent of the people were against intervention and that the least in any state is 65 per cent. Even in Roosevelt's own Congressional district the count was nine to one.

"We work through letters of the people to the Congressmen of the United States. By convincing them that we do not desire any form of war, we can go far toward preventing the United States entering. There are some 2,000 chapters in the United States at the present time. All of them are

Food Local 302 Collects Funds for Britain-USSR

In accordance with a resolution its membership adopted earlier, the general council of Cafeteria Employes, Local 302, AFL, issued collection lists to its hundreds of shop chairmen for funds to aid British and Soviet labor.

The lists which are arranged under a petition to President Roosevelt, urge the President again to "take all necessary steps to make support of British and Soviet labor in their fight against fascism effective."

Quoting the membership's earlier resolution urging immediate aid to the people of Britain and the Soviet Union, the appeal of a special committee of the local to aid British and Soviet labor declares that the collection lists are one step to "translate words into action."

The committee of the local directing the campaign includes President Costas Dritsas, Secretary-Treasurer Sam Kramberg, F. Fernandeh, with M. Capdevilla as its chairman and B. Pollack as secretary.

The petition addressed to the President also says:

"We wish at the same time to say, as we did in our resolution, that 'in order to defeat the aims of the "America First" appeasers within this country as well as abroad, the rights of trade unionists and the principles of democracy be extended within our country because only increased democracy can and will defeat fascism both here and abroad.'"

Local 302, with a membership of 10,000, has agreements and shop chairmen in some 500 establishments.

INDEXED
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This is a clipping from page 4 of the Daily Worker for
AUG 28 1941
Clipped at the Seat of Government

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr Tracy
Miss Gandy

Lindbergh Gives Thanks To Oklahoma Governor

By the Associated Press.

OKLAHOMA CITY, Aug. 29.—Charles A. Lindbergh, whose right to speak here tonight was defended by Gov. Leon C. Phillips, paid a courtesy call to the Capitol yesterday and expressed his thanks.

Gov. Phillips, who said he disagreed with the flyer's views, reported Col. Lindbergh "thanked me for making the suggestion that he had a right to be heard and I said: "Hell, that's just pure Americanism to me, that's all it is."

Col. Lindbergh was accompanied by representatives of the America First Comittee, sponsor of his talk.

Col. Lindbergh arrived today by plane from St. Louis.

Senator Wheeler, Democrat, of Montana, who is to appear with Col. Lindbergh on the speaker's platform, is expected late tomorrow.

Their talks were scheduled originally for the municipal auditorium, but the City Council canceled the reservation. America First Committee officials then obtained use a sandlot baseball park.

130

WASHINGTON STAR

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

Oklahoma Police to 'Protect' Lindy

OKLAHOMA CITY, Okla., Aug. 29—Charles A. Lindbergh and Sen. Wheeler, (D., Mont.) are to address an America First Committee rally tonight and state police were asked to attend, lest an "embarrassing incident" occur. They speak in a ball park outside the city, because the city council denied them the use of municipal auditorium.

130

WASHINGTON NEWS
Page 12

AUG 29 9 21 PM '41
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COMMUNICATIONS

OKLAHOMA CITY.--CHARLES A. LINDBERGH SAID TONIGHT HE CONSIDERED IT POSSIBLE THAT ENGLAND MAY TURN AGAINST THIS COUNTRY BEFORE THE WAR ENDS "AS SHE HAS TURNED AGAINST FRANCE AND FINLAND."

THE NOTED FLIER AND CRITIC OF THE NATIONAL ADMINISTRATION FOREIGN POLICY SPOKE BEFORE AN AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE RALLY HERE IN A BASEBALL PARK OUTSIDE THE CITY LIMITS, HAVING BEEN DENIED USE OF THE MUNICIPAL AUDITORIUM.

LINDBERGH REFERRED THOSE WHO "QUESTION MY WORDS" TO THE HISTORY OF RELATIONS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND ENGLAND DURING THE LAST 150 YEARS AND TO "THE PLEDGES OF EVERLASTING LOYALTY THAT TOOK PLACE BETWEEN ENGLAND AND FRANCE LESS THAN TWO YEARS AGO."

LINDBERGH QUESTIONED THE INTEGRITY OF BRITISH LEADERSHIP AND ADDED "SHE WILL TURN AGAINST US IF IT BECOMES EXPEDIENT TO HER WELFARE IN THE FUTURE."

HE CRITICIZED PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT AND INTERVENTIONIST LEADERS FOR ISSUING WHAT HE ASSERTED WERE MISLEADING STATEMENTS CONCERNING THE POSSIBILITY OF AN INVASION OF THIS CONTINENT BY GERMANY.

HE SAID HE CONSIDERED IT IMPOSSIBLE EITHER FOR THE UNITED STATES TO LAND TROOPS SUCCESSFULLY IN THE EASTERN HEMISPHERE OR FOR GERMANY TO LAND TROOPS IN THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE.

"OUR PRESIDENT," HE STATED, "HAS TALKED ABOUT AIR INVASIONS BY WAY OF ICE-CAPPED GREENLAND AND ABOUT OTHERS BASED ON THE JUNGLES OF CENTRAL AND SOUTH AMERICA -- INCIDENTALLY, AT CRUISING SPEEDS THAT ARE FAR HIGHER THAN ANY RACING PLANE HAS YET ATTAINED.

"WELL, 10 YEARS AGO, THOSE OF US WHO BELIEVED IN AVIATION SET OUT TO MAKE THIS COUNTRY 'AIR-MINDED.' WE SEEM TO HAVE SUCCEEDED, AND NOW I SUPPOSE IT IS OUR JOB TO GET ITS FEET SAFELY BACK ONTO THE GROUND."

LINDBERGH SAID HE HAD BEEN CONVINCED FOR SEVERAL YEARS THAT ENGLAND AND FRANCE COULD NOT WIN A WAR AGAINST GERMANY AND THAT THE "DOMINANT POSITION IN EUROPE HAD SHIFTED FROM ENGLAND AS A SEA POWER TO GERMANY AS A LAND AND AIR FORCE."

THE TWO GREAT NATURAL AIR POWERS IN THE WORLD, HE SAID, ARE GERMANY ON THE EUROPEAN CONTINENT AND THE UNITED STATES IN THE WESTERN WORLD.

"I HAVE MAINTAINED," HE SAID, "THAT IF WE ATTEND PROPERLY TO OUR OWN DEFENSE, NO EUROPEAN OR ASIATIC POWER WILL DARE TO ATTACK US AND THAT IF WE ATTEND PROPERLY TO OUR OWN AFFAIRS, NONE WILL DESIRE O."

8/29--FP824P

153

WASHINGTON CITY NEWS SERVICE

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

AUG 29 9 19 AM '41
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COMMUNICATIONS

OKLAHOMA CITY, OKLA.--CHARLES A. LINDBERGH AND SENATOR WHEELER ADDRESS AN AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE RALLY TONIGHT IN A SANDLOT BASEBALL PARK, AND STATE POLICE AND DEPUTY SHERIFFS WERE ASKED TO ATTEND, LEST AN "EMBARRASSING INCIDENT" OCCUR.

8/29--R847A

EXPECT WHEELER TO DRAW ~~67,000~~ IN ST. CHARLES

Preparations were under way last night by sponsors of the 37th Fall festival in St. Charles to accommodate an overflow crowd when Senator Burton K. Wheeler [D., Mont.] makes a Labor day address Monday night in Pottawatomie park.

More than 7,000 persons are expected in the open air amphitheater in the 40 acre park on the banks of the Fox river. Officials estimated, however, that an additional 60,000 in the fair grounds will listen to the talk over the public address system. The address will be broadcast coast to coast.

The Fall festival was opened last night with an Indian pageant in which Whirling Thunder, full blooded Winnebago, directed a group of Indians in their ancient native ceremonials. A children's parade thru the park, with prizes for the best Indian costumes, also was scheduled.

Senator Wheeler's address at 8:30 o'clock Monday night will climax the four day festival. Monday has been designated "America First day."

CHICAGO DAILY TRIBUNE

8-30

AT AN 'AMERICA FIRST' RALLY IN OKLAHOMA

Former Governor W. H. (Alfalfa Bill) Murray, Senator Burton K. Wheeler and Charles A. Lindb
on the platform at the gathering in Oklahoma City on Friday night. Associated Press Wirepho

Mr. Tolson .....
Mr. E. A. Tamm .....
Mr. Clegg .....
Mr. Foxworth .....
Mr. Glavin .....
Mr. Ladd .....
Mr. Nichols .....
Mr. Rosen .....
Mr. Carson .....
Mr. Drayton .....
Mr. Quinn Tamm .....
Mr. Hendon .....
Mr. Tracy .....
Miss Gandy .....
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LINDBERGH VIEWS HOTLY ASSAILED

Charge That England May Turn on Us Is 'Twisted Thinking,' Eichelberger Asserts

HELP TO HITLER, HE ADDS

Biddle Urged to Investigate America First Committee by Former Magistrate

Charles A. Lindbergh's statement that England before the war ends "may turn against us, as she has turned against France and Finland," made in a speech Friday night in Oklahoma City, Okla., was characterized yesterday by Clark M. Eichelberger, national director of the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies, as "probably the most striking illustration of the perverted and twisted thinking of some of the isolationists."

"There seems to be no twisting of the facts too bold to undertake for some of the America First Committee crowd if it helps Hitler," Mr. Eichelberger said. "Britain has not turned against France and Finland. On the contrary, Vichy has turned against England, becoming an ally of Germany against the growing protest of ninety per cent of the French people, and unhappy Finland also has allied herself with Germany."

United States Attorney General Francis Biddle was requested to investigate the America First Committee as a Nazi propaganda agent in a letter sent yesterday by Joseph Goldstein, former magistrate. In making the letter public Mr. Goldstein said he was authorized to make the request by the Voluntary Public Defender Committee of Kings County, of which he is counsel.

"I contend that the name it has chosen is merely a cloak for the greatest Nazi propaganda movement that has ever flourished in this country," he said in the letter.

Mr. Goldstein's request was endorsed by Herman Hoffman, grand master of the Independent Order B'rith Abraham, who said he planned to appoint a committee next week to confer with the Attorney General on an investigation of the America First Committee. Mr. Goldstein is a member of the legal staff of the order.

Mr. Hoffman, speaking at a lodge meeting at 37 Seventh Street, characterized Lindbergh as "Hitler's puppet-agent in America" and challenged him to a public debate.

Answering an attack that the America First Committee "is a thinly disguised front for Hitler," John T. Flynn, chairman of the New York chapter of the committee, asked Americans to look at the names of the men and women on the committee's board. The criticism was made by Professor James H. Sheldon, chairman of the Non-Sectarian Anti-Nazi League, in addressing the Jewish War Veterans in Bufalo Thursday night.

"Does any one believe General Robert E. Wood or Hanford MacNider or Alice Longworth or Governor Lowden or Kathleen Norris or Samuel Hopkins Adams or any number of others are capable of representing the interest of so unspeakable a system as that of the Nazis?" he asked. "The committee affords expression to those who feel America should stay out of the war."

CLIPPING FROM THE
N. Y. TIMES

DATE AUG 31 19[illegible]
FORWARDED BY N. Y. Div

40,000 TO HEAR WHEELER TALK

Tomorrow will be "America First Day" at the [illegible]ty-seventh Fall Festival in St. [illegible]rles. Nearly 40,000 people are expected to gather there to hear Senator Wheeler of Mon[illegible], vigorous America First lea[illegible].

As an addition[illegible]ature of the Labor Day [illegible]ance, many chapters of the [illegible]merica First Committee, un[illegible]hose auspices the Montana [illegible]speak, will present anti-[illegible]hibits including posters [illegible] used in the anti-war figh[illegible]

THE CHICAGO AMERICAN

8-31-41

FREEDOM OF INFORMATION AND PRIVACY ACTS

SUBJECT: AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

FILE NUMBER: 100-4712

PART: 18 OF 19

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

FILE DESCRIPTION

BUREAU FILE

SUBJECT America First Committee

FILE NO. 100-4712

SECTION NO. 4

SERIALS Sec A

WHEELER CALLS FOR WAR ON POVERTY

Labor leaders who would send their workers to war "are without peer among the Judas Iscariots of all history," Senator Burton K. Wheeler declared last night in a Labor Day address at St. Charles.

Speaking before an estimated 30,000 persons in Pottawotamie Park on "America First Day" at the St. Charles, Ill., Fall Festival, he warned that America faces a critical decision—"peace or war—freedom or slavery—democracy or dictatorship." He said:

"Today could well be a historic Labor Day—if we have the will, the courage and the intelligence to make it such. Today, the workers of the nation could and should resolve that this republic will not become embroiled in a foreign war.

WAR AGAINST POVERTY.

"Today the workers of this nation could and should resolve that they will enlist in a war—a noble war—a war against poverty—a war against unemployment—a war to give the farmer equality with other groups of our nation—a war against monopoly—a war against disease—a war against all our unsolved economic problems.

"How I wish it was this war against unsolved domestic problems that President Roosevelt meant when he said last week: 'We have a war to win.'"

But, he said, it is a different kind of war that the President meant:

"A war that will send American boys to the slaughter pens of Europe—a war in the Pacific to preserve the British Empire—a war to save the Chinese city of Hong Kong for British exploitation—a war to maintain British subjugation of the Malay States and India, where four hundred million people live in abject poverty and slavery."

WARNS OF LABOR DANGER.

The day America is plunged into war, he said, labor can forget its hard-won rights. He declared:

"Some will tell you that it will be only temporary—that it is better to have an American dictator than a foreign dictator. That is sheer poppycock. It took a hundred years to win the right of collective bargaining—once it is lost, labor can bid it good-bye for generations."

War, he declared, will cost us our democracy, with civil rights, freedom of speech, press, religion and assembly gone. He said:

"If you do not have faith in the people, then you lie when you say you believe in democracy.

"If you break faith with the people, you are stabbing democracy in the back, and it then becomes an ehpty shell. I say to those of you who believe in the democratic process: do not permit the government of the United States to break that faith. Insist upon the determination of the greatest issue which a free people have faced for many generations by democratic process."

THE CHICAGO AMERICAN

9-2-41

Clipping from the
Roanoke Times
Sept. 4, 1941

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. T
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxwo
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichol
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayto
Mr. Quinn
Mr. Hendo
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

AMERICA FIRST— UNIT PROJECTED

Group of Roanokers Will Organize Tonight

A group of Roanokers interested in the formation of a local unit of the America First committee will meet this evening at 8 o'clock, daylight time, at Hotel Patrick Henry to discuss formation of a permanent local organization, and has extended an invitation to the public to attend the meeting, one of the group said last night.

The group met Sunday and formed a temporary committee, and probably will set a time for a general public meeting at the session this evening. Names of the temporary committee were not learned.

Principles Outlined

Membership in the America First committee and in its local unit, if one is formed, is open to any "patriotic American," but specifically excludes fascists, communists, nazis, members of the German-American bund, and "Union Nowsers"—the last-named being advocates of immediate union of England-speaking countries, as proposed by Striet.

The six principles on which the America First committee is founded were stated by the local member yesterday as follows:

(1) no foreign war; (2) a strong defense at home, so that no power or combination of powers can invade the United States; (3) save and extend American democracy; (4) no convoys, since ships sent into war zones in 1917 led to our involvement in the World war; (5) humanitarian aid, administered to alleviate the worst of the suffering in England and the occupied countries; and (6) a national advisory referendum on the question of war and peace, so that when Congress is called upon to make the decision on the question, as provided for in the Constitution, they may know how the people of the nation feel.

General Robert E. Wood, acting quartermaster general of the army during the World war, is national chairman of the America First committee.

171

In The News

REP. DIES SHOULD INVESTIGATE REP. DICKSTEIN

COL. MOORE-BRABAZON, distinguished minister of aircraft production of England, is accused violently in Britain of having "voiced the hope that Germany and Russia would exterminate each other and leave Great Britain the victor."

There would seem to be nothing particularly reprehensible about that utterance and desire on the part of anyone sincerely interested in the welfare of the British Empire.

But the peculiarity of the war situation in both Britain and America is that the great body of ultra-radicals appear to be more interested in the success and survival of Bolshevist Russia than they are in any other phase of the military or political situation.

THE man who makes the accusation so dramatically and sensationally against the British cabinet minister for expressing the hope that the totalitarian powers would exterminate each other and leave Great Britain dominant is one Jack Tanner, a labor leader, president of the Amalgamated Engineering Union.

And the accusation was made before the Trades Union Congress.

Whereupon the congress proceeded to call for the "establishment of an Anglo-Russian Trade Union Council," and pledged its support to all efforts to supply war materials—TO RUSSIA.

The Trades Union Council then formally approved the alliance of England and the United States WITH RUSSIA and "praised the Roosevelt-Churchill declaration of aims."

All of which brings up the plain and pointed question: "What on earth is all the shooting about?"

What are we fighting against, and what are we fighting for?

IF we are fighting against totalitarianism as a foul principle and oppressive policy, why in the name of high heaven should we NOT desire to see the two totalitarian powers exterminate each other and destroy not only the principle but the practice of despotic government?

If we are citizens—or subjects—of a genuine democracy and if we are devoted to the ideals of democracy and honestly desirous of preserving and perpetuating those ideals, why should we not desire to see the enemies of democracy destroy each other?

Why should we not long to see democracy raise its strong structure—its temple of liberty and justice—upon the ruins of ALL totalitarian tyranny?

But no! In both Great Britain and America the ultra radicals want to see Russian tyranny preserved.

They do not object to despotism if it is despotism of their class and despotism of THEIR class.

They hate the brutal tyrant, Hitler, but they love the bloody tyrant, Stalin.

They are like the politician boss who said of the corrupt alderman:

"I know he is an S.O.B. But he is our S.O.B."

WELL and good as a battle cry for those who are fighting for BOLSHEVISM.

But are the rest of us straining every nerve for the benefit of Bolshevism?

Is our free country piling up deficits, bleeding its citizens white with confiscatory taxation, rushing headlong into national bankruptcy, shoveling out our wealth abroad and shipping our war materials to alien nations to bolster up Bolshevism in Russia to spread it over all of Europe, including Britain, and to breed it and broadcast it in our own America?

We may not think that this is what we want to do, but this is EXACTLY what we ARE doing with our Bolshevist alliance, and no smoke screen of fine phrases can obscure that outstanding fact.

No country which fights for Russia can claim to be honestly opposed to tyranny, since Bolshevism is the basest and bloodiest tyranny that has disgraced the supposed civilization of Europe since the time of Ivan the Terrible.

WASHINGTON TIMES-HERALD
Page

No country can truthfully claim to be crusading for democracy and the four freedoms when it is supporting a tyranny which is the most evil enemy of democracy—a tyranny where all the four freedoms have been brutally suppressed—a tyranny with no liberty, no opportunity, no morality, and no God.

THE sympathy with Bolshevism is not confined to Britain. It is just as prevalent and pronounced in the United States as it is in England—or as it was in France before that nation's fall.

All sorts of strikes and sabotage impeded our construction and shipment of war material when we were supporting the democracies of Europe, and opposing BOTH totalitarian tyrannies.

But when we changed our national policy and supported Russian tyranny and sought to bring the bravely battling democracies of Finland and Esthonia and Latvia and Lithuania back into the grip of Russian despotism—when we made a virtue of feeding the civilized republics of Central Europe to the greedy maw of the medieval Bolshevist Bear, the interference with our construction and transportation of war material suddenly ceased.

Our Communist fifth columns were—as a rule—satisfied with a policy which sustained communism in Russia and stimulated its spread over the rest of the world.

But the ultra radicals in America are not even contented by the alliance of Russian tyranny with our country and the support of Russian communism by our government.

These extreme radicals openly object to any activity of any American organizations in behalf of democratic ideals and traditional American principles and policies.

It is an evil in the eyes of these ultra radicals for Americans to desire to keep their beloved country out of the devastation of war.

It is the unpardonable sin for Americans to wish to save the flower of American youth from again being sacrificed on foreign fields.

It is base betrayal of what—OF BOLSHEVISM—to express the fond hope (while giving all-out aid to England) that the totalitarian powers will exterminate each other and leave the democracies triumphant and unscathed.

REPRESENTATIVE SAMUEL DICKSTEIN, radical Democrat, of New York, chairman of the House Immigration and Naturalization Committee, announced Tuesday, according to the dispatches, "that he had telegraphed Representative Martin Dies, of Texas, urging an immediate investigation of the America First Committee," and saying:

"This group acts contrary to the principles enunciated by President Roosevelt in his Labor Day address, and there is no doubt, in my mind at least, that the source of funds with which this group operates is questionable."

Mr. Dies should answer that telegram by investigating not merely the America First Committee, but investigating Mr. Samuel Dickstein.

PERHAPS Mr. Dies can find out why so many Communist immigrants are allowed entrance into this country, and why so few are exposed and expelled.

Perhaps Mr. Dies can further discover why so many traitorous to our free American institutions are aided in becoming naturalized citizens to pursue their treasonable activities clothed and protected by the rights and liberties of American citizenship.

Mr. Dickstein, chairman of the House IMMIGRATION and NATURALIZATION Committee, would certainly welcome a fraternal investigation by Mr. Dies, chairman of the House committee investigating UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES.

And while investigations are in order, the loyal citizens of America—all of them—would better investigate for themselves the dangers to their American institutions and to their liberties and to THEIR LIVES through the widening spread of Communism in the United States and the encouragement given to that deadly contagion not only by subversive individuals but by certain departments of our Government.

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

AMERICA FIRST RAPS RADICALS

The America First Committee of Northern California in a letter to the President today demanded all communistic literature be prohibited from circulation and that all radicals be removed from public positions. The committee voted to notify the President of its demands at a meeting last night at 507 Mission st.

SAN FRANCISCO NEWS

FORWARDED BY
SAN FRANCISCO DIVISION

SEP 10 1941

171

Lillian Gish Does Fadeout From Role in America First

Mystery almost complete today surrounded the resignation of Lillian Gish, actress of stage and screen, from the America First Committee, for which she was a much-heralded speaker last spring.

The one known fact—admitted by all concerned—is that Miss Gish went to see Brig. Gen. Robert E. Wood, retired, chairman of America First, on Aug. 28, in Chicago, and verbally resigned.

That is agreed by Miss Gish and by a spokesman for Wood at headquarters of America First. But neither principal sees fit to discuss the fadeout.

Some rumors have linked the resignation with the hearings conducted by an isolationist subcommittee of the Senate in Washington on "war propaganda" in the films.

Feared Senate Call?

According to a Hollywood dispatch to the theatrical magazine, Variety, Miss Gish, in addition to resigning orally to Wood, wrote a letter stating that she did not believe America First would function as it did when she joined, and that she was not going to be used as a cat's paw by it to testify against the movie industry.

At headquarters of America First it was denied that she sent any letter or that she made any verbal statement such as the version Variety mentions.

Denies Any Discrimination.

One Hollywood trade journal recently said Miss Gish might be called to testify in Washington before the "propaganda" investigating subcommittee — composed of four isolationist senators and one with views unknown, all appointed by Senator Burton K. Wheeler. It said there was a "rumor" that Miss Gish could not obtain employment in Hollywood because of her America First activities.

That story, in turn, has been denied by Miss Gish. Dispatches from New York quote her:

"I have nothing to tell the Senate committee and I know nothing of any discrimination against me."

Miss Gish would not say whether she'd changed her mind on the war since the day when she won headlines for America First in Chicago and elsewhere.

"I just resigned," she said.

In Chicago last April Miss Gish, then starring in "Life with Father," summed up her political credo thus:

"My platform is pro-American and anti-hate. I didn't vote in the last election as I felt both candidates were more interested in other countries then in their own."

CHICAGO DAILY NEWS

9-10-41

WASHINGTO[illegible] NEWS SERV[illegible]

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. [illegible]
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. [illegible]
Mr. Ladd
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Mr. Carson
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Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

SEP 11 9 22 AM '41
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COMMUNICATIONS

GEN. ROBERT E. WOOD, ACTING CHAIRMAN OF THE AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE SAID TODAY THAT "IT IS TO BE SUPPOSED" THAT PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT" WILL GO ON THE AIR TONIGHT TO WHIP UP THE FEARS AND HATREDS OF OUR PEOPLE AND URGE THEM STILL CLOSER TO WAR."

HE SAID THAT ALTHOUGH IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO PREDICT WHAT THE PRESIDENT WILL SAY "WE DO KNOW THE FACTS UPON WHICH HE WILL BASE HIS TALK."

"HE HAS BEEN SENDING AMERICAN SHIPS INTO ZONES OF WAR WHERE AN INCIDENT OF SOME SORT OS INEVITABLE," WOOD SAID. "THIS IS IN VIOLATION OF THE PLAIN INTENT OF THE NEUTRALITY ACT.

"HIS SUPPORTERS HAVE BEEN BEGGING HIM TO DO THIS SO THAT WE MIGHT HAVE AN INCIDENT.

"WE CANNOT SEND OUR SHIPS IN BETWEEN THE WARRING NAVIES WITHOUT GETTING HIT. IF THE PRESIDENT IS ACTING TO KEEP HIS PLEDGE TO PROTECT THIS COUNTRY FROM ATTACK AND WAR, THEN IT IS HIS DUTY TO KEEP HIS SHIPS OUT OF THE BATTLE ZONE."

9/11--RS905A

DEPT OF JUSTICE
F B I
DIRECTOR

[TRIBUNE Photo.]

America First group calling on Representative Anton Maciejewski yesterday. Left to right, front: Mrs. Ethel Michels, Mrs. Ethel Hafner, Mrs. Edith Scully, Mrs. Herbert Ward, Mrs. Marie Bauman. Rear: Mrs. Nellie Kunkel, Mrs. Allen Camp, Representative Maciejewski, Mrs. Lillian Prugh, Herbert Ward, John Douglas, and W. C. Shafer.

(Story on page 1.)

CHICAGO DAILY TRIBUNE

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
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Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

Rm Pierce

A Group to 'Combat' America First

Formation of the United Patriots of Berkeley, the stated purpose of which is to combat the activities of the America First Committee, was announced yesterday in the East Bay.

Sponsors of the United Patriots were various leaders of veterans' organizations, who called upon "all true and patriotic citizens to repudiate the leadership and activities of the so-called America First Committee, within our community and elsewhere."

In a six-point statement of its position, the new organization charged the America First Committee with misrepresentations and its spokesmen with endangering the lives of members of the American armed forces. Sponsors were:

George Brown, commander, United Spanish-American War Veterans; John H. Ducket, president, Society of the First Division, California branch; Charles C. Dawson, commander, Disabled American Veterans of the World War; Morgan V. Spicer, commander, Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States; Marshall E. Craig, commander, Post No. 7, American Legion; W. J. McGinnis, commander, Campalle Post, American Legion, and Joseph McKee, president, United Veterans' Council of Berkeley.

A spokesman for the group said plans are being made to hold a mass meeting soon in Berkeley.

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170

SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE

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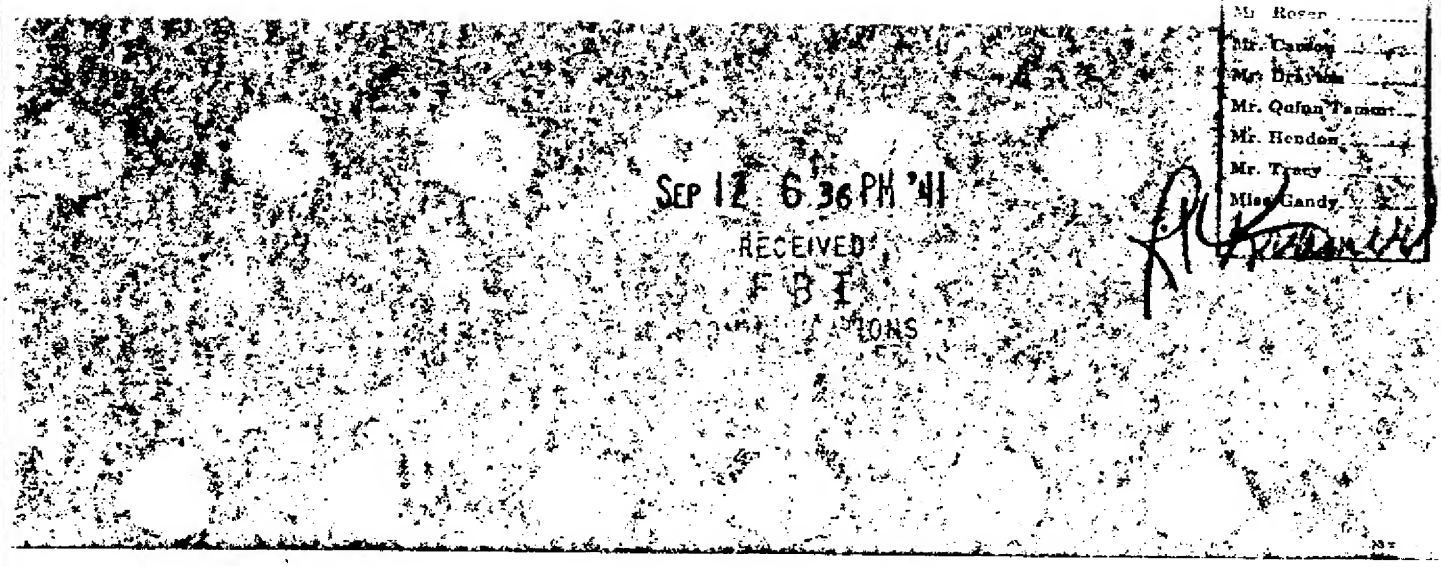
SEP 11 1941

WASHINGTON NEWS SER



COL. LOUIS JOHNSON, FORMER ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF WAR, SAID TONIGHT IT IS TIME "FOR THE LINDBERGHS TO ACCEPT THE OPINION OF THE MAJORITY OF GOOD AMERICANS AND SHUT UP."

HE MADE THE STATEMENT AFTER RELEASING A STATEMENT FOR MORNING PAPERS CHARGING THAT GENERAL ROBERT E. WOOD, NATIONAL CHAIRMAN OF THE AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE WAS SEEKING TO "UNDERMINE CONFIDENCE IN AND THUS HINDER EXECUTION OF" PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S "SHOOT-ON-SIGHT" ORDERS TO THE NAVY.

ASKED TO COMMENT ON CHARLES A. LINDBERGH'S ADDRESS LAST NIGHT, JOHNSON CONTENDED THAT THE FLIER HAD "ARGUED FROM A FALSE PREMISE AND CAN AND IS DOING ONLY A DISSERVICE FOR THE FUTURE WELFARE OF AMERICA."

JOHNSON STOPPED HERE ENROUTE TO THE LEGION CONVENTION AT MILWAUKEE AND MADE PUBLIC AN EXCHANGE OF TELEGRAMS WITH WOOD. THE LATTER'S TELEGRAM SOUGHT TO ENLIST JOHNSON IN A DENUNCIATION OF THE PRESIDENT'S ACTION. -

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157

AMERICA'S BATT[illegible] PAGE

This page, which will appear again occasionally in The News, presents opposite views of the role this nation should take in World War II. The page is divided equally between the two organizations whose names appear below.

They are free to say what they please without interference or editing by The News. On the other hand, they accept full responsibility for the presentation of their views.

(Provided by the America First Committee, New York Chapter, Inc., 515 Madison Ave., 3 East 47th St. and 67 Liberty St., New York City)

Stop the War-Makers Now And They'll Be Stopped for Good

Washington, D. C., Sept. 11.—In Washington no man can fail to sense the air of conspiracy. There are men here—men in the very highest places—who are busy conferring, running around, telephoning, busy trying to turn the heat on the American people to force them to the final, fatal act which will mean war.

The people must understand very clearly that today they are the objects of as clearly defined a conspiracy as has ever appeared in American history—a conspiracy in which officials of the American people are acting in close communion with the officials of the British government to plunge America into England's war.

Neutrality Act Was Passed To Keep Country Out of War

The facts as they appear here are very simple. The Congress of the United States passed a law soon after the war began. That law—the Neutrality Act—was passed to prevent America from being drawn into the war by a mere incident. That law forbids vessels flying the American flag from travelling in war zones. That is a good law—a sound one—and had, when passed, the approval of the whole American people. The President himself approved the wisdom of this law.

But shortly afterwards American shipping firms found ways to get around that law. And they did it with the connivance of the American government. The American shipping firm merely took the American flag off its ship, "transferred" it to the protection of Panama or some other South American government, hoisted the flag of Panama and operated it as a Panamanian ship.

At the time, sober minded men protested. They said that if such a ship were torpedoed the war-makers would promptly begin to shout for war. Well, very soon some of those ships were sunk. The war makers did yell. But the American people appraised the incidents at their proper value. They said these are not American ships. They sail under foreign flags. They do this to be able to travel in war infested zones. It is their own risk. And they paid no attention to the incidents. Very soon papers even ceased to make important news stories out of such incidents.

Now two ships have been fired on and sunk. One is the *Sessa*. The other is the *Steel Seafarer*. The *Sessa* flew the flag of Panama. In the case of this ship, the shameful legal finagling was utterly unworthy of the great United States government. The *Sessa* belonged to a Danish company. The United States Maritime Commission bought it and transferred it to the Panama flag and sailed it into the worst war zones. The spectacle of the United States government sailing one of its own ships under the flag of little Panama is a contemptible subterfuge.

Britain Puts the Pressure On; War-Makers Grow Desperate

But the war hawks are in a hurry. You can feel here the feverish haste of the conspirators to rush America in. The reasons for this hurry are very clear. Britain has just learned that America is NOT GOING TO SEND THE YANKS. It has shocked them. The war spirit in America is falling apart. Only this week one of the leading war-mongering columnists sadly bemoaned the terrible slump in the war spirit—he felt it was past repair. The Gallup poll still shows the anti-war spirit rising. So Britain is putting the heat on the President. Churchill wants us in or he wants to be told definitely that we are not coming in.

The course of honesty is tell him the truth. Instead, however, the war [illegible]e making a last desperate effort to hurry the fatal step. They [illegible]t before January because then the congressional campaigns will [illegible] congressman will dare face his constituents and tell them he [illegible]them in war. The war hawks know all this. THEY KNOW IT IS WAR NOW—OR NEVER.

Hence the frantic appeals from Churchill, from Eden, from Bevin, from Morrison, from the Australian minister, from the war-hawk committees with their big newspaper ads begging the President to start shooting now. And finally from the President himself, who is sworn, under the Constitution and by his own sacred pledge, to protect the people from these dangerous men who love other countries more than they love America and are willing to sacrifice a million American boys to save an alien empire.

The answer to all this is: HOLD FAST. DO NOT BE STAMPEDED. Hold your heads — the vast majority of the American people are against war.

Just sit down and write to the congressman in your district, to your two senators and to as many congressmen as you can reach. Write letters telling them you expect them to keep this country out of war—no convoys, no foreign expeditions, no A.E.F., no American naval vessels shooting at any nation's ships. Do this today.

Lick this crazy war mania for a few more months—maybe just a few weeks—AND YOU WILL HAVE IT LICKED FOR GOOD.

(Provided by the Committee to Defend America, [illegible] W. [illegible] St., New York City)

HITLER'S AGENT?

The America "First" Committee used its part of this page on September 6 to cry about being "smeared" as "agents of Adolf Hitler." Then, on its part of the very next Battle Page (September 9) the same committee provided a sensational example of what brings upon it the accusation of being Hitler's agent.

On September 9, America "First," in effect, accused "the White House" of lying about the Greer incident, and implied that Berlin told the truth.

"The American people cannot settle the matter," America "First" declared, "by saying that the German government is lying." It being too absurd, however, for even America "First" to defend Hitler as an ever truthful statesman, that committee attempted to minimize his falsehood by saying that Great Britain and the United States have also lied—in the last World War. Hence, we may take it that America "First" believes that, in general, Hitler's word is as good as that of President Roosevelt and Winston Churchill, and is better as regards the Greer incident.

Nazis' Word As Good As Ours?

To know the truth about the Greer incident, we are told to look at "plain facts." These facts, according to America "First," are that Germany doesn't want war with us, but that some of the Cabinet members, the Fight for Freedom Committee, and "another War Committee" have called upon the President to begin shooting.

Moreover, three months ago a newspaper column said that the President "hopes to drive the Germans to shoot first."

Referring to this same matter on the Battle Page of June 12, America "First" called it "a slur on the President" and said "America First does not endorse that charge." Now it seems that America "First" has changed its mind and does endorse the slur on the President, for it says (on September 9) "The Germans refused to shoot first."

That means that America "First" accepts the Nazis' word that the Greer attacked the German submarine.

In saying that the Germans refused to shoot first, America "First" is not only accusing the President of falsehood, but also our State Department, which gave out the news of the attack on the Greer, and the American naval officers who reported the attack to Washington. Further, saying that the Germans refused to shoot first accuses all of the sailors on the Greer of being parties to a base deception of our government, to get us into war.

On previous Battle Pages we have pointed out how America "First" constantly belittles America and does not denounce the Nazis. We have pointed out in specific detail how America "First" has belied its name by slurring our democracy, our government, our doughboys. We have shown how men prominent in America "First," including Senator Nye, Charles A. Lindbergh and John T. Flynn, have "followed the Nazi party line," using the same arguments that are put out by the Goebbels' propaganda mill. Now America "First" is openly taking sides with the Nazis in a vital issue between Berlin and Washington.

Taking Side With Nazis

We do not accuse America "First" of consciously doing Hitler's bidding. We do not believe that many America Firsters are in sympathy with the Nazi cause. But Webster's Dictionary defines "agent" as "that which produces or will produce a certain effect; an active cause."

Whatever the motives of America "First," its propaganda has the certain effect of strengthening the Nazi position. It has the certain effect of weakening American defense efforts. It is an active cause of American disunity in this hour of extreme emergency. Thus it is of great service to Adolf Hitler.

"AMERICA FIRST" STATEMENT

War Makers Urged U. S. To Shoot First

A U-Boat and an American destroyer fire on each other in the Atlantic. Who fired first? The White House says the U-Boat fired first. The Germans say the destroyer fired first.

The American people cannot settle the matter by saying that the German government is lying. Of course the German government will lie when that serves its purpose. But, alas! in war all governments lie. Hitler has filled high heaven with his lies. The British government filled the world with its lie of atrocities in the last war and when the war was over, boasted of it. The American government in the last war denied there were secret treaties and later the secret treaties were printed.

Americans want to know the truth. Therefore, let's look at the plain facts. Who wants America in the war? Certainly not the Germans. With England and Russia to fight, they have been careful not to invite us in. Hence firing on an American destroyer does not jibe with their own selfish policy. But the American government bankers to get in. The Secretaries of War, the Navy, and the President's close advisers have begged him to "shoot."

The Fight For Freedom Committee, a front for White House propaganda, recently printed a big newspaper ad beginning: "WHAT ARE WE WAITING FOR, MR. PRESIDENT?" The ad urged "Shooting of any Axis U-Boat and raider which the American Navy sights."

It printed another ad reading: "DON'T WAIT FOR THE WHITES OF THEIR EYES!" It added in heavy black type: "SHOOT FIRST! SHOOT NOW!" Later another War Committee printed a big ad starting off with big, blocked, black letters: "LET'S START SHOOTING, MR. PRESIDENT!"

Now what the Germans are saying is merely that the President has obligingly complied with the frantic appeals of his own closest supporters. They should be delighted to learn the Nazi charge is true. It would disappoint them to find it false.

Alsop and Kintner were two communists until the draft drove them to enlist in soft berths in the Navy and Army. One is a relative of the Roosevelt family. Both were looked upon as pipe line columnists from the White House to the public. Read what they said in the New York Herald Tribune on June 4th:

> "In the past week, he [the President] has been repeatedly urged to order immediate action. He has been warned that to delay was to court disaster. He has been able to act, for all the necessary preparations for meeting the Germans' threat in the Battle of the Atlantic have at last been completed. Yet he has not acted because he hopes to drive the Germans to shoot first.
>
> "Perhaps instead of depending on one simple question the future depends on two. The men around the President are now united in urging him to order action out of hand, without waiting for a pretext. If they fail, if the President's determination is not weakened by the remorseless logic of events, then a second question will have to be answered. Will the President's plan succeed?
>
> "The problem was mentioned in this space in a recent discussion of the Atlantic patrol, in which it was pointed out that THE PRESIDENT AND THE MEN AROUND HIM PRIVATELY HOPE THE PATROL WILL PRODUCE AN INCIDENT.
>
> "No one can doubt the German high command will do everything possible to avoid shooting first."

What these two columnists friendly to the White House are saying is that the President himself is trying to trick the Germans into shooting first and that if they won't shoot first, then his intimate advisers want him to do the shooting.

The President told you he would never take you to war. Yet here is inside news from the White House that he is trying to get around that pledge by inducing the Germans to shoot first. What could be worse than that? The Germans have refused to shoot first. Has the President now complied with the advice of the men around him and with his own secret desires?

AMERICANS, BE ON YOUR GUARD! THE PRESIDENT IS PREPARING TO STAMPEDE YOU INTO WAR. WHEN HE GOES ON THE AIR, REMEMBER, YOU ARE BATTLING FOR YOUR HOMES, YOUR SONS, TO GUARD THEM FROM WAR AND SLAUGHTER.

DO NOT LET YOUR GOVERNMENT BETRAY YOU!

THE statement above, given to The New York Daily News by the New York Chapter of the America First Committee and printed in that newspaper on Sept. 9, is reproduced in response to inquiries as to the source of a charge by Secretary of the Navy Knox before the American Legion at Milwaukee.

In that speech, discussing the encounter between the U. S. S. Greer and a German submarine, Col. Knox said, "it offered a chance for that curious organization known as the America First Committee to tell the American public that, in its judgment, it was more likely the German U-boat commander was telling the truth than the American Naval officer who commanded the Greer."

Gen. Robert E. Wood, national chairman of the American First Committee, challenged the Secretary's statement, saying that "the national committee has never made any statement on the subject nor has any such statement to my knowledge been made by anyone representing the committee."

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Hilloran
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

CHICAGO DAILY NEWS

9-17-41

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Gandy
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

Kramer

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America First Leader Assails Lindbergh

By the Associated Press.

OKLAHOMA CITY, Sept. 17.—Herbert K. Hyde, State chairman of the America First Committee, said last night that Charles A. Lindbergh's speech at Des Moines, Iowa, was "un-American."

"Col. Lindbergh's attempt to divide America into racial or religious groups by making charges against the Jews of America is un-American and should be subjected to the most vicious criticism," Mr. Hyde said. "I am unalterably opposed to his views in that respect. . . .

"It's my opinion that he did not reflect the views of the America First Committee in his speech. If he did, then I'm going to get out of the America First Committee.

171

WASHINGTON STAR
Page A-12

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Hoffman
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Bowden
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

VFW Asks Repudiation Of Lindbergh

Demand for repudiation by the America First Committee of last week's attempt by Charles Lindbergh "to create disunity among the American people" was issued yesterday by the Department of California, Veterans of Foreign Wars.

In a telegram addressed to General Robert Wood, national chairman of the committee, Department Commander L. G. Taggart said:

"Veterans of Foreign Wars, Department of California, demand from you, on behalf of your organization, a complete repudiation of attempt by Lindbergh last Thursday to create religious prejudice, thus deliberately striving for disunity among the American people. This issue is entirely apart from any honest difference of opinion as to our country's foreign policy, and must be viewed by every patriotic citizen as a calculated attack on democratic solidarity of this Nation.

"In spreading doctrines of hate and prejudice, Lindbergh is making a mockery of his American citizenship and of all the privileges for which it stands.

"Failure of America First Committee to disown his statement will give positive evidence of un-Americanism."

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SEP 17 1941

Mr. Tolson .....
Mr. E. A. Tamm ....
Mr. Clegg .....
Mr. Foxworth ....
Mr. Glavin .....
Mr. Ladd .....
Mr. Nichols .....
Mr. Rosen .....
Mr. Carson .....
Mr. Holloman .....
Mr. Quinn Tamm ....
Mr. Hendon .....
Mr. Tracy .....
Miss Gandy .....

Ron Franklin

Alameda Bans America First From Its Halls

The Alameda County Board of Supervisors yesterday adopted a resolution denying use of all county buildings to the America First Committee.

The resolution sustained a protest by the Emeryville Post 1010, Veterans of Foreign Wars, against use of the Oakland city Auditorium for a speech next Monday by Senator Burton K. Wheeler.

Adoption of the resolution followed the mysterious cancellation Monday of the Wheeler speech. At that time R. B. Wurlitzer, secretary of the AFC in Oakland notified Oakland city officials that the proposed meeting with Senator Wheeler as speaker would be held "a few days following" (next Monday).

He gave no exact date and no explanation for the delay, even though tickets have been printed and distributed. Wurlitzer said he conferred with Wheeler's son, John L. Wheeler, in Los Angeles, and that the son was vague about the delay, saying only he was trying to arrange an engagement for his father on September 25 in the Los Angeles Coliseum.

The resolution by the Alameda Supervisors has little effect on the AFC engagement of the Oakland city Auditorium, according to J. F. Mullins, director of Oakland city buildings. The Supervisors have jurisdiction over county buildings only, and use of the Auditorium is up to the Oakland city administration.

Mullins also said the fee for the Auditorium had been paid by Wurlitzer, and that he doubted if public protests, in themselves, bring about a cancelation.

170

113

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Mr. Hollaman .....
Mr. Quinn Tamm .....
Mr. Hendon .....
Mr. Tracy .....
Miss Gandy .....

SENATOR WHEELER TO SPEAK HERE DESPITE PROTESTS

U.S. Senator Burton K. Wheeler, leading non-interventionist, will deliver his postponed speech under America First Committee auspices at the Oakland Auditorium Arena on September 25 despite protest resolutions adopted by the Alameda County Board of Supervisors and Emeryville Industrial Post 1010 of the Veterans of Foreign Wars.

The speech was originally scheduled for next Monday but was postponed.

Other developments in the controversy included:

1—John J. Taheny, regional director of the America First Committee for Northern California, denounced Post 1010 as a "war-mongering organization," challenged any Post speaker "to a public debate on the question of whether the America First Committee represents true Americanism," and termed the organization's resolution as "an un-American attempt to deny American citizens their constitutional right of free assembly and of free speech . . ."

LETTER TO SLAVICH

2—Alameda's Eastbay Navy Post No. 3765, Veterans of Foreign Wars, sent a letter to Mayor John F. Slavich and the Oakland city council protesting the use of the auditorium or any other public building by the America First Committee or any of its speakers such as Wheeler, Lindbergh and other speakers that are trying to cause disunity among our people . . ."

3—R. B. Wurlitzer, executive secretary of the America First Committee in San Francisco promised "new facts and revelations" when Sen. Wheeler delivers his speech here.

Wurlitzer said the meeting would be held "despite efforts of a veterans group to prevent renting of the arena for the purpose.

BANCROFT TO SPEAK

Wurlitzer said Philip Bancroft, Contra Costa County ranch owner, leading Republican and defeated U.S. senatorial candidate, would be the preliminary speaker at the meeting and Taheny would introduce Senator Wheeler.

Meanwhile, on the letterhead of the Metropolitan Oakland Group of the America First Committee, Frank D. McGrath, chairman of the committee's Northern California executive board, announced that a telegram had been dispatched to President Roosevelt saying in part:

"We. . . demand the return of our armed forces from Iceland; the discontinuance of patrols, and that our ships get out of war zones, thereby complying with the words and the spirit of your pledges."

The supervisors (with George A. Janssen, chairman, and George P. Hellwig, absent) adopted a resolution yesterday denying use of all county buildings to the America First Committee, and endorsing Post 1010's stand.

Post 1010 urged denial of use of buildings to the committee because of its preachments of disunity . . ."

113

170

OAKLAND TRIBUNE

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SEP 17 1941

Portland Reverses Ruling, Allows Wheeler Talk

PORTLAND, Ore., Sept. 17 (C.P.S.).—The weight of public opinion on the side of free speech was hailed today as having impelled the Portland's city council surprise decision last night to reverse itself and authorize use of the municipal auditorium for an antiwar speech by Senator Burton K. Wheeler (D.), of Montana, next Monday.

A growing wave of protest over the council's earlier informal decision to deny Senator Wheeler use of the hall had reached such proportions, according to the sponsoring America First Committee, that the council decided against encountering the embarrassments of a public showdown.

Still Suing School Board

Despite the changed attitude of the city council, America First leaders announced they would continue to press court action against the Portland school board, which on September 10 refused the use of any of the school system's auditoriums for the Wheeler meeting.

"The council is right in reversing itself and is to be commended," said Dellmore Lessard, Oregon State chairman of the America First Committee. "But that does not mean we are going to sit quietly by and let the School Board get away with its intolerable action.

"Old American Custom"

"Discussion of vital public affairs in school and municipal auditoriums has become a fine, old American custom too dear to surrender, particularly when the issue is over meetings proposed by a democratic organization trying to keep the nation out of war."

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Hilton
Mr. Tamm
Miss Gandy

WASHINGTON TIMES-HERALD
Page 7

SEP 18 1941

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Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr.
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Holloman
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Kramer

HOT WORDS FLY IN E. BAY ROW ON WHEELER TALK

Activities and plans of individuals and organizations displaying lively interest in America's foreign policy included the following today:

Veterans' organizations in Alameda County and the America First Committee—with the support of the American Civil Liberties Union—were squaring off today for a verbal battle tonight at an Oakland City Council meeting. It will be the showdown in a controversy that has been increasing in bitterness for several days over use of Oakland Municipal Auditorium the night of Sept. 25 for an America First Committee rally at which Senator Burton K. Wheeler, isolationist leader, is to be the principal speaker.

East Bay veteran groups, led by the Veterans of Foreign Wars, will ask that the council set aside a contract providing for use of the auditorium by the America First Committee.

Sample Row

A sample of what may be expected tonight was displayed today at a meeting of the Alameda County Board of Supervisors when leaders of the opposing groups clashed. The fireworks were touched off when the supervisors refused to rescind their indorsement of a VFW resolution assailing the America First Committee and urging that Alameda County and city officials deny the committee the use of any public buildings.

The resolution charged that the America First Committee "has publicly condemned the President of the United States for performing his legally prescribed duty as Commander-in-chief of the Army and Navy," and that the committee is "agitating against special religious groups and in favor of organizations tending to disrupt unity in the United States."

Committee Attacks

This resolution was attacked on behalf of the America First Committee by James H. Cavagnaro, who told the supervisors he was a corporation executive, member of the San Francisco Commonwealth Club and a former pilot and flying instructor in the first World War. Mr. Cavagnaro termed the VFW "a political pressure group, unpatriotic, and consisting of men who had done a few months service and have lived off the bounty of the nation ever since."

George A. Jansen, Board of Supervisors chairman, replied that "your remarks are insulting—the VFW and other service groups have the respect of the people of Alameda County and of the nation."

'Tools of British'

"They are tools of those interested in British international propaganda," insisted Mr. Cavagnaro, "and represent only about one-quarter of the veterans in the United States. The other three-quarters know they were duped in the last war and refuse to be so abused in this war."

(The American Legion convention at Milwaukee yesterday recommended repeal of the Neutrality Act and removal of all geographical restrictions on use of the U. S. Army and Navy.)

Speaking for the veterans, Francis H. Gonsalves denied Mr. Cavagnaro's charge and declared "most of the veterans are men who had years of service—many of them were hospitalized."

Mr. Gonsalves said the VFW was determined to block use of public buildings "where our children go to school, for public criticism of the President."

"Our children need particular guidance now, and if that sort of thing is permitted, God help the children," said Mr. Gonsalves.

Members Named

Mr. Cavagnaro mentioned the names of a number of widely known Americans who were members of the America First Committee.

"You omitted Lindbergh," said Supervisor Harry Bartell. "Isn't he a member?"

"Yes," replied Mr. Cavagnaro, "Colonel Lindbergh is a man whose moral courage equals his physical courage. His courage is sufficient to tell the people the real aims of those who are trying to force the United States into war."

Mr. Cavagnaro asked the supervisors if they did not realize they were putting themselves on record against free speech by indorsing the VFW resolution.

'Refuse to Do'

"Definitely not," said Chairman Jansen. "The only matter before us is whether we shall rescind our adoption of the VFW resolution. This we refuse to do."

Mr. Cavagnaro said that, inasmuch as the America First Committee has not asked for use of any buildings controlled by the supervisors, "the action of the board must be assumed to be purely for propaganda purposes."

'Held a Mockery'

A statement issued by the American Civil Liberties Union termed the board's action "a mockery of the constitutional guarantee of freedom of speech and assembly" by granting it only to supporters of the supervisors' views.

"Such freedom of speech for our side is typical of a totalitarian concept that will be applauded by all the dictators, but which is clearly repugnant to the letter and spirit of the Bill of Rights," the statement added.

SAN FRANCISCO NEWS

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Mr. Rosen ....
Mr. Carson ....
Mr. Hoffman ....
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Reader ....
Mr. Tracy ....
Miss Gandy ....

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America First Demand Refused

Supervisors Won't Rescind Vote on Building Ban Here

Demands of the America First Committee in Oakland for rescinding of a county Board of Supervisors resolution refusing use of county buildings to the committee were turned down today by the board.

The demands of the America First Commitee were made by a group headed by James F. Cavagnaro who described himself as a corporation executive, taxpayer in the county, and a former member of the American Legion.

The Board of Supervisors adopted the resolution last Tuesday after Emeryville Post No. 1010, Veterans of Foreign Wars, had expressed itself in opposition to use of county buildings by the America First Committee "because of its preachments of disunity in the United States."

WAR MONGERING CHARGED

Cavagnaro launched his appeal to the Supervisors with a vitriolic statement in which he declared the board had lent itself to the use of "war mongering British internationalists," and had gone out of its way "to further the purposes of a political pressure group such as the Veterans of Foreign Wars."

"Just a minute brother," interrupted George Janssen, chairman of the Board of Supervisors. "The veterans organizations are not political pressure groups. They are patriotic Americans who served their country."

Cavagnaro launched another verbal attack upon the veterans but was halted again, this time by Supervisor Harry Bartell, who declared the board was not interested in a discussion of the relative merits of various organizations.

"And the board does not have to sit here and be insulted by anybody," Janssen said.

CLIMAX REACHED

After describing at length the purposes of the America First Committee and naming a long list of prominent persons who head its activities, Cavagnaro declared the action of the board was an attack upon free speech and fitted into the scheme of the interventionists who opposed the program of the America First Committee.

The meeting was finally brought to a climax by Chairman Janssen who asked Cavagnaro to be specific about his demands.

"We want you to rescind the resolution," was the reply.

Supervisors Bartell, Clifford Wixson and Thomas Caldecott, three members who formed the majority last Tuesday when the resolution was adopted, indicated they would not change their stand on the issue.

"I'll stand on my action. I see no reason to change my vote," said Bartell.

Janssen then adjourned the meeting, declaring there was no further reason to listen to speeches.

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OAKLAND TRIBUNE

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SEP 10 1941

Mr. Tolson
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Mr. Clegg
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Mr. Carson
Mr. Holloman
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

Tobey Charges Congress Bows To Roosevelt

Tells America First Rally President 'Eliminates' Legislature in War Drive

Senator Charles W. Tobey, Republican, of New Hampshire, told an America First Committee rally last night at Carnegie Hall that American security is threatened, not by a foreign enemy but by defection of a rubber-stamp Congress which has surrendered its constitutional responsibilities under the pressure and blandishments of a war-minded President.

Accusing President Roosevelt of ignoring constitutional curbs in attempting to lead the nation into a ruinous war, Senator Tobey asserted: "Fellow Americans, the President has in fact eliminated your Congress just as effectively as a depth bomb puts a submarine out of business."

His anti-war speech at the rally called to honor Constitution Day was broadcast from 9 to 9:30 p. m. by Station WJZ and the blue network of the National Broadcasting Company, and at the end he pleaded with the American people to wake up, limit their armament to an impregnable defense, and resist the President's alleged campaign toward war.

"Hopes" Roosevelts Listen In

Then he added a final sentence to the speech he had prepared. "I only hope," said Senator Tobey, "that Franklin Delano Roosevelt and his wife are listening in to this speech tonight."

Senator Tobey told the near-capacity audience that from the beginning of his first administration up to the present, Mr. Roosevelt has flouted the Constitution, adding, "The latest maneuver of this master for a 'free' people was accomplished in his last radio talk, in which he announced the issuance of orders to the Atlantic fleet to 'eliminate' the submarines, but his radio talk went much farther even than that. By that talk the President eliminated the Congress along with the submarine."

Senator Tobey, a member of the Senate subcommittee investigating alleged war propaganda in the motion-picture field, charged that the American film industry "has been advised" that the British film industry owes it millions of dollars.

"It is obvious that they have a reason for wanting us to get into the war," he said. "Million-dollar investments have to be protected."

America's only clear duty, he said, is to arm itself strongly enough to discourage and defeat any European attack on the Western Hemisphere, and he charged that the President and such interventionists as Wendell L. Willkie were working against the people's interest.

"Can the President and Mr. Willkie," he asked, "successfully jeopardize the well being and the very lives of the American people on the assurance of . . . Harry Hopkins, that 'The people are too damned dumb to understand'?"

During the rally, John T. Flynn, chairman of the New York Chapter of America First, was asked whether he planned to repudiate Charles A. Lindbergh's America First speech of last week in Des Moines, ascribing to the nation's Jews the desire to get the country into the war. He was also asked about a rumor that America First in New York planned to campaign vigorously against the re-election of Mayor F. H. LaGuardia, an interventionist.

Mr. Flynn answered that a national executive committee meeting of America First in Chicago today "may" take up both questions.

Tobey Is Heckled

When Senator Tobey began to speak, a voice in the rear began to heckle. Another voice objected to the heckling, and in a second two men were slugging each other. Senator Tobey went right on, while the police ejected the two men. Arguments in the lobby and on the sidewalk in front followed, and finally both men went to the West Fifty-fourth Street police station. Neither pressed charges, and the matter was dropped. One said he was Coleman Gray, a lawyer, and the other said he was George Smith, a bodyguard to Mr. Lindbergh, who was not at the meeting.

Before the rally started, representatives of the Non-Sectarian Anti-Nazi League distributed leaflets attacking America First as a group advocating peace with Hitler. With each leaflet was a page bearing the two words: "Hail Lindbergh." Two of the distributors wore imitation Ku-Klux Klan robes, and one an imitation German-American Bund uniform. These three were shooed away from the hall and sent to Broadway and Fifty-seventh Street.

The other speaker at the rally was Representative William S. Barry, Democrat, of the 3d New York District. He said he feared loss of both democracy and prosperity if the President persisted in a drift toward war in violation of the Constitutional means of declaring war.

113

NG FROM THE
HERALD TRIBUNE

SEP 18 1941

DED BY N. Y. DIVISION

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

Rec'm Krauland

Jewish Groups Denounce Lindbergh Iowa Speech

By the Associated Press.

NEW YORK, Sept. 18.—The American Jewish Committee and the Jewish Labor Committee, denouncing Charles A. Lindbergh's Des Moines speech, asserted last night in a joint statement that "our interests and those of our country are one and indivisible."

Declaring that Mr. Lindbergh "made an unsupported and unsupportable charge impunging the patriotism of Americans of Jewish faith," the statement said:

"As individuals, each one of us has a right to his views, whether for or against isolationism, without fear that Mr. Lindbergh can intimidate any of us with the low and baseless charge that there are other 'interests' which we place ahead of loyalty to our country.

"In fact, Mr. Lindbergh, in order to secure converts for his own point of view, counsels that we should do just that. He warns Jews to support his policy on the ground that any other attitude would lead to anti-Semitism.

"We are obliged to Mr. Lindbergh for his gratuitous advice and reject completely his un-American appeal to selfish interest. We will not put even what he considers our 'interests' before those of our country—since our interests and those of our country are one and indivisible."

WASHINGTON STAR
Page A-12

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Boardman
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

R.M. Fraser

America First Discusses Roosevelt's Navy Order

By the Associated Press.

CHICAGO, Sept. 18.—Members of the National Executive Committee of the America First Committee were summoned to a meeting today by Chairman Gen. Robert E. Wood to discuss President Roosevelt's recent speech regarding naval operations.

A spokesman at the organization's national headquarters said Charles A. Lindbergh's Des Moines speech also might be brought into the discussion.

No mention of the Lindbergh speech was made, however, in Gen. Wood's communication to committee members concerning today's meeting, an executive session.

Although America First has made no official comment on Mr. Lindbergh's speech, it was termed "un-American" by Herbert K. Hyde, Oklahoma State chairman of the organization. Mr. Hyde expressed the opinion that Mr. Lindbergh's "attempt to divide America into racial or religious groups by making charges against the Jews" did not reflect the view of the America First Committee.

CH-23 (113)

WASHINGTON STAR
Page A 2

Council Asks Legal Opinion

Question as to Use Of Auditorium Put Up to City Attorney

After listening for nearly an hour to speakers representing both sides of the controversy over whether or not the America First Committee should be permitted the use of the Oakland Auditorium for a meeting next Thursday night, the Oakland City Council last night referred the question to the city attorney and city manager for decision.

City Attorney F. Bert Fernhoff in an interview said that it was his opinion that the city did not have sufficient grounds for canceling a contract for use of the Auditorium which was signed on September 10, and a $200 fee paid.

"STRICTLY LEGAL QUESTION"

"I personally do not believe in the doctrine of the America First Committee," Fernhoff said. "However, this is strictly a legal question, and not a question of beliefs or freedom of speech. The contract has been signed and there are no grounds for cancelling it without subjecting the city to possible damage suit."

Fernhoff cited decisions of the U. S. Supreme Court to this effect, including the celebrated "Hague case" in New Jersey, in which the Supreme Court upheld the right of Congress of Industrial Organizations to hold a meeting in Jersey City, despite an edict from Mayor Frank Hague forbidding the meeting.

Fernhoff was not present at the council meeting, but was represented by Assistant City Attorney Milton Melby, at whose suggestion the matter was referred to the city attorney's office.

First of a series of speakers before the council was Francis H. Gonsalves, chaplain of Post 1310 of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, who spoke in support of the petition of the County Council of the V.F.W. in opposition to granting use of the Auditorium to the America First group.

OTHER SPEAKERS

Other speakers representing the V.F.W. included Louis L. Jordan, and Phil O Solon, Judge Advocate General of the U. S. Department of the veterans' organization. Both challenged the right of the America First Committee to use the Auditorium.

Representing the America First Committee were George T. Loher, vice-chairman of the Oakland Chapter; John J. Taheny, regional director, and Guy M. Wright, chairman of the Oakland Chapter.

Loher declared that denial of the use of the building would be a violation of the First Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. He named a lengthy list of prominent Americans who were members of the committee, and cited the aims of the committee.

Taheny added a plea for freedom of speech.

Speakers supporting the America First Committee included Mrs. Jane Jacoby and Harold A. Sparling.

Others from among the spectators sought the floor in a babel of voices but Mayor John F. Slavich declared that the council was thoroughly familiar with the question at that point, and proceeded with a roll call vote on adjournment after referring the matter to the city attorney and city manager.

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Egan
Mr. Hoffman
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

OAKLAND TRIBUNE

FORWARDED BY
SAN FRANCISCO DIVISION

SEP 18 1941

AMERICA FIRST SILENT ON STORM OVER LINDBERGH

Wave of Protest Against Flier's Attack on Jews Is Growing.

BY FRANK SMOTHERS.

All was silent today at headquarters of America First over the storm created by Charles A. Lindbergh's Des Moines attack upon the Jews.

All was silent—at headquarters—concerning results of the deliberation its national executive committee devoted here yesterday to Lindbergh's blast.

It was stated officially that the Lindbergh Des Moines speech was discussed by the committee—and that a statement would be issued "within a few days."

That this statement will not repudiate Lindbergh or his speech was indicated by John T. Flynn, chairman of the New York chapter, one of the conferees. He said today that no resolution to that effect was considered by the committee.

Seven days already have elapsed since Lindbergh made the speech. The nation-wide wave of protest that has grown during those days against the attack he then made upon the Jewish people for "pressing this country," as he claimed, "toward war," continued to mount today.

More Time Required.

The America First Committee, which sponsored the address, however, required more time to issue its reply to formal requests that it tell where it stands on Lindbergh.

The foremost report away from America First headquarters at this writing is that the committee drafted a statement asserting that Lindbergh's speech was not "anti-Semitic," endorsing the speech and inviting Jews to co-operate with America First in its isolationist cause.

In New York Flynn denied reports published in the East that he came to Chicago to demand repudiation of the speech. He denied that he made such a demand or "that I made any threats to quit as a member of the committee."

'Discussing a Draft.'

Flynn said that when he left the meeting at 6 p. m. yesterday to return to New York the committee was "still discussing a draft" of a resolution on Lindbergh, and that it was decided to take a vote on it by mail as "less than half of the members of the national committee were present."

That was the only light shed on the committee's action on Lindbergh America First has not even revealed the names of the committeemen present. It is understood that Lindbergh was not here. Presumably Brig. Gen. Robert E. Wood, retired, national chairman, presided.

Meantime—among new rebukes to Lindbergh—the Illinois Federation of Labor, in convention at Springfield, condemned his speech as anti-Semitic. There was only one dissenting vote.

The New Jersey grand domain of the Knights of Pythias adopted a resolution advocating a Senate investigation of the aviator's doings.

In New York the America Jewish Congress and Jewish Labor Committee issued a joint statement denouncing his speech.

The statement asserts the right of each to his views for or against isolationism "without fear that Mr. Lindbergh can intimidate any of us with the low and baseless charge that there are other 'interests' which we place above loyalty to our country." After declaring that Lindbergh "warns Jews to support his policy on the ground that any other attitude would lead to anti-Semitism," it concludes:

"We will not put even what he considers our 'interest' before those of our country—since our interests and those of our country are one and indivisible."

On the floor of the House in Washington today Representative Luther Patrick (Dem., Ala.), assailing the flier's attack upon the Jews, brandished a copy of Hitler's "Mein Kampf" and said "it sounds just like Lindbergh."

Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Holloman
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

CHICAGO DAILY NEWS

9-19-41

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tan
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Holloman
Mr. Quinn Tan
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

AMERICA FIRST TELLS PLAN TO INTENSIFY DRIVE

The national committee of the America First committee, after meeting for several hours yesterday, announced thru R. Douglas Stuart Jr., national director, that it was engaged in mapping an intensified campaign to keep the United States out of war.

Douglas also said that the committee would shortly issue a statement commenting upon Col. Charles A. Lindbergh's recent address in Des Moines, Ia.

Douglas' statement: "The national America First committee met in Chicago today to discuss an intensified campaign in answer to the President's threat of an undeclared war in violation of the constitution. Col. Lindbergh's Des Moines address was discussed, and the national committee will issue a statement within a few days."

CHICAGO DAILY TRIBUNE

9-19-41

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Bosco
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Holloman
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

America First Wins in Battle for Oakland Hall

Auditorium Can't Be Denied for Wheeler Talk, Attorney Rules

Oakland's city attorney, F. Bert Fernhoff, ruled yesterday that Oakland cannot deny the use of its civic auditorium to the America First Committee for a speech by Senator Burton K. Wheeler next Thursday night.

The decision ended a controversy which produced acrimonious debate Thursday when representatives of the America First group and the Veterans of Foreign Wars appeared before sessions of the Alameda county supervisors and the Oakland city council.

Members of the America First Committee held that abrogation of their lease on the auditorium for the night of the Wheeler address would be an abrogation of the constitutional right of free speech and free assembly.

V. F. W. spokesmen held that use of the publicly owned building for the Wheeler appearance would constitute a hazard to public peace and spread disunity at a time of national emergency.

In giving his decision in favor of the America First group, Fernhoff said the city had entered into the lease, accepted the rental and could not question who should or should not use a public building.

100-4712-A

SAN FRANCISCO E...

FORWARDED BY
SAN FRANCISCO DIVISION

SEP 20 1941

Lindbergh to Speak In Capital on Sept. 22

The America First Committee announced yesterday that Charles A. Lindbergh will speak in Washington under its auspices on September 27 at 9:15 p. m. E. S. T. His address is to be nationally broadcast, the organization said.

170 1/3

WASHINGTON POST

Lindbergh in new talk for America First

In the midst of a nationwide controversy over anti-Semitic portions of Charles A. Lindbergh's Des Moines speech, the America First committee announced yesterday it is sponsoring another address by Lindbergh at Fort Wayne, Ind., on Oct. 3.

National headquarters of the committee said arrangements for the Fort Wayne speech have been under way since August and will not be affected by the criticism of Lindbergh's last address. Announcement was made upon completion of arrangements with Lindbergh on the date and place.

ORGANIZATIONS COMMENT

The America First announcement drew quick reaction from aid-to-Britain organizations. The Fight for Freedom committee is holding a rally in Orchestra hall on Oct. 3, at which one of the speakers will be Lindbergh's cousin, Augustus F. Lindbergh, who is Alabama state chairman of Fight for Freedom.

Courtenay Barber Jr., acting director of the Fight for Freedom committee, said:

"If it is true that ex-Col. Lindbergh is to speak for America First at Fort Wayne, Ind., on Oct. 3, it substantiates beyond all reasonable doubt the executive committee's condonement of Lindbergh's Des Moines anti-Semitic speech.

'SHOULD RESIGN'

"The silence of the America First committee has so far been tantamount to approval, but the announcement of his forthcoming speech [illegible] an ingrati[illegible]

"The outstanding and self-respecting members of America First should resign and leave the committee to the Bundists, Silver Shirts, anti-Semites and their fellow travelers.

"Fight for Freedom will continue to combat America First for the un-American utterance of their spokesmen such as Lindbergh, Wheeler, Nye, Fish and their supporters on the executive committee."

Harland H. Allen, chairman of the Chicago Committee to Defend America, said: "It seems to me Lindbergh said enough that other time to reveal what is on his mind—that he is a Fascist at heart."

R. Douglas Stuart Jr., national director of the America First committee, declined to comment on the new announcement.

NONE TO EDIT SPEECH

A spokesman for the committee said none of the members will edit the speech. Approval of the members of the national committee was not necessary, the spokesman said, and arrangements for all speeches are handled by the committee chairman and the head of the speaker's bureau.

The executive committee of the isolationist group met last Thursday and considered Lindbergh's Des Moines remarks. A mail referendum of America First leaders throughout the country was ordered, and an announcement of the committee's stand on Lindbergh's statements is expected within a few days.

Charles A. Lindbergh

LEAGUE RAPS SPEECH

The latest castigation of Lindbergh for "defamatory charges against American Jewry" came yesterday from the Anti-Defamation league. The league protested that Lindbergh's statements are "unfounded in fact and un-American."

"The loyalty of the Jews to America and its traditions dates back to the revolutionary period and is a recognized fact throughout American history," said the league statement.

"It cannot be challenged by reckless, irresponsible or propagandist statements. Whatever be the future course of America in this world conflict, the Jew will be found

Mr. Tolson .....
Mr. E. A. Tamm .....
Mr. Clegg .....
Mr. Foxworth .....
Mr. Glavin .....
Mr. Ladd .....
Mr. Nichols .....
Mr. Rosen .....
Mr. Carson .....
Mr. Holloman .....
Mr. Quinn Tamm .....
Mr. Hendon .....
Mr. Tracy .....
Miss Gandy .....

9-21-41

CHICAGO DAILY TIMES

Mr. Tolson .....
Mr. E. A. Tamm..
Mr. Clegg .....
Mr. Farnsworth ..
Mr. Glavin .....
Mr. Ladd .....
Mr. Nichols .....
Mr. Rosen .....
Mr. Carson .....
Mr. Holloman ...
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon .....
Mr. Tracy .....
Miss Gandy .....

AMERICA FIRST RALLY TONIGHT ON NORTH SHORE

John W. Maselter of the America First committee speakers' bureau will address a meeting of the Wilmette-Kenilworth chapter of America First at 8 p. m. this evening in the Howard school auditorium, 1701 Spencer avenue, Wilmette. The Christopher Columbus chapter of the America First committee, composed of 11 different nationalities, will hold an antiwar massmeeting at 8 p. m. Thursday in the Marshfield auditorium, 735 South Marshfield avenue. The speaker will be the Rev. John A. O'Brien of Notre Dame university.

CHICAGO DAILY TRIBUNE

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Egan
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Gordon
Mr. Holloman
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

Wheeler Will Speak At Auditorium Here

Sen. Burton K. Wheeler of Montana will speak against American entry into the war Thursday at 8 p.m. at the Municipal Auditorium under the auspices of the America First Committee.

Philip Bancroft, former senatorial candidate, will be a preliminary speaker on the program, according to the committee. The speakers will be introduced by John J. Tahaney, attorney.

168

Mr. Tolson .....
Mr. E. A. Tamm .....
Mr. Clegg .....
Mr. Foxworth .....
Mr. Glavin .....
Mr. Ladd .....
Mr. Nichols .....
Mr. Rosen .....
Mr. Carson .....
Mr. Hollomon .....
Mr. Quinn Tamm .....
Mr. Headon .....
Mr. Tracy .....
Miss Candy .....

RM

She's Telling Us, Et Al.

To the Editor: Now are you not glad that you at last have a chance to blister Colonel Lindbergh? What an opportunity. He had the courage to get up and tell the truth: that the Jews are trying to destroy our country as they did in Russia by killing millions of Christians, then tried to seize the German government but did not succeed. Now they are trying the same thing here but they are not fooling all of us with their cries of "unity" and "brotherly love."

Your paper is Jewish controlled and that is why you are so in favor of war. The British and the Jews, they chose to lick Hitler at the expense of our boys and our American blood.

Every time trouble arose at an America First meeting, it was started by the Jews. I suppose you call this free speech? Well, go ahead with your smear campaign and see where it gets you. It will only make you cheaper and cheaper in the eyes of the clear thinking citizens. When the war is over, and all the hate and the war mongering dies down, you can tell us how large a debt we can pay for the British. You will then take Colonel Lindbergh off the dusty shelf and put him in the brackets with the "higher uppers" because every word he says will come to pass.

Mr. Lindbergh is the bravest man in this country. To withstand insults by papers of your standard proves this.

If you so desperately believe that the Jews should be treated fairly, why do you not stop persecuting your gentile brothers? Practice what you preach instead of hammering away on a worn-out and very un-Christian, unkind, untrue and belittling idea?

St. Paul, Minn. —Mrs. Mary Moses Mishelow.

111-7912-A

INDIANAPOLIS STAR JOURNAL

7-22-41

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Boren
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Hollomon
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

Kenneth Roberts Hits Use Of Name by 'America First'

Kenneth Roberts, noted author, today wrote to the Maine America First Committee that the use of his name as a member of that organization was unauthorized and adding that the only thing the committee can accomplish is the lowering of morale. His letter follows:

"The use of my name, in the Press-Herald of Sept. 19, as a member of the Maine America First Committee, was unauthorized.

"This country, by the President's last statement, is definitely committed to war, and about the only thing the America First Committee can accomplish is to lower the morale of the army and the nation. I certainly don't propose to be a member of any organization or a party to any program that has as one of its primary objectives the lowering of morale at a time when we've got to raise it or take a beating."

Boston Traveler
9/23/41

100-HQ-1

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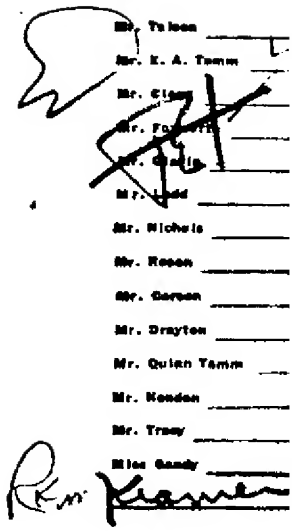

Lindy's Talk Here Delayed

The America First Committee's plans to have Charles A. Lindbergh speak over a coast-to-coast network from Riverside Stadium here Saturday night have been postponed, it was announced yesterday. He is expected to speak here at a later date.

Officials of national headquarters of the organization in Chicago announced that the speech was postponed so that Lindbergh might talk in Fort Wayne, Ind., on October 3.

A spokesman of the Chicago office added: "Mr. Lindbergh didn't want to make two speeches so close together. He will speak under the auspices of our Fort Wayne Chapter October 3. The other speech will be made at a later date."

Lindbergh's talk was to have been broadcast over the Columbia Broadcasting System from 9:15 to 9:30 p.m. Saturday until the network's New York offices announced the cancellation of the speech early yesterday.

A member of the local chapter of the America First Committee said he had no knowledge of the scheduled speech, but said a rally had been planned for Riverside Stadium on Saturday. Plans for the rally also have been dropped.

WASHINGTON TIMES-HERALD
Page 2

SEP 23 19

Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

Lindbergh Broadcast Here Is Canceled

CHICAGO, Sept. 23 (AP).—National headquarters of the America First Committee has announced that Charles A. Lindbergh had canceled a broadcast scheduled for Saturday over the Columbia Broadcasting System from Washington in favor of a speech before a committee-sponsored rally in Fort Wayne, Ind., October 3.

"Col. Lindbergh doesn't want to make two speeches so close together," a spokesman said. "We applied for radio time from Washington when three sites were under consideration for the address. Later it was decided that the speech would be given in Fort Wayne."

He said no arrangements had yet been made for a broadcast of the Fort Wayne speech.

WASHINGTON STAR
Page

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION
September 23, 1941.

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Holloman
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

America First Rally Guarded By 423 Police

Nye Accuses Willkie of Stirring Anti-Semitic Antagonism.

NEW YORK, Sept. 22.—(AP)—Senator Gerald P. Nye, Republican, North Dakota, tonight accused Wendell Willkie and interventionists of "dragging into this war controversy that cheap, wholly un-American issue called anti-Semitism."

Speaking before an America First Committee rally in Brooklyn guarded by 423 policemen, the isolationist senator said in his prepared speech that "this attempt to paint the cause of nonintervention as an anti-Semitic cause has been about the meanest, smallest, rat-like thing that I have ever experienced in my contact with American politics."

"No one has contributed to the dragging of this red-herring into this controversy so largely as has one Wendell Willkie—the 'Me too' man of the 1940 presidential campaign—the man who helped arrange things so that there could be no chance in that presidential campaign for the American people to voice themselves clearly and openly in this issue of intervention," Nye said. "Mr. Willkie has done his utmost to smear the cause of nonintervention with this anti-Semitic stick."

168

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Mr. Tolson .....
Mr. E. A. Tamm.
Mr. Clegg .....
Mr. Foxworth .....
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Mr. Carson .....
Mr. Holloman .....
Mr. Quinn Tamm.
Mr. Hendon .....
Mr. Tracy .....
Miss Gandy .....

O'BRIEN WILL SPEAK THURSDAY AT RALLY OF AMERICA FIRST

The Rev. John A. O'Brien, professor at the University of Notre Dame, will speak Thursday night at an anti-war rally in Marshfield auditorium, 735 South Marshfield avenue. Mrs. Janet Ayer Fairbank, national vice chairman of the American First committee, will preside at the meeting which is sponsored by the Christopher Columbus chapter of America First. The Rev. Mr. O'Brien, speaking last Thursday in Cincinnati, told an audience that Americans still have a chance to preserve their democracy and stay clear of the European war if they continue to protest.

America First officials explained yesterday that a broadcast by Charles A. Lindbergh, scheduled from Washington, D. C., on Saturday over the Columbia Broadcasting system, had been canceled to allow Lindbergh to speak at a rally in Fort Wayne, Ind., Oct. 3. When CBS could not switch the Saturday broadcast to the Fort Wayne meeting, America First officials said, they canceled the broadcast time. They said that they hoped to put on the Washington broadcast later.

CHICAGO DAILY TRIBUNE

1-23-41

'AMERICA FIRST' STILL SILENT ON LINDBERGH VIEWS

Sponsors New Speech by Flier, Despite Protests Over Anti-Semitism.

BY FRANK SMOTHERS.

The America First Committee is having slow going in its preparations for announcing its attitude toward Charles A. Lindergh's Des Moines speech attacking the Jews.

A statement — presumably upholding Lindbergh, whose forthcoming addresses continue to enjoy America First sponsorship—is expected to be made public "in a few days."

Five days, however, already have passed since the statement was drafted at a meeting of America First's national executive committee in Chicago last week. Twelve days have elapsed since Lindbergh provoked a nation-wide storm by his blast at the Jews of America.

Few Replies on Issue.

It is confirmed at America First headquarters that copies of the statement were mailed after the meeting to members of the national committee who had not been able to attend. There are some 30 members of the committee, less than half of whom are understood to have been on hand at the Chicago parley.

Only "three or four" replies from members thus polled by mail on the statement have been received to date, it was said at headquarters.

A spokesman for the committee declined to say whether any member had asked that America First withdraw its backing from Lindbergh.

Speech Cancellation Explained.

It was made clear, however, that the cancellation of an address Lindbergh had been scheduled to make for the committee Saturday over the Columbia Broadcasting System involved not the slightest change of front by America First toward the aviator.

That talk was merely canceled in favor of another speech before an America First rally in Fort Wayne, Ind., Oct. 2, a spokesman said.

"Col. Lindbergh does not want to make two speeches so close together," he said. "We applied for [illegible]

Mr. Tolson .....
Mr. E. A. Tamm ...
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Mr. Foxworth .....
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Mr. Nichols .....
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Miss Gandy .....

anti-Semitic speech, was this statement by Max Singer of Boston, national commander of the Veterans of Foreign Wars:

"I condemn the statements of Charles A. Lindbergh as an appeal to racial prejudice to bolster his untenable position on national defense in this emergency. Instead of unity for victory, so essential at this time, Lindbergh preaches a doctrine that is the negation of Americanism, which must be gratifying to Hitler."

Meantime in Seattle, Wash., State Commander John L. Slavenburg of the V. F. W., said the organization would conduct a "nonviolent" demonstration against Senator Burton K. Wheeler if the Montana isolationist speaks there tonight.

Whether the Wheeler meeting, under the auspices of America First, would be held, was in doubt. Dispatches explained that after the Fraternal Order of Eagles in Seattle rented its hall for the rally, Conrad Mann of Kansas City, national managing organizer of the lodge, ordered the fee returned to the isolationists and the hall closed to their meeting. It was not clear whether the local lodge would comply.

Nye Defends Lindbergh.

Headliner at an America First rally in Brooklyn last night was Senator Gerald P. Nye, North Dakota Republican, father of the Senate subcommittee's investigation of "war propaganda" in the movies, who recently declared that "foreign-born" magnates "of the Jewish faith" were primarily responsible for "propaganda" in the films. Said Nye in Brooklyn:

"There is not a shred of anti-Semitic spirit in the mind and heart of Charles A. Lindbergh or Senator Burton K. Wheeler," Nye said last night. His own record, stated Nye, was contrary to any such thing as anti-Semitism.

"Nye has been playing with fire for a long time, and now he's surprised that he is getting burned," was a summary by F. H. Peter Cusick, executive secretary of Fight for Freedom, Inc.

CHICAGO DAILY NEWS

7-23-41

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Boland
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

Lindbergh Broadcast Here Off Because of 'Conflict'

Charles A. Lindbergh's scheduled broadcast from Riverside Stadium Saturday night has been postponed, the American First Committee announced yesterday, because Col. Lindbergh "does not want to make speeches so close together" and he will speak at Ft. Wayne Oct. 2.

WASHINGTON NEWS

Senator Nye Assails Willkie on Issue Of Anti-Semitism

423 Police Guard Rally In Brooklyn; President's Navy Order Condemned

By the Associated Press.

NEW YORK, Sept. 23.—Senator Nye, Republican, of North Dakota last night accused Wendell L. Willkie and interventionists of "dragging into this war controversy that cheap, wholly un-American issue called anti-Semitism."

Speaking before an America First Committee rally in Brooklyn guarded by 423 policemen, the isolationist Senator said that "this attempt to paint the cause of non-intervention as an anti-Semitic cause has been about the meanest, smallest, ratlike think that I have ever experienced in my contact with American politics."

"No one has contributed to the dragging of this red herring into this controversy so largely as has one Wendell Willkie—the 'me too' man of the 1940 presidential campaign—the man who helped arrange things so that there could be no chance in that presidential campaign for the American people to voice themselves clearly and openly in this issue of intervention," Senator Nye said. "Mr. Willkie has done his utmost to smear the cause of non-intervention with this anti-Semitic stick.

"Racial prejudice has brought to Europe consequences we cannot escape seeing. If we are going to adopt racial prejudice in our American thinking and planning we only contribute to the bringing of that experience, which has befallen others, to our own country."

The meeting, attended by about 3,000, was orderly and police reported no incidents outside the building.

Former Magistrate Joseph Goldstein, who said earlier in the day that he would arrest Senator Nye if he indorsed anti-Semitic sentiments, sat in the audience flanked by detectives and took no part in the proceedings. Mr. Goldstein, who had declared he would act under summary-arrest right, said such remarks by the Senator would be "inciting to riot."

The meeting adopted a resolution commending the President's "shoot on sight" orders to warships and protesting against convoys and aid to Russia.

Mr. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Newton
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

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SEP 23 1941

WASHINGTON STAR
Page A-10

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Hollaman
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

BERKELEY COUNCIL TABLES BAN ON 'AMERICA FIRST'

BERKELEY, Sept. 23.—A motion to deny the use of public buildings to the America First committee failed for want of a second today at the Berkeley City Council meeting.

The motion was made by Councilman Frank Berg after such action was requested by Campanile Post No. 408, American Legion.

The Legion post asked that the council ban the non-interventionist organization from all buildings under council jurisdiction and said that a similar request would be made of the Board of Education.

SENT TO CONFERENCE

Councilman Richard French got a second to his motion to refer the matter to conference committee and his motion was adopted with negative votes by Berg and Councilman Arthur Harris. Harris explained his belief that "such issues should be settled in open session if no research is needed, as in this case."

The question was reopened on motion of Councilman Edward Martin and Councilman Berg again moved to deny the use of public buildings to the American First Committee. Again it failed for want of a second.

ACTION PROVES SURPRISE

Berg expressed surprise that Harris had not seconded the motion, and Harris explained he did not agree with all of the content of the motion.

After discussion about the fact there was now no application before the council, Councilman Martin moved to table the matter until such application was made. This was carried over negative votes by Berg and Mrs. Carrie Hoyt, acting Mayor, who said she was ready to vote on the matter then.

The council postponed for one week action on a petition for revocation of a building permit for construction of a triplex at 2617 Woolsey Street, granted Peter Anderson

141

OAKLAND TRIBUNE

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SEP 23 1941

THE ATIANTA CONSTITUTION
September 23, 1941.

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Holloman
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

Sponsors Cancel Lindbergh Speech

NEW YORK, Sept. 22.—(AP)—The Columbia Broadcasting System announced today that a broadcast by Charles A. Lindbergh scheduled for Saturday over its network from Washington, D. C., had been cancelled by the America First Committee.

The committee could not be reached for comment.

100-47---A

168

Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Holloman
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

'First' Asks Farmers to Fight War

Sixty Illinois and Indiana chairmen of the America First Committee called upon the American farmer to enlist in the anti-war cause and assert himself on the administration's foreign policy at a meeting last night in Chicago chapter headquarters at 122 S. Michigan av.

Delegates from scattered rural areas joined Leslie Hinkle, chairman of the Kankakee chapter, in the assertion that the "stronghold of our strength in Illinois is the farmer, who is able to think independently."

P. R. Fredericks, Crystal Lake representative, told the meeting that "the farmer is overwhelmingly in favor of the policy of the America First Committee." He said he had enlisted 141 new members during the day.

Mrs. Janet Ayer Fairbank, national vice chairman of the committee, presided at the meeting. She announced that a capacity crowd is expected at a rally tomorrow night at 746 S. Loomis st., at which Rev. John A. O'Brien of Notre Dame University will speak.

100-11[illegible]

CH-22

THE CHICAGO AMERICAN

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
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Mr. Nichols
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Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Holloman
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

NYE ARRIVES IN HUB THIS MORNING

Senator Gerald P. Nye, noted non-interventionist, who will be principal speaker tonight at the America First Committee anti-war rally at Mechanics Building, will arrive this morning at South Station and will be met by City Greeter Louis J. Brems and the heads of the Boston chapter of the America First Committee.

Also scheduled to arrive this morning is former Senator Rush D. Holt of West Virginia, who is likewise to address the rally.

Boston Post
9/25/41

Clash on War Policy

Kearnyans Taking Sides

KEARNY—A feud over possible United States participation in the European war that threatens to boil over and engulf the whole of Kearny gained momentum yesterday as the 19-year-old leader of the America First Committee and the 72-year-old chieftain of Fight for Freedom, Inc., girded their forces to defeat each other.

Heading toward a rip-roaring battle, the former is Allan Hartley, son of Congressman Fred A. Hartley, Jr., and his opponent is John C. Allen, who came here 10 years ago from South America.

With the sanction of the town council, the battle to enlist adherents to their respective causes will get under way in earnest shortly with rallies and importation of nationally known speakers.

Already, opposing sides are forming, with business men, workers and housewives being called upon to express themselves on how Uncle Sam should treat Hitler and the war abroad.

ANXIOUS FOR ACTION

Both sides are anxious for action. On Wednesday, the Kearny mayor and council granted applications to Hartley and Allen for permission to hold branch meetings in the council chamber.

The American First Committee stands for limited aid to Great Britain and no involvement for the United States. The Fight For Freedom organization is outspokenly in favor of defeating Hitler—even if it means the United States must fight.

Young Hartley sat down behind the desk in his dad's study yesterday and explained why he had thrown his adolescent lot in with Col. Lindbergh's America First Committee.

Hartley, who will be 20 in October, has some very definite views on the stand that the United States has taken in Europe's war, and, he insisted, "these ideas are the result of my own reasoning." Then he added reflectively: "Perhaps I understand it better because of dad."

Young Hartley said he had made up his mind that the America First Committee was on the right track from what he had read in newspapers, heard on the radio and seen in the movies.

"We have but one [illegible] organization," he said, "and that is to keep America out of war. A great many people are of the opinion that we do not want supplies sent to the English. That is not true. We do want to give the British all we can, but never at the expense of dissipating our own defense materials or at the risk of becoming involved in the war ourselves."

While young Hartley feels that Hitler is the enemy of the United States, the opinions expressed by President Roosevelt, he said, do not represent the full feeling of the American people.

"We in the America First Committee realize that there are Fifth Columnists in the United States and in South America," he said. "We should restrict our efforts to cleaning up subversive elements in this hemisphere."

IF NAZIS WIN?

To the time-battered question: "Suppose the Nazis win over both Russia and Great Britain, then what?" Hartley had a ready answer.

"If Hitler conquers all Europe we will not have to fight him. There is no means by which an American army and the German forces could meet. It would be a stalemate. If an economic war develops we can survive it."

Young Hartley said he would not follow his father into politics.

He is a gag cartoonist and contributes to magazines.

His executive committee in the Kearny branch of the Newark American First Committee is composed entirely of young people. The oldest is William McCurdy, 27. Other members are Miss Hermine Peppinger, 19; Patrick Connolly, 20; Vincent Capobianco, 19, and James Oakes, 20.

Young Hartley said that the group was started originally as a youth movement but, because of the response given it by adults, it has been given a thoroughly mature stature. He estimated the present membership at 300.

WILL INVITE DEBATE

Since the previously clear horizon of his organization has become beclouded by the appearance in Kearny of an opponent, Fight for Freedom, Inc., young Allen is virtually bursting with antagonistic enterprize. He said that he will challenge the local F. for F. organizer to a debate.

If Allen should accept the challenge, the people of Kearny should be in on an epic-establishing event.

Allen lived in South America from 1891 until he came here. He said he has seen German agents at work and he fears for the United States if something is not done at once to stop them. According to his belief, the United States should contribute as generously as it can to Great Britain as a protection to us. "Hitler," he said when interviewed yesterday at his home at 854 Kearny ave., "will have to be stopped on European soil or else he will be over here with his bombers as soon as he coordinates his European conquests."

Hartley has mapped out a program which is to be built up gradually, and then conclude with a huge rally in the high school auditorium with Ham Fish as the main speaker. Allen, however, has promised to meet all competition and will have someone from the national headquarters to top anyone Hartley cares to bring into the arena.

Both want a fair battle with "no politics" involved. Furthermore, they agree on one issue—they boast of their Americanism and insist that the best interest of the country are their only quarrel.

Mr. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

NEWARK STAR-LEDGER
Newark, New Jersey
Friday, September 12, 1941

SUBMITTED BY THE NEWARK DIVISION

Youth Challenges Age to War Debate

Allan Hartley, son of the Isolationist Congressman, Fred A. Hartley, Jr., is shown at left working for the America First Committee, after he offered to debate John C. Allen (right), Kearny's head of Fight for Freedom, Inc.

NEWARK STAR-LEDGER
Newark, New Jersey

SUBMITTED BY THE NEWARK DIVISION

WARNS WORLD UNION WOULD VOID U. S. RIGHTS

For the United States to join a world-wide federal union of nations would be to surrender the rights won by Washington and the Declaration of Independence. This assertion was made last night by John W. Maselter, a speaker for the America First committee, in a debate with Julian J. Steen, president of the Chicago School of Adults.

They spoke in the Hamilton hotel at a meeting sponsored by the Chicago Institute of Public Debate. Steen urged that America enter a union of world democracies as a practical step to insure peace. Maselter replied that America stood to lose by such a partnership.

The debating institute will hold another meeting in the hotel tonight. The speakers will be Dean W. F. Clarke of the De Paul university law school and Prof. Maynard C. Krueger of the University of Chicago. They will discuss the question of war or peace for America.

100-47-1-4

CHICAGO DAILY TRIBUNE

9-12-4

Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Gordon
Mr. Trapp
Miss Gandy

Swastika Stone Hits America First Office

NEW YORK, Sept. 14- (N.Y. News).—A swastika-marked paving stone was used to shatter a plate-glass window in the newly opened America First Committee offices in midtown Third Avenue early today. The black-painted swastika on the stone was not discovered until police ripped away a wrapping of upholsterer's burlap sewn about the rock. Neighbors living near by said a crash was heard about 2 a.m.

134

WASHINGTON TIMES-HERALD
SEPTEMBER 15, 1941

Mr. Tolson ....
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg .....
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin .....
Mr. Ladd .....
Mr. Nichols ....
Mr. Rosen .....
Mr. Carson .....
Mr. Hoffman...
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Loudon....
Mr. Tracy .....
Miss Gandy....
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State Unit of America First Attacks F.D.R.

Telegrams charging that President Roosevelt's "indirect authorizing of convoying and his ordering of naval war" were part of a preconceived plan to multiply the incidents which will lead to war have been sent to all California legislators in Washington by the Northern California headquarters of the America First Committee.

The wires, which were signed by John J. Taheny, committee regional director, said it is "ridiculous to assume that Germany now seeks war with the United States" and ask that legislation be enacted to "curb the President's crude attempt to circumvent the constitutional powers of Congress."

SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE

FORWARDED BY
SAN FRANCISCO DIVISION

SEP 15 1941

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

Swastika Stone Hits America First Office

NEW YORK, Sept. 14 (N.Y. News).—A swastika-marked paving stone was used to shatter a plate-glass window in the newly opened America First Committee offices in midtown Third Avenue early today. The black-painted swastika on the stone was not discovered until police ripped away a wrapping of upholsterer's burlap sewn about the rock. Neighbors living near by said a crash was heard about 2 a.m.

WASHINGTON TIMES-HERALD
Page 2

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Hollo
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

Veterans Oppose America First Rally in Public Buildings Here

Opposition to use of public buildings in the City of Oakland and the County of Alameda by the America First Committee, "because of its preachments of disunity," was voiced by Emeryville Industrial Post No. 1010, Veterans of Foreign Wars.

The America First Committee has made arrangements to hold a rally in the Oakland Municipal Auditorium on the night of September 22 Senator Burkton K. Wheeler is scheduled to be one of the principal speakers, according to preliminary announcements.

Scheduling of dates for meetings in the Auditorium and the Exposition Building are handled by J. F. Mullins, director of the buildings, according to city officials.

UNANIMOUS ACTION

Members of Post No. 1010 voted unanimously at their last meeting to forward a resolution to city and county officials, asking them to oppose the use of public buildings by the committee.

The resolution cited the denial of use of such buildings in San Francisco, Portland and other cities in the United States.

The text of the resolution follows:

"Whereas, the America First Committee, because of its preachments of disunity, has been denied the use of public buildings in the City and County of San Francisco, the City of Portland, Oregon, and in other communities of the United States,

"And whereas, the America First Committee proposes to hold a public meeting in Oakland California,

OPPOSITION ASKED

"Therefore, be it resolved, that Emeryville Industrial Post No. 1010, Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, do respectfully request all Alameda County municipal and county officers to oppose the use of all public buildings for meetings of the America First Committee, and

"Be it further resolved, that a copy of this resolution be sent to the press, City Council of the City of Oakland, and to the Alameda County Board of Supervisors.

"(Signed) GEORGE T. CANEGA,
"Commander.
"HIRAM W. WINN, Adjutant."

OAKLAND TRIBUNE

FORWARDED BY
SAN FRANCISCO DIVISIO

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

N. Y. Police Guard America First Offices

NEW YORK, Sept. 15 (C.T.P.S.).—Police tonight were engaged in routine investigation and protection measures in the wake of a week-end display of hoodlums who hurled bricks through the windows of three branch offices of the America First Committee. The window smashing brought an immediate protest and report to police from the New York chapter of the antiwar committee.

WASHINGTON TIMES-HERALD
Page 15

SEP 15

Mr. Tolson .....
Mr. E. A. Tamm .....
Mr. Clegg .....
Mr. Foxworth .....
Mr. Glavin .....
Mr. Ladd .....
Mr. Nichols .....
Mr. Rosen .....
Mr. Carson .....
Mr. Holloman .....
Mr. Quinn Tamm .....
Mr. Hendon .....
Mr. Tracy .....
Miss Gandy .....

America First Denied Use Of Buildings

Supervisors' Action Affects Address Of Senator Wheeler

The Alameda County Board of Supervisors today adopted a resolution denying the use of all county buildings to the America First Committee.

The action came at the same time that the committee announced that a scheduled meeting in the Oakland Municipal Auditorium, at which Senator Burton K. Wheeler was to have spoken Monday night, had been postponed indefinitely.

The motion opening the resolution before the Supervisors was made by Clifford Wixson and seconded by Harry Bartell. They and Thomas Caldecott were the three Supervisors present.

JANSSEN IN L.A.

George A. Janssen, chairman of the board, is in Los Angeles on official business, and George P. Hellwig, the other member, officially is on vacation.

In passing the resolution, the Supervisors endorsed a request by Emeryville Industrial Post No. 1010, Veterans of Foreign Wars, that no public buildings be made available for the America First Meeting.

The veterans objected to the meeting in a public building of the America First group "because of its preachments of disunity."

RENTAL FEE ACCEPTED

J. F. Mullins, director of city buildings, however, said that the fee for the auditorium arena had been paid by R. B. Wurlitzer, secretary of the America First Committee in San Francisco, and a binding contract entered into. He said he doubted whether the public protests could in themselves bring a cancellation.

Wurlitzer said that the meeting with Senator Wheeler as speaker would be held "a few days following," but could give no exact date. Neither could he explain the delay, as tickets for the meeting have been printed and distributed.

Wurlitzer said that he conferred with the senator's son, John L. Wheeler, last week in Los Angeles, and the son was vague as to the delay.

WANT L.A. DATE

The younger Wheeler was attempting to arrange a speaking engagement for his father for September 25 in the Los Angeles Coliseum, Wurlitzer said.

The protest of the Emeryville V.F.W. post, meanwhile, was echoed in a resolution from headquarters of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, in San Francisco. The communication, signed by Francis H. Gonsalves, secretary, said:

"Whereas, the America First Committee under the false pretense of exercising the right of free speech is endeavoring, through the use of the press and the public platform to create disunity of thought among the American people in these critical times of world war, and

REFUSAL URGED

"Whereas, the said organization has publicly condemned the President of the United States for performing his plain duty as Commander-in-Chief of the United States Army and Navy, and

"Whereas, said organization has been refused the use of public buildings for public assemblages in San Francisco, Portland, Ore., and other large American cities,

"Be it resolved, by the 10th District, Veterans of Foreign Wars, Breakfast Club, that it urge all municipal and county officers and boards to refuse the America First Committee permission to use any public building in said county or city for public assembly purposes."

OAKLAND TRIBUNE

FORWARDED BY
SAN FRANCISCO DIVISION

SEP 16 1941

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Holloman
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

AMERICA FIRST SQUIRMS OVER LINDY SPEECH

Popular Indignation Rises Over Isolationist's Thrust at Jews.

BY FRANK SMOTHERS.

Charles A. Lindbergh's Des Moines speech, in which he injected a racial attack in his drive against the national program for defeat of Hitler, loomed today as one of the most embarrassing issues faced by the America First Committee in months.

Lindbergh's speech is expected "to be brought up," it was said at headquarters of America First, at a meeting of its national executive committee in Chicago Thursday.

This was divulged in the face of a mounting barrage of rebukes for the flier by outstanding Americans, most of them supporters of the national policy, some of them isolationists.

Until Thursday, a spokesman of America First declared, the committee has nothing to say on Lindbergh's speech.

The executive committee meeting, it was indicated, will concern itself primarily with the new "shoot on sight" orders under which the Navy started operating today. Apparently, however, the "heat" in Lindbergh's case has become too pressing to be disregarded.

Unconfirmed reports state that some America First leaders, including John T. Flynn, chairman of the New York chapter, are calling for repudiation of Lindbergh. Others are attempting to minimize the significance of his declaration at Des Moines that "the three most important groups who have been pressing this country toward war are the British, the Jewish and the Roosevelt administration."

Indications are that expulsion of Lindbergh—who shares with Senator Burton K. Wheeler top rank as platform man for America First—would split the organization's following wide open. Observers point out that it would anger the personal following built up by America First for Lindbergh, and followers generally of the Nazi line against the Jews.

Race Issue Raised in Film Quiz.

Lindbergh's speech in Des Moines followed raising of the same race issue by the Senate subcommittee investigation into "war propaganda" in the films—including admonishing of Jews by Senator Gerald K. Nye (Rep., N. D.), an America-First orator. Four of the five members of the subcommittee are isolationists.

Meantime, in Washington, Mrs. John L. Whitehurst, president of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, had a new designation for Lindbergh and Wheeler. She described them as "Sixth Columnists," who "innocently or otherwise permit certain attitudes or activities to exist when they are of inestimable benefit to the enemy."

Mrs. Whitehurst said she believed Wheeler and Lindbergh were honest, but she held that they and other isolationists should not "create chaotic thinking among our people as to the need for adequate national defense."

CHICAGO DAILY NEWS

9-16-41

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Carter
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

HUB POLICE TO PROTECT AMERICA FIRST MEETING

Preparations have been made to handle a crowd of 8000 trhough the engaging of Mechanics Building for the Amreica First Committee meeting Thursday night, officials of the Greater Boston branch of that organization announced today.

Close to 100 special police have been detailed to duty at the hall, anticipating the turnout. Back Bay police will be assisted by 40 patrolmen and two sergeants from other divisions.

Rush Holt

Supt. Edward W. Fallon has also ordered a squad of detectives on duty to guard against pickpockets and also disorder from heckling, and has assigned a large number of men to handle traffic at the Huntington avenue entrance to the hall.

Edwin S. Webster, Jr., Boston investment councilor, will preside, following a welcome to the speakers, former Sen. Rush Holt of Virginia and Sen. Gerald T. Nye of North Dakota, by William B. Gallagher, former commander of Michael Perkins Post, American Legion.

Tudor Gardiner, Jr., chairman of the Greater Boston branch, and Mrs. E. Sohier Welch, executive secretary, will speak at the dinner

Boston American
9/24/41

100

Nye to Address Anti-War Rally Here Tonight

America First Group Defends Lindbergh on Anti-Semitic Charge

Senator Gerald P. Nye of North Dakota and former Senator Rush Holt of West Virginia will arrive at Back Bay Station this morning to speak at a meeting tonight in Mechanics Hall under the auspices of the America First Committee.

Sponsors of tonight's meeting announced that the right is reserved to refuse admittance to "Communists, Fascists, members of the Nazi Bund and the war bund."

DINNER TO PRECEDE RALLY

At a dinner at the Vendome preceding the rally, speakers will include Mrs. E. Sohier Welch and Tudor Gardiner, Jr.

The committee, which arranged the dinner and the meeting at Mechanics Hall includes Mrs. John S. Lawrence, Mrs. Louis Arthur Coolidge, Mrs. Ezra R. Thayer, Miss Helen Longstreet Coolidge, Mrs. Augustus Lowell Putnam, Mrs. John R. Marquand, Mrs. Roscoe Carter, Mrs. James C. Bayley, Jr., Paul Killiam, Jr., Ernest Henderson, Edward Brackett and Dr. Carl Barnes.

Edwin S. Webster of Boston, acting secretary of the New York chapter of the America First Committee, will preside at the meeting.

CHICAGO, Sept. 24 (AP)—The America First Committee said in a statement tonight that "Col. Lindbergh and his fellow members of the America First Committee are not anti-semitic," and charged that interventionists had injected the race issue "into the discussion of war or peace."

The statement was issued by the group's national committee, the policy making body, as a result of Lindbergh's speech in Des Moines, Ia., Sept. 11, in which he said the "British, the Jewish and the Roosevelt administration' were the three most important groups "which have been pressing this country toward war."

The statement issued by the committee follows:

"Ever since the nation-wide effort to keep America out of war began, the interventionists have sought to hide the real issue by flinging false charges at the America First Committee and at every leader who has spoken out against our entry into the European conflict. The present attack on Col. Lindbergh is merely another case in point.

"DEPLORED" BY GROUP

"Col. Lindbergh and his fellow members of the America First Committee are not anti-semitic. We deplore the injection of the race issue into the discussion of war or peace. It is the interventionists who have done this.

"America First, on the other hand, has invited men and women of every race, religion and national origin to join this committee, provided only that they are patriotic citizens who put the interest of their country ahead of any other nation. We repeat that invitation.

"At least 80 per cent. of the American people oppose our entry into the war. The America First Committee has supplied to these millions of citizens a leadership which has thus far helped to avert disaster. Consequently, the aim of the war makers is to destroy the America First Committee.

"Behind a smoke screen of groundless charges this nation is being led to war in violation of the

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. E. A. Tamm	✓
Mr. Clegg	
Mr. Glavin	
Mr. Ladd	
Mr. Nichols	
Mr. Tracy	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Carson	
Mr. Coffey	
Mr. Hendon	
Mr. Holloman	
Mr. Quinn Tamm	
Mr. Nease	
Miss Gandy	

Boston Herald
9/25/41

100-4712-A

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Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
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Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Holloman
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

Big Police Detail Planned for Holt and Nye Tonight

America First Meeting Here Expected to Attract 8000

As word reached Boston last night that the national directors of the America First Committee have defended Lindbergh's Des Moines speech on the grounds that charges that it was anti-Semitic are "baseless," elaborate police arrangements were completed to guard against trouble at the local America First meeting to be held tonight at Mechanics Building.

Speaking at tonight's meeting will be United States Senator Gerald P. Nye, Rep., of North Dakota, and Ex-United States Senator Rush Holt of West Virginia, a bitter Roosevelt foe.

Close to 100 special police have been detailed to duty at Mechanics Building tonight, where a gathering of more than 8000 is expected to attend. During the day Senator Nye will give a press interview and be taken by police escort to the State House to be greeted by Lieut. Gov. Horace T. Cahill and to City Hall to be welcomed by the Mayor.

Senator Nye will be met at the train at the South Station by City Greeter Louis J. Brems and the heads of the Boston chapter of the committee. He will go then to the Copley-Plaza where he will give a press interview. Edwin S. Webster Jr., Boston and New York investment counselor, will preside at the meeting tonight. Members of the committee will give the speakers a dinner before the meeting.

Boston Globe
9/25/41

100-

Mr. Tolson.....
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg .....
Mr. Glavin .....
Mr. Ladd.....
Mr. Nichols....
Mr. Tracy.....
Mr. Rosen .....
Mr. Carson ....
Mr. Coffey.....
Mr. Hendon ...
Mr. Hollomon .
Mr. Quinn Tam
Mr. Nease.....
Miss Gandy.....

WHEELER ARRIVES IN BAY AREA FOR TWO ADDRESSES

United States Senator Burton K. Wheeler of Montana will be the principal speaker tonight at a rally of the America First Committee to be held at the Civic Auditorium in Oakland.

Senator Wheeler arrived in the Bay district today for two public appearances. At noon he was scheduled as the guest speaker at the Commonwealth Club luncheon at the Palace Hotel in San Francisco, his subject being "Can the United States Stay Out of This War?"

His Oakland appearance at the Civic Auditorium is the main event of the America First Committee's program, and John J. Teheny, attorney and regional director for Northern California, announces that plans have been completed to handle a large crowd.

The doors of the arena will be opened at 6 o'clock, and there will be a program of speaking and singing to keep the attention of the crowd until Wheeler begins his speech at 9 o'clock. His talk will be broadcast from 9 to 9:30 by KSFO.

Of the 7000 seats in the Auditorium, 5000 are unreserved and free to the public. The remaining 2000 are reserved, with tickets selling from 25 cents to $1.

Guy M. Wright, local chairman of the America First Committee, will read the principles of America First; and a preliminary address will be made by James Purcell, San Francisco attorney.

SEP 23 1941

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Carson
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tamm
Miss Gandy

America First Ban Is Held Up

Berkeley School Board Decides to Wait Until Hall Is Asked For

BERKELEY, Sept. 25.—In the wake of action taken by the City Council, the Berkeley Board of Education last night delayed voting on the banning of schools to the America First Committee until a formal request is made for use of an auditorium.

"Our board is in general agreement with the attitude expressed in your resolution," reads a letter to Campanile Post No. 402, American Legion, which asked both city and school authorities to bar America First meetings from public structures. "No request is now before this board for the use of any of its buildings by this committee or any of its members. If we receive such a request, the board will at that time take definite and positive action."

A communication, enclosing resolutions adopted by Campanile Post, was discussed in conference session by board members prior to the open meeting. As a result of the decision reached, Superintendent Virgil Dickson read the Legion resolution and the board's drafted reply, which was accepted without discussion by the board.

At a meeting on Tuesday the City Council, after lengthy discussion and a series of motions and reconsiderations, voted to table the Legion resolution until a request for use of

FBI
RECEIVED BY

Attack on Lindy Smokescreen, Backers Charge

America First Denies Flyer Is Anti-Semitic, Blames War Seekers

CHICAGO, Sept. 24 (C.T.P.S.). Officials of the America First Committee issued a statement today in which they denied charges that Charles A. Lindbergh is anti-Semitic and held that "behind a smokescreen of groundless charges this nation is being led to war in violation of the Constitution of the United States."

The charges were made after Lindbergh asserted that three groups, the British, the Jewish, and the Roosevelt Administration, are mainly responsible for edging the United States to the verge of war.

Blames Interventionists

"Ever since the nation-wide effort to keep America out of war began," the America First statement said, "the interventionists have sought to hide the real issue by flinging false charges at the America First Committee and at every leader who has spoken out against our entry into the European conflict. The present attack on Colonel Lindbergh is merely another case in point.

"Colonel Lindbergh and his fellow members of the America First Committee are not anti-Semitic. We deplore the injection of the race issue into the discussion of war or peace. It is the interventionists who have done this.

Invites All Races

"America First, on the other hand, has invited men and women of every race, religion and national origin to join this committee. Provided only that they are patriotic citizens who put the interests of their country ahead of any other nation. We repeat that invitation.

"At least 80 per cent of the American people oppose our entry into the war. The America First Committee has supplied to these millions of citizens a leadership which has thus far helped to avert disaster. Consequently, the aim of the war makers is to destroy the America First Committee.

"Behind a smokescreen of groundless charges this nation is being led to war in violation of the Constitution of the United States.

"There is but one real issue—the issue of war. From this issue we will not be diverted. We will carry on the fight until it is won."

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Lado
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Mendon
Mr. Trotter
Miss Gandy

Rm Kramer

WASHINGTON TIMES-HERALD
Page 2

SEP 25 1941

CLIPPING FROM
WASHINGTON TIMES HERALD
9-25-41

America First Office Raided In Nazi Probe

Rep. Fish Denies Aiding Dennett in Removing Mail Sacks

Twelve sacks of mail were seized in the Washington headquarters of the America First Committee by a deputy United States marshal last night in connection with a pending Grand Jury investigation of what the Justice Department calls "suspected Nazi agents."

Justice Department officials said the mail sacks were handed over voluntarily by representatives of the America First Committee in response to a subpoena duces tecum. The Government spokesmen denied that the mail was seized in an effort to smear the America First Committee. They insisted there is no intention of using the Grand Jury as a weapon of intimidation against antiWar organizations generally.

Was Second Raid

Earlier in the day, however, the Justice Department had been accused of attempting to smear noninterventionists in Congress as a result of its disclosure of another raid on the headquarters of the Make Europe Pay and the Islands for War Debts Committees.

In the first raid Justice Department agents seized bales of envelopes bearing the congressional free mailing frank of seven noninterventionists and containing speeches made by them in Congress. Prescott Dennett, secretary of the Make Europe Pay and the Islands for War Debts Committees, failed to produce the franked mail in response to a subpoena duces tecum, according to Justice Department officials, and has been threatened with contempt proceedings.

Readily Surrendered

The second mail seizure ... out of the earlier raid. Age... obtained information, it said, ... twelve sacks of mail belonging ... Dennett had been placed in ... custody of the America First C... mittee. A subpoena duces tec... directed Miss Isabel French, off... manager of the committee he... quarters, to produce the mail... sacks. Justice Department spokesmen said she readily surrendered the mail sacks to the marshal.

It was reported that the 12 sacks seized yesterday were part of a total of 20. These were said to have been removed from Dennett's offices, part of them being taken to the offices of the America First Committee and others stored in the House Office Building. It was further reported that Representative Hamilton Fish (R.), of New York, had aided Dennett in the removal. This Representative Fish denied emphatically last night in New Bedford, Mass., where he had a lecture engagement.

Senator's Wife Chairman

Mrs. Bennett Champ Clark, wife of the Missouri antiwar Senator, is chairman of the Washington chapter of the America First Committee. Justice Department officials said she called and explained that there was no objection whatever to the removal of the mail sacks.

The unmailed letters seized in Dennett's headquarters bore the franks of:

Representative Stephen A. Day (R.), of Illinois; Representative Martin L. Sweeney (D.), of Ohio; Senator D. Worth Clark (D.), of Idaho; Senator Gerald P. Nye (R.), of North Dakota; Representative George Holden Tinkham (R.), of Massachusetts; the late Senator Ernest Lundeen (F.-L.), of Minnesota, and former Representative J. Thorkelson (R.), of Montana.

Senator Clark said he knew nothing about the envelopes bearing his frank and speeches.

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Mr. Tracy
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Holloman
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

AMERICA FIRST DENIES LINDBERGH IS ANTI-SEMITIC

Officials of the America First committee issued a statement yesterday in which they denied charges that Charles A. Lindbergh is anti-Semitic and held that "behind a smoke screen of groundless charges this nation is being led to war in violation of the constitution."

The charges were made after Lindbergh, speaking at Des Moines, Ia., asserted that the British, the Jewish, and the Roosevelt administration are mainly responsible for edging the United States to the verge of war.

Fling False Charges.

"The interventionists have sought to hide the real issue by flinging false charges at every leader who has spoken out against our entry into the European conflict. The attack on Col. Lindbergh is merely another case in point.

"Col. Lindbergh and his fellow members of the America First committee are not anti-Semitic. We deplore the injection of the race issue into the discussion of war or peace. It is the interventionists who have done this.

Tell Interventionists' Aim.

"America First, on the other hand, has invited men and women of every race, religion, and national origin to join this committee.

"At least 80 per cent of the American people oppose our entry into the war. The America First committee has supplied to these millions of citizens a leadership which has thus far helped to avert disaster. Consequently, the aim of the war makers is to destroy the America First committee."

CHICAGO DAILY TRIBUNE

9-25-4

America First Group Denies Anti-Semitism

By the Associated Press

Chicago, Sept. 24.—The America First Committee said in a statement tonight that "Col. Lindbergh and his fellow members of the America First Committee are *not* anti-Semitic," and charged that interventionists had injected the race issue "into the discussion of war or peace."

The statement was issued by the group's national committee, the policy making body, as a result of Lindbergh's speech in Des Moines, Iowa, on September 11, in which he said the "British, the Jewish and the Roosevelt Administration" were the three most important groups "which have been pressing this country toward war."

The statement issued by the committee follows:

"Ever since the nation-wide effort to keep America out of war began the interventionists have sought to hide the real issue by flinging false charges at the America First Committee and at every leader who has spoken out against our entry into the European conflict. The present attack on Col. Lindbergh is merely another case in point."

"Colonel Lindbergh and his fellow members of the America First Committee are not anti-Semitic. We deplore the injection of the race issue into the discussion of war or peace. It is the interventionists who have done this.

"America First, on the other hand, has invited men and women of every race, religion and national origin to join this committee, provided only that they are patriotic citizens who put the interest of their country ahead of any other nation. We repeat that invitation.

"At least 80 per cent of the American people oppose our entry into the war. The America First Committee has supplied to these millions of citizens a leadership which has thus far helped to avert disaster. Consequently, the aim of the war makers is to destroy the America First Committee.

"Behind a smoke screen of groundless charges, this nation is being led to war in violation of the Constitution of the United States.

"There is but one real issue—the issue of war. From this issue we

AMERICA FIRST BRAVES REBUKES, DEFENDS LINDY

Denies Flier or Group Is Anti-Semitic; Patriots Hit Statement.

'Adolf Loves Lindy'

Los Angeles, Sept. 25.—(UP)—Billboard "Valentines," bearing an arrow-pierced heart and the words "Adolf Loves Lindy," made their appearance here today.

The signs bore no caption and contained no clue as to who erected them.

BY FRANK SMOTHERS.

The America First Committee today answered a nation-wide wave of rebuke for Charles A. Lindbergh's Des Moines attack upon the Jews by declaring that neither Lindbergh nor America First is "anti-Semitic."

Its statement defending the aviator makes no direct reference to his speech at an America First rally in Des Moines, Sept. 11, nor to the charges he then directed against the Jews.

Those Lindbergh blasts included the allegation that "the British, the Jewish and the Roosevelt administration" were "pressing this country toward war," and that the Jews present great "danger" in what he described as "their large ownership and influence in our motion pictures, our press, our radio and our government."

Brings Forth a Mouse.

"We deplore the injection of the race issue into the discussion of war or peace," says the long-awaited America First statement issued on behalf of the national executive committee. "It is the interventionists who have done this."

That charge against the interventionists apparently referred to declarations by Wendell Willkie and other backers of the national foreign policy openly defending American Jews from attack.

After reading the America First pronouncement Courtenay Barber Jr., director of the Chicago Fight for Freedom Committee, issued this statement:

"The mountain labored and brought forth a mouse. The attempt of the America First Committee to whitewash Lindbergh and themselves for the ex-colonel's anti-Semitic speech is a clear-cut self-indictment.

Renews Its Charge.

"Fight for Freedom renews its charge that the America First Committee has a strong anti-Semitic plank in its secret platform.

"We welcome the fact that its leading spokesman has brought it out into the open, with such men as Nye, Wheeler and Fish openly substantiating it and countless others doing likewise by indiscreet silence."

The three isolationists named are Senator Burton K. Wheeler, Senator Gerald P. Nye and Congressman Hamilton Fish.

Simultaneously Barber made public a letter he has sent to Brig.-Gen. Robert E. Wood, retired, chairman of America First, challenging that committee to disclose the names and contributions of its donors to a recognized public accountant—Fight for Freedom to pay for the job. National headquarters of America First have consistently declined to reveal a full list of major donors. It released a partial list some months ago.

Text of the Statement.

The complete statement by the America First Committee on Lindbergh follows:

"Ever since the nationly wide effort to keep America out of war began, the interventionists have sought to hide the real issue by flinging false charges at the America First Committee and at every leader who has spoken out against our entry into the European conflict. The present attack on Col. Lindbergh is merely another case in point.

"Col. Lindbergh and his fellow members of the America First Committee are not anti-Semitic. We deplore the injection of the issue into the discussion of peace. It is the interventionists who have done this. America First, on the other hand, has welcomed Jewish men and women of every race, religion and national origin to membership in the committee, provided only that they are patriotic citizens who put the interests of their country ahead of those of any other nation. We repeat that invitation.

"At least 80 per cent of the American people oppose our entry into the war. The America First Committee has supplied to these millions of citizens a leadership which has thus far helped to avert disaster. Consequently, the aim of the war makers is to destroy the America First Committee.

'We'll Carry On Fight.'

"Behind a smokescreen of groundless charges this nation is being led to war in violation of the Constitution of the United States.

"There is but one real issue—the issue of war. From this issue we will not be diverted. We will carry on the fight until it is won."

Following discussion of Lindbergh at a meeting of the America First national executive committee at the home of Janet Ayer Fairbank last Thursday, issuance of a statement was delayed pending its submission to committeemen not present.

Asked today whether the national committeemen all had approved the final statement, an America First spokesman said:

"There is no announcement on how it was decided upon."

One member of the executive committee — Brig. Gen. Hugh S. Johnson, retired—has publicly disassociated himself from Lindbergh's speech.

Stand on Statement.

Asked whether the statement was to be considered a specific backing of Lindbergh's charges against the Jews and admonition to them, the spokesman said:

"We stand on the statement. You can interpret it as you wish."

One of Lindbergh's statements at Des Moines was:

"Tolerance is a virtue that depends upon peace and strength. History shows that it cannot survive war and devastation. A few far-sighted Jewish people realize this and stand opposed to intervention. But the majority still do not."

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
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Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

CHICAGO DAILY NEWS

America First Rally Calls for Helpers Of German, Italian and Irish Or

BY FRANK SMOTHERS.

The Rev. John A. O'Brien, professor of apologetics at Notre Dame, last night launched "a plan" for America First—and in doing so exhorted citizens "with German, Austrian and Italian names" to make themselves heard.

The recently organized "Christopher Columbus Chapter" of America First on the Southwest Side had some 400 adherents in Marshfield Auditorium to hear the professor and Janet Ayer Fairbank, vice-chairman of America First.

All listened intently as Father O'Brien declared — intoning his words easily, plausibly, almost lovingly:

"All we need is about 3,000,000 more Irish. But I plead with others of you, get out and work. A German name is nothing against you. There should be no silence of people with German, Austrian and Italian names."

Few Volunteer to Picket.

That pronouncement by the professor came after he'd called for volunteers to do such jobs as picketing "prowar" movies and the homes of Senator Scott Lucas and interventionist congressmen.

Relatively few volunteered. Almost all who identified themselves had Irish names—Hogan, McIntyre, Brady among them. Only one Italian name was heard, though the district was largely Italian and many Italo-Americans sat in the old hall and applauded.

They were glad to applaud en masse, but apparently were a little dubious about personal involvment in the picketing Father O'Brien had in mind. He called the reaction of the Irish "magnificent."

What the professor did not mention was that the meeting had attracted such a small proportion of the Italo-Americans and Irish-Americans of the congested area from which it drew. A sound truck had been prepared outside for an overflow. It was never used—there was no overflow. A great many vacant seats faced Father O'Brien.

Most of his audience were poor people. They were of all ages. A large proportion of the older Italian immigrants stood respectfully mute as the "Star Spangled Banner" was sung.

'I've Written 1,500 Letters.'

It was not without urging that Father O'Brien presented his "plan" for America First. Just after he and Mrs. Fairbank mounted the flag-draped platform to start the meeting, a bald-headed man in the audience stood up and yelled:

"Give us a plan tonight. We haven't got a plan."

The same man came back to it later after Mrs. Fairbank said how much good she thought antiwar letters to the White House had done. He stood up and shouted with emotion:

"Letters haven't helped. I've written 1,500 of them. We need a plan."

So Father O'Brien tried to offer a plan. It included the proposed picketing. Talking of picketing, he said, "Why not the White House?" But apparently the Christopher Columbus Chapter didn't see just how it could picket the White House and that idea lapsed.

'Write Letter Every Day.'

The "plan" included enrolling in America First what Father O'Brien called "all the 125,000,000 who think as we do." Otherwise it got back to the old reliable—letters. The O'Brien letter plan, however, sent 1,500 letters, the professor of apologetics was not.

"How many of you will agree to write one letter a day to the President and Congress till the crisis is past?" O'Brien asked.

Most raised their hands. The entire audience was [illegible] 400, Father O'Brien said it was 1,000, and he wanted 1,000 letters sent a day.

"Write every day to the President," he gently intoned. "And how about Lucas?"

"Boo, boo," stated some of his hearers.

"Write one every day to Lucas," Father O'Brien resumed. "And what about the newspapers that cry for war each day, and say we won't rest till we get your boy slaughtered and blow out his brains? Is there a law that makes you buy a paper that does so?"

A few said, no, there wasn't.

CHICAGO DAILY NEWS

9-26-41

America First Office Raided In Nazi Probe

Rep. Fish Denies Aiding Dennett in Removing Mail Sacks

Twelve sacks of mail were seized in the Washington headquarters of the America First Committee by a deputy United States marshal last night in connection with a pending Grand Jury investigation of what the Justice Department calls "suspected Nazi agents."

Justice Department officials said the mail sacks were handed over voluntarily by representatives of the America First Committee in response to a subpoena duces tecum. The Government spokesmen denied that the mail was seized in an effort to smear the America First Committee. They insisted there is no intention of using the Grand Jury as a weapon of intimidation against antiwar organizations generally.

Was Second Raid

Earlier in the day, however, the Justice Department had been accused of attempting to smear noninterventionists in Congress as a result of its disclosure of another raid on the headquarters of the Make Europe Pay and the Islands for War Debts Committees.

In the first raid Justice Department agents seized bales of envelopes bearing the congressional free mailing frank of seven noninterventionists and containing speeches made by them in Congress. Prescott Dennett, secretary of the Make Europe Pay and the Islands for War Debts Committees, failed to produce the franked mail in response to a subpoena duces tecum, according to Justice Department officials, and has been

Readily Surrendered

The second mail seizure grew out of the earlier raid. Agents obtained information, it said, that twelve sacks of mail belonging to Dennett had been placed in the custody of the America First Committee. A subpoena duces tecum directed Miss Isabel French, office manager of the committee headquarters, to produce the mail sacks. Justice Department spokesmen said she readily surrendered the mail sacks to the marshal.

It was reported that the 12 sacks seized yesterday were part of a total of 20. These were said to have been removed from Dennett's offices, part of them being taken to the offices of the America First Committee and others stored in the House Office Building. It was further reported that Representative Hamilton Fish (R.), of New York, had aided Dennett in the removal. This Representative Fish denied emphatically last night in New Bedford, Mass., where he had a lecture engagement.

Senator's Wife Chairman

Mrs. Bennett Champ Clark, wife of the Missouri antiwar Senator, is chairman of the Washington chapter of the America First Committee. Justice Department officials said she called and explained that there was no objection whatever to the removal of the mail sacks.

The unmailed letters seized in Dennett's headquarters bore the franks of:

Representative Stephen A. Day (R.), of Illinois; Representative Martin L. Sweeney (D.), of Ohio; Senator D. Worth Clark (D.), of Idaho; Senator Gerald P. Nye (R.), of North Dakota; Representative George Holden Tinkham (R.), of Massachusetts; the late Senator Ernest Lundeen (F.-L.), of Minnesota, and former Representative J. Thorkelson (R.), of Montana.

Senator Clark said he knew nothing about the envelopes bearing his frank and speeches.

TIMES-HERALD SEP 26 194

Mr. Tolson
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Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

Fake War Drive Issues Assailed by O'Brien

Fake issues, exaggerated incidents and manufactured crises are being used by the war party in a desperate effort to drag the American people into the European strife, Dr. John A. O'Brien, Notre Dame professor, charged last night.

Speaking under the auspices of the Christopher Columbus Chapter of the America First Committee at Marshfield Auditorium, he urged the people to stand fast in their determination not to be used as cannon fodder to fight the wars of foreign nations. He said:

"The propaganda to enter the European holocaust outrages every instinct of American patriotism and reasonable self-interest. America's entrance would spell national suicide."

PUTS AMERICA FIRST.

He made it clear that he was speaking "neither for Notre Dame nor for the Catholic church, but in my own name as an American citizen. I have an abhorrence for Hitlerism, loathing for Stalinism, and sympathy for victims of aggression everywhere.

He said no finer tribute could be paid to the common-sense of the American people "and their ability to see through the smoke screen of propaganda" than to say that "they are as determined as ever not to repeat the ghastly blunder of 1917."

He spent the first year of the war at Oxford University, he continued, and saw the enormous stream of British propaganda sent daily to America to pull the United States again "into the power of Europe." He added:

COLD TO PROPAGANDA.

"In spite of that increasing stream of British propaganda, in spite of British agents swarming upon Washington like an army of redcoat invaders, and in spite of the swashbuckling clamor of the Knoxes, Stimsons, Willkies and Peppers, the American people remain calm and determined to mind their own business. This, too, in spite of the continued inflammatory utterances of the man who swore to high heaven to keep us out of war."

At the end of the meeting the 1,000 participants sent a telegram to President Roosevelt urging him not to demand epeal of the neutrality act.

100-4112-A

THE CHICAGO AMERICAN

9-26-41

Mr. Tolson
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THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION
September 26, 1941

Agents Seize Papers From 'America First'

Investigators Will Not Reveal Contents of Subpoenaed Material.

WASHINGTON, Sept. 25.—(AP) Government investigators revealed today they had subpoenaed material from the local office of the America First Committee in connection with the Justice Department's grand jury inquiry into alleged violations of the foreign agents' registration act.

The material was enclosed in half a dozen mail sacks, but William P. Maloney and Edward J. Hickey, special assistants to the attorney general in charge of the inquiry, refused to say what the papers and documents included.

The investigation already has resulted in the indictment of Frank Burch, Akron (Ohio) attorney, for failure to register as an alleged agent of the German government.

During the day the grand jury heard five witnesses, among them Prescott Dennett, secretary of the make-Europe-pay-war debts committee and the islands-for-war debts committee.

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Hoffman
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

Mrs. Kahn: I'm Not a Member Of 'America First'

Former Congresswoman Florence P. Kahn of San Francisco has issued a statement declaring she is not a member of the America First Committee and that she is in no way associated with that organization.

"The continued use of my name, in spite of numerous and vehement protests, by the America First Committee, with which I am in no way connected, has necessitated my making this public statement," Mrs. Kahn said.

SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE

FORWARDED BY
SAN FRANCISCO DIVISION

SEP 26 1941

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WASHINGTON TIMES-HERALD SEP 26 194

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Mr. Holloman
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

America 1st Rally for Hoopestown

The agricultural rally planned by the America First Committee for Fairbury, Ill., until officials there banned it, will be held next Sunday at McFerrin Park, Hoopeston, national headquarters announced here yesterday.

At least 25,000 persons are expected, the committee said. Sen. Gerald P. Nye will speak.

Twice, Perry J. Keck, president of the Fairbury Fair, Inc., granted the committee use of the Fairbury fairgrounds for the rally, but each time followed with a cancellation, the committee said.

THE CHICAGO AMERICAN

9-28-41

Mr. Tolson .....
Mr. E. A. Tamm ...
Mr. Clegg .....
Mr. Glavin .....
Mr. Ladd .....
Mr. Nichols .....
Mr. Tracy .....
Mr. Rosen .....
Mr. Carson .....
Mr. Coffey .....
Mr. Hendon .....
Mr. Folloman .....
Mr. Quinn Tamm ....
Mr. Nease .....
Miss Gandy .....
.....

AMERICA FIRST RALLY TONIGHT IN LIBERTYVILLE

Libertyville chapter of the America First committee will conduct a rally at 8 p. m. tonight in the Libertyville Township High school. Miss Gertrude Coogan of the America First speakers' bureau will speak. Two suburban America First meetings are scheduled for 8 p. m. tomorrow. Attorney Robert D. Ross will speak before the Oak Park chapter at 736 Lake street, and Attorney Henry Rademacher will address the Evanston chapter at 908 Seward street.

CHICAGO DAILY TRIBUNE

9-28-4

AMERICA FIRST AND LINDBERGH WIN BUND PRAISE

Editorial Hailing Attack on Jews Cited by Leader of Freedom Group.

BY FRANK SMOTHERS.

Charles A. Lindbergh and America First can be judged "by the enthusiasms they arouse," it was declared today by Courtenay Barber Jr., director of the Chicago Fight for Freedom Committee.

Barber called attention to plaudits in the organ of the German-American Bund of Sept. 25, the Free American and Deutsche Weckruf und Beobachter for what were called Lindbergh's "truthful" words at Des Moines about the Jews.

Appeals for 'America First.'

An editorial signed by William Kunze, fuehrer of the bund, hailed Lindbergh, Senator Gerald P. Nye and Senator Burton K. Wheeler as "courageous men" and concluded:

"The European war, wanted by and brought about by this international Jew, has effected the end of the Jew in Europe. If he should fail to learn from that example, continuing to edge America into the holocaust, he will just as certainly experience the same elimination in this country, at the hands of an aroused United States citizenry quite possibly less gentle in its wrath than the peoples of Europe! Yes, it is HIGH TIME to think of AMERICA FIRST!"

Bund Praises America First.

Barber emphasized that praise from the bund organ and other "extraordinary friends" was nothing new for Lindbergh and America First.

He quoted the Free American and Deutscher Weckruf und Beobachter as saying on May 1:

"Join the America First Committee and continue to bombard your representatives in Congress with letters and telegrams in protest."

Other citations by Barber:

The Fiery Cross, official publication of the Ku Klux Klan, April: "The Klan's attitude toward the present world situation was aptly expressed recently by Gen. Robert E. Wood, chairman of the America First Committee.

Coughlin Identifies Group.

Social Justice, organ of Father Charles E. Coughlin, April 28: "Col. Charles A. Lindbergh became a member of the America First Committee last week. It is the same committee . . . under whose auspices Father Charles E. Coughlin would be speaking did he enjoy one half as much liberty as a priest and as a citizen as that enjoyed by Msgr. John A. Ryan of the National Catholic Welfare Council."

Msgr. Ryan, outstanding American Catholic sociologist, is a supporter of the administration's foreign policy.

'Stop Hitler' Rally Friday.

Meantime, Fight for Freedom has completed plans for a "Hitler-Must-Not-Win" rally to be held in Orchestra Hall at 8 p. m., Friday. Speakers will be Augustus F. Lindbergh, Alabama attorney and cousin of the isolationist aviator; Rex Stout, novelist, and Stanley High, writer on foreign affairs. Admission will be free.

In New York last night Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt opened a series of sponsored radio broadcasts over the NBC network with an address in which she said sincere advocates of America First "are misguided because they seem to think that there is such a thing as separation and isolationism for any individual country."

"One can forgive these sincere idealists," said the first lady, but she did not believe all the isolationist leaders could be forgiven. She said:

"Sometimes I think that some of the isolation leaders forget that if they begin to break up this country into self-conscious racial and religious groups, they will destroy the nation they profess to want to preserve, for we are made up of racial strains from every part of the world."

Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

100-411-4

CHICAGO DAILY NEWS

9-29-41

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Traer
Mr. Egan
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Carter

GROUP ASSAILS 'AMERICA FIRST'

Jerry O'Connell Hits At Senator Wheeler

Activities of individuals and organizations interested in the nation's foreign policy produced these developments today:

The California Action Conference for Civil Rights today was on record in opposition to the America First Committee for attempting "to split the increasing militant unity of the American people in defense of freedom and in opposition to all manifestations."

The conference was called jointly by the Civil Rights Conference of Northern California and the Southern California branch of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties. More than 300 delegates, made up chiefly of trade union representatives, attended.

O'Connell Raps Wheeler

The resolution was passed after the delegates heard Jerry O'Connell, former Montana congressman, term his fellow citizen, Senator Burton K. Wheeler, "pro-Hitler, pro-Fascist, anti-democratic and anti-American."

"Wheeler," said Mr. O'Connell, "would sacrifice his state and his country for the sake of his own personal ambitions and his hatred of President Roosevelt." Mr. O'Connell and Senator Wheeler long have been political foes.

* * *

Back from a month's visit in Washington, D. C., and New York, M. Boris Eliacheff, personal representative of General Charles de Gaulle in San Francisco, will speak Wednesday night at a meeting of the local chapter of France Forever in Druids Hall. He will discuss the trend of public opinion concerning recognition of the Free French regime and the furnishing of supplies to Free French forces under the lend-lease bill. Paul Verdier, president of the local France Forever unit, will preside.

168

FOR [illegible] BY
SAN FRA[illegible]

SEP 23 1941

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

Jewish Leader Backs Stand Of Lindbergh

By International News Service

Chicago, Sept. 29.—The America First Committee tonight released a letter received from Dr. Hyman Lischner, of San Diego, former president of B'nai Brith of San Diego and a prominent Pacific Coast physician, indorsing the stand taken by Charles A. Lindbergh.

Dr. Lischner, who was born in Russia of Jewish parentage, referred to Lindbergh as "that courageous and robust American," and stated that Lindbergh "repeats wisely the lesson Israel ought to have learned through the teachings of her prophets and philosophers."

The letter, apparently released in answer to charges that Lindbergh had made anti-Semitic utterances in his Des Moines, Iowa, speech, said in part:

"As a matter of fact, Col. Lindbergh is sympathetic with the feelings and the natural concern of the American Jews for their brethren in Germany. He holds that they, as also the British, have real cause to be concerned and are more consistent and sincere in the pursuit of their policies.

"The progressive war propaganda of the Administration, with its continually increasing governing power, stands alone apparently uninfluenced by any compunction of a violation of trust or by any natural feeling for the immediate welfare of its own people, particularly the youth of America."

The letter, three typewritten pages long, was addressed to Gen. Robert E. Wood, chairman of the America First Committee, and was signed "Yours for America as a Whole, 'One and Indivisible,' Hyman Lischner."

168

WASHINGTON POST
Page 4

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Li[illegible]sen
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Candy

Gangster Horde On the March

Editor The Chronicle — Sir: Amazing, isn't it, how we are beginning to see that America First means Britian Last? It evidently means nothing at all to the members of that Committee that a world force is sweeping steadily nearer to us, held back only by the desperate fighting of two countries. A gangster horde is on the march, calling intc its fold all those who are opposed to law and culture. Soon all the jackals of the world will join this world encircling movement because it appeals to those who live by the sinister, the foul and the bestial. Religion, art literature, humanity — have all been destroyed by these gangsters whose methods differ not at all from the gangsters of Chicago in Capone's time.

How can anyone be so stupid as to believe that we could do business with them, or that we can escape being engulfed by the menace ourselves if we blindly give lip service to a propaganda which is turning Americans into traitors because their jealousy—or hatred, whichever emotion it may be, of England, blinds them to a clear conception of what Germany stands for these days, whether within her own boundaries or in the conquered countries to whom she was going to bring the New Order?

Do the America First members never read? Or have they too a desire to burn all literature which may show the Nazis as they really are, full of cupidity, arrogance and seeming to have lost the attributes by which mankind lives and grows in greatness of spirit?

DOROTHY SAGE WYMAN.

Palo Alto.

SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE

FORWARDED BY
SAN FRANCISCO DIVISION

SEP 30 1941

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
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Mr. Coffey
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Holloman
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

THANKS FROM AMERICA FIRST

To the Editor:

The executive board of the America First Committee of Northern California extends its thanks to all those, who, despite the brief notice given for such an occasion, made the Senator Burton K. Wheeler mass meeting, recently given in Oakland, a tremendous success.

Amongst those whom the board would like to thank are:

KSFO, Columbia Broadcasting System, for having sought to perform a public service in bringing the address to their many listeners on the Pacific Coast. The cancellation of this broadcast was no fault of the station, but came as a last-minute request from Senator Wheeler, who felt, in the light of fast-moving events in Washington culminating with the Administration's attempt to repeal our Neutrality Act, that any advance script as required by radio regulations, wa, subject to change;

The Press of San Francisco and of the Bay Region, who, realizing the obstacles, some unavoidable and some deliberate, that were being placed in the path of this committee, came to the rescue by publicizing all news as fast as released. Our committee feels this is a vital illustration to the American people of the value of a free and uncontrolled Press;

The City Council, district attorney, city manager and all other officials in Oakland, who by standing firm placed their city on the credit side of the ledger for true Americanism in the eyes of the Nation;

Chief of Police Wallman and his men for the excellent manner in which they handled the meeting, and

All those other Americans, who by signing up as new members on that night in the America First Committee, evidenced their determination to uphold and preserve the constitutional form of Government in the United States of America.

We, the representatives of the America First Committee in Northern California, realize that it was due to your generous response that the Senator Burton K. Wheeler mass meeting still lingers on our memory as a "Proof through the night that our flag was still there."

America First Committee
of Northern California
Raymond R. Wallman
Executive Secretary

San Francisco, September 30.

OAKLAND TRIBUNE

FORWARDED BY
SAN FRANCISCO DIVISION

OCT 2- 1941

Clipping from the
Richmond News Leader

OCT 2 1941

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Mr. Coffey
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Holloman
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

Anonymous Attacks on America First Leader Fail to Perturb Isolationist in Campaign

By Overton Jones

When J. Stanley Collins opened a letter received in the mail at his home the other day, he found a newspaper clipping—a picture of himself which had appeared in The Times-Dispatch a few days earlier. On Mr. Collins' light-colored coat, the sender had drawn a large swastika.

More recently, he opened an envelope addressed to the "American Fascist Committee" to find a sheet of white paper on which had been emblazoned in red a large swastika. There was a reference to American "Quislings."

If the senders of those two missiles had expected to arouse the anger of the chairman of Richmond's America First Committee, they would have been disappointed to see him tell of the incidents later. For Mr. Collins, it seems, is much more interested these days in things other than anonymous letters — such things as putting the brakes on what he thinks is this nation's mad ride towards war.

England Has Sympathy

"We (America Firsters) don't think it is logical to buy into a war and then go 3,000 miles to participate in it," he declared. "Personally, my sympathy is with England. I put Hitler in the class with a mad dog and I feel the same way about Red Joe. But the claim that anybody is fighting our war is an untenable position, and we have no business getting mixed up in it."

Mr. Collins doesn't like the idea of being singled out in any survey of the America First Committee here, despite the fact that he's the elected leader. It's a movement of principles, not personalities, he declared, and the committee is no place for anybody seeking personal publicity.

In the belief that a thorough examination of the principles and policies of the America First Committee and the local Fight For Freedom Committee might be of value to the public, leaders of the opposing movements were questioned as to the matter. The Firsters said they welcomed such an opportunity to get their side of the argument before the public, but leaders of the F. F. F. group said they wouldn't like to see the two opposing philosophies discussed in one newspaper article. They expressed the fear that consideration of both groups in one story might be confusing to the reading public, that the objectives of the two might seem to the readers to be in some way related.

The America First Committee, organized to keep the United States out of war and to promote national defense, was organized here September 12. Mr. Collins and Robert Waitt Jr., a leader in Young Republican activities, had received letters from Harry C. Schnibbe of the national America First headquarters in Chicago suggesting the formation of a unit in Richmond. The unit was set up with Mr. Collins as chairman until January 1 and Mr. Waitt as co-chairman, Miss Elise Sweeney was named secretary, while the chairman was designated to act as treasurer.

Organization Growing

Mr. Collins claims that there were 15 persons present at the organization meeting and between 40 and 50 at another meeting a week later. He expects to have 100 signed up within a week or two.

Mr. Collins denied that there is any anti-Semitic feeling among the local America Firsters, despite charges made against the America First following what critics said were anti-Semitic remarks made by Charles A. Lindbergh, leading speaker on America First platforms. The local group, incidentally, hopes to bring some big speaker here before long, maybe even the former colonel himself, or, perhaps, Senator Wheeler.

The A. F. chairman believes the people of the nation are overwhelmingly opposed to war, but admits that "they may be engineered into position where war is thrust upon them." Asked if he thought the present Administration feels this nation must enter the war, the America Firster declined to comment.

Referendum Favored

The America First Committee favors a national advisory referendum in the event Congress is considering a declaration of war. It's only fair, it maintains, that the people who do the fighting and the paying have a voice in whether war is to be declared.

"If it (the referendum) delays matters a few days, it won't make any difference," declared Mr. Collins. "Military authorities have proved that we are in no danger, that we can't be invaded by any means now available."

Convoys, say the Firsters, are an "open invitation to war." But Mr. Collins admitted that he personally favors helping England if we have equipment to spare. He thinks it's pretty bad when troops on maneuvers in this country have to use wooden guns. He wouldn't have any troops go abroad, of course, declaring that if the America First Committee "can prevent one single boy from being killed in a foreign war, we will have accomplished a great deal."

Winchell Disliked

Mr. Collins, an advertising man who has served as treasurer of the Republic Club here, doesn't listen to Walter Winchell on the air or read his column in the paper. His opinion of Winchell, he said, is the "same as Pegler's."

As to the Fight for Freedom Committee, the A. F. chairman had nothing to say. It would be ridiculous, he said, for him to attack that group for its honest beliefs.

"Abuse," he said, "is no argument."

As long as the United States remains out of actual participation in the conflict, the America First Committee will keep plugging along, trying to keep the nation from becoming involved. But if Congress does declare war—then," said Mr. Collins, "we'll stop talking."

Jew-Baiting

Anti-Semitic Stickers in L. A.

ANONYMOUS ANTI-SEMITES and would-be terrorists are active as never before in Los Angeles today—fit advance publicity agents for appeasement Senator Burton K. Wheeler's America First Committee rally scheduled for Thursday night, October 2.

Like the rash of some loathsome disease are the stickers appearing on store fronts which carry the symbol of the "Shield of David," commonly known as the Jewish star, and the slogan "Ve Vant Var."

These stickers also are being circulated with leaflets announcing the Wheeler meeting and another advertising a "Lindbergh Anti-War Rally" held every Saturday night at the Embassy Auditorium. The latter leaflets lack the "union bug."

Right along with these is an anonymous letter entitled: ("Chain Letter to all USA. Send Five or More.)"

This declares, in part: "Millions of Americans are organizing for 'The Day of Judah' (the day we go to war); on that day Jews in America will be liquidated. A Jew dictatorship will never be tolerated by true Americans. Wake up. Gentile Americans."

And a crude, hand-printed missive addressed to the Los Angeles editor of The People's World states: "All Max Singer VFW Stooges, Communists and Jews Who Ask For 'Busted Heads' At the Wheeler Olympic Meeting Will Be Promptly Accommodated."—JACK YOUNG

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This is a clipping from page 3 of the Peoples World for

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

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Mr. Coffey
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Holloman
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

John T. Flynn Says U. S. Is Approaching Fascism

Declares New Deal Parallels Italy's Policy

The United States is approaching, step by step, a Fascist system of government such as was first instituted in Italy, John T. Flynn, chairman of the New York chapter of the America First Committee, said last night at Town Hall, 123 West Forty-third Street. Mr. Flynn spoke on "The Coming of Fascism in America," in the second of a series of four forum lectures on America's foreign policy.

Mr. Flynn drew a parallel between the New Deal administration's borrowing and spending policy and what he said was a similar method in Italy of creating "purchase power." He said that this New Deal step was followed by a system of government control over industry, similar to that in Italy, and more recently the addition of militarism and imperialism to the United States government's program puts the nation on a "four-fifths Fascist basis needing only a dictator to round out the picture."

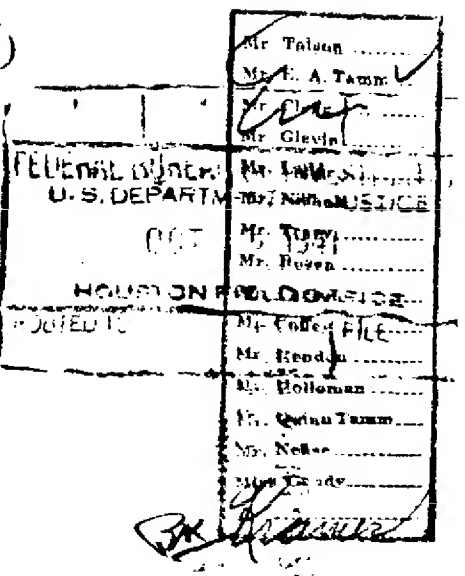
Mr. Flynn digressed briefly several times during his hour's talk to assail Frank Knox, Secretary of the Navy. At one point, where he mentioned the Nazi economic system, Mr. Flynn said: "Frank Knox doesn't know any more about economics than he knows about running the Navy." The remark drew applause from supporters in the audience.

CLIPPING FROM THE
N. Y. HERALD TRIBUNE

DATE OCT 2 - 1941

FORWARDED BY N. Y. DIVISION

THE HOUSTON POST
October 3, 1941



All City-Owned Property to Be Refused Group

Retired Minister Here Asks Room Be Reserved

As far as the mayor and the city library board are concerned, the America First committee will have to look for a place other than the public library or any city-owned building in which to hold a meeting.

The America First committee, an isolationist organization having as its principal spokesmen Charles A. Lindbergh and United States Senator Burton K. Wheeler, has been denied the use of the assembly room of the central library, Miss Julia Ideson, city librarian, revealed Thursday.

Others to Be Denied

The same policy will be followed in regard to the use of any city-owned building or city facilities by the America First committee if further application is made, Mayor Neal Pickett said.

Miss Ideson said that Rev. Robert T. Small, 5215 Eigel, a retired Baptist minister, had applied for the use of the library building in behalf of the America First committee. The request was taken up by the library board and denied by a unanimous vote.

Political Meetings Out

"The board has a policy against the use of the library rooms for political meetings. The board seemed to be of the opinion that such a meeting would be of a political nature, so it could do nothing but abide by its policy," Miss Ideson said.

"The board felt that there were many other possible meeting places available, other than the library, and that the denial of the application did not mean banning the committee from meeting."

When told of the board's decision, Reverend Small indicated appeal to the city council to override the board, Miss Ideson said.

Mayor Informed of Effort

"He suggested that I refer the matter to the council, but I told him it would be more proper for him to make the appeal, if he preferred to do so, since he represented the group which was seeking the use of the library."

Mayor Pickett already had been informed of the effort to obtain the use of the library as a meeting place.

"Frankly, as far as I'm concerned, we won't let them have the use of any facilities," the mayor said bluntly. "If I am called on to vote, I'll vote against granting the use of any city property."

Reason 'Obvious'

The mayor was asked if he wished to give a reason for his decision.

"It's obvious," he answered.

The mayor said he understood that the America First committee planned on bringing one of its speakers to Houston Friday or Saturday for a public address, but did not know whether this speaker was to have been Lindbergh, Wheeler or someone else.

Others Endorse Denial

Other council members said they felt the same way as Mayor Pickett about denying the use of a public building.

"I'm not trying to abridge the constitutional guarantee of freedom of speech," one of the commissioners said. "I'm simply thinking about the public property which might be wrecked or damaged if we allowed such a meeting to be held in one of our buildings.

"If the committee wants to meet in a vacant lot or in a privately-owned building and obtains permission, let it go ahead."

100-27-1

FAIRBURY VETS OBJECT TO RALLY OF AMERICA 1ST

Keep Isolationists Out of Fairgrounds, Says Legion Post in Farm Area.

Fairbury, Ill., Oct. 3.—(Special to The Daily News.)—Rank and file members of John Joda Post No. 54, American Legion, today stood solidly on their decision to back the national organization's resolution for "unswerving support of our government's foreign policy" and for preparedness to "do the fighting outside of the United States" if necessary to defend the United States.

The decision to go along with the National Legion resolutions adopted at the recent Milwaukee convention, had been reached when the America First Committee made efforts to lease the fairgrounds here for a gathering Sunday afternoon. The post, which is located in an agricultural community and which draws a good part of its membership from farms, was responsible for America First promoters seeking a meeting site elsewhere.

The America First plans for a gathering here met with difficulties from the very start. The fairground board of 12 includes 10 Legionnaires and there was no hurry to allow the isolationist group to use the grounds, despite the bait that it would bring business into town. After a period of indecision, the board originally voted to permit the meeting to be held.

Asked to Rescind Action.

The rank and file of the post felt differently and a well-attended meeting of the ex-service men resulted in passage of a resolution asking the fair board to rescind its action. In the meantime, the meeting's arrangement committee had been informed of the tenor of the community and was urged to hold its plans in abeyance, pending further advice.

The fair board met again last Friday to consider the request of the Legion post, and voted to stick by its original decision. But at the same time, according to statements from Legion sources here, the board took no steps to inform the American Firsters that they could go ahead.

As a result, confusion developed as to just where the meeting scheduled for Sunday will be held. A mass of publicity sent out by the America First Committee office in Chicago stated that the gathering would be held in Cissna Park, Iroquois County. The Watseka Daily Times ran two stories to that effect before being informed by an irate reader that the meeting was to be held at Hoopeston, Vermilion County.

Last-Minute Shift Explained.

The explanation for the last-minute shift to Hoopeston, given by American Firsters, is that that location offers more conveniences and can handle a larger crowd than Cissna Park.

In any event, Senator Gerald P. Nye and former Congressman Henry C. Luckey of Nebraska are scheduled to speak at Hoopeston and not at Fairbury—due to acceptance by rank-and-file Legionnaires here of the Milwaukee convention resolutions for "unswerving support" of the American government in its foreign policy.

Mr. Tolson .....
Mr. E. A. Tamm .....
Mr. Clegg .....
Mr. Glavin .....
Mr. Ladd .....
Mr. Nichols .....
Mr. Tracy .....
Mr. Harbo .....
Mr. Carson .....
Mr. Coffey .....
Mr. Hendon .....
Mr. Holloman .....
Mr. Quinn Tamm .....
Mr. Nease .....
Miss Gandy .....

CHICAGO DAILY NEWS

WASHINGTON ... NEWS SERV

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COMMUNICATIONS

FORT WAYNE.--CHARLES A. LINDBERGH MAKES HIS FIRST PUBLIC ADDRESS TONIGHT SINCE HIS DES MOINES SPEECH SEPT. 11 IN WHICH HE CHARGED THAT THE BRITISH, THE JEWS AND THE ROOSEVELT ADMINISTRATION WERE LEADING THE NATION TO WAR.

LINDBERGH WILL SPEAK AT AN AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE RALLY.

U.S. SENATOR D. WORTH CLARK AND JANET AYER FAIRBANKS, NATIONAL VICE-CHAIRMAN OF AMERICA FIRST, ALSO WILL SPEAK.

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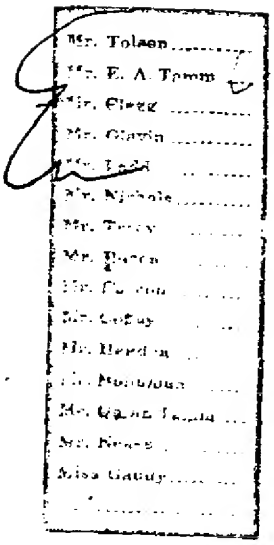

Lindbergh to Address Select Fort Wayne Rally

By the Associated Press.

FORT WAYNE, Ind., Oct. 3.—Charles A. Lindbergh will speak to a select audience tonight under police protection.

His address, sponsored by the America First Committee in Gospel Temple, seating 4,000, will be broadcast over the N. B. C. blue network starting at 9:30 p.m. (E. S. T.). Senator D. Worth Clark, Democrat, of Idaho also will speak.

Vera Sessler, secretary of the committee's Fort Wayne chapter, said admission would be by ticket only. Those who wanted to hear Mr. Lindbergh were required to write Miss Sessler's office and send stamped envelopes.

Police Chief Jule Stumpf said a special force would be on duty at the hall. A detective and two policemen escorted Mr. Lindbergh from Municipal Airport to his hotel last night.

C. M. Grabner, chairman of the Fort Wayne Industrial Union Council (C. I. O.), made public yesterday a resolution of the Council's Executive Board which said "we condemn the invitation to Lindbergh to speak in our city and we equally condemn the action of Mayor Harry W. Baals in sharing in this meeting." Mayor Baals will introduce Mr. Lindbergh.

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WASH. STAR
OCT 3 1941

Nebraska Campus Hardly a Hotbed of Isolationism

Handful of Students at 'America First'

By Elisabeth Hughes
World-Herald Bureau.
Lincoln, Oct. 2.

If the two dozen or so University of Nebraska students who turned out for the initial meeting of the university America First committee at the Student Union Thursday evening is a fair sample, the Nebraska campus could hardly be called a hotbed of isolationism.

The students formed roughly a third of the audience which filled two parlors in the Union building; the rest were townspeople, at least a share of whom seemed quite well disposed toward the sentiments expressed. But the collegians were for the most part vocally critical of the America First point of view or were at least backing up their spokesmen.

Former Congressman

Just organized on the campus, the group had at the speakers' table Stanley Lowe, university sophomore from Alma, organizer and acting chairman of the campus group; former Congressman Henry C. Luckey of Lincoln, principal speaker of the evening; his grandson, Luckey Paul, university student; and Miss Marian Axford, Nebraska Wesleyan university student and former youth director for Lincoln's Trinity Methodist church.

Lowe, who worked this summer at the America First headquarters in Denver, was introduced by Paul as a student so interested in the movement he "spurned the luxury of coming home by streamlined train to hitchhike back to Nebraska, taking a public opinion poll en route to see what people here thought of the war."

Lowe pointed out he was taking ROTC drill at the university, was willing to bear arms against an invader. He said he was opposed to the minority groups working to create hatred, draw the United States into war and break down the system of democratic government.

'Few Favor War'

Former Congressman Luckey said "Heck, no, we are not in the war so long as the Constitution of the United States stands." He declared "only a small portion of our people, less than 20 per cent, is egging us on to save democracy and establish the four freedoms all over the world."

"If we hadn't gotten into the first world war," Luckey charged, "nazism or fascism wouldn't have happened." He cited the "terrible injustices" of the treaty of Versailles on Germany and the attitude of England toward war debt payment and other matters as a basis.

Improper Flag Display

Luckey stressed the terrible cost that participation in a European war would mean, charged such participation would only serve to make a few "international financiers" rich. He gave his speech a "sudden death" touch by discussing the number of coffins alleged by the war department to have been ordered by the war department. He said they would be "bundles from Europe marked C. O. D." In the last war, he said, staring at a bundles for Britain pin worn by this reporter, bundles of clothing and comforts destined for European sufferers wound up by being sold in Alaska.

Blasting by students and townspeople started when the meeting was thrown open to discussion. One student got a hand when he suggested that if the group wanted to have the large American flag on the platform they might at least have placed and arranged it according to traditional and proper standards.

Asked if the America First group on campus agreed with the anti-Jewish statements made by Charles Lindbergh in Des Moines recently, Luckey Paul declared "We do not have to defend or apologize for a man like Col. Lindbergh," He added that Lindbergh's references to the Jews had been "twisted" by the press, "which has lied and misled you on those statements," declared this local group stood for all America First principles.

Paul flapped [illegible] refused to answer [illegible] question regarding aid to [illegible] Discussion of anti-Semi[illegible] the group, started by ques[illegible] garding the Lindbergh s[illegible] found Paul abruptly cutt[illegible] members of the audien[illegible] started to rap the Lone[illegible] statements. Finally he char[illegible] racial question had been[illegible] by "Dear, good, beloved[illegible] Willkie in the senate inves[illegible] of movie propaganda."

Can Sanction Prejud[illegible]

Miss Axford, whose br[illegible] was based principally upo[illegible] en's opposition to war and [illegible] for them to use their influence to keep America out of it, stood up at that point to say she "agrees with about 90 per cent of what Col. Lindbergh stands for, but I cannot go along with him regarding the matter of racial prejudice and intolerance," while young Paul buried his head and moaned, apparently over this sudden outburst of dissension in the ranks.

Paul, queried on Germany's aims on this side of the Atlantic as discussed in der fuehrer's "Mein Kampf," responded that he knew nothing about the book and wasn't interested and furthermore that "Hitler and Mein Kampf have nothing to do with this discussion."

During the forum petitions bearing resolutions that the neutrality act be retained in its present form and voicing approval of the aims of the America First committee were passed through the crowd.

Few Signers

Only petition which seemed to be signed got three signatures. One was "Adolf Hitler," another, on the illegible side, looked like "F. H. Story," and the third was "Mrs. Jas. B. Beltzer."

At the end of the meeting, which was cut off when the discussion seemed about to get too hot to handle by the speakers' panel, invitations were extended to the audience to come to other meetings in the future and America First buttons and literature were offered. But even then, when things quieted carefully, not one word against Hitler and his nazis was heard.

EVENING WORLD HERALD
OMAHA, NEBRASKA
OCTOBER 3, 1941

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Miss Gandy

LARGE CHICAGO DELEGATION TO HEAR LINDBERGH

Delegations from America First chapters thruout all Chicagoland will go to Fort Wayne, Ind., to attend a rally tonight at which Charles A. Lindbergh will speak.

Mrs. Janet Ayer Fairbank, vice chairman of the national committee, who will preside at the rally, will leave by train with her party, but most of the delegations will go by motor. Several, among them Mrs. Lillian Prugh, chairman of the Oak Park chapter, will fly.

More than 100 Chicagoans are expected to attend. Leslie Hinkle, chairman of the Kankakee chapter, will lead a group of 80. Kenneth Raub, chairman of the Gary, Ind., chapter, will take a chartered busload, and motorcades will leave from Hammond and Crown Point. Altho the hall in Fort Wayne seats only 6,000, the local chapter has received more than 8,000 letters requesting tickets.

CHICAGO DAILY TRIBUNE

11-3-41

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Holloman
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

AMERICA FIRST SET FOR RALLY AT HOOPESTON

Sen. Gerald P. Nye [R., N. D.], and former Congressman Henry C. Luckey of Nebrasks will leave Chicago tomorrow morning for the big America First farm rally during the afternoon in MacFerrin park at Hoopeston, Ill. They will be accompanied by Mrs. Janet Ayer Fairbank, national vice chairman of America First, and her staff.

En route by automobile, the party will stop for a luncheon with officials of the Kankakee chapter of the committee at the Kankakee hotel. After the farm rally an old time pig roast will be held in the park grounds.

The rally will be the first concerted efforts of America First leaders to speak directly to farmers. Former Congressman Luckey was reared on a Nebraska farm and still owns and manages several farms. Sen. Nye's topic will be "Minding Our Own Business."

CH-1

CHICAGO DAILY TRIBUNE

10-4-41

...WD APPLAUDS WHEELER ...NTI-WAR TALK HERE

...rton K. Wheeler, out-... isolationist, told 5000 persons ...d bowl last night that "if you ...ue to stand firm, no president ...ngress will dare to go to war." ... crowd cheered and applauded ...er when he charged that ...ident Roosevelt's policies were ...g the country to war; when ...k cracks at British imperial- ...nd British propaganda, and he spoke of the administra- ... apparent efforts to whitewash ...Russia.

Hecklers Squelched

...eral persons attempted to ...e the speaker, but he squelched ...

...lier in the day, at an Ameri- ...st luncheon, Wheeler said that Charles A. Lindbergh is the ...popular man in America to- ...espite reports to the contrary. ...ets the greatest crowds, and ...eatest enthusiasm is shown at ...eetings," Wheeler said.

...charged that a "smear" cam- ...against leaders of the anti- ...tionists is "coming out of ...ork at the instance of the ...t of the United States and ...f his administration."

Tours Arms Centers

...senator toured local defense ...ties, including Ft. Rosecrans, ...arine corps base, Camp Cal- ...d Consolidated Aircraft Corp. ...eeler opened his talk with a ... to Sen. Hiram Johnson and ...armed that there is an ef- ..."smear Lindbergh and oth- ...ying to keep this country ...f war."

... you mustn't be surprised at ...ysteria," he said. "During the ... war they hanged old Bob ...ette in effigy and then put ...n the Hall of Fame. Those ...have the courage to stand up ...es like these are going to be the people who are remembered for their courage in the future."

The senator declared there is a fear psychosis in the country today, much like that which dictators abroad promote among their subjects.

"People are afraid the administration at Washingon will punish them if they speak out," he declared. "The president tells us there is freedom of religion in Russia. There is no freedom of speech, freedom of assemblage, or freedom of religion anywhere in Russia."

"There is only freedom from religion there," he said. "And yet they want to send American boys over there to fight a battle for freedom. The place to fight for the four freedoms are in Oklahoma City, in Seattle, in Atlanta, and—yes—in your own San Diego.

'Reds With Willkie'

"They used to say our meetings were filled with Communists, Nazis and Fascists. Now the Communists are mostly with Willkie."

Hitler rules Germany by fear, the senator declared, as he cried shame upon those who say he is for Hitler because he is for keeping this nation out of war.

"And speaking of freedom from want," he went on: "Is there freedom from want in the slums of London? In India? In Hongkong? If we are going to fight for freedom from want, let us fight for it right here in the United States."

Freedom Threatened

The present administration and the "war mongers" are "trying to stamp out freedom of speech right here in the United States, but they are not going to stop me," he shouted. "I'm going to point out the deceit of those who say that every measure leading us down the road to war is a defense measure.

"I say to the war mongers: Why don't you have the courage to come before the congress and ask for war in the honest, American way provided by the constitution? But they won't do it because the American people will refuse to vote for a declaration of war. The president knows this and the war mongers know it."

Columnist Rapped

He mentioned the name of Dorothy Thompson, newspaper columnist, as a war monger and when a wave of boos followed, he urged the audience not to boo those who were not present.

"Boo me if you want," he shouted, but he didn't get any boos.

Roosevelt and Willkie had the same ideas before the last election, Wheeler charged.

"They have the same ideas now and they have deceived the American people," he declared. "Never before has the United States faced so serious a condition of affairs as exists in Washington today. I fear an American fuehrer here in this country. They have debauched some labor leaders, some veteran leaders and some farm organizations. But thank heaven they can't debauch the women."

He denied he hated Roosevelt.

Hate on Other Side

"If there is any hate it is on the other side," he declared. "I hate things, not persons. "And if there has been intolerance it has been on the other side."

He read what he said were reports sent to England about American public men, in which it was stated that America is now the center of the war effort.

"Our American navy is the greatest in the world and can defend the the United States against any nation or combination of nations in the world," he said. "Bombers haven't narrowed the oceans, they've widened them. Any army or navy officer will tell you, if he dares speak, that the bombers you are turning out here in San Diego can make this country invulnerable to invasion. Remember that the British had to pull out of Norway because their navy was being bombed."

"Is this our war over in Europe?" he asked.

"No, no, no!" cried the crowd.

Urges Enlistment

"Well, if anyone thinks it is our war he can go up to Canada and enlist. The president says they'll have his blessing. They'll have mine, too. I'd like to see the president give his blessing and send Stimson and Knox over to England."

Wheeler asserted this is an economic war, and that he'd like to see England win it. He charged the story of 25 years ago is being repeated, and that waves of British propaganda are washing all over the nation.

"They've got us again right on the brink of war," he said. "But if you continue to stand firm no president nor congress will dare to go to war."

Huge

Speaking of ... ditures, he said ... debt-load that ... farmers and lit... to pay off.

"And then ... that if we go ... England will ... The crowd roa...

Wheeler was ... Edward J. K... wanted to "pay ... four city counc... permit the Wh... bowl.

"And I'm goin... to the two who voted against the permit," the judge went on.

Flowers, Simpson Hit

"There is Al Flowers, San Diego's 'Little Flower.' I don't know where he was born. Then There was Mr. Simpson—I don't know his first name—born, God help us, in Ireland."

Frank O'Farrell, of the America First committee, under auspices of which Wheeler spoke, charged the federal bureau of investigation had "tapped our wires and looked over our membership lists looking for Communists."

Bureau

SAN DIEGO, CALIF.

OCT 6 1941

Roosevelt Creating Fear of Conquest, Meeting Is Told

Non-Interventionist Representative Is Heard by America First Unit

Declaring that Hitler could not conquer the Americas if the Western Hemisphere is adequately defended, Representative Hill, Democrat, of Washington expressed the view last night that the President, during the past few months had been trying to create fear of such a conquest in the minds of the American people. Addressing a meeting of the America First Committee, he opposed the new lease-lend appropriation and urged that this money should be used instead to strengthen our air force and help solve domestic problems.

Last night's meeting, held at the Friends Meeting House, 2111 Florida avenue N.W., was attended by about 100 persons. Wager S. Brown presided and introduced Mr. Hill, author of a war referendum resolution and a member of the non-interventionist group in Congress.

Calls for Test of Declaration.

Charging that the President had broken his campaign promises by taking the country nearer a participation in the European war, Mr. Hill asserted that there could be no war without a declaration to that effect by Congress.

"If President Roosevelt believes in democracy, let him put that question up to Congress," he declared.

In opposing the foreign policies of the administration, Col. Charles A. Lindbergh had evidenced "physical and moral courage of the highest order," Representative Hill said, and predicted that in the near future, perhaps within a year, he will be recognized as "the greatest American of all." Mention of Col. Lindbergh evoked loud applause.

Opposes Aid to Russia.

The Roosevelt-Churchill meeting at sea was "unconstitutional and unauthorized," Representative Hill asserted. He strongly opposed the inclusion of Soviet Russia in the lease-lend program." Continuing, he criticised the President's recent statement that the Soviet constitution guarantees religious freedom. "We all know it is a camouflage," he said.

"Let us stay in America and guarantee the four freedoms here," he said. "I don't believe that Hitler has any intention of trying to conquer the Western Hemisphere."

Following his address, Mr. Hill answered questions from individual members of his audience.

OCT 8 1941

WASHINGTON STAR

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm ✓
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Lade
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Beser
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Hottoman
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

Isolationism Still Popular, Rep. Hill Says

Alliance With Reds Foolish, 150 Told at America First Rally

"Popular enthusiasm for nonintervention in the European war is not dying out in this country as some quarters claim—and will not die out as long as the America First Committee exists," Representative Knute Hill (R.), of Washington, declared last night at a meeting of the Washington chapter of the America First Committee.

Approximately 150 persons gathered at the Friends Meeting House, 2111 Florida Ave. NW., to hear the address.

Leads Isolationists

Representative Hill, who is serving his fifth term in Congress as a Progressive Democrat, has made numerous antiwar speeches for the committee throughout the country and has been a leader of the nonintervention ist group in Congress. The subject of his talk last night was "Why Another Lend-Lease Act?"

Declaring it foolish to think ca[n] fight for democracy with c[om]munism as an ally, Hill sai[d] w[as] illogical to fight on the s[ide] of the Stalin dictatorship to [o]uer other existing dictatorsh[ips]

Hitler and Stalin are notori[ous] as promise breakers, Hill decla[red] and since the last campaign Pr[esi]dent Roosevelt assumed the s[ame] status.

Explaining the America Fir[st] Committee's stand on the criticis[m] of the Administrationn, Hill s[aid] a citizen could be loyal to [the] government and still criticize t[he] administration when he did n[ot] believe that it was doing was rig[ht]

Sees Failure in Europe

Lending money for the pres[er]vation of democracy in Euro[pe] that does not exist is a farce a[nd] waste, he said, and it would [be] better to spend the billio[ns] going for that purpose to t[he] building up of defenses for t[he] Western Hemisphere rather tha[n] a war of aggression in Europe.

"It is far more important to d[e]fend the four freedoms in th[e] United States than attempting [it] in Europe where we, as an ind[i]vidual nation, would meet wit[h] failure."

Representative Hill was intro[du]ced by W. S. Brown, chairma[n] of the Montgomery, Md., Count[y] Committee, a subchapter of th[e] America First Committee of Wash[ington].

WASHINGTON TIMES-HERALD

OCT 8 1941

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
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Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Mendon
Mr. Holloman
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Jones

Wood Calls Ship Arming Seamen's Death License

By the Associated Press.

CHICAGO, Oct. 10.—Gen. Robert E. Wood, acting chairman of the America First Committee, said last night that President Roosevelt's message to Congress urging revision of the Neutrality Act to permit arming of American merchant vessels, was like "asking Congress to issue an engraved drowning license to American seamen."

Gen. Wood added in a statement that the President's proposal would mean "that American ships will be sunk, American lives lost—and that the country will be led into war on a wave of hysteria just as it was in 1917."

The America First Committee, Gen. Wood said, "will make this the occasion for its most vigorous drive," and declared that "this bold attempt to inflame America for war must be answered in no uncertain terms by Congress and the American people."

Gen. Wood contended that the President realized that the United States would never go to war while the neutrality law stood and that the only reason for asking its repeal was "the war party's need for a series of incendiary incidents."

168

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Gordon
Mr. Hollomon
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

Springfield, Mo. Leader & Press 10-10-41

O. K. Armstrong Plans Flying Trip Abroad To Get Interviews

Arming 1st Committee File

Springfield's O. K. Armstrong will be on his way to Europe to secure material for magazine articles just as soon as he can make arrangements for passports, probably before November 1, he said today.

Armstrong plans to go to England and France with the backing of publishers, studying certain definite phases of wartime life and activity there, and interviewing such celebrities as Anthony Eden and Marshal Henri Philippe Petain.

Getting his passport is the main problem in the Springfield Legionnaire's way at present, but he believes passport difficulties will cause only delay, and not cancellation of his plans. When he has the passport, Armstrong will head for England, going to Lisbon either by clipper or by neutral steamer, and from there by air.

British press service representatives in this country have promised him thoroughgoing cooperation in his interviews, which will deal with such subjects as Britain's independent air force, how the British solved the priorities problem, and Eden's requirements for a peace, he said.

In France he plans to study effects of the war on the present generation of French children, and to see how the American cemeteries there have come through this war. He will be going over the same territory he saw as a welfare worker in 1919 and 1920 and revisited in 1937 when the Leegionaires met.

Since leaving the America First committee late in July, he has devoted himself almost entirely to writing. He went on a 4000-mile tour through Fort Leonard Wood, Fort Knox, Ky., Fort Benning, Ga., and other encampments recently to write an article on "How Our Soldier Boys are Fed and Clothed." The story will appear in an early issue of the Country Gentleman.

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179

America First Group Adds 10 To Committee

Labor, Sports and Law Represented

CHICAGO, Oct. 12 (C.T.P.S.). Ten more prominent citizens have been added to the national committee of the America First Committee, Gen. Robert E. Wood, national chairman, announced today as the committee prepared to open a campaign against changes in the neutrality law.

The new members represent several diverse fields of endeavor—labor, sports, law, public office, and literature.

Hutcheson Joins Group

One of the most significant appointments is that of William L. Hutcheson, of Indianapolis, first vice president of the American Federation of Labor and general president of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America.

Following are the nine other new members:

Carl Snavely, Ithaca, N. Y., noted football coach at Cornell University, and coach of the All-Star football team of 1941.

Isaac Pennypacker, Philadelphia, Pa., prominent member of the Pennsylvania bar.

Otto A. Case, treasurer of the State of Washington.

Harold L. Stuart, president of Halsey, Stuart & Co., Chicago.

Samuel Hopkins Adams, Auburn, N. Y., author and scenarist.

Mrs. Ruth Hanna McCormick Simms, Albuquerque, N. M., former Congresswoman, former Republican National committeewoman, and member of the Woman's Trade Union League and the American Association for Labor Legislation.

Notre Dame Dean

Dr. Clarence Manion, South Bend, Ind., dean of the college of law of Notre Dame University.

Edwin S. Webster jr., New York city, senior partner of Kidder, Peabody & Co.

Mrs. Ellen French Vanderbilt Fitzsimons, Republican national committeewoman from Rhode Island.

WASHINGTON TIMES-HERALD
Page 2

OCT 13 1941

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Lade
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Beser
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Mendon
Mr. Holloman
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease

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The America First Committee, which in Washington leads the fight against President Roosevelt's foreign policies, is on the boom financially. It moved yesterday from headquarters in an old red brick residence at 126 C street N.E. to an office costing approximately four times as much in monthly rental.

New headquarters are at 1712 Connecticut avenue N.W., where it was announced that each day some prominent person will be assigned as "hostess" or "host" to welcome new members. A staff of six workers, headed by Miss Isabel French, manager, will be on full-time duty to conduct the office as if it were "an election campaign headquarters."

While the migration was still in progress, Miss French issued a complaint to reporters:

"Our real problem here is fear of the administration," she said. For this reason the isolationist committee cannot reveal to newspapers who its members are or how much they contribute, she declared. Government job holders might be imperiled, she declared, if publicity were given.

Open House Tuesday.

"It would be awfully interesting to know how close to the administration some of our members are—awfully interesting," she said.

At 8:30 p.m. Tuesday an open house will be held at the new headquarters. Invited are approximately 30 Senators who are classified as non-interventionist, and their wives. Among those expected to attend are William R. Castle, former Undersecretary of State, and Mrs. Alice Roosevelt Longworth, Miss French said.

By then the items which were being moved yesterday will have been properly arranged—desks, typewriters, flags, banners, posters and supplies of franked Congressional envelopes.

This local chapter of America First receives no financial support from the national organization in Chicago, headed by Gen. Robert E. Wood, former quartermaster general of the Army, nor do any local members pay dues, Miss French said.

Supported by Contributions.

"We are supported by contributions, and sometimes our bank balance is awfully low," she reported. She declined to say whether committee finances are now at their peak. The lease on the new office is on a month-to-month basis.

"People are always asking how we are financed," commented Miss French, "as if we were paid by the German government. As a matter of fact, our books are open to the authorities, if they want to examine them."

Mrs. Bennett Champ Clark, acting chairman of the committee and wife of the Missouri Senator, telephoned J. Edgar Hoover and offered to let him send a Federal Bureau of Investigation man to inspect America First records, Miss French said. Nothing ever came of it, she added.

The office manager said the most exciting event since the old office was set up May 31 occurred when United States marshals descended on the place last month. They seized 10 mail bags wanted by the grand jury investigating activities of alleged Nazi agents.

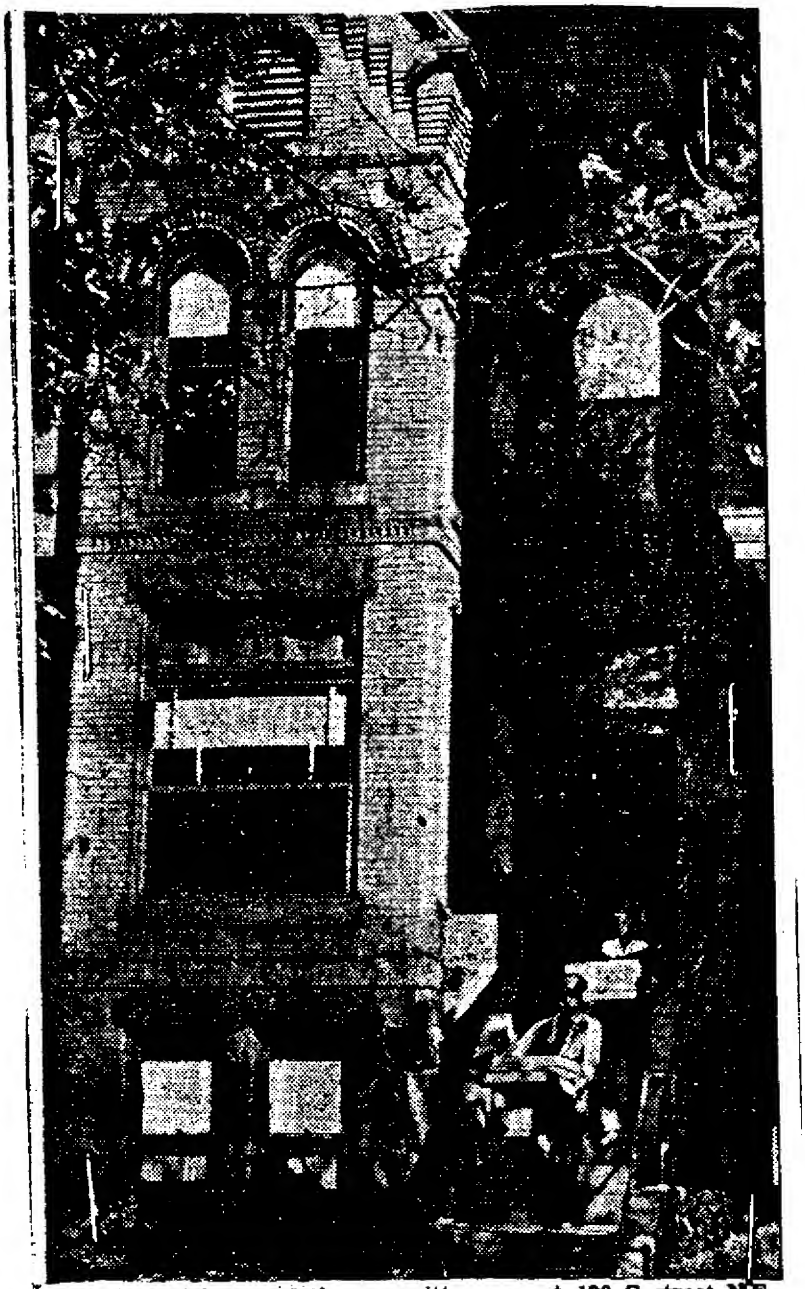
The bags, containing franked congressional envelopes and speeches, had been sent from the office of Prescott Dennett, secretary of Make Europe Pay War Debts Committee, a few hours after he was summoned before the grand jury, the Justice Department reported. The America First Committee accepted the bags, but Mrs. Clark later told reporters her staff had not known who had sent them.

Broadcast Parties Held.

In their old quarters local members arranged frequent broadcast parties, gathering to hear speeches in all parts of the country by Charles A. Lindbergh and other non-interventionist leaders. From this office, also, organization was completed for chapters in Montgomery County, Md., and Arlington County, Va.

The advantage of the old location was that it was near Capitol Hill, with every opportunity for "liaison work" with Senators and Representatives, according to Miss French. But it was too small and uncomfortable for local members, most of whom had to travel from homes in the Northwest section, she said.

America First will continue to hold weekly discussions at the Friends Meeting House, 2111 Florida avenue N.W. On October 25 it will inaugurate bimonthly luncheons at the Raleigh Hotel, with John Cudahy, former Ambassador to Belgium, invited to be the first speaker.



The old home of the committee was at 126 C street N.E., formerly a residence. —Star Staff Photos.

Mr. Tolson ✓
Mr. E. A. Tamm ✓
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Lead
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy
Mr. Krame

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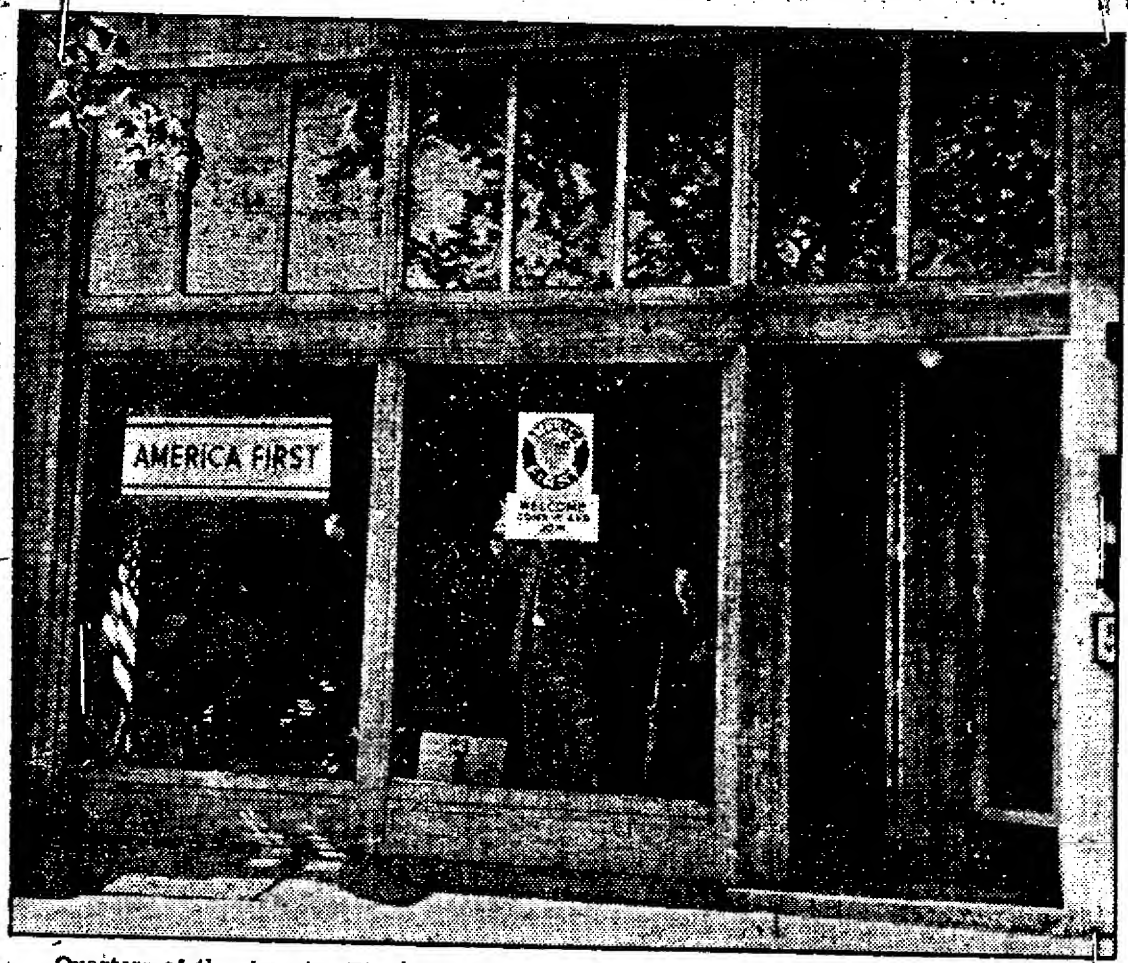
b7C

America First Open House Planned

Committee Will Be Host Tuesday Night at New Headquarters on Connecticut Avenue



Quarters of the America First Committee were transferred yesterday into this new building at 1712 Connecticut avenue N.W., where the rent is higher, but where officials say they will be better able to welcome new members.

168

WASHINGTON STAR

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Boyd
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Egan
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Miss Gandy

Rm Kramer

AMERICA FIRST GROUPS TO HEAR NEW SPEAKERS

Initial anti-war addresses by two new America First speakers will be delivered tomorrow night. The Rev. Armand Guerrero, pastor of Mayfair Methodist church, will speak in Evanston, and Alfred William Bruhn, secretary of the American Health Food association and member of the American Legion, will talk in Oak Park.

The Rev. Mr. Guerrero, who will address the Evanston chapter of the America First committee at 908 Seward street, is a graduate of Lewis institute and Garrett Biblical institute. He is chairman of the committee on state legislation for the Rock River conference of his church.

Bruhn, an honorary member of the Veterans of Foreign Wars as well as a Legionnaire, will speak at 736 Lake street, Oak Park.

CHICAGO DAILY TRIBUNE

164

8-12-41

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE ADDS TEN NOTABLES

W. L. Hutcheson, Official of AFL, New Member.

Ten more prominent citizens have been added to the national committee of the America First committee. This was announced yesterday by Gen. Robert E. Wood, national chairman, as the committee prepared to open a "most vigorous" campaign against any changes in the neutrality law.

The new members represent several diverse fields of endeavor—labor, law, sports, public office, and literature.

One of the most significant appointments is that of William L. Hutcheson of Indianapolis, first vice president of the American Federation of Labor and general president of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America. Hutcheson was a member of the war labor board from 1917 to 1919 and was in charge of the labor division of the national Republican party in 1932 and 1936. He is considered one of the most respected spokesmen of labor.

Says Group Is Strengthened.

In announcing the additions of Hutcheson and the other new national committee members, Gen. Wood said:

"We are glad to welcome these distinguished new committee members, who will add greatly to our strength during the coming critical weeks."

Following are the other new members:

Carl Snavely, Ithaca, N. Y., noted football coach at Cornell university and coach of the All-Star football team of 1941.

Isaac Pennypacker, Philadelphia, Pa., prominent member of the Pennsylvania bar.

Otto A. Case, treasurer of the state of Washington.

Harold L. Stuart, president of Halsey, Stuart & Co., Chicago.

Samuel Hopkins Adams, Auburn, N. Y., author and scenarist, and member of the National Conference of Charities and of the executive committee of the National Consumers' league.

Mrs. Ruth Hanna McCormick Simms, Albuquerque, N. M., former congresswoman, former Republican national committeewoman, and member of the Women's Trade Union league and the American Association for Labor Legislation.

Dr. Clarence Manion, South Bend, Ind., dean of the college of law of Notre Dame university.

Edwin S. Webster Jr., New York City, senior partner of Kidder, Peabody & Co.

Mrs. Ellen French Vanderbilt Fitz Simons, Republican national committeewoman for Rhode Island and holder of the Victory medal of the Society of Social Sciences for distinguished services in connection with the Red Cross in 1919.

Vows Hard Fight on Amendments.

The 10 new members give the America First national committee its greatest strength since the organization was founded. Gen. Wood declared that the committee now will dig in harder than ever to battle the changes in the neutrality act as proposed by President Roosevelt.

"The President's message, which urges that American ships be sent into the war zones of the North Atlantic, squarely presents the issue of war or peace," he said. "Those who support this policy know full well that it will result in the sinking of American ships and the loss of American lives, and that such incidents will inevitably be followed by full participation in the war, just as in 1917.

"The President is asking congress to issue an engraved drowning license to American seamen. Accordingly, the America First committee will leave no stone unturned to defeat this final bid of the war minority. All our man power and all our energies will be thrown into the fight. The addition of the new committee members gives us increased strength in every corner of the country."

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Holloman
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Candy

CHICAGO DAILY TRIBUNE

Mr. Tolson .....
Mr. E. A. Tamm ✓
Mr. Clegg .....
Mr. Glavin .....
Mr. Ladd .....
Mr. Nichols .....
Mr. Tracy .....
Mr. Rosen .....
Mr. Carson .....
Mr. Coffey .....
Mr. Hendon .....
Mr. Holloman .....
Mr. Quinn Tamm ....
Mr. Nease .....
Miss Gandy .....
.....

CLIPPING FROM
P.M. NEW YORK DAILY

DATE OCT 14 1941

FORWARDED BY N.Y. DIVISION

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Nandon
Mr. Holloman
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

Nye Backs Lindy Semitism Charge

NEW YORK, Oct. 14—Sen. Gerald P. Nye (R., N. D.), endorsed the statement of Charles A. Lindbergh that the United States is being led into war by the efforts of Jews, the British and the Roosevelt Administration, in a speech at an America First Committee rally last night. He denied that he, Mr. Lindbergh, Sen. Burton K. Wheeler (D., Mont.), or the America First Committee were anti-semitic.

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168

WASHINGTON NEWS
Page

OCT 14 1941

America First Group Here Meets 1st Time

The America First Committee of Washington held its initial meeting last night in its new headquarters at 1712 Connecticut Avenue with several hundred persons present.

Guest speaker, Representative Joshua L. Johns (Republican), of Wisconsin, told the meeting, "If we could just keep the people still that have the say-so in this country we could stay out of this war."

Saying that the huge Congressional appropriations, aluminum collections and such things were not needed but were only tools to arouse the public to a war fever, Representative Johns declared:

"Don't get excited about this and just keep your heads, because if you lose it we will be in the war."

Two former congressmen, Henry C. Luckey, of Wisconsin and Samuel Pettengill, of Indiana, also spoke.

Dr. Linn F. Cooper, vice chairman of the local group, said: "We have had too many broken campaign promises. We must stop that. We must get back to simple virtues."

He declared the country must be aroused, then the "deceit, the double-crossing, the humbug" to which we are now being subjected will end and the people of the country will tell their elected representatives in Washington "that we expect to know what's going on and we expect to find out."

Miss Isabel French, secretary of the local group, conducted the meeting. She introduced Mrs. D. Worth Clark, wife of the Senator from Idaho, and Mrs. Hamilton Fish, wife of the Representative from New York, among others.

Representatives from America First chapters in Baltimore, Philadelphia and Minnesota were introduced.

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Lade
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Tracy
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Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Nendon
Mr. Holloman
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Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

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168

WASHINGTON POST OCT 15 1941
Page 21

Mr. Tolson
Mr. K. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Lu
Mr. Nichols
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Mr. Gandy
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Harden
Mr. Hoffman
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

Kim Roosevelt

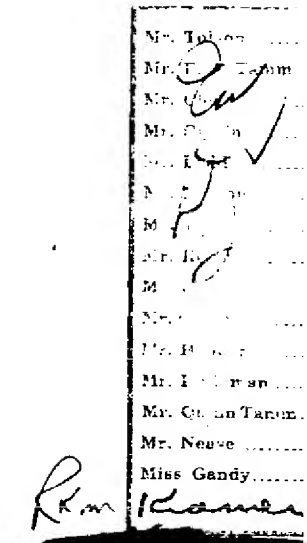
Lindbergh to Address Rally in N. Y. Oct. 30

New York, Oct. 15 (AP).—Charles A. Lindbergh will address an America First Committee rally October 30 at Madison Square Garden, it was announced today.

1168

WASHINGTON POST
Page 3

OCT 16 1941



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America First HarborsNazis, Legion Says

LOS ANGELES, Oct. 16 (AP)—The American Legion charged today that German Bundists and other Nazi agents have invaded many California Chapters of the America First Committee and are molding their policies.

Ben S. Beery, Legion Americanism chairman, testified before the State Legislative Committee Investigating Un-American Activities, that there are more than 100 active Nazi agents and speakers in California.

The Legion report charged:

That notorious subversivists hold high offices in the America First organization and that many more are enthusiastic members;

That America First exchanged speakers with organizations identified by the Legion as channels of subversive activities. Among such groups the committee named the Hughes League to Save America First, Ellis O. Jones' National Copperheads and the American Guards, directed by Benjamin Franklin Ballard, chairman of the Down Town Chapter of the America First Committee in Los Angeles;

That Bundists are spending considerable funds to distribute America First literature.

SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE

FORWARDED BY
SAN FRANCISCO DIVISION

OCT 17 1941

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Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

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Wheeler, Lindbergh To Speak in N. Y.

NEW YORK, Oct. 16 (N. Y. News). — Senator Burton K. Wheeler, Charles A. Lindbergh, and former U. S. Ambassador to Belgium John Cudahy will speak at a rally of the American First Committee at Madison Square Garden on October 30, it was announced today. John T. Flynn, chairman of the New York chapter of the committee, will preside at the meeting. Admission will be free for 10,000 seats in the gallery, while tickets will be sold for seating in the orchestra, boxes and side arenas.

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204

CH-78

WASHINGTON TIMES HERALD

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

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Walter Winchell On Broadway

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Notes of An Innocent Bystander

. . . The Post called the turn on the real purpose of the America First Committee. It's a political party, with ambition for jobs and power. A carbon copy for the overseas branch, eh?

OCT 20 1941

WASHINGTON TIMES-HERALD
BULLDOG EDITION

WASHINGTO[illegible] NEWS SERVICE

Mr. Tracy
Mr. Carson
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Mr. Hendon
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Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

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CHICAGO.--THE AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE'S NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS TODAY ENDORSED FORMER PRESIDENT HOOVER'S PLAN FOR FEEDING THE INHABITANTS OF BLOCKADED EUROPEAN COUNTRIES AS "THE DUTY OF A GREAT NATION WHICH IS STILL AT PEACE."

AFTER A MEETING OF EXECUTIVE HEADS OF THE COMMITTEE, NATIONAL CHAIRMAN GEN. ROBERT E. WOOD SAID "THE AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE WILL DO ALL IN ITS POWER TO FURTHER THE ADOPTION BY THE U.S. OF THE HOOVER PLAN. THE COMMITTEE COMMENDS MR. HOOVER FOR HIS HUMANITARIAN EFFORTS TO RELIEVE THE SUFFERING OF 40,000,000 STARVING CHILDREN."

10/21--R945A

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OCT 15 1941

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DANVILLE, VIRGINIA THE REGISTER FOR
OCTOBER 21st. 1941

AMERICA FIRST GROUP ASSAILED

Created Disloyalty Toward Government, Declares Mrs. Whitehurst

WASHINGTON, Oct. 20.—(AP)—Mrs. John L. Whitehurst, president of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, said today that the America First group unintentionally has created disloyalty toward the government and apathy toward the defense program.

At a press conference, she urged women to awaken from their apathy, engendered by long years in work for peace, and take responsibility in seeing that this country is strongly prepared for whatever might come.

She has just returned from a seven-state midwestern tour, "a fighting crusade to go after the isolationists," as she described it, and said she found that Senator Wheeler of Montana and Charles A. Lindbergh are "creating chaotic thinking by their speeches."

"I have heard many remarks of disloyalty toward our government and our leaders, following radio speeches by Senator Wheeler and Mr. Lindbergh," she said and continued:

"I cannot think that they intended to divert our people from their allegiance to our form of government and our elected leaders, but they did. Isolationists should be able to air their views without criticizing and belittling those in power and without stirring up racial hatreds."

Mrs. Whitehurst said that in her addresses to state federation metings she appealed to "isolationists" to scrutinize their messages and delete those passages that are creating distrust of the government. She said her audiences' response was chilly.

She emphasized that she did not contend the isolationists have attempted to convice people that a national defense program wasn't necessary. But in their arguments for

(Continued on Page Two)

AMERICA FIRST GROUP ASSAILED

(Continued From Page One)

America First they have created chaotic thinking to the extent that there is belief that such a program isn't necessary.

As a result of her visits to Minnesota, Iowa, South Dakota, Utah, Colorado, Nebraska and Wyoming, she ascribed isolationist strength to several reasons—a midwestern feeling of safety, lack of knowledge of the defense program, partisanship and hatred of the New Deal, fear of British propaganda and influence of America First.

Reg 10/21/41

Asks U. S. Probe Of America First

Jewish Congress Meets With Other Groups to Demand an Investigation

A Congressional investigation of America First on the ground that it is actively supported by the German-American Bund has been asked by the American Jewish Congress. Meeting in San Francisco with representatives from the Committee to Defend America, the AFL, the California State Federation of Labor and the German-American League for Democracy, the Congress adopted the following resolution:

"The task of defeating Hitlerism calls for a united American people. The leaders of the American First Committee have deliberately fomented disunity by creating racial antagonisms, and by introducing Hitler techniques. The German-American Bund and other notorious Fascist groups have been actively supporting the America First Committee. Therefore, be it resolved that the conference urges an immediate Congressional investigation of the America First Committee."

Copies of the resolution were sent to FDR and California Congressmen.

Louis J. Taber, the 63-year-old master of the National Grange, is under fire, too. Taber, a member of the National Committee of America First, is being pressed for an explanation of how he can belong to America First and at the same time be a member of FDR's farm defense committee, to which he was appointed because of his leadership of the Grange.

Facts in Review, a monthly publication of Farm Research, 39 Cortlandt St., points out in its current issue that "farmers everywhere have rallied with enthusiasm to the call for abundant farm production to defend America," but America First's leaders "now seek to divide the American people."

Clubwoman's Report

The matter probably will come to a head when the Grange meets next month to celebrate its 75th anniversary at Worcester, Mass.

CLIPPING FROM
P.M. NEW YORK DAILY
OCT 21 1941

Ickes Urges Probe Of America First Group by Congress

Now Nazi Organization, Interior Head Says In Chicago Speech

By the Associated Press.

CHICAGO, Oct. 21.—Declaring that America should not be content merely to play the role of arsenal of democracy, Harold L. Ickes asserted last night that the time had arrived when "we must decide which is our side and take our stand irrevocably and determinedly on it."

Mr. Ickes also urged a congressional investigation of the America First Committee, which has opposed the President's foreign policy, calling it a Nazi organization.

"We have tried to put off the evil day of decision by pretending that no evil lies in wait for us, or that, if lying in wait, we can fend it off by some of our customary wishful thinking," the Interior Secretary said in an address at the Sinai Temple Forum. "But who, if he can read and think honestly and objectively, longer doubts that the time for our final decision is here. *We must face the issue.*"

Mr. Ickes did not say directly whether he referred to the issue of war or peace, but declared "we must throw overboard the absurd idea that an all-out effort to preserve democracy can go skipping under the trees, hand in hand with 'business as usual'." He also called for repeal of the "obsolete and uniwse" Neutrality Act.

Blames Profiteers, Strikers.

Contending that this country's armament effort had been far short of needs, Mr. Ickes laid much of the responsibility on "our appeasers and our defeatists," on businessmen interested chiefly in profits and on workers unwilling to forego strikes.

He recalled the Nazi attack on Yugoslavia and Greece and this country's inability to send substantial aid to those nations.

"We had spent too much time wool gathering," he said. "Too long had America listened to its Lindberghs, its Gen. Woods, its Chicago Tribunes and its Burton Wheelers."

His reference, in addition to the Chicago newspaper, was to Col. Charles A. Lindbergh, Gen. Robert E. Wood of Chicago and the senior Senator from Montana. All have criticized the administration's foreign policy.

Mr. Ickes went on to recall that many had opposed aid to Russia, and said: "How I was denounced when, as petroleum co-ordinator, I sent some American tankers loaded with aviation gasoline to the Russians. Why, in no time at all, they had a Senate committee on my trail, a carefully chosen committee intent upon believing only such facts as it wanted to believe."

Group Found No Shortage.

(A Senate investigating committee concluded after hearings that there was no prospect of a real gasoline shortage in Eastern seaboard States and no need for restrictions imposed by Mr. Ickes on gasoline sales.)

A congressional investigation which should be made, Mr. Ickes said, was one of the America First Committee.

When organized, he declared, this group included "some sincere but misguided Americans" but today "it is a tight little Nazi organization that follows the party line as laid down in Berlin."

"Some people of good intentions but of little understanding," he added, "have been kept out as window-dressing. The merely decoys."

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
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Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
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WASHINGTON STAR
Page 1 - 4

WASHINGTON CITY NEWS SERVICE

Oct 22 3 40 PM '41

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A GROUP OF 500 BROOKLYN MEMBERS OF AMERICA FIRST, ANTI-INTERVENTIONIST ORGANIZATION, WERE TOLD BY SENATOR NYE TODAY THAT TH ADMINISTRATION WOULD "WELCOME" FUTURE ATTACKS ON U. S. VESSELS ANY INCIDENTS TO INVOLVE THIS NATION IN WAR.

THE AMERICA FIRST DELEGATION MET HERE TO URGE DEFEAT OF NEUTRALIT ACT REVISION PERMITTING THE ARMING OF MERCHANT VESSELS AND CALLED ON MEMBERS OF THE NEW YORK CONGRESSIONAL DELEGATION.

NYE CHARGED THAT ATTACKS ON THE U. S. DESTROYERS GREER AND KEARNY HAD BEEN MIS-INTERPRETED BY ADMINISTRATION LEADERS "TO CREATE A WARLIKE ATTITUDE AMONG OUR PEOPLES." HE SAID NAVY REPORTS OF THE INCIDENT INDICATED THE GREER WAS ATTACKED "WHILE PURSUING" A GERMAN SUBMARINE, WHILE THE KEARNY WAS DAMAGED WHEN EMPLOYED ON CONVOY DUTY.

10/22--RS339P

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Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
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Mr. Tracy
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Mr. Hoffman
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

AMERICA FIRST GROUP TO HEAR CONGRESSMAN

Rep. Karl Mundt [R., S. D.] will be the principal speaker at the first meeting Friday night of the newly formed north side chapter of the America First committee in Belmont hall, 3205 North Clark street. Mrs. Janet Ayer Fairbank, national vice chairman of America First, announced that John W. Maselter was named honorary chairman of the north side chapter. She said that members of the Belmont, Rogers Park, Lake View, Logan Square, Loyola, Uptown, and Edgewater units of the America First committee plan to attend the Friday meeting.

CHICAGO DAILY TRIBUNE

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Lad
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Reed
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Hollaman
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Sands

Ron Kramer

America First Group Asks Showdown on War Issue

By the Associated Press.

CHICAGO, Oct. 23.—The America First Committee asked President Roosevelt last night to settle the issue of peace or war by submitting to Congress "a resolution for the declaration of a state of war between the United States and the German Reich."

The organization, in an open letter to the White House, served notice that it would vigorously oppose adoption of such a resolution, but maintained that "the integrity of this Nation and loyalty to the Constitution demand that the decision between peace or war now be made by Congress."

In releasing copies of the message, Gen. Robert E. Wood, acting chairman of the group opposing American participation in the conflict abroad, stated that the proposed amendment to the Neutrality Act to permit United States merchant ships to enter war zones would make American entry into the war inevitable. He contended that the proposal marked the culmination of "the studied program to put us into war * * * without stating the issue in an honest, straightforward way."

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WASHINGTON STAR
Page A-2

OCT 23 1941

WASHINGTON NEWS SERVICE

Mr. Tracy
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CHICAGO,--THE AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE, ASSERTING THAT THE "PEACE OR WAR" ISSUE "MUST BE SETTLED NOW," HAS CHALLENGED PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT TO SUBMIT TO CONGRESS A RESOLUTION CALLING FOR WAR UPON GERMANY.

IN A LETTER SIGNED BY ACTING CHAIRMAN GEN. ROBERT E. WOOD, THE COMMITTEE CHARGED "THE TIME HAS COME FOR OUR GOVERNMENT TO ABANDON THE TECHNIQUE OF SUBTERFUGE AND TO PRESENT HONESTLY TO CONGRESS THE ONLY REAL ISSUE WHICH AMERICA MUST DECIDE--PEACE OR WAR."

10/23--RS1030A

100-4712-A

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tam
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
Mr. Overton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

Franked Cards Found Burned

Justice Department Gets New Evidence

Justice Department special prosecutors last night were studying charred bits of alleged franked material said to have been found in an alley just before midnight behind headquarters of the America First Committee headquarters at 1712 Connecticut Ave. NW.

The material was placed in the hands of William Maloney, of the Justice Department, who has been presenting the Government's case before a grand jury here investigating alleged Nazi propaganda in the United States. Maloney today will ask subpoenas calling for production before the jury of the ashes of the material allegedly burned.

It was reported approximately 200 pieces of franked mail were burned. Officials of the America First Committee expressed amazement when informed of the reported destruction of the mail.

The grand jury has demanded production in evidence of 12 bags of such franked material—speeches of isolationist members of Congress and similar matter. Of these, only 10 bags thus far have been produced.

203

OCT 2

WASHINGTON TIMES-HERALD
BULLDOG EDITION

File

FROM OUT OF "MEIN KAMPF"--THAT IS WHERE "AMERICA FIRST" SPOKESMEN LEARN THEIR ABC's OF RACE HATRED, TREACHERY

By Art Shields

If you trace America First Committee propaganda to its source you run into "Mein Kampf" and Hitler's speeches.

If you look up the name of Henry Ford, "America First" big collaborator, you find him hailed in "Mein Kampf" as Hitler's "great" American, the foe of the Jews.

If you check on General Wood, the chairman and dictator of the appeasement organization, you discover Hitler using the general's statements to justify Nazi aggression.

What is "Mein Kampf"? It is the textbook on Nazi propaganda and tactics, which Hitler wrote while a prisoner in the fortress of Landsberg, after the failure of the Munich putsch of 1923.

APT PUPILS

There Hitler lays down his plans for nazifying the world by dividing his enemies and confusing the people.

America-Firsters have digested these writings. Comparisons between America First propaganda and "Mein Kampf" are startling. Paragraphs from Lindbergh's speeches read like English translations of the Hitler text and Senator Burton K. Wheeler's recent incitement to anti-Semitism is quite in the spirit of the Nazi master.

Some one has said that if you read "Mein Kampf" you can tell what Hitler will do next. You also have a good idea what America Firsters will say.

BIGGER AND BIGGER LIES

The cracks which Wheeler, Nye, Clark and Lindbergh have made against "Jewish" movies in America shows what apt pupils they are of the chief Nazi propagandist.

Hitler, Wheeler, Nye, Clark, Lindbergh and their fellows decry the people. Hitler told his followers in "Mein Kampf" that the bigger the lie the more effective it became. He asserted at another place ("Mein Kampf," Page 234, English edition) that the "masses receptive ability is only limited, their understanding is small, but their forgetfulness is great. As a consequence of these facts, all effective propaganda has to attach itself to a few points. . . ."

And one of the chief of these "points" is the anti-Semitism, which Senator Wheeler revealed in his talk of a "Jewish" war with an English journalist last week. This follows the pattern set by Hitler, who told his American followers in "Mein Kampf" (Page 930, English edition) to blame the American Jews for their economic troubles.

Hitler told Nazi organizers in "Mein Kampf" (Page 848) to "take account of the weakness and the bestiality" of men.

And in the spirit of this foul advice his follower Lindbergh hinted of coming pogroms against the Jewish people, when he said at Des Moines that the Jews of this country would be the "first to suffer" in a war against Germany. This Lindbergh threat was lifted from Hitler's assertion, in the January 30, 1939 Reichstag speech, that the next world war would bring the "annihilation of the Jewish race in Europe" (Page 585, "The New Order").

FORD PRECEDES HITLER

It must not be forgotten, however, that Hitler did not invent the smokescreen of anti-Semitism.

Henry Ford was his tutor in that.

"Mein Kampf" drew heavily from Ford's well of anti-Semitism. Hitler borrowed Ford's fable of a world Jewish conspiracy, related in the forged "Protocols of Zion," which the Dearborn Independent borrowed in turn from the literature of the Tsarist political police.

Whole paragraphs of "Mein Kampf" are lifted from the Dearborn Independent, with very little change. One such borrowing from Ford charges that "every year the [American] Jews manage to become the controlling factors of the labor power of a people of 120,000,000 . . ." (See Page 390 of "Mein Kampf").

Hitler follows this statement with an eulogy of Ford.

HITLER'S GREAT MAN

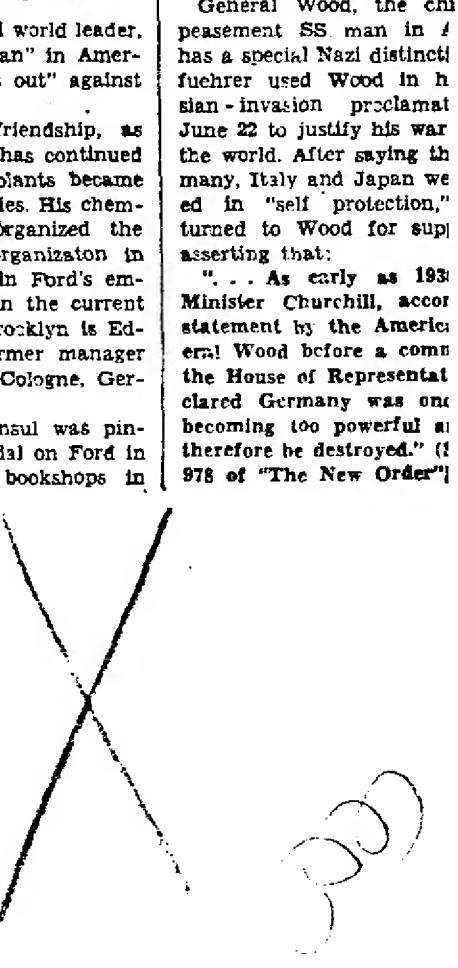
Ford, says the Nazi world leader, is the "one great man" in America, who still "holds out" against the Jews.

The Ford-Nazi friendship, as history well knows, has continued ever since. Ford's plants became bases of Nazi activities. His chemist, Fritz Kuhn, organized the first pre-Bundist organizaton in Detroit, while still in Ford's employ. A defendant in the current Nazi spy trial in Brooklyn is Edmund C. Heine, former manager of Ford's plant at Cologne, Germany.

While a Nazi Consul was pinning a German medal on Ford in 1938 the Bundist bookshops in America were still selling "International Jew." Nazi propagandists in Latin America tribute the Spanish edition same source book of anti-ism today and the new "PM" last Tuesday reprod cover of a special Ku Kl edition, with credit lines g Ford's Dearborn Independe

General Wood, the chi peasement SS man in A has a special Nazi distinct fuehrer used Wood in h sian-invasion proclamat June 22 to justify his war the world. After saying th many, Italy and Japan we ed in "self protection," turned to Wood for sup asserting that:

". . . As early as 193 Minister Churchill, accor statement by the Americ eral Wood before a comm the House of Representat clared Germany was one becoming too powerful a therefore be destroyed." (978 of "The New Order"



This is a clipping from page 2 Col 2
SUNDAY WORKER for
OCT 26 1941

Clipped at the Seat of Government.

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Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Choate
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Mr. Gesell
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
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Mr. Holloman
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

LaGuardia Asked To Bar Meeting Of 'America First'

New York, Oct. 26 (AP).—Declaring that violence and bloodshed would result from the America First Committee rally scheduled for Madison Square Garden Thursday night, three civic groups today appealed to Mayor F. H. LaGuardia to stop "this outrageous meeting from occurring."

A telegram signed by Dr. C. S. Weiss, editor of Uncle Sam's Digest; Samuel Nieman, president of the Sons of Liberty, and Joseph Goldsmith, president of the Taxpayers Union of New York City, added that "observers at other meetings of America First groups found in the audience notorious frontists, Nazis, hate-breeders and Fascists, also traitors to our country."

Charles A. Lindbergh, Senator Burton K. Wheeler (Democrat), of Montana, and John Cudahy, former Ambassador to Belgium, are to speak at the rally.

WASHINGTON POST
Page 1

OCT 27 1941

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Foxworth
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Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
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Mr. Quinn Tamm
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CAPITOL STUFF

By JOHN O'DONNELL AND DORIS FLEESON

Mrs. Bennett Clark, chairman of the Washington chapter of America First, has invited J. Edgar Hoover to make a personal inspection of their headquarters here.

OCT 27 1941

WASHINGTON TIMES-HERALD

CAPITOL STUFF

By JOHN O'DONNELL AND DORIS FLEESON

Hollywood salaries that the Government's famous "dollar-a-year" men are still drawing down from the concerns they left behind them to give their all to Uncle Sam are about to receive attention from the Truman committee investigating national defense.

According to information reaching the Senators, only a very few of OPM's business recruits followed the example of their chief, William S. Knudsen, and cut the pocketbook nerve connecting them with their private business when they took the President's dollar. Senator Truman and his associates are inclined to uphold the Knudsen standard. Anyway they have decided to investigate.

Among those whom the "dollar-a-year" situation has given a slight headache is that man of many oil-and-egg woes, Secretary Harold L. Ickes. In fact, it was Ickes who pettishly suggested to the Senators that they ought to cross-examine every dollar-a-year man in defense after they had uncovered the interesting story of Ickes' deputy oil co-ordinator, Ralph K. Davies.

Senator Truman

Ralph K. Davies

For a long time the impression here was that Davies had given up a handsome Standard Oil salary to help Honest Harold solve the oil crisis, not, it is true, for a dollar a year but for ten thousand per. In an impassioned address to representatives of the oil industry here, Davies proclaimed himself a "Government employe, serving full time... having but one allegiance—an allegiance to the National Government and to my superior, the Petroleum Co-ordinator for National Defense."

"This is but a way of saying to you that I am properly free to serve from the impartial position of Government and to devote myself completely to the public interest in the present emergency," Davies concluded.

Inquiries at the Interior Department for long brought the reply that Davies had indeed severed his business ties, that such Standard Oil money as he was receiving must come from stock ownership.

In September, however, Standard Oil of California petitioned the SEC for the right to issue some stock. In this petition, the auditor of the company included Davies among the principal officers of the company, saying in part:

"The company has granted Mr. Davies a leave of absence with pay, and relieved him of all duties and responsibilities of his official connection with the company so far as such relief may be necessary to permit him to perform his duties as deputy co-ordinator."

It took a long time for this obscure paragraph to percolate out of the SEC statement, into Government circles—but it did.

The salary attracted attention on its own merits—$57,000 a year. With the Government's $10,000 added to it, Mr. Davies' stipend is almost in a class with the presidential pay of $75,000.

To tart questioning by Senator Maloney, Honest Harold admitted it was true. That gave the Senators the idea that they should probe the whole field of when is a dollar not a dollar.

Ickes defends his aide but the general impression at Interior is that news of Davies' continued salary was not at first known to him.

Among others attracting senatorial interest is Arthur Bunker, in charge of the aluminum and magnesium section of OPM. The banking firm of Lehman Brothers is continuing Bunker's $60,000-a-year salary.

WASHINGTON TIMES-HERALD

It took a week for the Administration to get up its courage to submit proposals for repeal of all major provisions of the Neutrality Act.

Up to the moment the Senate Foreign Relations Committee convened Saturday morning, no Senator was willing to predict the Roosevelt forces would put their fate to the test of a committee vote. Informal polls had shown 55 to 60 votes in the Senate itself for virtually outright repeal but the division in the committee was even, with the balance of power resting with Democrat George, of Georgia, and Republican White, of Maine.

Although George co-operated with the White House during his brief tenure as chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee before he moved to Finance, his colleagues recalled that he was after all the most famous of Mr. Roosevelt's "purge" targets in 1938 and had not so long ago demanded that Congress, not the White House, must declare war. George's dignity and prestige is such the the Roosevelt captains hesitated to approach him and he emphatically could not be tempted with patronage.

But he conveyed word to the leadership finally, after letting them suffer all week, that he would co-operate "to bring the issue squarely before the public."

Arthur Bunker

Sgt. Alvin York

There can be absolutely no doubt as to the politics of Sergt. Alvin York—the real one, not Gary Cooper. The Sergeant named his first three sons Thomas Jefferson, Andrew Jackson and Woodrow Wilson. Last week he notified the senior Senator from his native Tennessee, Democrat Kenneth McKellar, that the first York grandson had arrived, was christened Kenneth McKellar York.

Mrs. Bennett Clark, chairman of the Washington chapter of America First, has invited J. Edgar Hoover to make a personal inspection of their headquarters here.

For more than six months, the junior Senator from Kansas, Clyde Reed, has been ill and absent from Washington.

Time was when Kansans expected that if Reed found he could not return to the Capital, young Governor Payne Ratner would bestow the Reed seat on the Ratner political godfather, Alf M. Landon.

But Interventionist Ratner and Isolationist Alf have parted company and Ratner now will never send Alf to Washington of his own motion but will himself come here if possible.

Aware of these cross-currents, Isolationist Senator Reed, en route to Colorado for his health, paused in Topeka to call on Governor Ratner. "I just want you to know," smiled the Senator, "that I'm not going to die until after January 1, 1942."

Ratner's term expires on that date.

Masuo Kato is the Washington correspondent for the Japanese news agency, Domei, and a well-liked member in good standing of the National Press Club.

One day last week a page boy rushed through the ladies' dining room of the club paging Mr. Kato in loud clear accents. A startled lady looked up from her dry martini, shuddered:

"Is that man loose in here?"

Her escort assured her that Jarvis Theodore Roosevelt Catoe, rape suspect of eight, was in custody in Federal Court, standing his trial for murder.

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Lade
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Carson
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Hoffman
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

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La Guardia Asked to Bar America First Meeting

By the Associated Press.

NEW YORK, Oct. 27.—Declaring that violence and bloodshed would result from the America First Committee rally scheduled for Madison Square Garden Thursday night, three civic groups yesterday appealed to Mayor LaGuardia to stop "this outrageous meeting from occuring."

A telegram signed by Dr. C. S. Weiss, editor of Uncle Sam's Digest; Samuel Nieman, president of the Sons of Liberty, and Joseph Goldsmith, president of the Taxpayers' Union of New York City, added that "observers at other meetings of America First groups found in the audience notorious frontists, Nazis, hate-breeders and Fascists, also traitors to our country."

Charles A. Lindbergh, Senator Wheeler, Democrat, of Montana, and John Cudahy, former Ambassador to Belgium, are to speak at the rally.

WASHINGTON STAR

Page A-3

OCT 27 1941

America First Assails Refusal Of Radio Time

Appeals to FCC To Compel Networks To Carry Program

NEW YORK, Oct. 28 (N. Y. News).—Leaders of the America First Committee tonight appealed to James L. Fly, head of the Federal Communications Commission, and to the 21 members of the Senate Interstate Commerce Committee for help in getting coast-to-coast radio network time for the Madison Square Garden rally Thursday night.

Chief speakers at the rally will be Col. Charles A. Lindbergh, Senator Burton K. Wheeler of Montana, and John Cudahy, former American Ambassador to Belgium. Wheeler is chairman of the Inter-State Commerce Committee.

"To withhold fair access on flimsy excuses to the principal speakers in the country against going to war, while the pro-war people are, in one way or another, on the air night and day is an outrageous proceeding in a democracy," the America First's telegram to Washington read.

John T. Flynn, head of the America First Committee's New York Chapter, had charged that radio time was refused for the rally because networks are controlled by interventionists. Radio executives replied that no time was available for the periods and the regions which the committee wanted.

Today Mutual Broadcasting System officials disclosed that three weeks ago they had offered the committee any one of three alternative radio plans. The first was a 10:30-11 p.m. network hook-up with a WOR playback 50 minutes later. The second was a 10:30-10:40 p.m. spot on both the network and WOR. The third was a 10:15 to 10:45 on WOR, with a possibility that the network, made up of 175 stations, would pick up the last 15 minutes.

Those were the only times available for Thursday, said a Mutual spokesman today, and when America First executives failed to reply to the offer, the 10:30-10:45 p.m. time was sold.

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
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Mr. Nendon
Mr. Holloman
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Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

OCT 29 1941

WASHINGTON TIMES-HERALD
Page 8

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
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America First Member Quits, Says Situation Calls for Unity

CHICAGO, Oct. 28.—Edward L. Ryerson, member of America First Committee, today resigned from the organziation, due to the emergency which, he said, may see America at war "at any moment."

In a letter to Gen. Robert E. Wood, chairman of the America First Committee, Ryerson, a prominent Chicago manufacturer, said America faces a situation that demands national unity whether the country is at peace or at war and for that reason he was resigning.

At national headquarters it was stated "several other members of the national committee had also resigned." Their names were not made public.

In his letter, Ryerson said:

"I have always deplored the state of our national affairs wherein the greatest democracy of the world has been slowly, but surely, guided by our National Government executives into a situation that has not permitted the people of our land to determine upon a national policy.

"It is, however, apparent that we have been brought face to face with an emergency that may mean active participation in war at any moment. To deal successfully with such a situation demands, above all else, unified action by all of our people."

OCT 29 1941

WASHINGTON TIMES-HERALD

Page 2

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COMMUNICATIONS

FCC CHAIRMAN FLY TODAY ASKED THE MAJOR NETWORKS TO GIVE HIM A "STATEMENT OF FACTS" AS TO WHY THE AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE WAS REFUSED BROADCAST TIME FOR ITS RALLY IN MADISON SQUARE GARDEN TOMORROW NIGHT.

THE COMMITTEE ADVISED FLY IT HAD BEEN UNABLE TO OBTAIN ADEQUATE BROADCAST FACILITIES TO CARRY THE REMARKS OF SENATOR WHEELER, CHARLES A. LINDBERGH, AND JOHN CUDAHY, THE PRINCIPAL SPEAKERS AT THE MEETING.

FLY FORWARDED THE COMMITTEE'S APPEAL TO THE NETWORKS AND SAID THAT THE COMMISSION WOULD TAKE NO ACTION UNTIL IT HAD RECEIVED "A STATEMENT OF FACTS AS TO HOW THE MATTER HAS BEEN HANDLED BY THEM."

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Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Glavin
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Mr. Holloman
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

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America First To Rally Here

Chairmen to Fight Neutrality Revision

CHICAGO, Oct. 30 (C.T.P.S.). One hundred charter chairmen of the America First Committee will meet Friday in Washington to plan an intensified fight on the proposed revision of the Neutrality Act, R. Douglas Stuart jr., national director, announced today.

Stuart said the delegates would attend a morning meeting at the Lee-Sheraton Hotel, visit Representatives and Senators, and then map out the most effective means of combatting the Administration move. Senator Burton K. Wheeler (D.), of Montana, and Philip F. La Follette, former governor of Wisconsin, will address an evening session.

La Follette's speech will be broadcast on a national network from 10:15 to 10:45 (E.S.T.), Stuart said. The subject will be "What Next?"

198

WASHINGTON TIMES-HERALD
Page 2

OCT 31 1941

"America Fifth"

"America First" is the deceptive name of Hitler's Fifth Column in America. It should be known as "America Fifth."

Fritz Kuhn is in the penitentiary, and the German Bund has moved bat and baggage into "America First."

Nazi fifth columns have been necessarily under cover in this country, but they are becoming more bold every day. The German Bund was infested with gangsters of the Kuhn type, but "America Fifth" has weeded that crowd out. It fairly oozes respectability. That is the Quisling technique.

And "America Fifths" are not, like Lydia Pinkham's satisfied patients, in some far distant state. They are in our midst. There were nearly a hundred of them in the Clayton City Hall auditorium Wednesday night. In that crowd, and applauding lustily, was one of the most notorious Nazis in St. Louis and St. Louis County He works under cover. He and his small group probably imagine nobody suspects him, that he is a patriot trying to keep America out of war. He is a patriot, but a German patriot. He is trying to keep America out of war—out of war with Germany. If the United States should go to war with Japan tomorrow, he would be happy. That would help Hitler. If America should go to war with England, he would be the happiest Nazi in St. Louis. Nazis of this gentleman's stripe, with apologies to the polecat, are operating, not in Denver or Buffalo, but right here in Clayton.

It is "America Fifths" of this type who are attempting to use the flight of Aviator Lindbergh from New York to Paris in 33 hours to help the Fatherland. "America First" is the old "Hyphen" that gave us some concern in 1918. Today the "Hyphen" is the Fifth Column.

Chairman Mueller boasted, or rather bemoaned, that 10,000 in St. Louis and County belong to the "America Fifth." That is an unconscious tribute to the Americans in St. Louis of German ancestry. Ninety-nine percent of them are loyal and true to the country that gave them the right to live as free men, something Germany never has done, either under the Kaisers or the Hitlers. Their fathers left Germany a hundred years ago rather than be slaves of the state. Their children are too cagey to be caught in the spider web of the Fifth Column and its glaring falsehoods.

And who is this man Lindbergh who would have the temerity to belittle men like Franklin Roosevelt, Cordell Hull and Frank Knox? "America Fifth" enthusiasts told us at the Clayton City Hall Wednesday night that he is the most honest man in America. That's a large order. They applauded Lindbergh's definition of democracy, but they were strangely silent when the definition of "Honest Abe" Lincoln was given from the last lines of the immortal Gettysburg Ad

Lindbergh is the gentleman who h
British, perhaps because all of the house se
his home when the baby was kidnaped we
Britons. Perhaps not. However, they wer
of his own choosing.

Lindbergh is the "brilliant scholar"
asked to leave the University of Wiscon
he did not believe in getting out the wo
fessors requested.

Lindbergh is the "most honest man
tively identified Hauptmann in the co
Hopewell as the man he saw in the d
in New York, when a man couldn't h
his own brother in that darkness, excep

Lindbergh is the man who knew better
capture a criminal than the trained State Police of New Jersey, and took the matter of tracking down the kidnaper into his own hands, and made one of the worst messes of a notorious crime in the annals of America.

Lindbergh is the gentleman who handed old Dr. "Jafsie" a box containing $50,000, when any psychiatrist two weeks out of medical college could have informed him that "Jafsie" was a dreamer in the class with the late Dr. Frederick A. Cook, who discovered the North Pole somewhere in Greenland.

Lindbergh is the boy flyer who, because of the fame his one flight to Paris, married brilliant Miss Ann Morrow, just out of Smith College, and the daughter of a great patriot, who was a multi-millionaire Morgan partner, and then didn't care to associate with the boys around the airport any more.

Yes, that's the man who is being used by Hitler through "America Fifth" to batter at the leadership of Franklin D. Roosevelt, the one man who happens to stand between Hitler and world dominion.

Yes, to belittle Franklin Roosevelt, the hero of infantile paralysis, the man who came back from the valley of the shadow of death to lead America in time of her greatest distress.

Roosevelt, a graduate of Harvard and Columbia Universities, Assistant Secretary of the Navy under Woodrow Wilson in the World War; Governor of the State of New York; the only man in the history of America ever to be three times elected President of the United States, is just as honest as Lincoln, or Lindbergh, and far better equipped to deal with the treacherous Hitler than any man in public office today.

Three times, and each time by a larger majority, has Franklin Roosevelt laid his left hand on a very old Book, raised his right arm to high heaven and taken the oath of office as President of the United States. Somewhere in that lovely old Book is says:

"The first shall be last, and the last shall be first."

"America First" already is the last false front of the Madman of Munich in his march over the stepping stones of dead bodies to a doom worse than that of St. Helena.